

**IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY
ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS INSTITUTE
DEPARTMENT OF CIVILIZATION STUDIES**

MASTER'S THESIS

**A COMPARISON OF OTTOMAN AND CHINESE
STUDENTS SENT ABROAD FOR MODERN
EDUCATION**

ZEHRA NUR TERZİ

**THESIS SUPERVISOR
ASST. PROF. ERCÜMENT ASİL**

**CO - SUPERVISOR
ASST. PROF. ELVİDA ÜNAL AN**

ISTANBUL, 2024

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by

ZEHRA NUR TERZİ

**A thesis submitted to the Alliance of Civilizations Institute in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
Civilization Studies**

THESIS SUPERVISOR

ASST. PROF. ERCÜMENT ASİL

CO - SUPERVISOR

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ACADEMIC HONESTY ATTESTATION

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.



Name Surname

Signature

ÖZ

MODERN EĞİTİM İÇİN YURTDIŞINA GÖNDERİLEN OSMANLI VE ÇİN ÖĞRENCİLERİNİN KARŞILAŞTIRILMASI

Terzi, Zehra Nur

Medeniyet Araştırmaları Yüksek Lisans

Öğrenci Numarası: 205019002

Open Researcher and Contributor ID (ORC-ID): 0000-0001-7432-8031

Ulusal Tez Merkezi Referans Numarası: 10676369

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Ercüment Asil

İkinci Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Elvida Ünal An

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Bu tez, 19. yüzyılda Osmanlı ve Çin imparatorluklarının modernleşme çabaları kapsamında Batı'ya modern bilim eğitimi almak ve askeri teknikler öğrenmek amacıyla öğrenci gönderme süreçlerini karşılaştırmaktadır. Gönderilen öğrenciler, genellikle mühendislik, tıp ve askeri bilimler gibi alanlarda eğitim almak üzere Batı ülkelerine yönlendirilmişlerdir.

Yurtdışındaki eğitim deneyimi, bu öğrenciler için hem bilgi edinimi hem de kültürel etkileşim açısından önemli fırsatlar sunmuştur. Bu bağlamda, tez özellikle öğrencilerin yurtdışındaki yaşamlarını, karşılaştıkları zorlukları ve aldıkları eğitimi ve bu imparatorlukların öğrencilerini nasıl gözetim altında tuttuklarını incelemektedir.

Ayrıca, tezde öğrencilerin dönüşlerinden sonraki istihdam süreçleri, modernleşme çabalarına katkıları ve ülkelerinin kalkınmasında üstlendikleri roller de ana odak noktalarından biridir. Özellikle, gönderilen öğrencilerin yaşları, sosyal statüleri, eğitim aldıkları ülkeler ve dönüşlerinde karşılaştıkları zorluklar gibi unsurlar üzerinden, iki imparatorluğun bu süreçteki benzerlik ve farklılıkları ele alınarak, 19. yüzyılın küresel değişimlerinin yerel yansımaları ve eğitim alanındaki dönüşümler değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çin Modernleşmesi, Eğitimin Modernleşmesi, Osmanlı Modernleşmesi, Yurdişına Öğrenci Gönderimi



ABSTRACT

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Terzi, Zehra Nur

MA in Civilization Studies

Student ID: 205019002

Open Researcher and Contributor ID (ORC-ID): 0000-0001-7432-8031

National Thesis Center Reference Number: 10676369

Thesis Advisor: Asst. Prof. Ercüment Asil

Thesis Co-Advisor: Asst. Prof. Elvida Ünal An

October 2024, 144 Pages

This thesis compares the dispatch of students from the Ottoman and Qing empires to the West in the 19th century, undertaken as part of their modernization efforts to acquire scientific and military expertise. These students were sent to Western countries to receive education in engineering, medicine, and military sciences.

The experience of studying abroad offered these students significant opportunities for both knowledge acquisition and cultural interaction. In this context, the thesis specifically examines the students' lives abroad, the challenges they encountered, the education they received, and the surveillance mechanisms employed by these empires to monitor their students.

Furthermore, the thesis contrasts the employment strategies of the two empires upon the students' return and highlights the students' contributions to the modernization processes in each empire. By analyzing factors such as the students' ages, social statuses, the countries where they studied, and the difficulties they faced upon their return, the thesis reveals the similarities and differences between the two empires in this endeavor. It also evaluates the local manifestations of 19th-century global transformations and developments in the field of education.

Keywords: Chinese Modernization, Education Abroad, Modernization of Education, Ottoman Modernization



DEDICATION

To my dear parents, Ayten & Cemalettin Terzi. Your support and encouragement are invaluable. Thank you for your constant support and belief in me.



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On a personal note, I am deeply thankful to my family for their support. To my siblings, especially Saliha Betül Çiçek, thank you for always being there for me. To all my close friends, with special thanks to Sena Kaya and Mevhibe Tipi, your encouragement and support have been a source of strength and motivation.

Zehra Nur Terzi

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The modernization efforts of the late 19th and early 20th centuries were marked by a movement toward the adoption and spread of Western knowledge and technology. In many non-Western countries, military force was the primary cause of modernization, forcing them to adopt Western technologies and methods to bolster national defense and power. This shift was largely driven by the inability of these nations to defend their territories against the superior military technologies wielded by Western powers.

Initially, in their efforts to learn modern military techniques from the West, these nations sought to rely on Western specialists residing within their countries. However, this approach had significant drawbacks, such as the potential untrustworthiness of foreign specialists and their inability to address the countries' needs fully. Consequently, sending government officials—and later students—abroad for education and training emerged as a more pragmatic solution. Countries including China, the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Japan adopted this approach.

Both China and the Ottoman Empire encountered similar challenges. With the ascendance of Western powers, both nations saw their global standing decline. Their pronounced military weakness in comparison to Western forces led to significant defeats, forcing them to sign unequal treaties that allowed Western nations to interfere in their internal affairs and economies. As a result, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, both China and the Ottoman Empire embarked on reforms aimed at modernizing and strengthening their states.

One of the key strategies in these modernization efforts was sending students abroad to acquire Western education, symbolizing a deliberate embrace of Western ideas and

technologies. This thesis examines the experiences of China (the Qing Dynasty) and the Ottoman Empire in adopting Western technology through their dispatch of students to Western countries, and it assesses the subsequent effects on their societies and institutions. The choice of China and the Ottoman Empire as case studies is significant due to the striking similarities in their historical trajectories.

In the Ottoman context, the period beginning in the 1830s marks the start of the state's intentional efforts to send students abroad, culminating with the Second Constitutional Era in 1908. This era, characterized by a growing desire for reform and modernization, provides the framework for understanding the Ottoman Empire's initiatives to send students to the West.

While the Ottoman Empire began its efforts in the early 19th century, the Qing Dynasty formally commenced its student dispatch in 1872. In contrast to the more scattered approach of the Ottomans, who sent students to various European cities such as Paris, Vienna, and Berlin starting in the 1830s, China took a more concentrated approach, sending a batch of 120 students to the United States between 1872 and 1881. These differing approaches reflect the distinct historical trajectories of the Ottoman Empire and China, as well as their respective relationships with the West. The interactions each empire had with Western powers created unique dynamics that shaped their modernization processes. Thus, the practice of sending students abroad must be evaluated within the broader historical and socio-political contexts of each empire.

This comparative study aligns more closely with the Chinese timeline due to the scale and structure of their student dispatch. The mentioned period allows for a thorough examination of the educational initiatives undertaken by both the Ottoman Empire and Qing China in sending students abroad.

