Tarih Dergisi
Turkish Journal of History

İSTANBUL UNIVERSITY PRESS

Tarih Dergisi - Turkish Journal of History, 78 (2022/3): 123-152
DOI: 10.26650/iutd.1144088
Research Article / *Araştırma Makalesi*

The Psychosocial Statuses of British Soldiers at the Gallipoli Front as per Guy Warneford Nightingale's Letters

İngiliz Subayı Guy Warneford Nightingale'in Mektuplarına Göre Çanakkale Cephesindeki İngiliz Askerlerinin Psiko-Sosyal Durumları

Yahya Yeşilyurt*

*Prof. Dr., National Defense University, Dean of the Turkish Military Academy, Department of History, Ankara, Turkiye

ORCID: Y.Y. 0000-0003-3209-2416

Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:
Yahya Yeşilyurt,
National Defense University, Dean of the Turkish Military Academy, Department of History, Ankara, Turkiye
E-mail/E-posta: yahyayesilyurt@hotmail.com

Submitted/Başvuru: 15.07.2022
Revision Requested/Revizyon Talebi: 24.09.2022
Last Revision Received/Son Revizyon: 14.10.2022
Accepted/Kabul: 24.10.2022

Citation/Atıf:
Yesilyurt, Yahya. "The Psychosocial Statuses of British Soldiers at the Gallipoli Front as per Guy Warneford Nightingale's Letters." *Tarih Dergisi - Turkish Journal of History,* 78 (2022): 123-152. https://doi.org/10.26650/iutd.1144088

ABSTRACT
This manuscript has been focused on the content/expression analysis of letters sent by a British Officer from the Gallipoli front in the World War I. In the study, the frequency of using words which were mentioned in the letters was analyzed, and the psycological effect left by the extension of wars on the soldiers was investigated. So, this effect has also comprised the topic of the manuscript. The selection of Guy Warneford Nightingale's letters was not accidental because his letters were not controlled in the military censorhip at that time. He was released from this practice of censorshio because he worked as the officer who conrolled the soldiers' letters. Therefore, it was believed that his letter would provide us with epistemological information about the Gallipoli front in its clear form. Various statistical programs would be used in the study, and the findings obtained would be discussed with similar works.
Keywords: World War I, the Ottoman Empire, United Kingdom, Gallipoli, Nervous

ÖZ
Bu çalışma, I. Dünya Savaşı'ndaki bir İngiliz Subayının Çanakkale cephesinden gönderdiği mektupların içerik/söylem analizine odaklanmıştır. Çalışmada, mektuplarda geçen kelimelerin kullanım sıklığı analiz edilerek, savaşların uzamasının askerler üzerinde bıraktığı psikolojik etki araştırılmaktadır. Dolayısıyla çalışmanın ana temasını da bu etki oluşturmaktadır. Guy Warneford Nigtingale'in mektuplarının seçilmesi tesadüfi değildir, çünkü onun mektupları askeri sansüre uğramamıştır. Warneford'un asker mektuplarını kontrol eden subay olması onu bu uygulamadan beri kılmıştır. Bu nedenle onun mektuplarının bize en saf haliyle Çanakkale cephesi hakkında epistemolojik bilgi sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir. Çalışmada çeşitli istatistik programları kullanılacak ve elde edilecek bulgular, benzer durumlarla tartışılacaktır.
Anahtar sözcükler: Birinci Dünya Savaşı, Osmanlı Devleti, Birleşik Krallık, Çanakkale, Sinir Hastalığı

This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License

The Importance of the Present Research

The aim of the present research is to shed light on the psychological conditions of the British soldiers based on the letters of a lieutenant, Guy Warneford Nightingale, who served in the British army as an officer during the war at Gallipoli. The present paper is different while seeking to get insight into the war in that the article examines the psychology, the effect of the war on the soldiers and how the war ended. We will first try to explain World War I briefly followed by the literature review in the introduction and the method used to analyse the letters. We will then analyse the letters considering the neurotic conditions of the soldiers and finally discuss the results of the findings.

Introduction

Influenced by the nationalist and libertarian discourses in economic areas, the European societies developed relations and cooperation with each other due to the effects of these trends[1]. The policies of Austria-Hungary and Russia regarding Eastern Europe caused a clash between these two states due to their conflicting interests[2]. In particular, after completion of the unification, the changes made by Germany in its foreign policy as of 1871 caused European countries to form blocs, which later led to an increase in armament across Europe[3]. In addition, the states that were trying to establish their own policies in Europe attempted to obtain colonies outside their borders and strengthen their economies and industries. Thus, colonial policies in remote regions have also contributed to the conflicts among the states[4].

The First World War began on 28 June 1914, when a Serbian killed Franz Ferdinand, the crown prince of Austria-Hungary, in Bosnia[5]. Diplomatic and political developments that started with an apparently ordinary assassination triggered a multinational and multi-faceted war within a month[6]. Great Britain's seizure of two armoured ships ordered by the Ottoman

1 M. Hewitson, *Germany and The Causes of The First World War,* Oxford 2004, p. 44.

2 It is often argued that the French Revolution and the concepts of nationalism and a nation-state concurrently influenced communities. However, Orhan Türkdoğan argues that the bases of nationalism go back to the 14th century and that the French Revolution and nationalism were outpourings of the feelings that the European community had been saving for some time. For details, please see Orhan Türkdoğan, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk Toplum Yapısı*, İstanbul 2002, p. 59; Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi,* vol. IX, TTK Yayıları, Ankara 1999, pp. 355-356.

3 B. H. Liddell Hart, *History of The First World War,* London 1972, p. 2; Fahir Armaoğlu, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasî Tarihi,* İstanbul 2010, p. 132.

4 Karal, *ibid.,* p. 358-61.

5 Annika Mombauer, *The Origins of The First World War,* London 2002, p. 13.

6 Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılâbı Tarihi,* vol. II-IV, Ankara 1991, p. 513; Hart, *ibid.,* p. 15; According to German General Schlieffen's plan, Russia, which had not completed its mobilization, was to be kept at the east using little force, whereas France was to be attacked by the main forces and invaded. Although that plan went in effect, both Schlieffen and Moltke argued similarly that the war would not end in a short time and would rather take a long time. Please see Hew Strachan, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı,* Ankara 2014, p. 67-68; Adrew Suttie, *Rewriting the First World War*, New York 2005, p. 28.

Empire at the end of July-the beginning August 1914 under the excuse of mobilisation[7] broke off the relations between the two states, and as a result, attempts to form an alliance between the Ottoman Empire and Germany began[8]. An alliance agreement was signed between Germany and the Ottoman Empire on 2 August 1914[9]. A clause of the treaty indicated that the Ottoman Empire was going to join the War alongside Germany if Russia declared war on Austria due to Russia's mobilisation and if Germany helps Austria[10].

Although the clause of this treaty regarding partiality was obvious, the Ottoman Empire exerted a great effort to remain neutral. However, on 10 August 1914, two German ships, followed by the British navy, crossed the straits and took refuge in the Ottoman Empire[11], causing diplomatic problems among the states[12]. The Ottoman fleet, with 11 ships, under the command of Admiral Wilhelm Anton Souchon, sailed into the Black Sea and bombed Russian ports in Odessa and Sevastopol on 29 and 30 October 1914, which was ordered by Enver Pasha in accordance with the given German policies[13]. Morever, the attack gave the opportunity that Churchill was so keen about. Without waiting for the attitude of Russia and the Sublime Porte, Churchill gave the order to anti-attack the Navy for bombing Turkish ports and ships. The Navy, with the instructions from London, were mobilized and bombed the ports of Gallipoli, Smyrna, Basra and Hodaidah[14].

It was stated in a foreign newspaper that this bombing caused the beginning of a new period in World War I and fuelled the Turkish–Russian conflict[15]. Russia cut off all diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire and declared war on it before the terms of the ultimatum given by Russia to the Ottoman Empire expired. In turn, Britain and France had to declare war against the Ottoman Empire. Thus, on 2 November 1914, the Ottoman State declared *Jihad-ı Ekber* (Great War) against the Allied Powers (Britain-France-Russia) and entered World War I[16].

7 Allyson Both, *Postcards from the Trenches,* New York 1996, p. 68; Rauf Orbay, *Siyasî Hatıralar,* İstanbul 2009, p. 35.

8 Kazım Karabekir*, I. Cihan Harbine Neden Girdik,* vol. I, İstanbul 1995, p. 39-40; Salih Kış, "Birinci Dünya Savaşının Seyrini Değiştiren Goeben ve Breslau Gerçeği", *Çanakkale Araştırmaları Türk Yıllığı,* 15/22 (2017), p. 68; Karal, *ibid.*, p. 384.

9 Mustafa Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914,* New York 2008, p. 102-104.

10 G. D. Clayton, *Britain and the Eastern Question Missolonghi to Gallipoli,* London 1971, p. 215; Bayur, *ibid.*, p. 642-643; Karal, *ibid*, p. 381-82; Karabekir, *ibid.,* p. 75-77.

11 Kış, *ibid*., p. 69.

12 Suttie, *ibid.,* p. 28.

13 Hart, *ibid.,* p. 13.

14 Roger Ford, *Eden to Armageddon: World War I in the Middle East,* Pegasus Books, New York 2010, p. 18.

15 Yasemin Altaylı, "Vasarnapi Ujsag Örneğinde Macar Basınında I. Dünya Savaşı'nın İlk Yansımaları ve Osmanlı Devleti'nin Savaşa Girmesi", *Çanakkale Araştırmaları Türk Yıllığı,* 13/19 (2015), p. 75; Liman von Sanders, *Türkiye'de Beş Sene*, İstanbul 2007, p. 53-54.

