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Expertise, and Labor in Turkey

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# Afterlives of Ottoman Orphans in Germany during World War I: Microhistorical and Biographical Approaches to Technology, Expertise, and Labor in Turkey

Nazan Maksudyan

## ABSTRACT

This article applies a (micro)biographical approach to the life stories of two Ottoman orphans sent to Germany to receive vocational training during World War I, Ali and İsmail Dağlı. Coupling family archives, oral and visual sources with state documentation, I elaborate on the post-Ottoman afterlives of German know-how, education, and capital in the social and economic history of Turkey. Biographies of Dağlı brothers show that the successors of both empires restored former channels of circulation of expertise, technology, and labor. Especially seen in the context of Jewish emigration, the life and work history of the brothers elucidate the positive reception of their German education, the importance of their position as “cultural intermediaries,” and the extent of Turkish-German business entanglements.

## Introduction

In the past decade I have written extensively about the Ottoman orphan children who were sent to Germany during the World War I.<sup>1</sup> A few people reached out to me to say that they had great uncles, grandfathers, or great grandfathers who went to Germany as apprentices.<sup>2</sup> The most fortuitous of these contacts came at the beginning of the Covid-19 lockdowns in April 2020. I received a short message from Ateş Dağlı informing me that he had read my publications and that both his father and uncle were among the orphans sent to Germany. I got extremely excited, as he was not talking about a grandfather who had passed away long ago, but his own father. We started to correspond and, as a result, I got access to the modest family archive and the remarkable results of Mr. Ateş Dağlı's careful research.<sup>3</sup>

This article takes a closer look at the life stories of these two brothers, Ali Haydar Dağlı and İsmail Necmi Dağlı, two of the orphans who went to Germany to receive vocational training during World War I. Following a (micro)biographical approach, I zoom into the life and work trajectories of Dağlı brothers during their four years in Germany, after their return to a dissolving Ottoman Empire, and their adult lives in republican Turkey. Reassessing my earlier research, I want to particularly question how different methodologies and sources can add nuance to our interpretations. The conclusions of my original research, which was largely based on German and Ottoman state archives, pointed to an overwhelming picture of “failure” in official accounts from both sides. In the present article, I construct the history of Ottoman apprentices in Germany with the methods of microhistory, family history, and oral history through family archives, oral sources, and visual documentation. In this version, the life story reconstructions of Ali and İsmail Dağlı illustrate the “success” that both the German and Ottoman sides of this plan of long-term child displacement hoped to bring about. Furthermore, the Dağlı brothers’ careers in republican Turkey show that the postimperial successors of both empires reinstated and reinvigorated already existing channels of exchange of technology, expertise, capital, and labor.

### **Blue Caps and Cloaks: Ottoman Orphans in Germany during World War I**

Political, military, and economic alliances between the Ottoman and German Empires, which were already strong at the end of the nineteenth century, further intensified during World War I. These took the form of provisions of loans, procurement of arms and weapons, military training, and release of concessions for the construction and management of public works. With the rise of the CUP (Committee of Union and Progress) to power and the impact of the Germanophiles in the Ottoman administration, Germany became an inspiration in many fields.<sup>4</sup> Educational journals were filled with articles on German education, economy, and industry.<sup>5</sup> The German model was embraced for the improvement of technical education and industrial development.<sup>6</sup> As part of educational collaboration and exchange, hundreds of boys were sent to the Reich. The German Military Command and Foreign Office pursued good relations with the Ottoman government and tried to build channels of German cultural influence. German officials were appointed to the ministries to provide expertise. The German adviser of the Ottoman Ministry of Education worked out a new law on basic education, devising a large-scale reform program. German professors were appointed to Istanbul University in 1915 to teach and to contribute to its reform.<sup>7</sup>

The transfer of orphan children from the Ottoman Empire to work as apprentices in crafts, mining, and agriculture in Germany began in the middle of the war. The designed project implied large-scale and long-distance child displacement. In late 1916, Minister of War Enver Pasha informed the German military attaché that the

government wanted to send 5,000 to 10,000 male orphans aged twelve to eighteen years to Germany. The project was launched swiftly with enthusiasm—more than 300 trade apprentices sent in April 1917 were followed by 200 mining apprentices who arrived in Berlin a few months later. However, around 150 agricultural apprentices, who were sent in the spring of 1918, had to quickly return before they could settle. Although there were negotiations regarding sending girls for training, they lasted too long for the fulfillment of this phase of the project. The Ottoman government had only sent about fifteen girls for higher education.<sup>8</sup> The negotiations to establish an office of supervision (*Aufsichtsamt*) in Berlin to respond to the needs of Ottoman students and apprentices could also not be finalized.<sup>9</sup>

The German side's acceptance of a project that required such serious preparation and financial resources was driven by the desire to gain influence over the Ottoman population, which Malte Fuhrmann has termed a “semi-colonial mentality.”<sup>10</sup> The goal of creating a generation that is familiar and fascinated with the German language and culture was very important in the medium term. The “peaceful imperialists” (*friedlichen Imperialisten*), as Jürgen Kloosterhuis calls them, were concerned with pushing back the overpowering cultural influence of France through “German educational work in the Orient.”<sup>11</sup> The Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung (DTV, German-Turkish Association), which was founded before the war under the protectorate of the Foreign Office, was the planning body behind the Ottoman-German child transfer. The long-term secretary of the DTV, a young journalist named Ernst Jäckh (1875–1959)—also called “Türken-Jäckh”—was the mastermind behind the training of Ottoman youth in Germany.<sup>12</sup>

On the Ottoman side, what prompted the government to implement such a plan was the condition of the *Darüleytams* (state orphanages), which were having difficulty meeting the expenses of the more than 10,000 orphans they sheltered.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the apprentice scheme also resonated with the genocidal policies of Young Turks to exterminate the non-Muslim populations of the Empire (largely artisans and craftsmen).<sup>14</sup> Sending apprentices to Germany for vocational training would remedy the expected shortage of skilled labor, as well as fulfilling the Unionist aspiration of training a Turkish Muslim bourgeoisie and establishing a “national economy.”<sup>15</sup>

### The Dağlı Brothers

Ali, the older of the two brothers, was born in 1900 in the village of Demirköy between Lalapaşa and the Bulgarian border near Edirne.<sup>16</sup> His brother İsmail was born in 1902.<sup>17</sup> Their father Ahmet had migrated from the village of (U)rumbeyli (Greevitsi) in the Deliorman (Ludogorie) region of Bulgaria to Demirköy in 1888 when he was sixteen years old. The family made a living from farming, but Ahmet was also a skilled carpenter, wheelwright, and spoon carver, known also as a *kaşıkçı* (spoon maker). Ahmet was drafted into the army during the Balkan Wars and did not return. The

family was informed that he had been “lost in battle.” While the Bulgarian army was advancing on Edirne, Ali and İsmail’s mother Azize decided to leave the village with her two sons and take refuge in the city. The family was in Edirne when the city was occupied by the Bulgarian and Serbian armies (March 1913), and memories of the occupation remained vivid in the minds of the brothers. Ali recounted how he was spotted and chased by a Bulgarian cavalryman while taking home a blanket he had stolen from a warehouse abandoned by the retreating Ottoman army.

In July 1913, the city was again under Ottoman control, but Edirne was mainly in ruins and dilapidated. Therefore, Azize and her two sons moved again and settled in Istanbul (ca. 1913–14). State orphanages established by the Directorate of Orphanages as of early 1915 would become the new residences of Ali and İsmail in Istanbul. The family does not have detailed information about which *darüleytam* the siblings were placed in or whether they were placed together. However, when examined in the context of the first orphan convoy sent from Istanbul to Germany, it seems most likely that they were housed in the Kadıköy Boys’ Orphanage (Kadıköy Zükür Darüleytamı), which was established in January 1915 in the occupied premises of the French Catholic missionary school, Collège de Saint Joseph. The institution, which housed only twenty-six boys when it first opened, eventually became the largest *darüleytam* in Istanbul, providing vocational training in well-organized industrial departments for 700 to 1,000 boys. The first group of trade apprentices to be sent to Germany was selected almost exclusively from among the inmates of this Kadıköy Orphanage<sup>18</sup> (Table 1).