The social backgrounds of students dispatched by the Ottoman Empire and the Qing Dynasty in the 19th century likely influenced their reintegration and the positions they assumed upon returning. Ottoman students generally transitioned smoothly into state roles without expressing significant dissatisfaction. In contrast, Chinese students encountered difficulties in attaining the positions they had been promised,

due to the existing state system and factors such as their age and education, which led to expressions of discontent. A central aim of this thesis is to compare how the social and political structures of the two empires affected the reintegration of students educated in the West.

1.1. Research Question

To gain a deeper understanding of how social and political contexts influenced the reintegration of students educated in the West, it is essential to address several key questions. What were the experiences of Ottoman and Chinese students who were sent abroad for education, and what preparations did they undergo before leaving their home countries? What were the educational environments like in the Western institutions they attended, and how did these students adapt to new cultural and academic settings? Furthermore, what were the outcomes for these students upon their return, and how were they received and integrated into their respective societies and administrations? Importantly, why did Ottoman and Chinese students face different treatments upon their return? This thesis seeks to answer these questions, illustrating how educational experiences abroad shaped the students' subsequent roles within their empires and how these experiences influenced their contributions and responses upon returning.

1.2. Literature

A considerable literature has emerged on students who were sent to the West to receive modern education. However, research on the Ottoman experience has been conducted without making use of international/civilizational comparisons.

A leading comprehensive study on the students sent to the West by the Ottoman Empire is Adnan Şişman's "*Tanzimat Döneminde Fransa'ya Gönderilen Osmanlı Öğrencileri: 1839–1876*"¹ [*Ottoman Students Sent to France in the Tanzimat Period: 1839–1876*] which was prepared as a doctoral thesis in 1983 and published as a book

¹ Adnan Şişman, *Tanzimat döneminde Fransa'ya gönderilen Osmanlı öğrencileri, (1839-1876)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınlarından; sayı 209 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2004).

in 2004. This study concentrates on the students who were sent to France. The study makes use of both Ottoman archives and documents about Ottoman students in French schools.

A significant proportion of the research on the subject concerns the Mekteb-i Osmani (the Ottoman School), which was established in Paris, where most of the students were sent. Şişman published a separate article titled "Mekteb-i Osmanî (1857-1864)"² in 1986. Cahit Bilim presents an analysis of the Ottoman School in Paris in his article entitled "Paris'teki Osmanlı Okulu: Mekteb-i Osmani"³ [Ottoman School in Paris: Mekteb-i Osmani] (1989). In addition to this article, Bilim also published an article in 1999 titled "Osmanlılarda Avrupa'ya Talebe Gönderilmesi"⁴ [The Ottomans Sending Students to Europe] which examined the phenomenon of students being sent to the West by the Ottoman Empire.

Additionally, Hamiyet Sezer's paper, "Tanzimat Döneminde Avrupa Şehirlerine Gönderilen Öğrenciler"⁵ [Students Sent to European Cities During the Tanzimat Period] (1999), published in 2001. In his article, "Osmanlı Öğrencilerinin Paris'te Tahsil Yaptıkları Mısır ve Ermeni Mektepleri"⁶ [Egyptian and Armenian Schools Where Ottomans Studied in Paris] (2003) Adnan Şişman examines the Ottoman students educated in Egyptian and Armenian schools in Paris. Mustafa Gençoğlu's articles "Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Yurtdışı Eğitim Politikası"⁷ [Sultan II Abdulhamid's Overseas Education Policy] (2015) and "*Osmanlı Devleti'nde Yurtdışı Eğitimin Öncüleri (1830-1839)*"⁸ [Pioneers of Overseas Education in the Ottoman Empire (1830-1839)] (2020) also provide information on the educational purposes and the number of students sent abroad.

² Adnan Şişman, 'Mekteb-i Osmani (1857-1864)', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 05, no. 05 (2015).

³ Cahit Bilim, "Paris'teki Osmanlı Okulu: Mekteb-i Osmani," *Anadolu Üniversitesi Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 1, no. 2 (1989): 215-231. Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi.

⁴ Cahit Bilim, 'Osmanlılar'da Avrupa'ya Öğrenci Gönderilmesi', *Anadolu Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 1, no. 1 (Nisan 1999): 17-38.

⁵ Hamiyet Sezer, 'Tanzimat Döneminde Avrupa Şehirlerine Gönderilen Öğrenciler' (Osmanlı Dünyasında Bilim ve Eğitim Milletlerarası Kongresi, İstanbul, 1999), 687-711.

⁶ Adnan Şişman, 'Osmanlı Öğrencilerinin Paris'te Tahsil Yaptıkları Mısır Ve Ermeni Mektepleri', *Uşak Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 1, no. 2 (2009): 1-10.

⁷ Mustafa Gençoğlu, 'Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Yurt Dışı Eğitim Politikası', 2014.

⁸ Mustafa Gençoğlu, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nde Yurtdışı Eğitimin Öncüleri (1830-1839)', *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Tarih Dergisi* 3, no. 2 (2020): 6-22, <https://doi.org/10.47437/esogutd.823957>.

There are also independent biographical studies on students who were sent to the West. For instance, Salih Erol's article, "İstanbul'dan Paris'e Gönderilen İlk Osmanlı Talebelerinden Edhem Efendi'nin Hayatı"⁹ [The Life of Edhem Efendi, One of the First Ottoman Students Sent from Istanbul to Paris] (2019), examines Edhem Efendi's life before and after his departure for the West.

In addition to various published materials, theses have been written based on the analysis of archival documents on the subject. In her master's thesis, entitled "Türkiye'de Yurtdışına Öğrenci Gönderme Olgusunun Sosyolojik Çözümlemesi"¹⁰ [The Sociological Assessment of the Case for the Sending Students Abroad in Turkey] (2009), Aynur Erdoğan examines the students sent abroad, not only to France but also to all European cities. She analyses the cities they were sent to and their fields of study. However, the focus of her analysis is the distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim students. In her doctoral thesis, titled "Yurtdışı Eğitim ve Türk Modernleşmesi"¹¹ [The Study Abroad and The Turkish Modernization] (2013), Erdoğan discusses in greater detail several issues, including the various phases of overseas education practices, the specific fields of study in which students are educated, the educational institutions to which they are sent, and the attitudes of state administrators towards these practices.

One of the most prominent studies is Mustafa Gençoğlu's doctoral thesis, entitled Osmanlı Devleti'nce Batı'ya Eğitim Amacıyla Gönderilenler (1830-1908) - Bir Grup Biyografisi Araştırması"¹² [Sent to the West with the Aim of the Education by the Ottoman State (1830-1908) – A Research on the Group Biography] (2008). The thesis presents brief biographies of the students sent to the West for education, accompanied by their social backgrounds and educational information. These biographies are presented without comment, based on archival documents. In our view, the most significant reason for not offering a commentary is that the Ottoman

⁹ Salih Erol, 'İstanbul'dan Paris'e İlk Talebe-i Osmaniye'den Edhem Efendi', *İctimaiyat* 3, no. 1 (2019): 53–69, <https://doi.org/10.33709/ictimaiyat.558458>.

¹⁰ Aynur Erdoğan, 'Türkiye'de Yurtdışına Öğrenci Gönderme Olgusunun Sosyolojik Çözümlemesi' (Master, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2009).

¹¹ Aynur Erdoğan, 'Yurt Dışı Eğitim ve Türk Modernleşmesi' (Phd, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2013).

¹² Mustafa Gençoğlu, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nce Batı'ya Eğitim Amacıyla Gönderilenler (1830-1908) -Bir Grup Biyografisi Araştırması' (Doktora Tezi, Ankara, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2008).

experience is confined to a descriptive account without any comparison with the experience of another empire facing similar challenges. Our thesis addresses this deficiency by contrasting the Ottoman experience to that of the Chinese.