16 Karal, *ibid.*, p. 394-400; for the political background of Jihad, Kadir Kon, "Max von Oppenheim, the Architect of the Islamic Strategy of Germany and His Three Related Memorandums", *Turkish Journal of History,* 53 (2011/1), p. 230-242.

The Gallipoli Campaign

The conditions in Russia had greatly an impact on the opening of a front in Gallipoli. Through this front, the Ottoman State, an important partner of the Central Powers, would be eliminated and the pressure on Russia, suffering economic and military difficulties, would be reduced[17]. In a telegram from Sir Louis Mallet, the British Ambassador of Istanbul, it was stated that constraining the transits on the Gallipoli Strait would be very effective in ending and winning the War[18]. At the same time, the British Minister of Maritime Affairs, W. Churchill, argued that Istanbul could be quickly captured by forcing the Ottoman Empire through Gallipoli and by carrying out operations through the straits[19]. Thus, the Ottoman Empire would be forced into peace with the Allies, the fronts of the Ottoman Empire would be closed and World War I would be over in less than a year[20]. The neutral Balkan States would change sides and join the Allies upon the withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from the War[21].

Due to the reasons mentioned above, British, French and Russian fleets led by British forces opened the Gallipoli Front by bombarding both sides of Gallipoli on 19 February 1915[22]. On 18 March 1915, the Allied Navy entered Gallipoli and attempted to cross the strait. However, they suffered a defeat by the Turks after the sinking of seven warships towards the sunset[23]. The Allied fleet, which had to retreat after this first attempt, began to charge on the Gallipoli peninsula on 25 April1915 in a landing operation this time. They started invading the Ottoman Empire by landing troops on both the sides of the strait, especially in Seddülbahir[24]. Supported by the navy, these Allied land forces participated in landing operations on various coasts of the Gallipoli peninsula that they coded as Y Beach, X Beach, W Beach, V Beach, and S Beach on 25 April. 29th Division, in which Guy Warneford was an officer, landed on the coast of Seddülbahir, coded as "V Beach". 29th Division comprised 89th, 87th, and 88th Brigades. Initially, this Division was under the command of General Sir Aylmer Hunter-Weston. However, on 24 May 1915, the command of this Division was transferred to General Beauvoir de Lisle. 86th Brigade comprised 2nd Royal Regiment, 1st Lancashire Regiment, 1st Royal Munster Regiment and 1st Royal Dublin Regiment[25]; it was

17 Gültekin Yıldız, "How to Defend the Turkish Straits Against the Russians: A century-long 'Eastern Question' in British defence planning, 1815-1914", *The Mariner's Mirror,* 105/1 (2019), p. 58; Evren Küçük, *Türkiye-İsveç İlişkileri (1914-1938),* Ankara 2017, p. 63-64; C. E. W. Bean, *The Story of Anzac From the Outbreak of War to the End of the First Phase of the Gallipoli Campaign-May 4, 1915,* Sydney 1941, p. 171.

18 C. F. Aspinall-Oglander, *Büyük Harbin Tarihi Çanakkale Gelibolu Askeri Harekâtı,* vol. I, İstanbul 2005, p. 61.

19 Martin Gilbert, "Churchill and Gallipoli", *Gallipoli Making History,* ed. Jenny Macleod, London 2004, p. 14-43.

20 Bean, *ibid.,* p. 173.

21 Armaoğlu, *ibid.,* p. 149.

22 Karal, *ibid.,* p. 434-436; Bean, *ibid.,* p. 178.

23 Hart, *ibid.,* p. 137.

24 Armaoğlu, *ibid.,* p. 149-150.

25 *Imperial War Museum (IWM),* Catalog Number: P./216.

under the command of General O'Hara[26]. The landing of the 86. Brigade required a solid war strategy, and thus, a coal ship called River Cycle was used for landing. The first troops to participate in the landing operation in the Gallipoli peninsula and to go ashore were 1st Royal Dublin Regiment and 1st Royal Munster Regiment of 86th Brigade[27].

About Guy Warneford Nightingale's Biography and Letters from Gallipoli

Guy Warneford was born in Darjeeling, India because his parents (Darjeeling is a small town in West Bengal in India. His mother was Alice Maude, and his father was Walter Hawkins Nightingale) worked there. Born on 17 December 1890, Warneford completed his primary training in Rugby and Sandhurst and joined 1th Royal Munster Regiment in 1910, beginning his military career[28]. After carrying out several duties in India and Burma as a member of the Munster Regiment, he fought against the Ottoman-Turkish Army at the Gallipoli Front in the same regiment. Guy Warneford was in the landing group that sailed to the shores of Cape Helles on River Clyde, an old coal ship designed by the British as a Trojan horse[29]. Having survived the Gallipoli Campaign, Warneford joined the 46th British Battalion in Arhangelsk, Russia, in 1919 and participated in the Allied operation against the Bolsheviks. Warneford, who was in Poland between 1921 and 1922, continued to serve in the British troops in Aden during the period of 1922 and 1923. Between 1925 and 1926, he joined the 4th Battalion of the British Regiment in Nigeria and served in Ibadan[30].

Guy Warneford Nightingale received the order of Legion d'Honneur given by the French Government for his military successes. He was also one of the soldiers who had been awarded The Military Cross by Britain. Warneford, spending his life serving in the British troops, died in 1935[31].

Guy Warneford sent letters to his family from not only Gallipoli, but also other regions he served in. Among his letters that are collected in British archives, the ones that are important for our research and Turkish history are those he sent from Gallipoli. All his letters can be accessed in The National Archives in England, except for a few letters that are kept in the archives of the Imperial War Museum. In his letters, Guy Warneford, who sent a total of 49 letters during the battle in Gallipoli, expressed his feelings about the War without hesitation. Guy Warneford was the clerk of his unit, and the fact that his letters

26 Oglander, *ibid.,* p. 265.
27 TNA, PRO, 30/71.
28 Darjeeling is a small town in West Bengal in India. His mother was Alice Maude and his father was Walter Hawkins Nightingale. See, *TNA, RG,* 13/1190.
29 TNA, PRO, 30/71/3-4.
30 TNA, PRO, 30/71.
31 TNA, PRO, 30/71/3; *The Journal of the Royal Munster Fusiliers Association,* (2005).

remained uncensored makes them appealing. There are also other letters of Warneford from his other duty stations (France, Yemen, etc.). However, in this study, the letters sent from Gallipoli were studied because the study concerns the Turkish-British common history. The letters were handwritten and written with the excitement and haste of the war atmosphere. These were transferred to the computer environment for this work, with a rigorous work that lasted for about three years. The top pages of some letters were missing, and three of them were typed by relatives of Warneford. The typewritten letters were found in the archives of the Imperial War Museum. The rest and the majority were among the collections of The National Archives. Reading some of them required serious epigraphic information. In some, it was important to have a comprehensive knowledge of military terms and literature of the subject.

Guy Warneford, who was the head of the censorship mechanism, did not refrain from conveying information about the psychosocial situations of his own self as well as of other soldiers in the British troops. From this perspective, it is easy to see that the letters comprise three parts in general. The first part consists of what British soldiers went through in the first three months after landing, their views regarding the War and their beliefs that they would easily get through this campaign. The second part describes the length of the fighting—the fight being stopped by the Turkish troops, the change of climate conditions, the loss of commanding officers, and the inexperience of British soldiers which changed their initial desires. The third part covers a period from the mid-August 1915 to the end of October 1915, which was a time of battle fatigue, nervous breakdown, temporary traumas, and homesickness[32]. Hence, if these three parts were to be collected under a general title, hope, expectation and frustration would be an appropriate fit.

Method

In the creation of the data set, the words used by Guy Warneford in his letters were effective. The 48 letters that Warneford sent from Gallipoli constituted the source of the dataset. It is highlighted during the transferring process that the letters of Warneford that were transferred to the Word were not censored (understood from his own statements). Therefore, it is distinguished from other military and officer letters in the military.

The reason behind the analysis of the words in the letters for this study is the style of Warneford that he used in the letters. Because, after reading the letters, when they are analyzed in general, it can be seen that they are confronted with a rugged British officer who is fearlessly writing his thoughts about the war. Also, the question of how subconscious of Warneford worked during the war required this analysis. Because the words he uses are the product of his subconscious, analyzing them through these words will provide information

32 TNA, PRO, 30/71; *IWM,* P./216; 67/351/1.

about World War I in general. For this reason, an analysis of letters reflecting the feelings of Warneford has been necessary.

It is inevitable to do qualitative data analysis in this study. However, with analysis purpose in historical case, it is impossible to conduct a survey, interview, observation or experiment while data are collected. The analysis only through documentary sources is one of the methods used in this study. For this reason, 48 letters have been subjected to word analysis and it has been required that the number of words used by Warneford must first be studied.

The letters were subjected to word analysis in the Maxdictio module in the Maxqda 11 qualitative data analysis program. Since it was thought that it might be meaningful, a scanning was done over two letters. As a result of this screening, the meaningless word rate was around 0.01%. Therefore, the number of significant words entered into the scanning was 3545. For example, it has been observed that "the" article (Frequency 1597, 6.60%), which characterizes the most specific person, place or object within these words.