When it was announced that some *darüleytam* boys would be sent to Germany, Azize wanted her sons to be included in the group and made efforts in Istanbul in this direction.<sup>19</sup> In the end, the two brothers were included in the first group of more than 300 craft apprentices who departed by train on April 17, 1917. A note written by the younger brother İsmail on the back of a photograph taken in Bromberg confirms the date of their departure.<sup>20</sup> Since the *Balkanzug*, the three-day passenger train, was discarded as an option to decrease the expenses, the boys had to spend ten days in a military freight train (*Sonderzug*) and arrived at the Berlin Friedrichstraße Station on April 27, 1917.

Before departing for different workplaces, the orphans were housed in one of the City Council’s quarters at Sophienstraße 34. Soon after their arrival, they were gathered in the courtyard of the public primary school at Koppenplatz and were greeted by political representatives from both countries. They were all clothed with “shirts and trousers in the European style,” with a “blue pelerine as a coat and a blue fez-like cap on the head.”<sup>21</sup> It is certain that Ali and İsmail were included in this group photo (Figure 1). After a short stay in Berlin, the boys were sent to their masters assigned by the German Chamber of Commerce in dialogue with the DTV. They ended up in ten separate districts, specifically Augsburg (20), Breslau (45), Bromberg (27), Düsseldorf

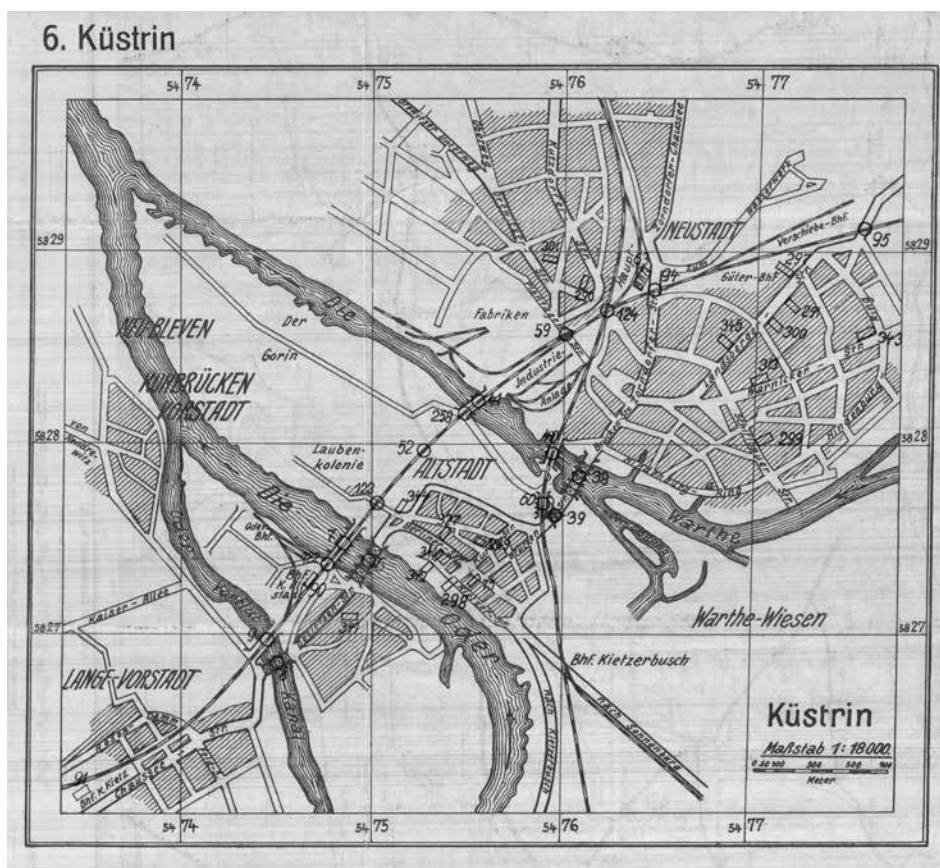
**Table 1. State orphanages in Istanbul (1917)**

Name	Personnel	Administrative personnel	Teachers	Students
Kadıköy Boys	109	11	26	1,000
Galata/Beyoğlu Industrial Boys	37	7	10	220
Yedikule Boys	61	5	8	140
Haydarpaşa Industrial Boys		7	6	100
Kadıköy Kindergarten (mixed)	70	9	9	400
Kadıköy Shoemaking Department (Boys)		3	1	50
Büyükdere Boys	19	8	4	140
Hoca İsmail Mahir Efendi Girls	13	17	28	800
Bebek Industrial Girls	16	5	15	200
Total	325	72	107	3,050
Total Girls	29	22	43	1,000
Total Boys	296	50	64	2,050

Source: BOA, MF.EYT., 7/51, 5/L/1335 (25.07.1917).



Figure 1. Ottoman Trade Apprentices in Berlin. *Zeitbilder* 35, May 3, 1917.



Map 1. Küstrin. [http://maps.mapywig.org/m/City\\_plans/Central\\_Europe/Kuestrin\\_AnL\\_zur\\_H.Dv.g.40-66\\_1933\\_LoC\\_U115\\_G3\\_A32.jpg](http://maps.mapywig.org/m/City_plans/Central_Europe/Kuestrin_AnL_zur_H.Dv.g.40-66_1933_LoC_U115_G3_A32.jpg)

(35), Frankfurt an der Oder (38), Hannover (29), Mannheim (20), Oldenburg (21), Schwerin (36), and Ulm (43).

Ali's subsequent train ride from Berlin in the direction of Frankfurt (Oder) (roughly 100 km) was relatively short. He was settled in the house of a master blacksmith named Paul Schlöricke in the town of Küstrin (today Kostrzyn in Poland) at the confluence of the Oder and Warta rivers. Küstrin's address book from 1913 lists the name and address of Ali's master Paul Schlöricke. His profession is listed as not an ordinary blacksmith but as a farrier with the rank of a cavalry lieutenant ("königlich geprüfter Oberfahnschmied").<sup>22</sup> Schlöricke family's house at Schiffbauerstr. 7 is located in the part of town known as Küstrin-Neustadt, northeast of Warta (Map 1).

In a photograph taken in Schlöricke's workshop (Figure 2), Ali (third from right, arms crossed) poses with his colleagues. Although it is slightly to the left side of the



Figure 2. Ali Dağlı (third from right, arms crossed) in Schlöricke workshop. Photograph provided by Ateş Dağlı, Family Archive.

photograph, the picture is centered around an anvil with a large steel tire on it resting on a block of wood. The five men are holding hammers of different sizes for forging iron. Since clothes of craftsmen indicate their status, one may surmise that the men wearing caps and standing on the either side of the wheel are journeymen. It is also possible that Paul Schlöricke himself is the person whose cap is different from those two and whose hammer is resting on the steel tire. The resemblance between him and his children in the photographs the family sent to Ali in the 1920s and 1930s supports this view.

Unlike Ali's closeness to the capital city, İsmail had to make a relatively long journey of 400 km to go to Bromberg (today Bydgoszcz, Poland) where he became an apprentice to a gardener named Herr Pauls. It is easy to identify İsmail in the table prepared by Hans Hermann Russack, high-level administrative staff of the DTV, in 1918 as the only gardener apprenticed in Bromberg. As Küstrin was a small town, Ali must have been listed under Frankfurt (Oder) (Table 2).