On the subject of students sent from China to the West several studies are conducted in both Chinese and English literature. China's initiative to dispatch students to the West at government expense to acquire Western knowledge commenced with the program known as the China Education Mission (中国留美幼童), which spanned the period between 1872 and 1881. In terms of scope, the two most important works in English literature on the subject are Thomas E. LaFargue's "*China's First Hundred: Educational Mission Students in the United States, 1872-1881*"¹³ (1942) and Edward J. M. Rhoads' "*Stepping Forth into the World: The Chinese Educational Mission to the United States, 1872-81*"¹⁴ (2011). Arthur G. Robinson, a missionary stationed in northern China during the 1930s, had the intention of documenting the history of the China Education Mission (CEM). Although he was able to publish a few articles on the subject, his ambitious project remained unrealized. Nevertheless, Robinson transferred them to Thomas E. La Fargue, a highly regarded China historian affiliated with the State College of Washington. La Fargue undertook numerous visits to China to conduct his research, during which he conducted interviews with surviving students and their relatives to collect primary sources. He wrote his work with the benefit of all the archives and documents he had collected. Edward J. M. Rhoads (2011) made extensive use of archival materials on the subject in his research using the archives of the schools in which Chinese students were trained in the United States.

Furthermore, the Chih Meng Collection located at Wesleyan University's Mansfield Freeman Center for East Asian Studies represents another vital repository of documents about the CEM. Assembled by Paul Chih Meng (孟治), director of the China Institute in New York City during the 1930s, this collection offers a unique perspective on the experiences of Chinese students in the United States, adding depth to our understanding of the CEM's broader historical context.

¹³ Thomas E. La Fargue 1900-, *China's First Hundred: Educational Mission Students in The United States, 1872-1881* (Pullman, Wash.: The State Colage of Washington Press, 1942).

¹⁴ Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World* (Hong Kong University Press, 2011).

The Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford, particularly through the dedicated efforts of Phyllis Kihn, has also played a pivotal role in preserving the legacy of the CEM. Kihn's meticulous curation of newspaper articles spanning a decade has provided invaluable primary source material, contributing significantly to our knowledge of the CEM's impact on local communities and its portrayal in contemporary media.

In addition to these key collections, several other archives have been instrumental in enriching our understanding of the CEM. Manuscripts and Archives at Yale University's Sterling Memorial Library, the Connecticut State Library in Hartford, and the Museum and Archive of Hartford Public High School have all contributed valuable resources, offering diverse perspectives and supplementary materials that enhance the comprehensiveness of the research.

Among the books on the subject “*Fortunate Sons: The 120 Chinese Boys Who Came to America Went to School and Revolutionized an Ancient Civilization*”¹⁵ (2011) prepared by Liel Leibovitz and Matthew Miller includes letters and diaries of the students. “*“Patriots” or “Traitors”?: A History of American-Educated Chinese Students*”¹⁶ (2004) by Stacey Bieler includes a chapter about the CEM students and reasons for the negative treatment they faced upon their return. “*Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872–1949*”¹⁷ (1966) by Y. C. Wang, also makes evaluations about the reasons for the failure of the educational mission. “*My Life in China and America*”¹⁸ (1909) of Yung Wing, who himself received a Western education and pioneered the sending of students to the West, includes memories of Yung Wing. Other than these, the diaries, correspondence, and memories of the students sent within the program are considered in terms of literature.

¹⁵ Liel Leibovitz and Matthew I. Miller, *Fortunate Sons : The 120 Chinese Boys Who Came to America, Went to School, and Revolutionized an Ancient Civilization*, Norton paperback [ed.] (New York: W.W. Norton New York, 2012).

¹⁶ Stacey Bieler, *‘Patriots’ or ‘Traitors’? A History of American-Educated Chinese Students* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2004).

¹⁷ Y. C. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872-1942* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill, 1966).

¹⁸ Wing Yung 1828-1912. and Joseph Hopkins Twichell 1838-1918., *My Life in China and America* (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1909).

It is also important to consider the literature in China on this subject. Notable works include “观念与悲剧：晚清留美幼童命运剖析” [Perception and Tragedy: An Analysis of the Fate of Young Children Staying in the United States in the Late Qing Dynasty]¹⁹ (2000) by Shi Ni (石霓) examines the experiences of Chinese students studying abroad during the late Qing Dynasty. The study focuses on traditional Chinese culture, students who have studied in the West, their own culture and their position towards Western culture. “大清留美幼童记” [A Memoir of a Young Students Sent to the United States by the Qing Dynasty]²⁰ (2010) by Qian Gang (钱钢) and Hu Jincan (胡劲草) examines the first group of students sent to the West by the state and who, after returning to China, became key figures influencing China's modernization process. “新编詹天佑书信选集”²¹ [New Collection of Zhan Tianyou's Letters] (2006) by Zhan Tongji (詹同济) is a compilation of the letters of Zhan Tianyou, a railroad engineer and one of the first students sent abroad. “中国留美幼童书信集”²² [A Collection of Letters from Chinese Students in America] (1986) by Gao Zonglu (高宗鲁) is a Chinese translation of LaFargue's book. It includes additional notes and Chinese letters. Additionally, the text addresses the cultural and educational challenges faced by Chinese children who were sent to the West at an early age, as well as the employment difficulties they encountered upon their return. “晚清留美幼童—中国现代化起步的推动者”²³ [Late Qing Chinese Students in America—Promoters of China's Modernization] (2007) by Li Xijun (李西军) as a Master's thesis examines the difficulties experienced by the students after their return, how they became pioneers of Chinese modernization despite being excluded by their society that grew up with traditional Chinese culture. One of the most

¹⁹ Shi Ni 石霓, *Guannian yu beiju: wanqing liumei youtong mingyun pouxi 观念与悲剧：晚清留美幼童命运剖析* [Perception and Tragedy: An Analysis of the Fate of Young Children Staying in the United States in the Late Qing Dynasty] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2000).

²⁰ Qian Gang, Hu Jincan 钱钢、胡劲草, *Daqing liumei youtong ji 大清留美幼童记* [A Memoir of a Young Students Sent to the United States by the Qing Dynasty] (Beijing: Modern Chinese Publication, 2010).

²¹ Zhan Tongji 詹同济, *Zhan Tianyou shu xin xuan ji 詹天佑书信选集* [Selected Letters of Zhan Tianyou]. (Guangzhou: Hua nan li gong da xue chu ban she, 2006).

²² Gao Zonglu 高宗鲁, *Zhongguo liumei youtong shuxinji 中国留美幼童书信集* [A Collection of Letters from Young Children in the United States] (Taipei: Chuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1986).

²³ Li Xijun 李西军, *Wanqing liu Mei youtong—Zhongguo xiandaihua qibu de tuidongzhe 晚清留美幼童—中国现代化起步的推动者* [Late Qing Chinese Students in America—Promoters of China's Modernization], (Tianjin: Tianjin Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, 2007).

significant studies "留美幼童家庭出考略"²⁴ [Analysis of Family Origins of Young Children Who Studied in the United States] (2016) by Shen Rongguo (沈荣国) examines the social background of students sent to the West.