It is more or less predictable what will be the object, person or place that can be identified during the war. For example, trench or words directly related to trench appear in 9 different ways and different ratios (see Table-1). While the writing of letters in the war environment increases the frequency of this word, it also reveals the predictions of in which part of the front the letters were written. According to this picture, the Gallipoli wars are highly likely to be described as a trench warfare. Because in the word analysis, there are more verb conjugations and articles that indicate the object and the person up to the 18th order. These are not seen as meaningful words when viewed individually. The possibility above can be emphasized because the trenches term describes the conditions of war, and it was the first meaningful word to be emerged.

Table 1. Usage rates of words related with trench in letters.

Rank	Words	Word Length	Frequency	Percent %
18	trenches	8	136	0.5859
314	trench	6	13	0.0560
1812	entrenchements	14	1	0.0043
2130	entrenched	10	1	0.0043
2298	entrenchments	13	1	0.0043
2342	entrench	8	1	0.0043
2935	trenches-by	11	1	0.0043
3259	trench"	7	1	0.0043
3355	trench-	7	1	0.0043
			156	**0.6721**

If we are to sort examples of word analysis from the letters of Warneford, it can be observed that words related with Turk and Turkey are in the top row (see Table-2).

Table 2. Frequency of occurrence rates of Turkish words and related words.			
Word	**Word Length**	**Frequency**	**Percent %**
Turks	5	103	0.443736
Turkish	7	18	0.0775461
Turk	4	5	0.0215406
Turkey	6	3	0.0129243
Turk's	6	1	0.0043081
		130	**0.5600551**

The Entente Powers made an invasion to the Gallipoli Peninsula because of the Britain's plan to exclude the Ottoman Empire from the war. It is undoubtedly inevitable to use enemy words while the warring parties are talking about each other. Warneford preferred to use the Turk/word here instead of enemy (see Table-3). In fact, to mean Turks, he also used the word enemy. But in comparison to enemy words, mostly Turkish word was used to describe the enemy army. However, German officers and soldiers were also serving in the Gallipoli peninsula. Warneford chose to use this word in general for the enemy because of the fact that the battlefront they joined in the campaign was the Ottoman land.

Table 3. Usage rates of enemy term.			
Word	**Word Length**	**Frequency**	**Percent %**
enemy	5	6	0.0258487
enemy's	7	5	0.0215406
Enemy's	7	1	0.0043081
		12	**0.0516974**

It is possible to multiply similar words and their proportions and comparisons. However, since this will change the nature of this work, it would be more beneficial to focus on the main theme of the study through different words. From the Guy Warneford standpoint, as understood from the beginning of the work, making sense of the attitudes and behaviors of British soldiers during the war will also provide inferences about the impact that the war has caused on people. "Geddes" is one of the special names that attracts attention in this respect. According to the letter, Geddes was a military officer and commandant of Warneford, and it is interesting that Warneford often expressed him in his letters (Frequency 50, Percent 0.215%). Here it can easily be searched to answer whether it is a situation originating from admiration or anger. When the sentences of Geddes are analyzed, it is emerged that Warneford admired Geddes. Mother was used more often than father and sister in the words (mother, Freq. 18,

Mother, Freq., 17 times, total 35 times). When looking at the people to whom the letters were sent in general, the remaining letters are either dedicated to his father or his sister, and since there were some missing letterheads, there are two or three absence of frequency of occurrence. Warneford sent more letters to his mother and preferred to explain his situation to his mother. Besides in his letters to his mother, it is seen that the circumstances of the war were described in more detail.

Data Set

It is beneficial to construct other parts of the data set before proceeding to the analysis because in the analysis to be done, it is important to understand the evaluations to be obtained from the dataset and their usage rates. The words are used as a source in the analysis. In addition, conceptual labeling will be done on the words and categories will be created. In the categories, coding line by line is preferred. In order to be able to encode the letters, occasionally axis and sometimes open encoding method are followed[33]. Induction method is used in these parts. It is necessary to put forth the general evidence about the course of the war in order to construct a correlation analysis of the war in Gallipoli over the words obtained in the word analysis program. A statistical result or results will be tried to be drawn out from this general belief and periodization. The following categories were created based on the repetition of the emotional relationship among the letters. When the repetitive words end or words that describe a different emotion start, categories are created. However, it is very difficult to make a definite distinction between these categories because Warneford's emotional state changed according to the events he experienced. For this reason, open coding and axis coding methods have been applied. Then the data were analyzed and contextualized.

The Hopes and Dreams of the British in front of Gallipoli

The first letter by Guy Warneford is essentially a summary of this section because he was surprised by the superior defence ability of the Turkish Army, but still felt their joy of victory. It is worth noting that he had the opportunity (Freq. 6, 0.0258%) to write to his mother for the first time on 1 May 1915, as indicated in his first letter[34]. The fact that the Allied armies landed on 25 April and Guy Warneford could write his first letter five days later indicates that the fight was intense. In particular, the references he made from daily newspapers when describing the difficulties they had experienced during the landing and his narratives of how his friends were shot one by one during the landing show that he started to feel that it would not be that easy[35]. The terms and expressions he used to narrate

33 Aylin Yonca Gençoğlu, "Bir Kavram ve Kuram Üretme Stratejisi Olarak Temellendirilmiş Kuram", *Tarih Okulu Dergisi,* XVII (2014), pp. 681-700.

34 Guy Warneford Nightingale, *Çanakkale Cephesinden Mektuplar,* trans. Yahya Yeşilyurt-Recep Gülmez, Ötüken Neşriyat, İstanbul 2014, p. 33.

35 Please look for another soldier who name is M. W. Philips's memories about the landing, *IWM, Documents.*

the struggles they had experienced during the landing such as *"...mauled, rain of bullets, death trap (Freq. 9, 0.038%), awful night (Freq. 109, 0.469%), under a nasty fire (Freg. 38, 0.163%), lost an awful lot, very bad night... (Word: bad and badly, Freq. 38, 0.163%)"* may be taken as expressions of astonishment in the face of the Turkish resistance[36]. When we look at the details of this first letter, he also mentioned seasonal conditions among the difficulties experienced. Certainly, the difficulties experienced by the British soldiers after the landing and the climatic conditions of the spring months are expressed[37] through phrases such as *"... soaked to the skin, bitterly cold and wet, very wet and cold; no coats and food... (Look at the Table-4)"*

Table 4. Frequency of occurrence and percentages of usage of some words related to climate conditions in the letters of Warneford.

Word	Word Length	Frequency	Percent %
cold	4	9	0.038773
colds	5	1	0.0043081
cold stream	10	1	0.0043081
wet	3	4	0.0172325
food	4	5	0.0215406
clothes	7	5	0.0215406
clothed	7	1	0.0043081
clothing	8	1	0.0043081
		27	**0.1163191**

Although these depictions demonstrate that British soldiers were under difficult conditions, one can understand that the soldiers did not have the slightest hesitation in attacking and achieving success. Looking at the details of the first letter from this perspective, expressions such as "...the firing line was so hard pressed, that we had to go straight up into it... We get shelled all day, and sniped (Freq. 10, 0.0430%) at and attacked (Freq. 68, 0.292%) all night. But we are very cherry… We are waiting the re-enforcements from Egypt. We are all very fit indeed... reveal how the desires and hopes of victory affected soldiers' psychology during the first days[38]. Although they had fought a fierce battle, they did not think a failure was probable. On the contrary, they even regarded the landing operation as a success under such difficult conditions. In this first letter of Nightingale, he narrated the difficulties of the operation through German officers and emphasised that what they were doing was rather difficult:

16517.

36 TNA, PRO, 30/71/26-30.

37 TNA, PRO, 30/71/26-30.

38 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 36.

> *"The German officers whom we have taken prisoners, say it is absolutely beyond them how we ever effected a landing at all. If there was one place in the whole world that was impregnable, it was this peninsula and they say no army in the world except ours, could have seen half its numbers mown down, and still come on and make good a landing. It has certainly been a tough job."*[39]

In fact, he tried to cover up for the loss of many soldiers and the difficulties they went through during an operation that they had thought would end in a short time. Since the initial days, these statements revealed what kind of conflict was going to happen in the future and displayed the disguised failure of the landing. In fact, the expressions of failure are easily seen in last sentence of this letter[40] where he said farewell to his mother: *"We lost more men and officers in this battalion, in the first 3 days here, than we lost in 3 years in S. Africa!" (Word: Lost, Freq. 43, 0.185%).*

In his first letters, it is easy to see how stunned they were. The feelings of terror during the landing were breaking points for British soldiers in facing the reality. In his second letter[41], he argued that not only himself, but also the other soldiers thought *"We had a lot of casualties considering we were entrenched and the Turks on the offensive and we did not have too thick a line before."* He also stated how surprised they were at the fact that the Turkish troops had left their trenches to attack them and had been successful although the attacks were small-scale and a limited number of soldiers had participated. In addition, he argued that the reason why he was not shot despite the Turkish Army's success in defence was luck and staying behind. He expressed[42] this by saying *"...I got most frightfully based with always being behind."* The Allied forces, unable to conclude whether the encounter would be tough, were stopped in the Gallipoli peninsula by the Turkish Army that had effectively defended it since the landing. As seen in Guy Warneford's letters, although they thought that they would take hold of Istanbul freely and without encountering any resistance, the developments in the early days caused them to gradually move away from these ideas. Other qualities and socio-psychological developments that constitute the first part of these letters included the fact that the trenches had not yet been excavated during the attacks, the happiness shown towards the letters coming by mail and the desire to move away from the War even for a moment[43]. As can be seen in the Table below, among the most significant words in word analysis, post and similar expressions have been among the most used words (see Table-5).