İsmail also had a photograph of him and his colleagues taken during work in the gardens (Figure 3). He is down on his knees in front of nine standing gardeners. The whole group is in the middle of a beautifully grown tulip field. As part of his three-year long apprenticeship (*Ausbildung*), İsmail also received training in forestry and botany in Bromberg. His profession recorded on his marriage certificate dated 1930 indicates



**Table 2. Locations and specialization of handicraft apprentices in Germany (1918)**

Profession	Total	Augsburg	Berlin	Breslau	Bromberg	Düsseldorf	Frankfurt (O.)	Hannover	Mannheim	Oldenburg	Schwerin	Ulm	Weimar
<i>Metalwork</i>													
Smithery	27	3	2	4	5	2	2	3	—	2	—	4	—
Blacksmith	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Coppersmith	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Locksmith	5	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—
Engine fitter	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
Mechanic	7	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	4	—
Machine building	4	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
Machine technicians	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Electrical technician	5	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—
Plumber	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
File cutter	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Iron molder	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Iron lathe operator	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Metalworker	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	64												
<i>Woodwork</i>													
Carpenter (Tischler)	24	2	3	3	5	—	3	3	—	1	1	3	—
Cabinet maker	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Modeler	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wagon maker	13	1	1	—	3	2	—	3	—	1	2	—	—
Carpenter (Zimmerer)	3	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Woodturner	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Total	44												
<i>Clothing works</i>													
Tailor	18	1	—	—	1	5	3	4	—	—	2	—	2
Shoemaker	9	—	—	—	—	1	5	1	1	1	—	—	—
Total	27												

*continued*

Table 2. *continued*

Profession	Total	Augsburg	Berlin	Breslau	Bromberg	Düsseldorf	Frankfurt (O.)	Hannover	Mannheim	Oldenburg	Schwerin	Ulm	Weimar
<i>Foodstuff works</i>													
Baker	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Miller	10	—	—	1	—	—	—	6	1	—	1	1	—
Total	11												
<i>Miscellaneous</i>													
Optician	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—
Watchmaker	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Painter	6	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	—
Mason	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Basket maker	4	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glass polisher	4	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glazier	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Saddler	6	1	—	—	—	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	1
Furrier	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bookbinder	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
Printer	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
Hairdresser	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gardener	2	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	36												
Overall	182	19	9	26	15	16	17	20	8	9	9	30	4

Source: Hans Hermann Russack, "Die türkischen Lehrlinge," in *Türkische Jugend in Deutschland: Jahresbericht der Schülerabteilung der Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung* (Berlin: Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung e.V., 1918), 52-53.

his specialization as "sapling expert at the School of Forestry" (*Orman mektebinde fidan mütehassısı*). The terminology of *expert* (*mütehassıs*) definitely refers to an officially recognized certificate that İsmail brought along with him.

In another photograph taken on October 4, 1918, commemorating the 51st birthday of Herr Pauls, İsmail's master, and his silver (25th) wedding anniversary, everyone is dressed in their best clothes (Figure 4a). İsmail is the young man between the young girl dressed in white and another young woman. His elegant shirt, jacket, and necktie, and his position close to the center of the photograph are utterly surprising. He appears more like a child of the family than an apprentice working for room and board. It comes as no surprise that İsmail later said he was always treated as "one of



Figure 3. İsmail Dağlı (down on his knees) and his colleagues in the tulip gardens. Photograph provided by Ateş Dağlı, Family Archive

the family” by the Paulses. The text “October 4, 1918, in Bromberg” is inscribed on the back of the photograph, in large letters; the inscription was likely made shortly after the photograph was taken (Figure 4b). It does not seem to be İsmail’s handwriting. The note in German in small print in the lower right appears to have been written by İsmail in early 1920. He wrote: “Since January 1920, this city belongs to the Republic of Poland and its name is Bydgoszcz [*sic*], pronounced ‘Bidgoschisch.’ The population of the city is 65,000.”<sup>23</sup> On April 17, 1987, İsmail Dağlı added another note in Turkish on top. He states that when this photograph was taken, one year and four months had passed since his arrival in the city on May 1, 1917, that his age was sixteen and a half, and that he had started smoking around this time.<sup>24</sup>

### Migrant Children’s Life Stories

My earlier writings on this overseas apprenticeship project stressed the disappointments of orphan apprentices. I focused on the severe lack of organization and hasty and insufficient preparations of the Ottoman Ministry of Education and the Directorate of Orphanages. In an attempt to approach the question of child migration to Germany from the perspective of (subaltern) children and to bring forward the voices and experiences of the orphan boys themselves, I have unearthed children’s voices from the complaints they filed and from their escape stories, as well as from the DTV’s reports prepared by local administrators or central supervisors. In line with postcolonial theoretical frameworks, I looked for traces of agency of the disem-

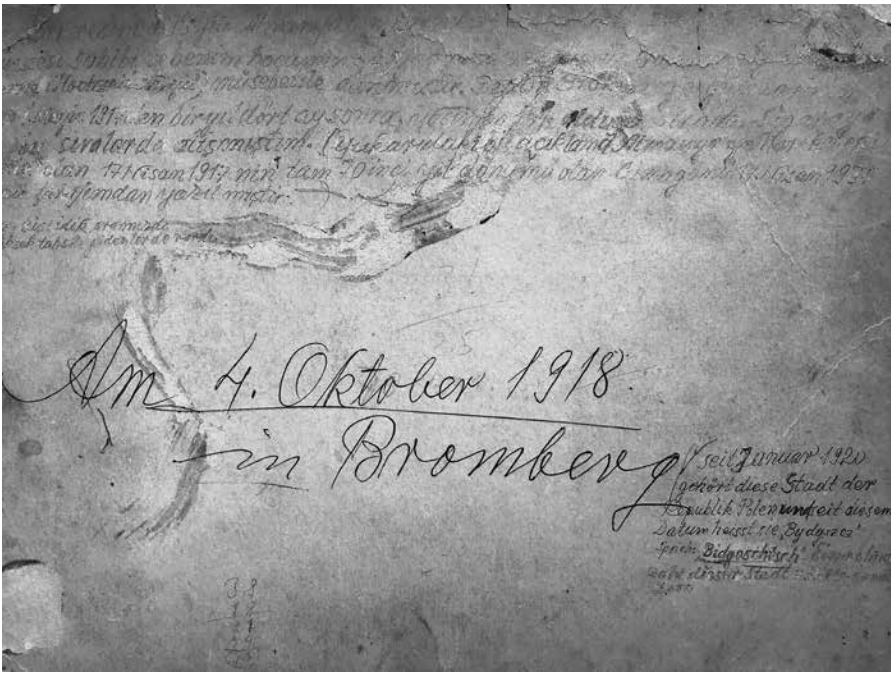


Figure 4a. (top) Pauls couple’s wedding anniversary, Bromberg, October 4, 1918. Photograph provided by Ateş Dağlı, Family Archive. (bottom) Backside of the photograph with notes. Photograph provided by Ateş Dağlı, Family Archive.

powered. Reconfiguring the narrative from the perspectives of the boys themselves allowed for the possibility to give another meaning as to why they were labeled “lazy,” “disobedient,” or “problematic” by their masters. I argued that many of these children suffered from poverty and felt deceived because of their exclusion and foreignness as migrant workers. They were also deeply disillusioned with the limited opportunities in Germany. Most of them could not pursue the vocational training they were promised in the first place. Their hopes for a better life were shattered with the financial and cultural hardships as well as the prejudice and ill treatment—especially in the mines.

Nonetheless, the experiences of Ali and İsmail resonated more with the relatively happy life story of Ahmed Talib, another orphan apprentice who spent his life as a shoemaker in Fürstenwalde.<sup>25</sup> The Dağlı brothers’ recollections were full of happy moments and consecutive success and achievement in their adult lives. Ali and İsmail never mentioned any difficulties about their apprenticeship in Germany. The two brothers never mentioned any problems with their diet. Nor did they allude to any conflicts arising from their religious beliefs or from having to stay with Christian families.<sup>26</sup> Far from having any conflicts, both brothers had very cordial relations with their host families. Their masters were extremely pleased with their apprentices, who lived and worked with them for four and a half years, first as apprentices and then as journeymen. When their vocational training was completed, they were both offered jobs to stay with the host families instead of returning to Turkey.

Both Ali and İsmail stayed in touch with the Schlöricke and Pauls families after leaving Germany. There are seven photographs in the family archive with inscriptions on the backs that were sent to them from Germany in the 1920s and 1930s. The first photograph that reached Ali was sent by his master’s daughter Erika on April 9, 1922 (Figure 5). Erika has written on the back “a memento of my confirmation” (“zum Andenken an meine Konfirmation”). Dressed in her best outfit and ribboned shoes for this special occasion, fourteen-year-old Erika posed with a Bible in her hand between an elaborately carved chair and a small table. From the stamp on the back of the photo, we can tell that it was taken in the studio of Hans Baudert in Cüstrin-Neustadt. The second photo, which might as well have been sent at the same time, we see Edith, Erika’s sister, holding her *Schultüte* (school cone) and smiling for the camera on her first day of school (Figure 6). The note on the back reads “a memento of Edith’s first school day.” Both photographs that depict an important life stage in these young girls’ lives attest to Ali’s familial relations with the Schlörickes.