The review of the studies about the subject reveals that studies on students sent to the West during both the Ottoman and Chinese modernizations were conducted locally. Consequently, the reactions of these two civilizations, which are similar in many respects, to the Western challenge have not been adequately researched. At this juncture, it is pertinent to cite Rahman Nurdan's doctoral thesis, entitled "Çin Modernleşmesi ve Türkiye (1840-1911)"²⁵ [China Modernization and Turkey (1840-1911)] (2003), and Hale Eroğlu Sağer's "Nation-building in China and Turkey: An Analysis of the Thought of Sun Yat-sen and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Comparative Perspective"²⁶ (2003) and her article titled "Çin ve Osmanlı'da Meşrutiyetçi Düşünce ve Milliyetçiliğin Doğuşu: Karşılaştırmalı bir inceleme"²⁷ [Constitutionalist Thought in the Qing and Ottoman Empires: A Comparative Study] (2006) represents some of a few instances of such a comparative approach.

In essence, the thesis will demonstrate a new approach by considering the experiences of Western-educated students in the Chinese and Ottoman modernizations from a comparative perspective. This will provide a more comprehensive evaluation opportunity that includes social dimensions in the transformation of Western knowledge.

1.3. Methodology

²⁴ Shen Rongguo 沈荣国, "Liumei Youtong Jiating Chushen Kaolue 留美幼童家庭出考略 [An Analysis of the Family Origins of Young Children Who Studied in the United States]," *Wenhua Zazhi* 99 (2016).

²⁵ Rahman Nurdan, 'Çin Modernleşmesi ve Türkiye (1840-1911)' (Phd, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2003).

²⁶ Hale Eroğlu, 'Nation-Building in China and Turkey: An Analysis of the Thought of Sun Yat-Sen and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Comparative' (Master, İstanbul, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi / Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Tarih Ana Bilim Dalı, 2003).

²⁷ Eroglu Sager, Zeyneb Hale. "Çin ve Osmanlı'da Meşrutiyetçi Düşünce ve Milliyetçiliğin Doğuşu: Karşılaştırmalı bir inceleme," (Constitutionalist Thought in the Qing and Ottoman Empires: A Comparative Study) *Divan* 11, no. 20 (2006).

This comparative study employs a qualitative research design, utilizing archival sources, historical accounts, and scholarly insights to interpret the divergent pathways undertaken by China and the Ottoman Empire in their quests for modernization through education during the 19th century. The research design is structured to facilitate a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted dynamics that underpin the modernization endeavors of these two empires.

The primary data sources for this study include archival materials from both China and the Ottoman Empire alongside personal letters and correspondence from the period. These sources provide direct insight into the educational experiences and socio-political developments in both empires. Secondary sources, such as historical monographs, scholarly articles, and academic papers, provide further insights into the historical contexts, socio-political dynamics, and educational developments of China and the Ottoman Empire. These accounts serve as valuable supplements to the primary archival sources, offering a range of perspectives and analytical frameworks for interpreting the research findings.

A comparative analytical approach is employed to identify similarities and differences in the modernization trajectories of China and the Ottoman Empire, particularly in their approaches to education and engagement with Western knowledge systems.

This thesis employs the Pinyin (音拼) system for the transliteration of Chinese names, following contemporary and widely accepted standards for romanization to ensure readability and consistency throughout the text. Since many of my sources are older and use the Wade-Giles system, I have converted these names into Pinyin. For instance, the Wade-Giles "Peking" becomes "Beijing" in Pinyin, and "Tao" becomes "Dao." It is important to note that while Pinyin typically includes tone marks, I have omitted them in this thesis for simplicity.

Additionally, I preferred simplified characters over traditional ones. Simplified characters generally have fewer strokes, enhancing readability and ease of writing.

For example, the traditional character for "country" (國) is simplified to (国), and "study/learn" (學習) is simplified to (学习).

It should be noted that Chinese names typically consist of two parts: the surname (family name) and the given name (personal name). The surname, which comes first, is usually a single character. The given name follows and can be one or two characters long. For example, in the name "Wang Wei" (王伟), "Wang" (王) is the surname and "Wei" (伟) is the given name. In the name Zhang Sanfeng (张三丰): "Zhang" (张) is the surname, and "Sanfeng" (三丰) is the given name.



CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS: MODERN EDUCATION FOR A MODERN BUREAUCRACY

This chapter focuses on the transformative efforts undertaken by both China and the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century to modernize their educational systems and prepare state servants capable of addressing contemporary challenges. It begins by exploring the historical contexts of China and the Ottoman Empire, detailing their traditional educational practices and the motivations behind sending students abroad for Western education. The chapter also delves into the most prominent reforms initiated in both regions to establish modern educational institutions, highlighting the driving forces behind these reforms as well as the challenges encountered during their implementation. The first section examines China's experience, analyzing the processes of modernization and educational reform within its specific context. A similar approach will then be applied to the Ottoman Empire.

One of the main focuses of the thesis is to evaluate both the overseas experiences of the students and their experiences on their return to their home countries. To facilitate this evaluation, it is crucial to gain an understanding of the students' social standing. Therefore, before examining the historical background of student dispatches, a brief overview of the social structures of China and the Ottoman Empire will provide valuable context for understanding these students' roles and experiences.

2.1. Social Structures of China and the Ottoman Empire

In the Ottoman Empire, society was divided into two main classes: the ruling class and the subjects. The ruling class consisted of individuals granted administrative

authority by the sultan through imperial decree and the subjects (*reaya*), comprising various religious and ethnic groups who did not participate in governance. The duty of the subjects (*reaya*), regardless of their religious or ethnic background, was to support the ruling class by producing and paying their taxes. The ruling class consisted of four main groups: the *mülkiye* (palace officials), the *seyfiye* (military class), the *ilmiye* (religious scholars), and the *kalemiye* (administrative bureaucracy). The *seyfiye*, primarily responsible for military matters, also held executive roles. The *ilmiye* class was responsible for religious, judicial, and educational affairs, while the *kalemiye* comprised administrative officials at all levels of government. The *reaya* consisted of those outside these three classes. They did not participate in governance and sustained themselves through agriculture, craftsmanship, and trade.²⁸

The *reaya* included various religious, sectarian, and ethnic groups. Besides Turks, other groups such as Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Romanians, Slavs, and Arabs also inhabited Ottoman territories. Rather than ethnic lines, the subjects were divided along their religious affiliations. The state allowed each religious community a degree of autonomy, refraining from assimilation. The governance of communities in Ottoman territories based on religion was termed the "Millet System."²⁹

As widely experienced in Islamic societies and reflecting its cosmopolitan spirit the social structure of the Ottoman Empire did not possess an unchangeable class system too. There was potential for individuals from humble origins to achieve significant positions through talent and diligence, a characteristic aspect of Ottoman social and political structure.

On the contrary, China had a completely different civilizational basis. Unlike Western Abrahamic religious traditions, which also emphasize moral and ethical values and social harmony, Chinese religious and philosophical systems did not focus on a single creator deity or a narrative of a conscious cosmic creation. Instead, they concentrated on principles of harmony, balance, and interconnectedness. Confucianism, for instance, prioritized moral and ethical values, social harmony, and

²⁸ Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, 'Osmanlı Toplumı', in *Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: İslâm Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi (IRCICA), 1994), 444.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 465.

the cultivation of virtues such as benevolence and righteousness, focusing on guiding individuals on how to live harmoniously within society, rather than on the existence of God or the creation of the universe. Similarly, Daoism emphasizes living by the Dao (way) representing the cosmos' natural order. Daoist philosophy encouraged simplicity, spontaneity and alignment with the natural flow of life, rather than dwelling on theological speculation. While Chinese culture included practices such as ancestor worship and the worship of various gods and spirits associated with nature, these were often more pragmatic, focusing on seeking blessings, protection and guidance rather than on theological narratives.³⁰ In other words, Chinese religious and philosophical traditions diverged by prioritizing practical ethics, harmony with nature and social order over theistic beliefs or creation narratives.