39 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 36.
40 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 37-38.
41 TNA, PRO, 30/71/30.
42 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 40.
43 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 40.

Tablo 5. Frequency of occurrence of words related with post.			
Word	**Word Length**	**Frequency**	**Percent %**
post	4	7	0.0301568
posts	5	3	0.0129243
posted	6	3	0.0129243
mail	4	41	0.1766328
mails	5	5	0.0215406
Mail	4	3	0.0129243
mail-the	8	1	0.0043081
letter	6	53	0.2283302
letters	7	32	0.1378597
letter-cards	12	1	0.0043081
		149	**0.6419094**

Guy Warneford's message in his letter dated 4 May 1915 contains other remarkable elements. In this letter, he said to his sister Meta that he had been in an intense battle for two weeks and that they were unable to sleep (Freq. 23, 0.0990%) at night due to the intense attacks of the Turks. As a result, lack of sleep got on their nerves over time. The expressions describing nervous breakdown included the following:

> *"…The awines of Turks were picking off the wounded as they tried to crawl up the sand to us... It was pouring with rain too. I got on swine of a Turks with my revolver. We saw the enemy which was the chief thing and the men all shouted and enjoyed it tremendously. It was a relief after all that appalling sniping… It was must exciting hearing them... We mowed them down and only once did they get so close that we were able to bayonet them. We took 300 prisoners and could have taken 3.000 but we preferred shooting them."*[44]

At this point, another issue that needs to be addressed is the fact that the British soldiers acted against The Hague Convention of 1907 due to the anger fuelled by a nervous breakdown. Judging from The Hague Convention of 15 June 1907, which had been in force at that time, a decision was made as to how the prisoners of war were to be treated[45].

According to Article 2 (b) of the convention in 1907, it was forbidden to treacherously kill or hurt the people of the enemy nation or the army[46]. The captured enemy soldiers had to be treated as prisoners and their rights had to be protected until the end of the War.

44 *IWM,* 67/351/1, Catalog number: Documents. 12333.

45 Mehmet Temel, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı Yıllarında 1907 Tarihli Lahey Sözleşmelerine Aykırı Davranan İtilaf Devletlerine Karşı Osmanlı Devleti'nin Aldığı Bazı Önlemler", *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları,* I/6 (2004), p. 71.

46 James Brown Scott, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907,* New York, 1915, p. 116; For details regarding the treatments of the British to captured Ottoman soldiers, please see Evren Küçük, "Knockaloe Kampında Bir Osmanlı Diplomatı Reşid Sadi Beyin Esareti (1915-1918)", *Akademik İncelemeler*

However, as can be seen in his subsequent letters, Guy Warneford, after fearlessly conveying the information no one could see in any official British correspondence, began to hesitate because of the information he had revealed once. He knew that this treatment was a crime against humanity. However, going through a progress different from their expectations led to frustration as well as anger over time. Therefore, the captured Turkish soldiers were shot due to a severe state of anger and revenge instead of being held in camps.

The strong Turkish defence had led to frustration among the British troops. In the details of the sentences that were formed unintentionally, the soldiers stated that they were tangled up in a difficult problem. They thought they would rest and take a break for a while after dealing with the duty or problem at hand[47]. In the rest of the letters, it is possible to find expressions indicating fatigue, hunger, and boredom as a result of an intense and constant conflict. These brief expressions included *"... after 15 days a continuous fighting. It was simply awful… (Word: Awful, Freq. 83, 0.357%) I will not have the opportunity of writing... We had had no rations for 48 hours and no sleep for 9 days..."*[48].

In his letter dated 19 May 1915, he began to include expressions indicating that a British soldier was accustomed to the routines of the War and the damage it caused in one's spiritual self. Describing the shooting of his friends to the finest details, Warneford approached this situation in a surprising and unobtrusive manner in his letters. For example, through expressions such as "*In the dark we kept trumbling over the bodies and treading on them. When it was light, stound I had dug in next to the remains of an officer in the K.O.S. Borderers whom I had last seen at the opera at Malta and had spent a most jolly evening with.",* he reflected on the current situation[49].

The descriptions in the letters are made through words that would reflect people's dreams in daily life. Machine guns were sweeping and bullets were like flying birds. It can be clearly seen in the letters that they started keeping a watch at all times, taking the enemy more seriously after understanding that the Turks were not an easy target.

An assessment made by Warneford after a while is quite striking, as seen in the following lines: *"This is now degenerating into a kind of trench warfare. We can't possibly advance, nor can the Turks... I had to throw my helmet away-we are not wearing them yet."*[50] He made a different assessment in his letter dated 14 May 1915. In this letter, his efforts to make sense of what was happening and reveal the severity of the situation by making comparisons drew attention. In this letter to his father, this effort was expressed as follows:

Dergisi, XII/I.1 (2017), pp. 83-108.

47 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 45.

48 TNA, PRO, 30/71/34-37.

49 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 47.

50 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 49-50.

> *"...the Times of the 2nd of May only gives Major Jarrett killed and five wounded. A lot of the regiments like the Lancashire Fusiliers who lost 20 officers the first day, are not mentioned at all; I think the Dublins are the only complete list. I suppose they'll try and make out its been nothing at all out here, just a scrap with the Turks whereas its been hell and frightfully mismanaged. There are any number of officers and men here who have done five or six months in France and were right through Mons, and they say it was nothing, a mere picnic compared to the landing and subsequent 14 days of this show."*[51]

Later in the War, British soldiers had to take off their helmets and accept the ugly face of the War. The excitement of the landing operation, which began in April 1915, was replaced by hesitation and seriousness towards mid-May. The conflicts that lasted until July were narrated by Warneford as a time of various complaints, appreciation of defence against the Turks instead of attack, astonishment at the Turkish resistance, frustrations brought by the War, hatred, anxiety, reluctance, landscape depictions, psychological trauma, boredom, and self-criticism[52]. (Warneford occasionally used the word hell to describe (Freq. 4, 0.0172%) this battle in Gallipoli).

From the following statement, it can be understood that the British or Allied soldiers were defending themselves instead of attacking: *"...the Turks attacked part of our line held by the Inni Skillings, but got such a rough handling that they never got nearer than 40 yards from our trenches..."*[53] In addition, from these expressions, it is easy to see their appreciation of defence. On the other hand, the expression "*...if only we had had enough people surviving, we would have pushed them straight away up the Peninsular...*"[54], which is an example of self-criticism. Expressions of similar reproaches will appear in the following days as a criticism by Warneford. Thus, the following sentences appear as expressions of both criticism and anger at the attitudes of the different units in the same army:

> "*...The new ones are very funny-extraordinarily helpless, frightfully keen and about as much idea of soldiering as the man in the moon... The men are all awfully sick at being commanded by the new officers... The bluejackets all want to have a look through the iron peephole, up the 'No-man's trench' to the Turk's barricade 20 yards farther up! I don't know how they get leave to come up from their ships, but they manage it somehow! I suppose they tell wonderful tales when they get back!*"[55]

Over time, the tremendous scale of the War reflected on Warneford's words as follows: "*...I have had bullets through all parts of my clothing and two bayonet thrusts-one through*

51 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 54.
52 Fiona Reid, "Losing Face: Trauma and Maxillofacial Injury in the First World War", *Pyschological Trauma and the Legacies of the First World War,* ed. Jason Crouthamel-Peter Leese, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, p. 26.
53 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 56.
54 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 57.
55 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 69-85, 105.

my glasses and another through my belt!"[56] As can be seen in Warneford's letter dated 22 May 1915, he regarded his departure from the battlefront for a while and going to a ship for treatment as means of happiness. He said, "*...then I went to bed in SHEETS, and couldn't sleep a wink for the comfort of it all!*"[57]

The idea of being away from the battle, even due to illness or injury, gradually started to appear and became more desirable among soldiers. The idea of how valuable survival and living was emerged during temporary departures. Staying apart from the battle due to injuries or illness revealed feelings of hatred in Guy Warneford. Therefore, he associated the word of war with hatred over time. We can easily see this in his letter dated 22 May 1915 looking at the expressions "*... the beastly firing line... I hope this will mean the Balkan States come in too and end this beastly war.*"[58]

Superficial Inaction and the Desperate Waiting of the British

As it can be seen, the rapid results in the first months and the great wish of the British to invade the Ottoman capital and leave their mark on World War I by pushing the Ottoman Empire out of war were replaced by feelings of despair in the months during summer. We understand that the British soldiers accepted to stay in defence on the Gallipoli peninsula and to look for ways to survive against the Turkish resistance. In Guy Warneford's letters, this situation is presented through a detailed description of the landscape, statements indicating boredom and a mocking of warfare. Moreover, the frustrations experienced by soldiers during the first few months of negative developments were replaced by serious psychological issues[59].