Another photograph was sent to Ali by Werner Grosbernd, who was probably Ali’s colleague in the workshop, and signed as “Cüstrin, March 11, 1923” (Figure 7). Werner is posed in the same studio as Erika, in front of the same set, and must have been thirteen or fourteen years old when the photograph was taken. Considering that the studio photos were taken only on special occasions in the early twentieth century, it is possible that Werner sent an older photograph—perhaps from his day



Figure 5. Erika Schlöricke's confirmation photo, April 9, 1922. Photograph provided by Ateş Dağlı, Family Archive.



Figure 6. Edith Schlöricke's first day in school (Schultüte).  
Photograph provided by Ateş Dağlı, Family Archive

of confirmation—rather than a current one. The short note on the back reads: “Dear Ali, I am sending you my picture as a memento. I hope you are well. Please write to me again soon.” The use of “again” (*nochmal*) in the last sentence implies that Werner had received a letter from Ali before. Under his signature, he also notes that Else sends her regards. The last photograph Ali received is dated February 18, 1936, and shows his master's older son Erwin Schlöricke standing in a soldier's uniform outside on a sunny day (Figure 8).



Figure 7. Werner Grosbernd's photo sent to Ali, Cüstrin, March, 11, 1923. Photograph provided by Ateş Dağlı, Family Archive.



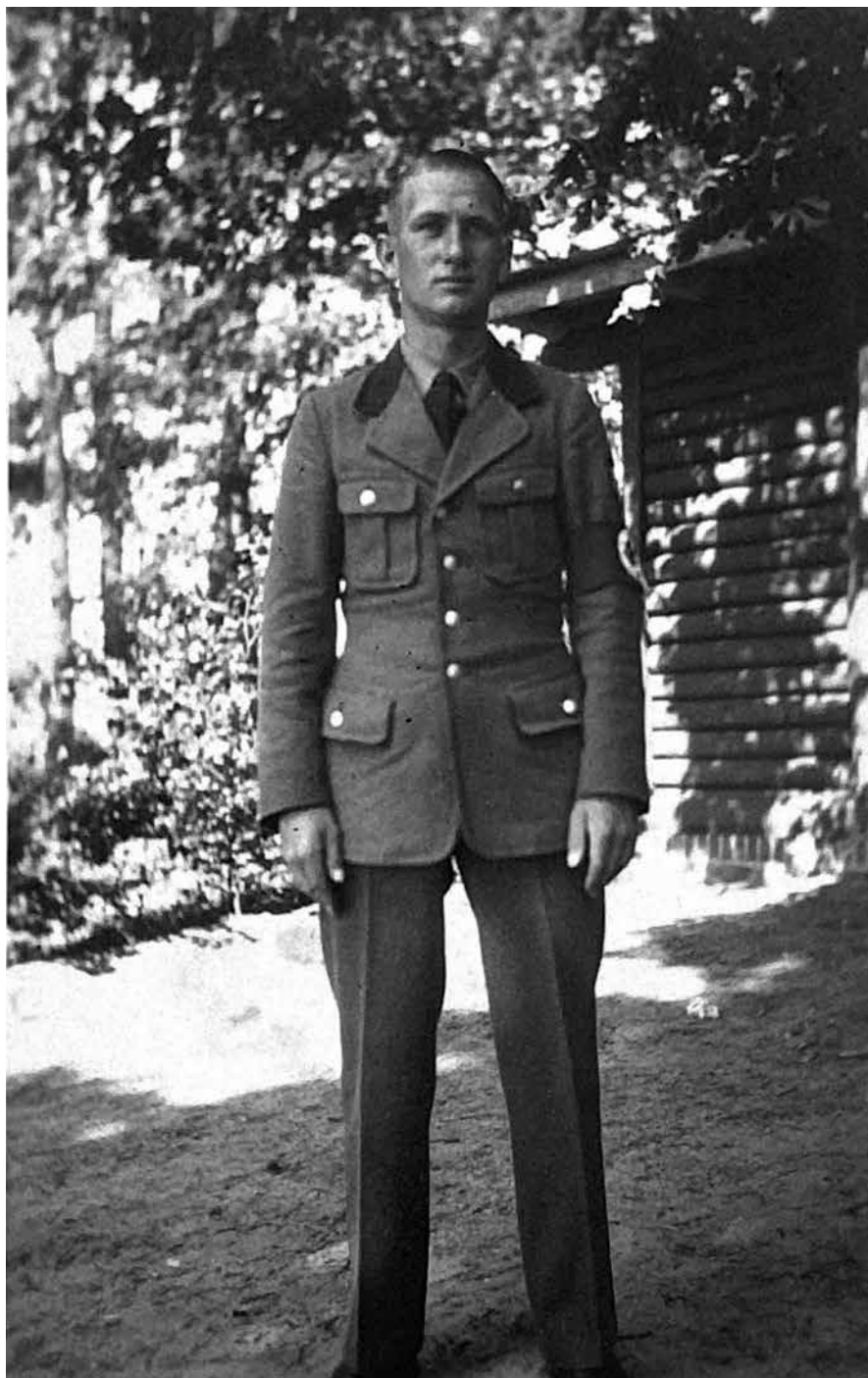


Figure 8. Erwin Schlöricke in military uniform, February 18, 1936. Photograph provided by Ateş Dağlı, Family Archive.



Figure 9. Mahmud Nedim's photo sent to İsmail from Bromberg. Photograph provided by Ateş Dağlı, Family Archive.

In the family archive, there are two photographs sent to the younger brother İsmail. Both of them are unfortunately undated, but they must have been sent in the 1920s. The first photograph shows a boy in his teenage years, smartly dressed in a vest, three-buttoned jacket, and bow tie, and with neatly combed hair (Figure 9). From the note on the back of the photograph, we understand that his name is Mahmud Nedim and that he sent the photograph from Bromberg. DTV's records show that in 1918 there was a total of 15 apprentices in Bromberg. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Mahmud Nedim also belonged to the first group of Ottoman orphans that arrived with Ali and İsmail in April 1917, and thus, he was one of the apprentices placed with a master in the city. Although the details of the pin on his left collar are not very clear, it may possibly signify the logo of the trade he was apprenticed to. İsmail and Mahmud were probably seeing each other on their days off and spending time together in Bromberg. The fact that Mahmud wrote in German on the back of the picture indicates that he was one of the apprentices who attended parttime or night courses to improve his language skills.

In the other photograph sent to İsmail, signed by Adolf Niemann but unaddressed and undated, a group of twelve people, two of them women and two children, are in a setting like an orchard or garden (Figure 10). The note on the back of the photograph says: "a memento from your colleague Adolf Niemann" ("Zum Andenken an deinen Kollegen Adolf Niemann"). İsmail worked with him (and others in the picture) in Herr Pauls's garden.

## The Return

My archival research in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives and different German archives, particularly the Political Archive of the Foreign Affairs (Auswärtiges Amt) and Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv), pointed out that 320 boys, about half of the students and apprentices, returned in 1919, but the DTV still had 250 orphan apprentices and 230 students as its dependents.<sup>27</sup> A report sent by the Directorate of Orphanages to the Ministry of Interior in October 1919 underlined that the orphans in Germany were "discharged from" (*ilişikleri kesilen*) the jurisdiction (and protection) of the Directorate. The supervision of all Ottoman students and orphan apprentices in Germany were "transferred" (*devredilmiş*) to the authority of the military, and they were now "protected" (*himaye*) by military inspectors.<sup>28</sup> Lieutenant Şükrü, who was responsible for the supervision of the apprenticed orphans, reported in February 1921 that 139 orphans, even though deprived of proper state protection and guidance, were "persevering and endeavoring in their training" and apprenticeship in Germany.<sup>29</sup>

Two of these "persevering and endeavoring" boys were Ali and İsmail. The primary reason for these orphans to stay in Germany despite the arrangements made for them to return along with soldiers and diplomatic officials was to complete their training and obtain a master's certificate. According to the training contract signed



Figure 10. Adolf Niemann and colleagues. Photograph provided by Ateş Dağlı, Family Archive.

between the Chambers of Commerce and Industry and Arif Cemil Bey, inspector of apprentices from orphanages (*Darüleytam mutemedi*)<sup>30</sup> at the Ottoman Embassy in 1917, the orphans were to work for three years as apprentices without pay and after that take the “journeyman’s exam” (*Gesellenprüfung*). When they passed their exam, they would be able to spend their fourth year working with the same master as a journeyman for pay, and they would later be entitled to become masters. After four years, they were expected to either learn factory operations or return to Turkey.<sup>31</sup> So, it was assumed that the first convoy of Ottoman orphans would stay for at least four years.<sup>32</sup> The conclusion of the war with the defeat of the Central Powers two years after the arrival of the orphans disappointed both the children who consented to become migrant workers with high hopes and for the two states that were parties to the agreement.