China's mainstream philosophies, in particular Confucianism, affected their social structure. Imperial Chinese society was traditionally divided into four main classes: scholars (gentry), peasants, artisans, and merchants.³¹ The gentry class, composed of educated individuals, held the highest status, while merchants were at the bottom despite their economic power. 'The Imperial Civil Service Examination' system in China was a rigorous, multi-stage process designed to recruit government officials based on merit. The system provided an opportunity for individuals, particularly from the lower classes, to rise in status by earning government positions.³²

The imperial examination system in the Qing dynasty did not significantly enhance social mobility, particularly for peasants and artisans. Instead, the examination system mainly benefited individuals from higher social classes, such as the gentry, military, and merchant elites. Success in these exams allowed individuals to join the gentry, though access to education required significant resources, making this path to mobility available only to a small portion of the population. Although people of

³⁰ Youlan Feng 1895-1990. and Derk Bodde 1909-2003., *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, 1st Free Press pbk. ed, Free Press Paperback (New York: Free Press, 1966), 3–6.

³¹ Ping-Ti Ho, 'Aspects of Social Mobility in China, 1368-1911', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1, no. 4 (1959): 333.

³² More details of The Imperial Civil Service Examination will be given under the title 2.4.. For further information about social mobility via imperial civil service examination see Benjamin A. Elman (2013) *Civil Examinations and Meritocracy in Late Imperial China*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, Ho Ping-Ti (1976) *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China*. New York: Da Capo., E. A. Kracke (1968) *Family vs. Merit in Chinese Civil Service Examinations under the Empire*. *Studies of Governmental Institutions in Chinese History*.

lower social origins technically had the right to take the examinations, they often lacked the financial and cultural resources needed to prepare, as success in the exams required years of arduous study. Therefore, although the system was designed to offer a path to social advancement, it primarily favored those from more privileged backgrounds, allowing them to achieve merit and secure official positions more easily.³³ Over time, the examination system became entrenched as the main mechanism for social ascent, perpetuating the dominance of those already in higher social strata.

In addition, as an agricultural country, land was the primary source of wealth in China like the Ottoman Empire. Throughout Chinese history, societal and economic thought and politics have revolved around the use and distribution of land. Chinese philosophers distinguished in their societal and economic thought between what they termed "root" and "branch." Root refers to agriculture, while branch refers to commerce. This distinction was based on the differing concerns of agriculture and commerce. Agriculture was concerned with production, while commerce was solely concerned with exchange. In an agricultural country, farming is the primary form of production. This dichotomy suggests that farmers are more likely to remain in their country during times of danger, while merchants are more likely to flee. Therefore, in Chinese thinking not only agriculture was economically more important than commerce but also the lifestyle of farmers was superior to that of merchants.³⁴ Yet, despite this, China evolved into a highly commercialized society, where trade and market activities became essential components of its economy.

Apart from the dominant influence of Confucianism in Chinese society and the importance of class relations, especially between merchants and peasants, another classification that was effective throughout their history was the distinction between "xia" (夏) and "yi" (夷), or barbarian/alien and native.

Chinese people saw their country as the center country or central kingdom. The people who lived on the borders of the Chinese lands were regarded as barbarian

³³ Benjamin A. Elman, 'Civil Service Examinations', 2009, 405.

³⁴ Ibid., 18-19.

tribes. The concepts of yi (barbarian/alien) and xia (mainland residents) came from this geographical aspect. These concepts were initiated in the time of Confucius and originated from the Spring and Autumn Annals (春秋).

The term "yi" (夷) historically referred to something foreign or not belonging to Chinese culture. Thus, it was frequently used to describe foreigners, and its derogatory undertone of "barbarian" became a point of contention. In the Tianjin Treaty of 1858, the Qing government was forbidden from using "yi" to address the British, as the British considered it derogatory since it means "barbarian".³⁵

The distinction of barbarian/alien and native is significant because China was, at various times, ruled by non-Han ethnic groups, such as the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) of the Jurchen/non-Han, the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) of the Mongols, and the Qing dynasty (1636–1912) of the Manchus. These dynasties had to navigate the complexities of being perceived as foreign rulers in a historically Han-centric civilization.

When Manchus became rulers of the last dynasty of China there were five major ethnic groups in China. Each was distinguished by their unique culture, language, and history. They were the Han (汉), the Manchus (满), the Mongols (蒙) the Hui/Muslims (回), and the Tibetans (藏). The classification of non-Chinese tribes other than the Han as the "four barbarians" (yi man rong di 夷蠻戎狄) was indeed a prevalent concept in ancient China, reflecting a hierarchical view of other cultures and people. This classification system categorized tribes living on the peripheries of ancient China (north, east, south, and west of the Central Plains) using labels that emphasized their perceived cultural and societal differences from the Han Chinese.

The term "barbarian" (yi 夷) carried connotations of otherness and inferiority, contrasting the cultural practices of these tribes with those of the Han Chinese. The concept of the "four barbarians" persisted throughout various periods of Chinese

³⁵ Bin Chen, 'Understanding the Character Yi in Pre-Opium War Period Canton: A Study of The Merchant Newspaper the Canton Register', *Review of Culture International Edition*, no. 62 (2020): 90.

history and was reinforced by scholars and officials who sought to uphold Han Chinese cultural superiority.³⁶

In Chinese worldview the perception of the world was shaped by the hierarchical principles ingrained in Chinese society and culture, particularly influenced by Han Chinese culture and Confucianism, which held sway from the early third century B.C. until the early twentieth century. Non-Han people's placement within this hierarchy was contingent upon their degree of resemblance to mainstream Han culture.³⁷ Social organization within this framework was similarly based on this standard of cultural assimilation. Han Chinese often evaluated non-Han people based on their social conduct, thus determining their position within the hierarchy.

Accordingly, the longevity of the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644-1912), a non-Han ethnic group, is commonly attributed to their ability to adapt to the Han Chinese. The early Manchu rulers adopted the language, rituals, and concepts of Confucianism and used them to strengthen and maintain political power. Following the rise to power of approximately 2 million Manchus over a population of around 120 million Chinese, the Qing dynasty reigned over the Chinese people for 268 years. Throughout this period, China's population expanded to approximately 400 million.³⁸ While the Manchus adopted Confucian political and ethical philosophy, they were also determined to preserve their distinct identity as Manchus. They also imposed some of their distinct Manchu traditions on the Han such as male hairstyle (queue) and official clothes.³⁹

It is widely accepted that the concept of Manchu imperial identity is intricately linked with the banner system, which was also an institution that kept Manchus separate from the civilian Han population.⁴⁰ The banner system, introduced by Nurhaci (1559-1626), the founder of the Qing, initially included the Jurchen people

³⁶ Dongyu H., 'The Rise and Fall of the Hua-Yi System in East Asia', *Journal of Chinese Humanities* 5, no. 2 (2020): 201.

³⁷ Q. Edward Wang, 'History, Space, and Ethnicity: The Chinese Worldview', *Journal of World History* 10, no. 2 (1999): 287.

³⁸ John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History*, 2nd enlarged ed (Cambridge (Mass.): Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 2.

³⁹ Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Manchus and Han Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861-1928* (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 2000), 15.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

from eastern and northern Manchuria. During the reign of Hong Taiji (1636-1672), the Jurchens were renamed Manchus, and the system expanded to incorporate Mongols and Chinese who supported the Manchu conquest of Ming territories. The banners functioned as the Qing's military force, and membership was hereditary. This system encompassed not only soldiers but also their families, collectively referred to as banner people (旗人/qiren).⁴¹

In peacetime, those under the banners often engaged in farming and hunting. In times of conflict, they swiftly transitioned into warriors, forming the backbone of the Qing military. This system organized the population into distinct units based on ethnicity and social status, providing both military and economic privileges to its members while strengthening Qing rule over its diverse territories.