Further evidence indicating that they did not take the War seriously to a sufficient extent is that they named Turkish artillery as Annie from Asia, Slippery Sam and Bill from Gallipoli. In the same way, there were many statements such as "*I have taken some photos of our dugout. Geddes, Williams and I have a most awfully comfortable one… So you can imagine how pleasant life is in general…*" that support this point[60]. The Allied armies were now beginning to realise that Gallipoli was impassable.

In a letter dated 4 June 1915, we see that the soldiers were demoralised by the loss of all members of the 86th Brigade in Gallipoli and the fact that they had to be reorganised. In the following section, Guy Warneford noted the manoeuvres made by the Turkish soldiers,

56 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 58.
57 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 61.
58 TNA, PRO, 30/71/40.
59 Ulrich Bröckling, *Disiplin: Askeri İtaat Üretiminin Sosyolojisi ve Tarihi,* Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul 2001, p. 259; Frederick Walker Mott, *War Neuroses and Shell Shock,* Oxford University Press, London 1919, p. 136.
60 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 77.

in the following lines: "*...Looking at it now I can not understand how we ever got up here at all, and it beats me altogether why the Turks ever left their trenches."*[61] However, in another letter dated 8 June 1915, Guy Warneford, having observed the situation very well, stated that their attacks were unsuccessful by calling them "*fiasco*". The demoralisation caused by the Turkish resistance brought along failure. After this, he began to describe the places they were in by calling them rabbit pens instead of trenches. He also emphasised that psychological disorders laid at the basis of the discomforts experienced by the British soldiers. Regarding this, his expression:

> "*We have just lost Wilson our Adjutant. His wound broke out again and the strain and worry made him very ill... Lots of fellows are going off their heads out here but personally I've never felt better in my life, I eat and sleep like a pig and feel most awfully cheery Lots of fellows are going off their heads out here but personally I've never felt better in my life, I eat and sleep like a pig and feel most awfully cheery... (Word: Cheer, Freq. 15, 0.0646%)"*

is very interesting because it reveals as to how his and other British soldiers' psychological state was at that time[62]. In his letter dated 9 June, he wrote that Wilson had suffered from depression due to the tensions, which led him to develop nerve inflammation[63]. He also wrote that about another soldiers' psychological state, *"Simply tons of fellows are going off their heads from strain and worry mostly fellows who have been wounded and come back…"*[64]

In addition to the psychological discomfort of British soldiers, there were similar situations regarding their physical appearances. Especially Geddes, one of the commanders, went grey in a short time due to overwork, and Guy Warneford said, "*...Geddes is a ripping commanding officer to work with, but he is frightfully worried and his hair is nearly white! I've never seen fellows get so old so quickly. This morning I saw a fellow called O'Hara in the Dublins whom I hadn't seen for about a fortnight and I hardly recognised him!*"[65] In his letter dated 13 June 1915, he wrote the following about Geddes: "*Geddes is extraordinary. His hair is almost white! I laugh whenever I see him without his cap, as he had very red hair before.*"[66]

The extent of the psychological discomfort of the British soldiers grew even fiercer as the climatic temperature around them increased. His statements revealed that Guy Warneford had started to show anger at every soldier shot, to mock warship and not to take it seriously, to care more about his survival and to think about the money he would get. We can also understand that he was extremely happy with the possibility of a peace deal or a ceasefire

61 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 73.
62 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 76.
63 TNA, PRO, 30/71/40.
64 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 86.
65 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 76.
66 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 86-87.

agreement and was not pleased with the new recruits because their inexperience did them no good. Moreover, his letter dated 9 June 1915 shows for the first time that he started to think that they were not going to make any progress[67]. Starting with his letter dated 9 June, he used words like 'party' and 'show' to mean war. Concepts and words that are related to war, such as smell, death, and gunpowder became ordinary for the British soldiers. Their sadness related to the soldiers killed during the first landing and the excitement they had while describing their deaths had been replaced by ordinariness and anger at the deaths. Guy Warneford started to call the trenches as dirt and prioritised resting instead of fighting, as per his letters as of June and July. He stated this by saying "*I feel awfully well, except for my inside!*"[68]

Symptoms of Fatigue and Desire to Retreat among Soldiers

The British soldiers' acceptance of failure in Gallipoli and their desire to move away from the War appear as the main themes of this section. The fact that Guy Warneford could write as he wished makes the last section of these letters highly attractive. On his letter dated 2 July 1915, we understand that his desire to return home began to appear. His expression "*I don't count on getting anything*" is important in terms of style and it shows how demoralised the British soldiers were due to the struggle they faced in Gallipoli[69].

On the other hand, as the British troops spent months on the Gallipoli peninsula and the War stabilised at his front, the soldiers felt relief. The Turkish Army could not advance and force the British out of their land; moreover, the British could not attack and push the Turks away despite the reinforcements that joined them. This changed warfare dynamism into a static state as of July. Therefore, the soldiers started feeling tired of fighting and wanted to return home as soon as possible. In his letter dated 3 July 1915, Guy Warneford said, "*I wish this beastly war was over I'm getting absolutely fed up with fighting!*"[70]

The desire for not fighting, which was the most evident with the expressions of returning home due to tiredness, made them wish to be substituted with others so that they could at the least rest. The idea that the static state at the front could change any moment was the main reason for the tension and the lack of sleep among soldiers; it was also one of the main reasons for their failure in their attacks[71].

How the British soldiers viewed this is apparent in Guy Warneford's expressions starting from July. In general, Warneford seems to have used the third-person singular in his expressions. The most obvious example was in his letter dated 6 July 1915 in which he said,

67 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 81.
68 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 104.
69 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 107.
70 TNA, PRO, 30/71/55.
71 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 111.

"I believe and only need to get used to being in the trenches a bit. It's getting beastly lot!"[72] Climatic conditions together with the difficulties they went through during the first days were replaced by a time of less fighting, which triggered the soldiers' desire for not fighting. In short, Guy Warneford articulated the feelings of the British soldiers. Surprised at the claims that they were going to retreat from the peninsula and start fighting in France, Warneford reacted by saying "*If we had a month at Imbros we would be as fit as anything to carry on, and I certainly don't want to go to France*"[73]

In Warneford's letters, it is possible to see that the British soldiers were allowed to rest first and were then sent to the firing line; the letters also describe the soldiers' moods while resting. Particularly, their days on the Lemnos Island were described as nights that were dust-free, smoke-free and luxurious and days that were full of naps[74]. The Gallipoli peninsula was described as "*As I see someone in the 'Pink Ku' describes it 'the Peninsular at present consist of dust, dirt, grit, jam, bullets and blood' which is about right! (see Table-6)*"[75]

Table 6. Usage rates of some of the words used to describe Gallipoli.

Word	Word Length	Frequency	Percent %
bullets	7	14	0.0603136
bullet	6	9	0.038773
blood	5	2	0.0086162
blood"	6	1	0.0043081
dust	4	9	0.038773
dirt	4	1	0.0043081
dirtier	7	1	0.0043081
		37	**0.1594001**

Towards the end of July 1915, the soldiers' desire to return home and leave the War began appearing in Warneford's every expression, and since then, he had stated his desire to return home as often as possible in almost every letter[76]. Because the prolongation of this war had taken them out of being the subject of the war and turned them into the object of the war[77]. However, as the language he used to express this request includes a style that would not be considered appropriate by both Britain and his own family, there were some statements in which he insisted that the letters not be shared with the press[78]. A letter dated 26 August 1915

72 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 113.
73 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 115.
74 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 125
75 TNA, PRO, 30/71/61.
76 Peter Leese, *Shell Shock: Traumatic Neurosis and the British Soldiers of the First World War,* Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2002, p. 133-137.
77 Bröckling, *ibid.,* p. 254.
78 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 132-134.

contains the kind of sentences that would end the discussion on the British viewpoint on war. In this letter, Warneford, speaking of his friend, clarified that going to a place other than home or India would be no good for resting[79].

Increasing failure on the Gallipoli peninsula led the British troops to think that they were losing this battle. In fact, Guy Warneford wrote in his letter dated 26 August 1915 that "*There is no doubt about it, we've played all our cards on this new landing and failed. The opportunity has been lost and if there had been any troops other than those who took part in it, I think they would have done it.",* which showed both self-criticism and the fact that the end was near[80]. September was described as a time when they were pleased to hear the rumours of a ceasefire or peace treaty with the Turks, a possibility that was also expressed through official channels[81]. We see that Guy Warneford clearly indicated that he would be the last person to fight the Turks and that he had no wish but to go back to England if they were to declare a ceasefire[82]. Guy Warneford, who described the minor attacks of the Allied forces as an exercise in his letter dated 26 September 1915, stated that the stable situation in the trenches seemed drowsing[83].

It would be worthwhile to summarise the feelings of the British soldiers, who believed that the preparations for winter attacks were not enough as of October and that the War should be completed in Gallipoli, through Warneford's expression "*We won't get any more because the whole campaign has been a failure, though we've fought hard enough goodness only knows*."[84] Finally, in his last letter from Gallipoli, he said,

> *"I'm the colour of a china man and have no whites to my eyes-so look an awful light! However I am guite well enough to carry on what work. I don't it's not like feveri, but I am not going to stay, if Wilson rolls up and I have told Geddes that when I so. If I have to, I mean to do my level best to get home for leave." (Word: Home, Freq. 29, 0.124%).*

Certainly, the departure of the Allies from the Gallipoli peninsula led to excitement on the Turkish side. The newspapers of the time presented this to the readers as the news of victory[85].