The life course of Ahmed Talib, the above-mentioned apprentice, who not only completed his training, but also remained in Germany as a master, was so far treated as an exception. The methodology of (micro)biography inspired me to extend my archival research, both in terms of its chronological span and available archives. I discovered in the Secret [Prussian] State Archives (*Geheimes Staatsarchiv*) the estate (*Nachlass*) of a former Board Member of the DTV who kept the correspondence related to the Association well beyond 1919. The minutes of the Board Meeting in November 1921 is particularly interesting. DTV conducted a survey that summer “to

find out who wanted to go back to Turkey and who wanted to stay in Germany” among the craft apprentices who passed their exams.<sup>33</sup> The outcome was that about forty apprentices out of seventy who received a certificate wanted to stay in Germany.<sup>34</sup> This means almost a quarter of the initial 300 (1917) and half of the remaining 182 (1918) trade apprentices completed their training. Further research into the lives of these forty non-returnee orphans would open up new research questions regarding the origins of labor migration from Turkey to Germany.

The Dağlı brothers, who spent four and a half years with their masters, returned to Istanbul at the end of 1921. On their return journey, they first went to Trieste by train and then took a boat from there.

### **German Expertise and Technical Education from the Ottoman Era to “New Turkey”**

In the life stories of the Dağlı brothers, as successfully certified masters, the apprentice scheme served well the dreams of the Unionists to train pioneers and skilled labor for a “national economy” that was based on the German model of technical education. Ali and İsmail were among the living proof of the relative success of ambitious educational cooperation between the German and Ottoman Empires. In early 1922, while the Ottoman sultanate and government were not yet declared null and void, the brothers were employed at the Halkalı High School of Agriculture, whose institutional history points to significant German involvement both in its establishment and operation phases. Starting from the 1880s, graduates of the school were sent to Germany for further studies.<sup>35</sup> Even though there were interruptions and difficulties during the war years, promising graduates of the school continued to be sent to Germany starting in the early 1920s.<sup>36</sup> Upon their return, they worked as assistants and translators for the German faculty members at the Institute.

Based on the records of the Ottoman Archives, İsmail is on the list of “Students to be employed at the Halkalı High School of Agriculture” dated March 14, 1338 (1922) sent from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Darülaceze Directorate.<sup>37</sup> He is recorded as İsmail Necmi Efendi, “father’s name: Ahmed, hometown: Edirne, city he stayed while in Germany: Bromberg, age: 19, and trade: gardener.” Several other returnee apprentices were also commissioned to work as masters in the High School. Although Ali does not appear in this document, it is highly probable that the brothers petitioned to be put into the same institution, and thus be united after several years of living apart. A tragic event from 1922 confirms that Ali also worked at the Halkalı High School as a blacksmith master.<sup>38</sup> On October 29, 1922, a senior student lost his life when the Fordson tractor he was driving overturned on rough terrain. Years later, Ali took his son Ateş Dağlı to Halkalı Cemetery and told him that he crafted the wrought iron fence around student’s tomb.<sup>39</sup> Both brothers continued to work in their capacity as masters until the school was closed down in 1928.<sup>40</sup>

The closure of Halkalı Agricultural School elucidates the inherited role of German expertise from the Ottoman era to the “new Turkey.” The school was closed in 1928 based on a law for the “improvement of agricultural education.”<sup>41</sup> In fact, the closure was motivated by the expert opinion of a German commission, made up of scientists from the fields of plant cultivation and agricultural economics. German experts suggested a largescale restructuring of agricultural education in the country, including inauguration of new institutes, as well as the opening of research and application fields in various regions for different agricultural products.<sup>42</sup> As a direct outcome of this policy paper, the “Ankara Higher Institute for Agriculture” (Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü), started its activities already *de facto* in 1930, as the “Ankara Higher School of Agriculture.” The Institute was officially inaugurated in 1933 and essentially functioned as a German higher education establishment abroad. The faculty members (professors) were all brought from Germany and the classes were taught in German. “Turkish” assistants to professors, who had studied in Germany and were fluent in German, simultaneously translated lectures into Turkish (and questions into German). In the 1930s, the “native staff” working as branch chiefs, chief assistants, and assistants totaled thirty-nine people, curiously twenty-nine of whom were Halkalı graduates.<sup>43</sup> The emerging culture of expertise in the 1930s, therefore, relied on both invited German experts and Turkish cadres educated abroad. In the first few decades of the Institute, thirty-eight graduates were sent to Germany for higher education in agriculture. After their return, twenty-six of them were employed at the Institute.<sup>44</sup> In other words, there was an organic continuity between these two establishments, both in terms of German expertise and insistence on “natives” to be trained in Germany.

### Post-Ottoman Afterlives of German Entanglements

The Dağlı Brothers’ life stories attest to the post-Ottoman afterlives of restoring earlier channels and reinventing new channels of technology transfer, expertise, and circulation of capital and labor.<sup>45</sup> Diplomatic relations between German and the Ottoman governments, interrupted after the Mudros Armistice, resumed with the Turkish-German Treaty of Friendship (1924), as well as trade agreements of 1927 and 1930. Trade between Germany and Turkey had noticeably intensified from both sides in the 1920s, and Germany became the Turkish state’s most important trading partner by 1933. The prewar practice of scientific exchange by means of sending students to Germany and experts to Turkey was also resumed in the postwar era. For the purposes of this paper, I will look closer at the fields of (industrial) agriculture and forestry. Numerous German agricultural experts were invited to visit the country and to engage with longer-term cooperation. As Heinrich Hartmann notes, the offer to be involved in “Turkish agricultural reform” movement was extremely attractive for Germany, since the country, if not the entire region, possessed reserves of raw materials, deemed crucial for Germany’s future economic development.<sup>46</sup>

These industrial, agricultural, and academic engagements took a reincarnated and redefined form in the context of the arrival of Jewish German exiles in Turkey in the 1930s. As Corry Guttstadt notes, Turkey was never mentioned in statistics on countries providing refuge for Jewish exiles.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, the establishment of “modern” universities in Turkey, staffed with ideologically obedient cadres, coincided with the sudden expulsion of the entire academic elite from the universities and public institutions of Hitler’s Germany. For (former Unionist) Turkish ruling cadres, “German” expertise was still the gold standard. For refugee academics, Turkey was a suitable exile destination, given the presence of a historical “German colony” as well as a growing community of high-skilled German migrants in the country. From 1933 onwards, eighty-two German professors signed contracts to teach in Turkey. In the following years, these professors hired other experts (assistants, lecturers, and medical or technical staff). In the end, the “scientific exiles” in Ankara and Istanbul amounted to almost 150 Germans and (former) Austrians, as well as their families.<sup>48</sup> Beyond university professors, academics, and scientists, many exile experts and technicians were employed in ministries, government agencies, and industrial establishments as part of this new exile wave.

The Exodus of Jewish and oppositional intellectuals after 1933 directly affected the lives of the Dağlı brothers, since the existence of a large community of refugee experts in Turkey heightened the salience of previous knowledge of German language and culture. There was an urgent need of translators, intermediaries, and “cultural brokers.” The working careers and employment history of Ali and İsmail in the 1930s and 40s in Turkey elucidate the positive bias in Turkey toward their education in Germany, the importance of their position as intermediaries and the extent of Turkish-German entanglements during this period. The reliance on German know-how, training, and technology had a post-Ottoman afterlife in the social and economic history of Turkey.