The banners can be defined as the institution that unified the Manchu people and shaped the Manchu identity.⁴² They are also viewed as the system that highlights the distinctions between the Manchus and the Han. Although the banners were composed of various ethnic groups, including the Han and Mongols, they were predominantly referred to as Manchu banners because all Manchus were placed within the banner system with their families, whereas this was not the case for the Han population. Thus, the Manchus, though a minority in Qing society, made up the majority within the banners, and every Manchu was a banner member.

The Qing court adopted a policy of "separate governance of banner people and civilians" (qimin fenzhi 旗民分治) in terms of governance. There was legal, economic, and political discrimination between the banners and the civilians, which came to be understood as discrimination between the Manchus and the Han.⁴³ The Manchus, who were all banners, were separated from the civilian Han in terms of administration, employment, living arrangements, and social interactions.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., 18.

⁴³ For the details of different treatments of Manchu and Han see: Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 197–207; Rhoads, *Manchus and Han Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861-1928*, 42–51.

Although their population was not high, as mentioned Manchus enjoyed preferential treatment in recruitment and appointment within the Qing bureaucracy. They had easier access to civil service through separate quotas in civil service examinations, less demanding tests exclusively for Manchus, and special positions such as Manchu-language scribes. Additionally, some Manchus bypassed exams altogether through hereditary privileges or purchasing positions. This systemic advantage extended to appointments, with many government posts reserved for Manchus, especially in the capital administration.⁴⁴ Similar to the situation in the Qing dynasty, the Ottoman Empire also witnessed various forms of privileges across legal, economic, social, and political spheres between Muslims and non-Muslims. While non-Muslims were granted certain autonomy in specific matters, they did not enjoy completely equal status to Muslims within society. Additionally, the distinction between the banners and civilians in the Chinese society, as Eroğlu states, is reminiscent of the Ottoman separation between reaya (tax-paying subjects) and askeri (military subjects).⁴⁵

Furthermore, the court aimed to educate the banners to serve the government effectively, equipping them with a comprehensive education in various subjects. This education included learning the classics in Mongolian, Chinese, and Manchu languages, as well as the histories of preceding foreign rulers of China. They were also instructed in astronomy, mathematics, and medicine, and trained in horsemanship and archery. This education aimed to shape them into a ruling class with both military and civil capabilities, intended to be loyal agents closely connected to the ruling house.⁴⁶

Understanding this social context allows for a deeper comprehension of the experiences of China and the Ottoman Empire during their modernization periods.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 11., 43–44.

⁴⁵ Eroğlu, 'Nation-Building in China and Turkey: An Analysis of the Thought of Sun Yat-Sen and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Comparative', 32.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 30.

2.2. China Encounters the West

China is one of the oldest and most populous civilizations in the world. Though it is considered a part of East Asia in terms of geographical position, the Chinese refer to their country as Zhongguo (中国), meaning "central/middle country/kingdom," emphasizing the centrality of their country and civilization. China, throughout its history, has interacted with external cultures, but these interactions have often resulted in a process of 'Sinicization,' where foreign elements, such as Buddhism, were absorbed and adapted to fit the local cultural context. This indicates that China has adopted a selective approach to integrating external cultural influences while maintaining its cultural integrity. In contrast, the Ottoman Empire exhibited a more diverse approach in its interactions with external cultures. The Ottoman Empire's engagement with Western culture led to increased cultural diversity and a broader integration process. In this context, it becomes evident that China's interactions with external cultures occurred through a more limited and customized process compared to the Ottoman Empire.

In the nineteenth century in terms of the process of modernization, there were milestone incidents for the Qing government of China (1644-1912) that prompted them to perceive the significance of learning technology from the West to strengthen their country. These incidents made China face significant challenges. Primary among these incidents was the defeat of the First Opium War (1839-1842) and the subsequent Nanjing Treaty (1842) (南京条约). The Nanjing Treaty forced China to open five treaty ports (Shanghai, Ningbo, Xiamen, Fuzhou, and Guangzhou) and ceded Hong Kong to Britain. The second Opium War (1856-1860) made China sign the Tianjin Treaty (1858) and the Convention of Peking (北京条约) (1860) which imposed additional unequal treaties on China.⁴⁷ Concurrently, the Qing government strove to deal with the internal problems. One of the most challenging was the Taiping Rebellion (太平天国运动) (1850-1864), a radical uprising, that was eventually suppressed with the assistance of regional and Western forces.

⁴⁷ Jeffrey N Wasserstrom, 'The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern China', n.d., 53.

These events of the 19th century marked the beginning of one of China's modernization periods. Various modernization processes occurred during the Qing Dynasty (1644 – 1911). The first of these was the Tongzhi Restoration (同治中兴)⁴⁸ (1862 – 1874), which occurred during the reign of Emperor Tongzhi. During this period, figures such as Prince Gong (Yi Xin) and Wenxiang played a significant role, aiming to restore the power of the dynasty. Prince Gong and Wenxiang sought to improve diplomatic relations with the West.⁴⁹ Another significant modernization effort during this period was the Self-Strengthening Movement (自强运动), which lasted until 1895. The principle of "Chinese learning as the essence, Western learning for practical use" (中学为体、西学为用) was adopted, aiming to strengthen the country by benefiting from Western science and technology. The Self-Strengthening Movement focused on military and technological modernization. Significant figures such as Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang, and Zuo Zongtang, who had independent provincial military forces independent of the Qing army, became key figures in this movement after being called to help suppress the Taiping Rebellion. These figures aimed to strengthen China by acquiring Western military technologies and industrial knowledge.

However, China's defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 revealed the inadequacy of these reforms. After this defeat, reformers like Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, pointing to Japan's successes in modernization, called for more comprehensive reforms. With the support of Emperor Guangxu, the process known as the Hundred Days' Reform (百日变法) began in 1898. Reformers Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, rather than merely maintaining the essence-usage (ti-yong) distinction argued that many Western values should not just complement Chinese tradition but be integrated into it. They believed that the Chinese should return to their true Confucian roots, within which they saw the seeds of certain so-called Western values and practices, such as constitutional rule.⁵⁰ Thus, the reforms could

⁴⁸ For details of Tongzhi restoration see Mary Wright, *The Last Stance of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-Chih Restoration, 1862-1874*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 1962.

⁴⁹ Jianbo Zhou, *Westernization Movement and Early Thought of Modernization in China: Pragmatism and Changes in Society, 1860s–1900s*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 20.

⁵⁰ Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 77–78.

remain for a hundred days. However, these reforms were hindered by Empress Dowager Cixi and the conservative factions within the imperial court. As a result, the reforms were only able to last for a hundred days.

The failure of these reforms was accompanied by a rising anti-Western sentiment among the Chinese people, culminating in the Boxer Rebellion (义和团运动) in 1900. This uprising emerged as a reaction against foreign powers. Subsequently, from 1901 to 1911, the Late Qing New Policies movement was initiated. The Late Qing New Policies were a series of modernizing reforms aimed at transitioning China toward constitutional rule while modernizing its institutions and educational systems. A key aspect of these reforms was the abolition of the traditional civil service examination system, which had long been the foundation of the imperial bureaucracy. By replacing the examination system with a more modern, Western-style education and administrative structure, these policies sought to prepare China for a more contemporary form of governance and to align it with global trends in statecraft and education. Despite these reform efforts, introduced after the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, the dynasty came to an end as a consequence of peasant riots and revolutionary upheavals which led to the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912.