Findings and Analysis

By taking advantage of the data set created by the method, it is necessary to analyze the effects of the psycho-social situation of the soldiers on the course of the war because the

79 TNA, PRO, 30/71/73.
80 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 144.
81 TNA, PRO, 30/71/78.
82 TNA, PRO, 30/71/79.
83 TNA, PRO, 30/71/86, 87.
84 Nightingale, *ibid.,* p. 170.
85 Mücahit Özçelik, "İtilaf Devletlerinin Çanakkale'yi Tahliyesinin Türk Basınına Yansımaları", *Çanakkale Araştırmaları Türk Yıllığı,* 13/I.18 (2015), p. 451.

attitudes and behaviors of the soldiers during the war are important both during the war and after their war in the name of their own states. A soldier both fulfilled his duties and acted according to war rules and orders. In addition to this, the illegal behavior of a depressed soldier during the war could have harmed the state to where he was belonged after the war. Also, the attitudes of the soldiers were related to their psychology. The challenge here is not to conduct any surveys among soldiers fighting as mentioned before. Since there is no such thing as time back, the data set seems to have assumed an important role in the analysis in this section. Since a specific and generalized method is followed at the basis of the work, it is possible to draw conclusions about the general course of war from the data set obtained from Warneford's letters.

In the process of analysis, the data set has been analyzed over three sections. The letters were given a numerical value based on the date order. The first section was formed from the letters 1 to 7 and was defined as a *"victory"* period, based on the words and phrases used in them. The second section covered the events from the letter 8 to the letter 22 (including the letter 22). From these determinations, the period of fifteen letters was called the *"recession"* period. This naming and periodicity are based on the words that Warneford used in his letters. It was observed that the dynamic state of the war became static after the 8th letter. For this reason, the period of stagnation was started as of the 8th letter. This period is limited to the first letter of return to be come out. Therefore, the 23rd and 49th letters were identified as the *"return"* period due to the content of the date range.

In the naming of the periods, Warneford's language used in the letters played an important role. For example, in the 1st letter, even though the death trap is used for Gallipoli, it seems that the struggle determination and the excitement are outweighed. The fact that there is no command in the 16th letter to indicate whether or not an attack was done can be seen as a sign of stagnation. Likewise, a colonel in the 34th letter is an example of the fact that war is unnecessary and that they should return home. Letters with such desires are seen as withdrawal episodes. As a matter of fact, the three chapters were then taken under a single heading and subjected to a correlation analysis to reveal the effect of the war on the course of the war. All three sections, which are hopes and dreams of Warneford, were called as *"moral level"*.

A correlation analysis was conducted to determine the relationship between the moral level and the course of the war (see Table-7). The results were obtained from the SPSS 21 program. Correlation values range from -1 to +1. -1 is an indication of a complete and inverse relation, and +1 is an indication of a complete and in the same direction. If the values are between 0 and 0.3, the relationship is weak; in the range of 0.31-0.69, the relationship is moderate; at a value between 0.71 and 1.00, the relationship is strong. In this case, the correlation value of the level of spirits and warfare was found to be 0.60. This value shows

the presence of a statistically, moderately, and coordinated relationship between spirits and warfare. Therefore, it is understood that the spirits level of the soldier has an impact on the course of the war, or that the course of the war has an impact on the spirits of the soldier[86].

Table 7. Correlation table.		
	Spirits Level	**Course of the War**
Spirits Level	1	
Course of the War	0.603953	1

The question that came to mind after determining the correlation value here was whether the spirits level affected the course of the war; or was the course of the war affected the spirits level. For this reason, it is hoped that with the determination of causality between two factors the correlation analysis will be supported. A causality test developed by Granger for predicting this condition is proposed[87] (Granger, 1980). The data were subject to the Eviews 9 program and the findings were obtained from this program. The findings are shown in Table-8. According to the causality test results, it can be said that the spirits level at the 99% confidence level (Prob <0.01) is the reason of the war progression. On the other hand, it could be seen from the test results (0.9419 >0.01) that the course of war is not the reason for the spirits level.

Table 8. Granger causality test results.			
VAR Granger causality/block exogeneity wald tests			
Date: 25/05/18 Time: 12:04			
Sample: 1 49			
Included observations: 47			
Dependent variable: course of the War			
Excluded	Chi-sq	Df	Prob.
Spirits Level	18.87302	2	0.0001
All	18.87302	2	0.0001
Dependent variable: spirits level			
Excluded	Chi-sq	Df	Prob.
Course of the War	0.119649	2	0.9419
All	0.119649	2	0.9419

Based on the results of this analysis it is possible to draw conclusions at the macro level. While the course of the war is affected by the spirits level of the soldiers, according to the

86 A. Zafer Yalçın- Fatih Çakmak, "Türkiye'de Kamu Sağlık Harcamalarının İnsani Gelişim Üzerindeki Etkisi", *Atatürk Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi,* 30/4 (2016), p. 720.

87 C. W. Granger, **"**Testing for Casuality: A Personal Viewpoint", *Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control*, 2 (1980), pp. 329-352.

statistical data, the level of spirits is not affected from the course of the war. If the end of the war is already considered, it will be seen that England is in the victorious states. Despite this, however, the prolonged battle affected the spirits of the soldiers in the negative direction. Although it is on the victorious side, it is understood from the letters that the exhaustion of the soldiers has increased. For this reason, a regression analysis was carried out by assuming the necessary assumptions (normality hypothesis, varying variance, multiple linearity, etc.) in order to determine the size of the effect of spirits on the course of the war. The reason for accepting this assumption is that the study is not a statistical one because the effort to get away from the aim by analyzing the details is outweighing. In addition, the level of spirits can vary, regardless of the circumstances under which condition the war is. For example, Warneford's trip to the camps towards the last days of Gallipoli increased the spirits level. In general, however, there is an unsuccessful trend in Gallipoli. Therefore, the course of the war has not affected the spirits levels of the soldiers too much. Both analysis and letters confirm this inference.

With this aim;

$CW = b_0 + b_1 (SL)$ (1)

A linear univariate model is formed. Here;

CW: Course of the War, SL: Spirits Level, represents the variables.

The coefficient b_0 is the coefficient indicating the course of the war if the morale level is zero. The coefficient b_1 indicates the impact of the spirits level on the course of the war, which corresponds to a unit increase. Analysis results were obtained from Eviews 9 program. The regression analysis results are shown in Table-9. R^2 value represents the ratio of clarification of the variable explained by the explanatory variables[88]. According to the findings, explanation rate of the course of the war on spirits level ($R^2 = 0.36459$) is about 36%. When this situation is examined, it will be seen that there are various factors (number of troops, amount of ammunition, war information, experience, climate conditions, technical equipment of enemy, etc.) on the course of war. However, these factors have not been included in the model because they do not constitute the basis of our study directly. As a matter of fact, according to the findings (b_0), it was found as -0.1. However, since Prob was <0.05, there is no significant correlation at 95% confidence level. For this reason, it is not right to interpret this coefficient. The value of the SL coefficient (b_1) was found to be about 1.51. This result means that the level of spirits has increased by one step, and that the course of war has increased by 1.5 units. This coefficient (Prob <0.05) is statistically significant at the 95% confidence level. For this reason, there is no objection to this interpretation in terms of statistics.

88 Fatih Çakmak, *Kohort Analizi ile Türkiye'deki İstihdamın Kuşaklara Göre İncelenmesi,* Unpublished Master Thesis, Erzurum 2013, p. 41.

Table 9. Results of regression analysis.				
Dependent Variable: **Course of the War**				
Method: Least Squares				
Date: 25/05/18 Time: 12:07				
Sample: 1 49				
Included observations: 49				
Variable	**Coefficient**	**Std. Error**	**t-Statistic**	**Prob.**
SL	1.514218	0.291478	5.194971	0.0000
(b_{0})	-0.104265	0.509980	-0.204450	0.8389
R-squared	0.364759	Mean dependent variable		2.306122
Adjusted R-squared	0.351244	S.D. dependent variable		1.839430
S.E. of regression	1.481577	Akaike info criterion		3.664051
Sum squared resid	103.1682	Schwarz criterion		3.741268
Log likelihood	-87.76924	Hannan-Quinn criteria		3.693347
F-statistic	26.98772	Durbin-Watson stat		0.907393
Prob (F-statistic)	0.000004			

Findings and Discussion

After the analysis of these letters sent during World War I, some evidence was found. World War I has caused a number of severe neuroses with a tremendous number of nervous disorders and wartime casualties[89]. As World War I was in the army, there was also a great shock in the houses. The battle situation brought different interpretations in terms of the belligerent sides when considered in terms of humanitarian values. For example, for the Turks who lived in the Ottoman State and fought in Gallipoli, it was aimed to defend the human existence, from the point of British, it was necessary to fight in front of Gallipoli for the sake of peace. As a matter of fact, Warneford's letters revealed that the British, with this war, had serious plans and a high spirits level, but they had a disappointment due to the last long of the war because, as Freud said, "*World War I was as brutal and violent as all previous wars, because of its bloody and more destructive nature, as well as its increased attack and defensive weapons on a tremendous scale.*"[90] Therefore, as far as we derive from the letters, the contrary acts against the Hague Convention in 1907 were committed. The restrictions in this convention that were known as international law were ignored. States were exhibiting

89 Sandor Ferenczi, Sigmund Freud, Karl Abraham, Ernst Simmel, Ernest Jones, *Psikanaliz ve Savaş Nevrozları,* Pinhan Yayınları, İstanbul 2017, p. 32; Anthony Babington, *Shell-Shock: A History of the Changing Attitudes to War Neurosis,* Leo Cooper, London 1997, p. 5; Please look on the psychoneurotic disorders of the Entente soldiers, C. Stanford Read, *Military Psychiatry in Peace and War,* H. K. Lewis and Co., London 1920, p. 140-149.