After several years in Halkalı, Ali Dağlı was offered a job at Zingal Timber Company (Zingal Türk Anonim Şirketi) in a Black Sea town, Ayancık (Sinop).<sup>49</sup> The fact that the company had large numbers of foreign experts and employees was instrumental in Ali’s recruitment.<sup>50</sup> The Zingal Company brought a significant number of experts from Europe in 1928, largely from Austria and Czechoslovakia.<sup>51</sup> The number of German-speaking experts increased over the course of 1930s with the arrival of hundreds of Jews from eastern Europe. In 1934, the company had around forty to fifty foreign experts (*ecnebi mütehassıs*), most of whom were Jews of German, Austrian, Polish, Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and Romanian origin.<sup>52</sup> Looking for German-speaking Turkish citizens to act as “brokers” between foreign experts and Turkish laborers, Tevfik Ali [Çınar], general manager of the company, came to Halkalı in 1928 and offered Ali Dağlı a job at Zingal. Tevfik Ali was a 1919 graduate of the High School of Forestry (Orman Mekteb-i Âlisi)—a sister school of Halkalı High School. Between

1919 and 1923, he studied forestry at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (Munich) and received a PhD degree from Albert-Ludwigs-Universität (Freiburg). He must have known İsmail Dağlı, who worked as a forestation specialist at the High School of Forestry, while Tevfik Ali was a lecturer of “forest conservation.” Ali’s education and experience in Germany was a great asset in his eyes.

Later Ali Dağlı was transferred to Turkish (Beet) Sugar Factories,<sup>53</sup> first briefly to the factory in Turhal and later to Eskişehir. The establishment and institutional history of sugar factories is particularly interesting in light of Turkish-German business entanglements and science and technology transfer. The republican administrations replicated the Ottoman practice of hiring foreign architects and engineers to design and build new factories in the process of establishing sugar factories. Eskişehir Sugar Factory, where Ali Dağlı worked for a long time, was designed by the German architect Frederick August Breuhaus. For the factories in Alpullu, Eskişehir, and Turhal, the entire plant, including the machinery and equipment, the power plant, the pipes, the iron frame of the buildings, the railways inside the factory, the connection to the main railways, and the main power switch were purchased from a German company, namely “Maschinenfabrik Buckau R. Wolf Aktien Gesellschaft Magdeburg.”<sup>54</sup> All these factories employed several German experts for the establishment and operation of the plant.

German educational background was considered an advantage for employment in these factories. Kâzım Taşkent (1894–1991), who went to Germany in 1919 with a state scholarship to study chemical engineering at the Hannover Engineering School, graduated and returned in 1925. He was first employed at the Industry Branch of the Ministry of Trade. Then he took part in the establishment of the Alpullu Sugar Factory (1926) and became its first manager. Between 1932 and 1944, he worked as the general manager of Anatolia Sugar Factory in Eskişehir. Taşkent hired about a hundred German installers during factory’s construction.<sup>55</sup> There was a large number of foreign employees in the factory, especially German Jews.<sup>56</sup> Taşkent also gathered many specialists and workers, almost all of whom were trained in Germany. Some of these experts included Nadir Hakkı Önen,<sup>57</sup> Macit Eken, Ahmet Yolaç,<sup>58</sup> and Muammer Tuksavul.<sup>59</sup> Ali Dağlı was also hired thanks to his background in Germany. It was as if there was an unwritten requirement to have been trained in Germany to work for the factory. İsmail also joined his brother in the Turkish Sugar Factory in the mid-1940s and managed the afforestation and landscaping projects of all sugar factories.

Ali Dağlı worked in Eskişehir as a workshop foreman until he retired at the end of the 1950s. İsmail later worked as a landscape architect for *Şekerbank* (Sugar Bank) and Halkbank (People’s Bank), responsible for their worker recreation facilities, parks, gardens and forestation projects.<sup>60</sup> Throughout his working life, İsmail maintained good communication with future generations of German experts who came to Turkey on assignment.



## Intergenerational Migration

After his return in 1921, Ali Dağlı never visited Germany or traveled abroad again. His brother İsmail, on the other hand, maintained his relations with Germany and the friends he made there for a longer period of time. İsmail continued to correspond with Ilse Pauls, the daughter of his master, throughout his life. In 1987, they met again for the first (and last) time in Nikolassee, Berlin.<sup>61</sup>

More interesting for our purposes, İsmail Dağlı's two sons also migrated to Germany as "guest workers" (*Gastarbeiter*) in the years following the Turkey-Germany Labor Agreement (1961). It is likely that their father's positive reminiscences of his youth and his cultural affinity to Germany have influenced their choice. Other migrant orphans who had relatively happy and productive apprenticeship years in Germany encouraged subsequent generations of their families to go to Germany for their studies or employment.<sup>62</sup> İsmail went to Germany again in the 1970s to visit his sons. During this trip, he also visited Bromberg (Bydgoszcz).

Having lived in Germany for a considerable time during their youth was extremely influential in the lives of the two brothers. Most remarkably, they continued to practice the professions they learned as apprentices in Germany throughout their lives. When it came to their years in Germany, both always spoke with wistfulness and fondly remembered their friends and masters. Both brothers also continued to speak German, follow the professional, cultural, and current German press, and read magazines and books.

## Conclusion

My earlier research into the lives of migrant Ottoman children in Germany, which relied to a large extent on state documentation—both from the German and Ottoman archives—resulted in findings that point to the "failure" of Turkish apprentice migration to Germany. It is particularly surprising that the omnipresence of failure in official accounts disappears when we attempt to construct the history of Ottoman apprentices in Germany from the perspectives of family archives and oral historical sources. Quite to the contrary, the reconstructions of Ali and İsmail Dağlı's life stories illustrate the success of this long-term child displacement plan as both sides of the agreement had imagined it to bring about.

In sending students and trainees to Germany for vocational training, the Young Turks were hoping to train pioneers for a national bourgeoisie, who would play key roles in creating a national economic policy and, thus, economic independence from Europe. The apprentice scheme would have served well the dreams of the Unionists to establish a "national economy." Benefiting from their unaccountable emergency powers and extreme policies under wartime conditions, the CUP leadership not only worked toward the mass murder of the non-Muslim populations of the empire, but also thought of means to remedy the expected shortage of skilled labor. As the Unionists

hoped, Ali and İsmail returned to the country as skilled workers, who would then educate younger generations through their mastery and craftsmanship in their trades.

From the German side of the picture, the reason why Germany accepted the heavy burden of educating and feeding Ottoman orphans lies in the “moral conquest” of the hearts and minds of the people. In other words, Germans wanted to build sympathy for Germany among Turks, build channels of German cultural influence in educational, economic, and cultural initiatives, and gain consent for larger political agendas. Since there were only a few German-educated Ottomans, educating hundreds of orphans in Germany was a great opportunity to create a new generation who would become “friends of Germany.” In that respect, the Germans’ educational aspirations had a quasi-colonial quality, driven by a long-term vision and dependent on the boys they were able to mold. From that point of view as well, Ali and İsmail were indeed instrumental in deepening the economic, educational, and cultural relations between Turkey and Germany after their return to the country. They acted as cultural brokers and intermediaries through their entire professional careers, working alongside German experts. The history of Turkish-German business entanglements and transfer of scientific and technical expertise in the 1930s and 1940s attest to the fact that the political ties built in early twentieth century through Unionists’ efforts paid off after the establishment of Republic of Turkey.

#### Notes

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Ates Dağlı, the son of Ali Dağlı and nephew of İsmail Dağlı, who shared with me both the family archive and the findings of his own careful research, and İsmail Dağlı’s daughter, who read the final version of the article and provided her corrections.

1. Nazan Maksudyan, “Des convois de gamins. L’envoi de jeunes orphelins ottomans en Allemagne pendant la première guerre mondiale,” *Revue d’histoire de l’enfance ‘irrégulière’* 152 (2013): 111–41; Nazan Maksudyan, “Cihan Harbi Yıllarında Almanya’da Osmanlı Yetimleri: Mavi Kep ve Pelerin,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 243 (2014): 68–73; Nazan Maksudyan, “A Triangle of Regrets: Training of Ottoman Children in Germany during the First World War,” in *Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After*, ed. Benjamin C. Fortna (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 141–72; Nazan Maksudyan, *Ottoman Children and Youth during World War I* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2019); Nazan Maksudyan, “Boys Without a Country: Ottoman Orphan Apprentices in Germany During World War I,” in *War and Childhood in the Era of the Two World Wars*, ed. Mischa Honeck and James Marten (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 206–28.
2. There is an example in my 2019 book. Someone told me after a talk in 2014 that his grandfather was also an orphan apprentice in Germany. He had a hand-made hammer that he crafted in Germany as a souvenir of his days there, and he always encouraged the future generations of the family to work or study in Germany. The grandson that I interviewed actually went to the German school in Istanbul and then lived and worked in Germany. Maksudyan, *Ottoman Children and Youth*, 168–69.
3. On the inspirational importance of Germany for the Unionist cadres both in military and ideological terms, see Sevil Özçalık and Gerhard Grüßhaber, “‘Frank, Fresh, Frish, Free’ at the Bosphorus? Selim Sırrı and the German Model of Youth Mobilization in the late Ottoman State, 1908–1918,” *Middle East Critique* 24, no. 4 (2015): 375–88; Gerhard Grüßhaber, *The “German Spirit” in the Ottoman and Turkish Army, 1908–1938* (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2018).