The first reform process revealed the limitations of the Qing Dynasty's attempts at modernization. Western technology and military knowledge were acquired, but political and social structures were preserved. The Chinese essence of Western use (ti-yong) distinction represented the attempt to reconcile modernization with traditional structures, but in the long term, it was insufficient and highlighted China's need for more radical change.

The New Qing reforms (1901–1911) marked a significant departure from earlier efforts like the Tongzhi Restoration (1860s) and the ti-yong mentality, which focused on selectively adopting Western technologies while preserving Confucian governance. In contrast, the New Policies aimed for comprehensive modernization of political, military, and educational systems, driven by the urgent need to address failures exposed by defeats such as the First Sino-Japanese War. This shift was motivated by a recognition that superficial reforms were insufficient; instead, a

radical transformation of China's institutions was necessary to effectively respond to foreign pressures and ensure national survival. The New Policies abolished the Confucian examination system, introduced Western-style governance, and promoted a constitutional monarchy, reflecting a more profound commitment to modernizing China as a whole.

Consequently, in the nineteenth century, with the increasing involvement of international relations mentioned, the attitude of the Qing government towards Western knowledge started to change. Initially, the Qing authorities leaned on foreign specialists to address the demand for individuals proficient in foreign languages and well-versed in Western technology. This resulted in the establishment of new institutions to educate native people. They established foreign language schools to train native Chinese experts. After recognizing the urgent need for cultivating indigenous experts, the Chinese came up with the idea of sending personnel to the West for advanced technological education. Subsequently, the need for native Chinese specialists capable of comprehending and adapting to the evolving world led to the idea of sending Chinese students abroad for Western education. However, the practical implementation was challenging due to their limited connections and information about the West, financial difficulties, and their worldview.

The pioneering effort to send students to the West with government support started with the Chinese Educational Mission (CEM), spanning from 1872 to 1881. Rong Hong (容闳), known as Yung Wing in Western academia, played a key role in this initiative. He was the first Chinese graduate from a U.S. university. Having studied at Yale University and returned to China, Yung Wing engaged in translation, trade and diplomacy fostering a vision to offer similar opportunities to fellow Chinese youths. With the support of modernization and reform proponents such as bureaucrats Zeng Guofan (曾国藩) and Li Hongzhang (李鴻章), Yung Wing presented his education proposal to the Qing government.⁵¹

This proposal was implemented as a mission known as 留美幼童 (liumei you tong) in China and is referred to as the Chinese Educational Mission (CEM) in English.

⁵¹ Yung and Twichell, *My Life in China and America*.

This educational endeavor represents a pivotal chapter in China's pursuit of self-empowerment through Western education. However, despite the initial promise and potential of the Chinese Educational Mission, it was cut short by the Qing government in 1881, in the ninth year of the project for various reasons, before completing the planned duration of fifteen years.

Before examining the details, it is essential to understand the background that led China to embark on the mission of sending students abroad. The factors and conditions that prompted China to take this step will be analyzed within the context of the country's modernization efforts and interactions with the West. This section will provide a detailed exploration of how China's modernization of education prepared the country for its student-sending mission.

2.2.1. Modernizing Education in China

Traditional Chinese education was a structured system deeply influenced by Confucian values and classical texts since the imperial civil service examination system was founded dating back to the Sui Dynasty (隋朝) (581-618 CE). The imperial civil service examination system in China is often referred to as the "Imperial Examination" or "Keju" (科举). The system of competitive examinations was used to select and appoint officials to government positions in ancient China. The overarching purpose of education was to prepare individuals for service to the state and society, producing virtuous citizens and qualified officials.

Education often started in early childhood within the family, where children learned moral values, basic etiquette, and social norms of Confucianism such as filial piety and respect for elders. The village schools introduced basic literacy and the beginnings of Confucian thought, while private tutors offered more advanced instruction. As students progressed, they entered county and provincial schools, delving deeper into Confucian classics. The higher education was preparation for the imperial examination, known for their meticulous testing of Confucian knowledge.⁵²

⁵² T. Wang, 'Understanding Chinese Culture and Learning', 2007, 5.

For the classic education, the main curriculum was The Five Classics known as (《五经》) (Wǔjīng) and Four Books known as (《四书》) (Sishū) in modern Chinese respectively. These are a set of essential ancient Chinese texts that form the core of Confucian thought. The Five Classics consist of the (《诗经》) (Shījīng) or Classic of Poetry, (《书经》) (Shūjīng) or Classic of History, (《礼经》) (Lǐjīng) or Classic of Rites, (《易经》) (Yìjīng) or Classic of Changes (I Ching), and (《春秋》) (Chūnqiū) or Spring and Autumn Annals. The Four Books encompass (《论语》) (Lúnyǔ) The Analects of Confucius, (《大学》) (Dàxué) The Great Learning, (《中庸》) (Zhōngyōng) The Doctrine of the Mean, and (《孟子》) (Mèngzǐ) The Mencius.⁵³ These ancient texts continue to hold great significance in Chinese culture and have profoundly shaped philosophy, ethics, and the moral structure of society throughout history and into the modern era.

Briefly, the classical Chinese education system was predominantly influenced by Confucianism, with its primary aim being the absorption of Confucian classics, in preparation for the imperial examination system which abolished in 1905. Therefore, in the context of China, the concept of modern education might be described as a model that does not focus on Confucian classics and is not towards preparing for the official imperial examinations for government positions.

Taking all these into consideration, when examining the first educational institutions established in the modern sense, it can be observed that the process of modernization primarily focused on the development of military and foreign language proficiency.

⁵³ For further information about traditional Chinese education; *Education in Traditional China* by Thomas H.C. Lee in Chan S.-wai. (2020). *The routledge encyclopedia of traditional chinese culture*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315453491>

2.2.1.1. First Modern Schools in China

The nineteenth century in Chinese history was characterized by modernization across various societal domains, notably the education field. This era witnessed the profound transformation of the traditional education system, led by forward-thinking intellectuals and enlightened bureaucrats. Motivated by the need to adapt to a rapidly evolving world, the reformists recognized that the existing examination system, rooted in Confucian principles, fell short of addressing the changing needs of China.

The system's emphasis on classical texts and rote memorization hindered the development of practical skills and scientific knowledge necessary for global progress. To remedy this, in the 1860s the reformists strategically attempted to modernize the examination system by incorporating subjects like mathematics, science, and foreign languages, broadening the skills tested to include critical thinking and problem-solving.⁵⁴

Although the standardized examination system was introduced to reduce corruption, in practice, it sometimes exacerbated the problem, as individuals found ways to manipulate the system through bribery and favoritism. Moreover, the reform efforts signaled a departure from entrenched Confucian norms, paving the way for new ideologies and shaping China's modern identity. However, modernizing the examination system was challenging due to opposition from conservatives and a lack of scientific knowledge. Conservative bureaucrats rejected many exam reform proposals. It was not until 1905, when the imperial examination system was abolished, that modernization supporters could make some changes they planned.⁵⁵

Guo Bingwen (郭秉文, 1880–1969) one of the most prominent figures of modern Chinese education (he studied in the United States in 1908 and received a doctorate in education from Columbia University in 1914) wrote in his book *The Chinese*

⁵⁴ Jianbo Zhou, *Westernization Movement and Early Thought of Modernization in China: Pragmatism and Changes in Society, 1860s–1900s*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 113–14.