90 Sigmund Freud, *Savaş ve Ölüm Üzerine*, Oda Yayınları, İstanbul 2018, p. 12.

low morals in the war, and soldiers were behaving in brutality[91]. All the contrary behaviors revealed that the soldiers were disappointed. However, when the Gallipoli ground operations were the scene of struggle beyond the anticipation, that is, when the Turkish army was given a serious and intense response, the British troops were exposed to unexpected stress[92].

Apart from Warneford's letters, the fact that his other military letters were kept under censorship mentally depressed the families and caused undesirable consequences in their state of mind[93]. Therefore, from the letters examined, unique data were obtained because of their uncensored nature. The originality of Warneford's letters is due to his critical selfhood. The critical self is easily detected from the sentences in the letters.

Warneford did not act like an adult when he talked about death cases because according to Freud, only children could talk about death against a human being without any restriction, embarrassment or hesitation[94]. For this reason, when a death occurs in the front, an adult (which could be a soldier or Warneford) was more deeply affected. However, when we look at the descriptions of death sentences in Warneford's letters, it appears that he was under great influence and his expectations went quite badly. Despite this, however, the information he gave about getting rid of the bullet with some minor scratches has led to the conclusion that he survived death. This was about Warneford's subconscious situation because Warneford's subconscious did not lean towards his own death[95].

The frequent resting and returning to home rhetoric towards the end of the letters showed that Warneford had a nostalgia case[96]. The style of the expression of the feelings and thoughts during the imposition of punishments and the death cases in Gallipoli suggested that Warneford was melancholic. Likewise, the words of repellent and hate that defined the war strengthened this possibility. In any case, there should have been a big influence of personality on nostalgia.

Some of the soldiers on the front had symptoms of a psychic disorder according to the description of Warneford (as far as we could explain). These indications showed that there was a war depression among the soldiers although they were lacking in physical descriptions[97]. Although Warneford did not directly express, the existence of some unusual behaviours revealed that the soldiers were not adequately subject to health precaution. He often sent letters to his mother rather than to his father and sister because he was thinking

91 Freud, *ibid.,* p. 17.
92 *Psychiatric Casualties,* Cairo 1941, p. 6.
93 Freud, *ibid.,* p. 15.
94 Freud, *ibid.,* p. 36.
95 Bröckling, *ibid.,* p. 257.
96 Bryan S. Turner, "A Note on Nostalgia", *Theory, Culture & Society,* 4 (1987), p. 149.
97 Elizabeth Ann Danto, "Trauma and the state with Sigmund Freud as witness", *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry,* 48 (2016), p. 52.

of his mother. Warneford should have thought that his mother was upset because he was on the front line. Because of this, his mother might have sent him frequent letters in order to keep him informed. This finding also indicated that Warneford was single in World War I. Because according to military campaign plans, the attack which was to be made within three months has begun to extend. The extension of Gallipoli attack for around one year could have affected the other fronts of the war and also it could have caused tension on families of the soldiers. Therefore, another underlying reason for writing letters often to his mother could have been the feeling of Warneford of this tension. Her mother was informed about both his son and the course of war by Warneford therefore, this idea was one of the reasons that forced him to write letters to his mother.

Also, it was obvious that Warneford was in a shell shock. But here, it is important to ask the question; was the shell shock caused by the excitement or from the hurry of the war? It is obvious that in the first place, Warneford was affected by the dynamism and excitement of the war. In later years, it seems that the desire to live and the hurry caused the shell shock[98]. Happiness and pleasure that he felt in the camps, he went to rest, was an evidence for his suffering from neurotic trauma. Because after going to the rest camps in Mondros and Limni islands, negative descriptions used for the fire line (Gallipoli) were the result of this[99]. The horrors, anxieties, and anger effects that created by the war were reflected on his statements. Moreover, despite the fact that he had no concern with a major explosion or similar event, he displayed neurotic symptoms. There might not have been any similar signs in an ordinary soldier who was more intense in combat[100].

The cases of prisoners being shut in, as described in the letters, indicated that some other soldiers in the British army were also traumatized. The state of mind of the soldiers dominated their bodies because in Warneford's letter dated May 4, 1915, the attacks of British soldiers by shouting like crazy and liking to shout strengthened the chances of getting hysterical[101].

With the stabilization of the war, the soldiers became reluctant to fight. At least Warneford felt like this, and his insensibility towards fighting was another sign of his trauma. Warneford could have been a war neurosis because of the signs such as insomnia during the Dardanelles Wars, anxieties about living, and the sensitivity he showed until the war award was given[102]. For example, disobedience to the worship of a clergyman affiliated with the British Church, and distrust of the clergy can also be cited as neurotic symptoms. Here the question may come to mind: Did Warneford get any hysteria? The frequent mention of rewards or promotion

98 Tracey Loughran, "Shell Shock, Trauma, and the First World War: The Making of a Diagnosis and Its Histories", *Journal of The History of Medicine and Allied Sciences,* 67/I (2010), p. 97.

99 Tony Ashworth, *Trench Warfare 1914-1918: The Live and Let Live System,* Pan Books, London 2000, p. 129.

100 Ferenczi-Freud-Abraham-Simmel-Jones, *ibid.,* p. 69.

101 *Psychiatric Casualties,* p. 5**.**

102 Annie Payson Call, *Nerves and The War,* Little, Brown, and Company, Boston 1918, p. 97.

towards the end of his letters implied that he had a hysteria of reward or salary. Making reference to the training that he took to attend the army before the war and to the games he played during the training was the most obvious sign that he was hysterical. Because the hysterics had suffered memories[103]. Also, Warneford had another symptom. Sometime, there was a banquet in the Abercrombie ship. Here, with his own expression, he englutted, had fun by drinking, and filled his pockets with things like cigars and chocolates. These could be a sign of love, that is, narcissism, that he felt for himself.

According to the finding from the analysis, the spirits or psychosocial status of the soldiers was a factor in the battlefield. It also played an important role in Gallipoli. First, there was a great (favourable or unfavourable) contribution to the course of the war because the spirits level of the soldiers or the behaviours they exhibited was demonstrating the domino impact. Or it could have had a say in the fate of a union. The extension of the war had negative effects on the soldiers' psychology. As a matter of fact, these micro-level analyses of G.W. Nightingale's letters confirm all these assumptions and findings.

Conclusions

This study was conducted at the micro level with historical methods in order to understand and to make sense of World War I. In addition, we sought to understand the attitudes and comportments of the British soldiers in the war. World War I is a typical example of the race of the Western States to colonise in the wake of increasing industrialisation and the need for raw material due to industrialisation. This example was a stage for several important developments that included many firsts and lasts in terms of the history of humanity and warfare. This War, laying the foundation of the present-day versions of weapon technologies, accelerated the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire which had existed for centuries.

While opening up a front on the Gallipoli peninsula, the attacking forces and those who ruled them had aimed to end the World War I in a short time. However, unexpected Turkish resistance, German military technology, and the self-sacrificing efforts of the Turkish led the War to last for four years and also caused the dreams of the Allied Powers to collapse. The prolongation of the War was certainly not favourable in terms of world history and humanism. However, considering Turkish history, it is a sign of what the 'sick man', who was living its last days, could accomplish in defence. The resistance and national spirit that emerged in Gallipoli formed the pivotal point in the resistance against the invasions that would later take place in Anatolia.

Looking at Gallipoli from the perspective of the Turkish history is undoubtedly a correct approach. However, presenting events only chronologically or within the historical course

103 Ferenczi-Freud-Abraham-Simmel-Jones, *ibid.,* p. 67.

would be a shortcoming of this approach. This study aimed to contribute to the literature on the Gallipoli Campaign by reflecting the perspective of those who attacked and were known as the enemy. This contribution was presented not only in the context of historiography, but also in an approach in which the sociological and psychological dimensions of the experiences were addressed. Therefore, while putting forward the viewpoint of the British soldiers, there was no harm in analysing on the basis of the letters of a single individual. This is because this soldier was a mercenary in the British Army and did not hesitate to express his feelings.

While there are studies investigating the psychosocial state of the Turkish troops, the curiosity about the views of soldiers from Britain or the Allied Powers underlies the main objective of this study. As it can be seen from the letters, the presence of some expressions that indicate agreement with the Turks actually reveals that the atmosphere and feelings experienced in the War were the same. However, other facts also resulted in consequences that were hard to endure for both the attacking side and the defending side, e.g. the fact that the soldier whose letters are investigated in this study suffered from tooth loss is interesting in that it reveals the medical problems caused by the War. Certainly, the consumption of chocolates to meet nutritional and energy needs and teeth grinding due to the psychological trauma brought by the War might have caused oral and dental health problems in soldiers, as seen in the case of Warneford. Therefore, the saying *"there is no winner in war"* briefly summarises this situation.