4. For a long list of examples, see Maksudyan, *Ottoman Children and Youth*, 162–63.
5. On educational cooperation between Ottoman and German administrations in the early twentieth century, see Mustafa Gencer, *Nationale Bildungspolitik, Modernisierung und kulturelle Interaktion: Deutsch-türkische Beziehungen (1908–1918)*, (Münster: LiT, 2002); Mustafa Gencer, “Der Transfer deutschen Bildungswissens in das Osmanische Reich,” in *Transnationale Bildungsräume Wissenstransfers im Schnittfeld von Kultur, Politik und Religion*, ed. Esther Möller and Johannes Wischmeyer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 117–36.
6. On the role of German scientists in the establishment of new academic institutions and cadres during World War I, see Emre Dölen, *İstanbul Darülfünunu’nda Alman Müderrisler (1915–1918)* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2013).
7. At the end of 1917, the number of girls sent for higher education were fourteen. “Tätigkeitsbericht der Türkische-Deutsche Vereinigung in Konstantinopel – für die Zeit von ihrer Gründung bis Ende 1917,” Bundesarchiv, R57/8504.
8. “Türkische Lehrlinge,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Nr. 181, July 13, 1917, p. 3.
9. Malte Fuhrmann, “Germany’s Adventures in the Orient: A History of Ambivalent Semicolonial Entanglements,” in *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, ed. Volker Max Langbehn and Mohammad Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 123–45.
10. Jürgen Kloosterhuis, “Friedliche Imperialisten”: *Deutsche Auslandsvereine und auswärtige Kulturpolitik, 1906–1918* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1994).
11. The goal of the DTV initially was to bring together financial and industrial corporations with interests in the eastern Mediterranean. These corporations donated significantly to the DTV for its declared aim of cultural rapprochement, including guided tours to Germany for Turkish politicians and businessmen to impress them with the country’s achievements, as well as educational initiatives in the Ottoman Empire. See Maksudyan, *Ottoman Children and Youth*, 52–54.
12. Nazan Maksudyan, “For the Holy War and Motherland: Ottoman State Orphanages (*Darüleytams*) in the Context of the First World War and the Armenian Genocide,” in “Kinder in Heimen,” ed. Anelia Kassabova and Sandra Maß, special issue, *L’Homme. Europäische Zeitschrift für Feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 34, no. 1 (2023): 39–59.
13. There is a vast literature on CUP’s homogenization attempts, for a recent and well-researched analysis, see Chapter 1 in Hans-Lukas Kieser, *Talaat Pasha: The Father of Modern Turkey, Architect of Genocide* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).
14. As Polatel, Üngör, Onaran, and Kurt have discussed in the context of Armenian genocide, Unionist ethnic violence had layers of dispossession in the form of taking over non-Muslim’s wealth and property. Mehmet Polatel and Uğur Ümit Üngör, *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Seizure of Armenian Property* (London: Continuum, 2011); Nevzat Onaran, *Emval-i Metruke Olayı: Osmanlı’da ve Cumhuriyetle Ermeni ve Rum Mallarının Türkleştirilmesi* (Istanbul: Belge, 2010); Ümit Kurt, “The Plunder of Wealth through Abandoned Properties Laws in the Armenian Genocide” *Genocide Studies International* 10 (2016): 37–51.
15. According to his birth certificate dated 1931, his birth year was 1314 in the Rumi calendar (1898–99). He did not know his exact birthday and said that even the year could be wrong. In subsequent population registries, the year of his birth remained as 1900.
16. Ali Dağlı implied that they changed İsmail’s year of birth so that his brother could go to Germany (or for some other reason). The only age-related issue that may have prevented one from going to Germany may be the military service age. Therefore, I have the impression that the issue of correction in the year of birth is more important for Ali’s departure than for İsmail.
17. Maksudyan, *Ottoman Children and Youth*, 22–25.
18. After her children went to Germany, Azize remarried and had a son (Mehmet) from this marriage. One needs to note the difficulty of sustaining oneself as a widowed mother during war years. It was also a highly common practice that the suitors of widowed women insisted on not providing

- for the children from earlier marriages. See Takuhi Tovmasyan, *Sofranız Şen Olsun: Ninelerimin Mutfağından Damağımda, Aklımda Kalanlar* (Istanbul: Aras, 2004), 127–29.
19. The note written by İsmail Dağlı on the back of a photograph taken in Bromberg confirms the departure date of the apprentices: “The above statement was written by me on Friday, April 17, 1987, on the 70th anniversary of the day of our departure for Germany on April 17, 1917.” (Figure 4b)
  20. “Türkische Jugend in Berlin,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Nr. 216, April 29, 1917.
  21. *Adreßbuch für die Stadt Cüstrin*, ed. Wilh. Kranz (Cüstrin Neustadt: Hermann Brandt Buch- und Kunstdruckerei, 1913), 65, [https://wiki-de.genealogy.net/K%C3%BCstrin/Adressbuch\\_1913](https://wiki-de.genealogy.net/K%C3%BCstrin/Adressbuch_1913).
  22. “Seit Januar 1920 gehört diese Stadt der Republik Polen und seit diesem Datum heisst sie Bydgoszcz, sprich: ‘Bidgoschisch.’ Einwohnerzahl dieser Stadt war—65.000.”
  23. “Bu resim 1918 yılı, Almanya’nın Bromberg şehrindeki bahçe kültürleri müessesesi sahibi ve benim de hocamın (Herr Pauls) 51. yas gününü ve gümüş evlenme yıldönümünü (Silberne Hochzeit 25.Yıl) mü[na]sebeti[y]le alınmıştır. Benim Bromberg’e geldiğim gün 1 Mayıs 1917’den bir yıl dört ay sonra, yaşımın 16,5 olduğu sırada. Sigaraya da bu sıralarda alışmıştım. (Yukarıdaki açıklama Almanya’ya hareket tarihimiz olan 17 Nisan 1917’nin tam 70. yıldönümü olan Cuma günü 17 Nisan 1987 günü tarafımdan yazılmıştır.) 300 kişi idik, aramızda yüksek tahsile gidenler de vardı.”
  24. Börte Sagaster, *Achmed Talib: Stationen des Lebens eines türkischen Schuhmachermeisters in Deutschland von 1917 bis 1983: Kaiserreich, Weimarer Republik, Drittes Reich, DDR* (Cologne: Onel-Verlag, 1997).
  25. Their father Ahmet’s hometown, Deliorman, was densely populated by Alevis. The older brother’s name, Ali Haydar, is also a quintessentially Alevi name. The family was probably Alevi. Their relatively easy adaptation to life in Germany may have been due to their distance from Sunni Islamic rituals.
  26. “Jahresbericht der DTV für 1918 [–1919], 11. Dezember 1919,” Political Archive (PA) of the Auswärtiges Amt (AA), hereafter PA AA, R63443.
  27. Prime Ministry’s Ottoman Archives (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, hereafter BOA), DH.İ.UM., 19/1, doc. 4, 25/Re/1339, December 7, 1920.
  28. BOA, Ministry of Interior, General Administration (Dahiliye, İdare-i Umumiye, hereafter DH.İ.UM.), doc. 2, 18/Ca/1339, February, 27, 1921.
  29. BOA, Ministry of Education, Department of Correspondence (Maarif, Mektubi Kalemi, hereafter MF.MKT.), 1229/111; DH.İ.UM. 19/1 (H-21-11-1340).
  30. “Türkische Lehrlinge,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Nr. 181, July 13, 1917, p. 3.
  31. Apprenticeship in mining and agriculture were conceived as two-year programs, whereas handicrafts required a four-year training period. “*Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung Mitteilungen*, Nr. 8, Oktober 1920 (p. 7–8),” Bundesarchiv, R57 / 3087.
  32. “3. Sitzung der Vorstandes des Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1921. 24. November 1921,” Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (GStA), VI. HA, Nachlass (NI) Becker, C. H., No. 176.
  33. A few examples of certificates are preserved in the Ottoman Archives, submitted by the apprentices themselves for translation and accreditation purposes. BOA, MF.MKT., 1238/91, 05/N/1337, June 4, 1919.
  34. In 1883, six students were sent to Germany. In 1889, three of these students returned with diplomas and were appointed as agricultural inspectors. In both 1890 and 1891, five students were sent to Germany. İbrahim Toruk, “Halkalı Ziraat Mektebi (1892–1928),” (master’s thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2013), 7.
  35. For instance, the future Minister of Agriculture (1942–1946), Şevket Raşit [Hatipoğlu] was admitted to Halkalı High School of Agriculture in 1920 and graduated in 1923 as an “Agricultural Engineer.” Şevket Raşit then studied at the Economic Policy Research Center (Forschungsstelle Wirtschaftspolitik) in Berlin, which was then headed by young Fritz Baade (who would later also