These letters clarify that just like the Turkish soldiers, who were fighting to serve their homeland, the foreigners were fighting to serve the interests of their own countries. We also see that there were religious officials in the British Army, just as in the Turkish Army, who were responsible for encouraging the soldiers to battle. The excitement of the battle during the early days was replaced by a static state as the War started losing its dynamism over time. This led to nervous breakdowns among British soldiers. Therefore, this study reveals that the losses were both physical and psychological.

Although wars are a matter of public disapproval, people are forced to endure and participate in wars because they are convinced by those in charge as a result of the campaigns carried out on the behalf of the state. The most obvious example of this is the Ottoman Empire. It stands as a state that was forced to side with Germany and faced an eventual downfall. Therefore, another fact in Guy Warneford's letters is that that the captured Turks actually hated fighting. Furthermore, these letters show that although war is a disapproved phenomenon and exposes humanity to a difficult process, the states come together and act in a way that violates the rules they create. The armed forces of states acted in contradiction to their own terms and the determinations made during the War; for example, the shooting of the Turkish captives instead of being treated as prisoners violates interstate regulations and is unacceptable in terms of humanism. This situation needs to be re-introduced today in the

context of international relations. Considering the future, the binding qualities of the treaties signed and the relations between the states need to be further promoted. Putting forward arguments instead of presenting counterclaims is the ideal method that should be employed in a cause that is believed to be right.

Another conclusion that drawn from the letters is the presence of two kinds of groups. The first is the ones who are directly in the war and the ones who puts their lives in danger, and the second is the ones staying in their homes in order not to lose their loved ones due to injury, illness or various warfare reasons. Therefore, while this work tries to describe the feelings of a warring soldier on the one hand, it also provides some conclusions against the world in which the people behind the war lived. It is worth mentioning that in the words of Freud, the war stigmatizes people as heroes who is unable to understand their own death, but stigmatizes the strangers as the enemies that need to die. Therefore, the initial hatred was a strong source of motivation, but later it left the place to the will for living and sustenance.

Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.
Conflict of Interest: The author has no conflict of interest to declare.
Grant Support: The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

References

Archival Sources

The Journal of the Royal Munster Fusiliers Association, (2005).

The National Archives (TNA), Public Record Office (PRO), 30/71.

TNA, Recognizances (RG), 13/1190.

Imperial War Museum (IWM), Catalog Number: P./216; 67/351/1; Documents. 12333; Documents. 16517.

Secondary Sources

Aksakal, Mustafa, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914,* Cambridge University Press, New York 2008.

Altaylı, Yasemin, "Vasarnapi Ujsag Örneğinde Macar Basınında I. Dünya Savaşı'nın Ilk Yansımaları ve Osmanlı Devleti'nin Savaşa Girmesi", *Çanakkale Araştırmaları Türk Yıllığı,* 13/19 (2015), 65-92.

Armaoğlu, Fahir, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasî Tarihi,* Alkım Yayınevi, İstanbul 2010.

Ashworth, Tony, *Trench Warfare 1914-1918: The Live and Let Live System,* Pan Books, London 2000.

Aspinall-Oglander, Cecil Faber, *Büyük Harbin Tarihi Çanakkale Gelibolu Askeri Harekâtı,* vol. I, trans. Metin Martı, Arma Yayınları, İstanbul 2005.

Babington, Anthony, *Shell-Shock: A History of the Changing Attitudes to War Neurosis,* Leo Cooper, London 1997.

Bayur, Yusuf Hikmet, *Türk İnkılâbı Tarihi,* II-IV, TTK Yayınları, Ankara 1991.

Bean, Charles Edwin Woodrow, *The Story of Anzac from the Outbreak of War to the End of the First Phase of the Gallipoli Campaign-May 4, 1915,* W.C. Penfold, Sydney 1941.

Both, Allyson, *Postcards from the Trenches,* Oxford University Press, New York 1996.

Bröckling, Ulrich, *Disiplin: Askeri İtaat Üretiminin Sosyolojisi ve Tarihi,* trans. Veysel Atayman, Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul 2001.

Çakmak, Fatih, *Kohort Analizi ile Türkiye'deki İstihdamın Kuşaklara Göre İncelenmesi,* Unpublished Master Thesis, Erzurum 2013.

Call, Annie Payson, *Nerves and the War,* Little, Brown, and Company, Boston 1918.

Clayton, Gerald David, *Britain and the Eastern Question: Missolonghi to Gallipoli,* University of London Press, London 1971.

Danto, Elizabeth Ann, "Trauma and the state with Sigmund Freud as witness", *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry,* 48 (2016), 50-56.

Ferenczi, Sandor - Sigmund Freud- Karl Abraham- Ernst Simmel- Ernest Jones, *Psikanaliz ve Savaş Nevrozları,* Pinhan Yayınları, İstanbul 2017.

Freud, Sigmund, *Savaş ve Ölüm Üzerine,* Oda Yayınları, İstanbul 2018.

Ford, Roger, *Eden to Armageddon: World War I in the Middle East,* Pegasus Books, New York 2010.

Gençoğlu, Aylin Yonca, "Bir Kavram ve Kuram Üretme Stratejisi Olarak Temellendirilmiş Kuram", *Tarih Okulu Dergisi,* XVII (2104), 681-700.

Gilbert, Martin, "Churchill and Gallipoli", *Gallipoli Making History,* edt. Jenny Macleod, London 2004, 14-43.

Granger, Clive William John, **"**Testing for Casuality: A Personal Viewpoint", *Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control*, 2 (1980), 329-352.

Hart, B. H. Liddell, *History of the First World War,* Pan Books, London 1972.

Hewitson, Mark, *Germany and the Causes of the First World War,* Berg Publishers, Oxford 2004.

Karabekir*,* Kazım, *I. Cihan Harbine Neden Girdik,* vol. I, Emre Yayınları, İstanbul 1995.

Karal, Enver Ziya, *Osmanlı Tarihi,* vol. IX, TTK Yayınları, Ankara 1999.

Kış, Salih, "Birinci Dünya Savaşının Seyrini Değiştiren Goeben ve Breslau Gerçeği", *Çanakkale Araştırmaları Türk Yıllığı,* 15/22 (2017), 63-86.

Kon, Kadir, "Max von Oppenheim, the Architect of the Islamic Strategy of Germany and His Three Related Memorandums", *Turkish Journal of History,* 53 (2011/1), 211-252.

Küçük, Evren, "Knockaloe Kampında Bir Osmanlı Diplomatı Reşid Sadi Beyin Esareti (1915-1918)", *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, XII/I.1 (2017), 83-108.

Küçük, Evren, *Türkiye-İsveç İlişkileri (1914-1938),* Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 2017.

Leese, Peter, *Shell Shock: Traumatic Neurosis and the British Soldiers of the First World War,* Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2002.

Loughran, Tracey, "Shell Shock, Trauma, and the First World War: The Making of a Diagnosis and Its Histories", *Journal of The History of Medicine and Allied Sciences,* 67/I (2010), 94-119.

Mombauer, Annika, *The Origins of the First World War,* Longman, London 2002.

Mott, Frederick Walker, *War Neuroses and Shell Shock,* Oxford University Press, London 1919.

Nightingale, Guy Warneford, *Çanakkale Cephesinden Mektuplar,* trans. Yahya Yeşilyurt-Recep Gülmez, Ötüken Neşriyat, İstanbul 2014.

Orbay, Rauf, *Siyasî Hatıralar,* Örgün Yayınevi, İstanbul 2009.

Özçelik, Mücahit, "İtilaf Devletlerinin Çanakkale'yi Tahliyesinin Türk Basınına Yansımaları", *Çanakkale Araştırmaları Türk Yıllığı,* 13/I.18 (2015), 447-464.

Psychiatric Casualties, Cairo 1941.

Read, C. Stanford, *Military Psychiatry in Peace and War,* H. K. Lewis and Co., London 1920.

Reid, Fiona, "Losing Face: Trauma and Maxillofacial Injury in the First World War", *Pyschological Trauma and the Legacies of the First World War,* ed. Jason Crouthamel-Peter Leese, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 25-47.

Sanders, Liman von, *Türkiye'de Beş Sene*, trans. Eşref Bengi Özbilen, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul 2007.

Scott, James Brown, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907,* Oxford University Press, New York 1915.

Strachan, Hew, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı,* trans. Ümit Hüsrev Yolsal, Ankara 2014.

Suttie, Andrew, *Rewriting the First World War: Lloyd George, Politics and Strategy 1914-1918*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2005.

Temel, Mehmet, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı Yıllarında 1907 Tarihli Lahey Sözleşmelerine Aykırı Davranan İtilaf Devletlerine Karşı Osmanlı Devleti'nin Aldığı Bazı Önlemler", *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları,* I.6 (2004), 71-85.

Türkdoğan, Orhan, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk Toplum Yapısı*, Çamlıca Yayınları, İstanbul 2002.

Turner, Bryan S., "A Note on Nostalgia", *Theory, Culture & Society,* 4 (1987), 147-156.

Yalçın, Zafer-Çakmak, Fatih, **"**Türkiye'de Kamu Sağlık Harcamalarının İnsani Gelişim Üzerindeki Etkisi" *Atatürk Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi,* 30/4 (2016), 705-723.

Yıldız, Gültekin, "How to Defend the Turkish Straits Against the Russians: A century-long 'Eastern Question' in British defence planning, 1815-1914", *The Mariner's Mirror,* 105/1 (2019), 40-59.