- come to Turkey in the next decades as an expert). Hatipoğlu later enrolled to Leipzig University for his doctoral studies under Friedrich Falk, who was closely involved in the establishment of a new agricultural faculty in Ankara (Ankara Yüksek Ziraat Mektebi). See Heinrich Hartmann, *Eigensinnige Musterschüler: Ländliche Entwicklung und internationales Expertenwissen in der Türkei (1947–1980)* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2020), 79–80.
36. This information can be found on line 5 of the following document, BOA, Ministry of Interior, Directorate of Local Affairs of Provinces (Dahiliye, Umur-ı Mahalliye-i Vilayat Müdüriyeti, hereafter DH.UMVM), 119/27, Document 15–16, 31 March 1338 (1922).
  37. Agricultural High School and High School of Forestry were merged and operated in Halkalı between 1893–1909. With the opening of a separate High School of Forestry (Orman Mekteb-i Âlisi) in Bahçeköy, the students of the forestry department in Halkalı were transferred there in 1910. Volkan Çeşme, “Osmanlı’da Ziraati Modernleştirme Sürecinde Halkalı Ziraat Mektebi (1892–1928): Kuruluşu ve İdari Yapısı,” *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 15, no. 2 (2014): 39–80.
  38. Ateş Dağlı located the grave in 2019 and took its photograph and read the tombstone: “He [Allah] is eternal. On October 29, 1922, while a student of the senior class at the High School of Agriculture taking part in tractor training on school grounds, [he] became a martyr to science and knowledge when the Fordson tractor he was driving turned over because of the rough terrain. Amin.” Mr. Dağlı allowed me to use this photo for the present article.
  39. During his years in Halkalı, Ali also met his future wife, Ayşe Münevver, a local from the village of Halkalı, and got married in 1928.
  40. “Law on the Establishment of Agricultural and Veterinary Institutes and High Schools and Improvement of Agricultural Education,” no. 1109, adopted on July 5, 1927.
  41. Minutes of the Grand National Assembly (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi, *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*), Period: 2, Meeting: 4, vol. 33, 77th Session, June 19, 1927, pp. 250–51.
  42. Arif Akman, *Türkiye’de Ziraat Yüksek Öğretim Reformunun Anatomisi* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Ziraat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1978), 64.
  43. Arif Akman, “Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü’nün Öyküsü,” *Gıda* 15/ 1 (1990): 4–5.
  44. On the role of German expertise in Turkish industrial sector, see Görkem Akgöz, “Experts, Exiles, and Textiles: German ‘Rationalisierung’ on the 1930s Turkish Shop Floor,” *International Review of Social History* 66, no. 2 (2021): 179–216.
  45. On German agricultural expertise in Turkey, see Hartmann, *Eigensinnige Musterschüler*.
  46. Corry Guttstadt, *Turkey, the Jews, and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 83–86.
  47. In some occasions, (Jewish) relatives of these invited professors were also granted permits to live and work in Turkey.
  48. The company was founded in 1926 and received the right to operate the Zindan and Çangal State Forests for fifty years. Zingal is one of the first foreign-owned companies of the Republic of Turkey, with majority shares held by foreign capital through partnership with Belgium. Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA), 30-18-1-2, 14 / 68 / 8, October 15, 1930.
  49. Hande Özkan’s archival and oral historical research on the history of the timber company and Ayancık as a town stress the significance of foreign residents, who were largely associated with Ayancık’s *european*, urban, and cosmopolitan characteristics, expressed in picnics, dinners at the City Club, a soccer team, and a tennis court. European experts residing in Ayancık with their families made up the town’s elite alongside with Turkish citizens educated in Europe, such as Ali Dağlı. Hande Özkan, “Remembering Zingal: State, Citizens, and Forests in Turkey.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 50, no. 3 (2018): 493–511.
  50. Metin Özdönmez and Abdi Ekizoğlu, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ormancılığında Katkısı Olan Yabancı Uzmanlar,” *Journal of the Faculty of Forestry Istanbul University* 44, no. 1–2 (1994): 13–28.
  51. Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA), 30-10-0-0, 183 / 264 / 4, October 28, 1935. A small group of “pure” Turks filed in a series of complaints, in which they not only targeted foreign (Jewish)

- department chiefs for not deserving their “expert” status, not fulfilling their duties of training Turkish workers, and their condescending attitudes towards Turks, but also directly attacked the local administrators of the company for having Kurdish and/or Circassian origins, therefore betraying Turkish national (racial) interests.
52. Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirketi was founded in June 1935 “for 99 years and with a capital of 22,000,000 Turkish liras.” BCA, 30-18-1-2, 56/ 53/ 6, June 8, 1935.
  53. Turan Veldet, *30. Yılında Türkiye Şeker Sanayii* (Ankara: Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A. Ş. Neşriyatı, Ankara, 1958), 407.
  54. Muammer Tuksavul, *Doğudan Batıya ve Sonrası* (Istanbul: publisher not identified, 1981), 352–54. The author also has published an autobiography in German: Muammer Tuksavul, *Eine bittere Freundschaft: Erinnerung eines türkischen Jahrhundertzeugen* (Düsseldorf: Econ Verlag, 1985). The contents of the book are almost identical to the Turkish autobiography, although it cannot be considered a translation.
  55. BCA, 30-18-1-2, 44/ 22/7, April 12, 1934; BCA, 30-18-1-2, 85/118/3, January 28, 1939; BCA, 30-18-1-2, 86/40/1, May 11, 1939; BCA, 30-18-1-2, 88/78/10, August 5, 1939.
  56. Nadir Hakkı Önen (1900–1979) studied mining engineering in Switzerland. In 1924, he taught at the High School of Mining Engineering in Zonguldak. <https://www.somaolay.com.tr/somada-komurun-kesfi-ve-nadir-hakki-onen/>.
  57. Macit Eken (1897–1959) graduated from the Military Academy. After World War I, he went to Germany and studied mining engineering at the Ingenieurschule (Hochschule) Mittweida. Selahattin Önder, Necmettin Oğur, “Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası,” *ESOGÜ Tarih Dergisi* 2, no. 2 (2019): 25–54.
  8. Muammer Tuksavul (1901–1996) came to Germany in 1917 for his secondary education. Later, he studied chemistry and economics in Mannheim and Darmstadt. He returned to Turkey in 1929 and soon after worked at the sugar production plants in Eskişehir and then Turhal. In 1943 he was invited by Kâzım Taşkent to be a cofounder of a private bank, Yapı-Kredi Bankası. He remained in the management of this bank until 1952, brokering several German investments, most remarkably the Henkel group. For further information, see Christoph Herzog, “Lessons of a Long Life: the Self, History and Religion in the Memoirs of Muammer Tuksavul (1901–1996),” in *Many Ways of Speaking About the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-documents in Arabic, Persian and Turkish (14th–20th century)*, ed. Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2010), 59–67.
  59. His nephew Ateş Dağlı visited him in the facilities in Yalova and Marmara Ereğlisi while they were being built.
  60. The husband of Ilse Pauls and İsmail Dağlı’s daughter also attended this meeting. İsmail’s children kept this friendship alive until Ilse Pauls’ death.
  61. Maksudyan, *Ottoman Children and Youth*, 168–69.