⁵⁵ Ichisada Miyazaki, *China's Examination Hell: The Civil Service Examinations of Imperial China*, 1st ed (New York: Weatherhill, 1976), 125.

System of Public Education in 1915, “modern school system in China (might be) starts in 1842 with the treaty that opened the five important ports of China to foreigners. Although these schools had some deficiencies, since modern knowledge was taught by missionaries practically these schools are regarded as the first modern schools in China.”⁵⁶

Taking Guo Bingwen's evaluation into account, it is necessary to focus on the period following the nineteenth-century treaties. During the nineteenth century, modernization in education began with foreign language education and unfolded through two main types of schools: missionary schools and government-run language schools. These institutions exhibited distinct goals, teaching methods, and approaches to foreign language instruction. While missionary schools often had religious undertones and sought to impart Western knowledge along with Christianity, government-run language schools aimed to equip officials with practical language skills to engage with foreign powers on diplomatic and administrative fronts.

2.2.1.2. Missionaries in China

Christian missionaries first arrived in China centuries ago, but their most significant impact was seen during the 19th and 20th centuries. They encountered political and societal opposition, leading to a change in their approach from evangelism to education. Missionary activities and the influence of foreign powers made China take some precautions. Christian missionaries were also banned by China in the 18th century.⁵⁷ Early in the 19th century, due to the unequal treaties, however, Protestant missionaries made their way to China. One of the notable treaties was the Treaty of Nanjing (南京条约) in 1842, which marked the end of the First Opium War between China and Britain. It allowed Christian missionaries to establish missionary activities and stipulate the protection of Christians in China. Subsequently, the Treaty of

⁵⁶ Ping Wen Kuo, *The Chinese System of Public Education*. New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1915, 1972, 64.

⁵⁷ For further information about missionaries in China; Latourette K. S. (1929). *A history of Christian missions in China*. Macmillan. For details of protestant activities in China; General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China (1878 Shanghai). (1878). *Records of the general conference of the protestant missionaries of china : held at shanghai ... 1877 ... may 10-24 1877*. Presbyterian mission Press.

Tianjin (天津条约) (1858) after the Second Opium War, expanded the privileges of foreigners within China, including the propagation of Christian teachings. The Treaty of Peking (北京条约) in 1860 added to the Treaty of Tianjin by opening more ports for foreign trade and habitation, creating a better environment for missionary activities.⁵⁸

In the early nineteenth century, missionaries even founded several publishing houses such as Mohai Shu Guan/Inkstone Press (墨海书), The Morrison Press (摩理臣印行), The London Missionary Society Press (伦敦会印刷所). The missionaries produced religious books to explain Christianity as well as Western science books and textbooks for use in their schools. They even had magazines for Westerners and Chinese.

As their influence grew, missionaries not only contributed to the dissemination of Western knowledge but also played a crucial role in shaping China's interactions with foreign powers, especially in the realm of language and diplomacy. Aside from Chinese merchants, the individuals who were fluent in both Chinese and foreign languages were predominantly Westerners and missionaries. Consequently, these missionaries became the primary translators of the government and conveyors of Western knowledge.

Some notable missionaries during the 18th and 19th centuries include Robert Morrison (1782–1834), William Milne (1785–1822), John Fryer (1839–1928), Elijah C. Bridgman (1801–1861), Karl Gützlaff (1803–1851) (Guo Shila 郭施拉), Walter H. Medhurst (Mai Duosi 麦都思) (1823–1885), Thomas F. Wade (1818–1895), and William A. P. Martin (1827–1916).

As an example, John Fryer was the headmaster of an English College in Hong Kong in 1861, where he learned Cantonese. In 1863, he briefly taught English at Beijing Tongwen Guan before moving to Shanghai in 1865. Between 1868 and 1896, he worked as a translator of scientific books at the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau (Arsenal). Fryer's career spanned several decades and multiple locations, providing

⁵⁸ Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*, 10.

him with ample opportunities to hone his linguistic skills. During this period, he was notably prolific, translating over 100 texts on natural science and technology. Later, he broadened his translations to encompass law and political economy, which he continued to do until 1896.⁵⁹

2.2.1.3. Missionary schools

In the late 18th century, China forged diplomatic relations with Malacca (Malaysia), which was then under Dutch rule. Christian missionaries collaborated with Chinese migrants and workers in Malacca, creating one of the earliest missionary schools in 1818 for the Chinese people. Even though the students were Chinese, the location of the school was not in the territories of China. Morrison Education Society School (英华书院) which was founded in Macau in 1834 and moved to Hongkong in 1842 was one of the most prominent missionary schools in China. The school was founded by Robert Morrison and Samuel Robbins Brown. Robert Morrison (called 马礼逊 Ma Lixun by Chinese people) was sent by the London Missionary Society. Samuel Robbins Brown (called 鲍留云 Bao Liuyun by Chinese people), who took the initiative of CEM mission Yung Wing to get an education in America, was its first teacher.

Missionary schools initially implemented a syllabus that closely resembled that of basic-level education. They catered to small groups of students, usually no more than ten per establishment, and taught a broad spectrum of topics including mathematics, astronomy, geography, foreign languages, history, physics, biology, chemistry, music, religious studies, and physical education. There were different missionary schools in various parts of China. Their curricula varied. Over time, they evolved into high schools and universities.⁶⁰

Missionary schools played an important role in the late Qing Dynasty by spreading Western education and culture to Chinese society. Although their primary intention

⁵⁹ Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff, *Mapping Meanings: The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2004), 516, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047405641>.

⁶⁰ For the curriculum of different missionary schools; Yuezhi Xiong's *Church Schools and the Dissemination of Western Learning in the eastward dissemination of Western learning in the late Qing dynasty. volume 2*. Silkroad. (2013).

was spreading Christianity, these institutions also made significant contributions to the modernization of China by offering a wide range of subjects in their schools. Traditional Chinese education aimed to prepare students for imperial examinations. In contrast, missionary schools prioritized Christian religious education, instead of preparing students to participate in the examination system. The target audience of the missionaries extended beyond the elite and included all parts of society. Most of the students came from poor families as these schools did not charge tuition fees. Thus, graduates of missionary schools predominantly originated from the lower class of society and converted to Christianity.⁶¹ Both their lower social origins and conversion to Christianity discouraged the Qing government from employing Chinese graduates of missionary schools as translators instead of foreigners. This might be because they were regarded as untrustworthy.

Missionary schools also faced significant public criticism due to their emphasis on foreign culture and religion. In particular, the establishment of schools for girls and the empowerment of female students in the realm of education, which had not been seen before in Chinese history, drew widespread criticism from various parts of the society.⁶² For families who could afford to educate their children, missionary schools were unnecessary institutions as they did not aim to prepare students for imperial exams that would enable them to obtain governmental positions.

Despite a lack of elite interest, missionary schools left a lasting impression on Chinese education and played a significant role in modernizing China during this period of transformation. During the years 1860 to 1877, a sum of 462 church schools were established in China by American, British, and Continental Missions. The schools comprised Boys' Boarding schools, Boys' Schools, Girls' Boarding schools, Girls' Schools, Theological schools, and Sunday schools, with a total of 8,522 students enrolled in them during this period.⁶³

One of the most significant contributions of the missionary schools is to provide some Chinese students with the opportunity to receive education in the Western

⁶¹ Xiong Yuezhi, *The Eastward Dissemination of Western Learning in the Late Qing Dynasty. Volume 2*, English ed (Singapore: Silkroad Press Singapore, 2013), 15–17.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 8.

world for diverse reasons. The students held a viewpoint aligned with Western ideals and arranged for increased numbers of Chinese students to study abroad in the West.

The role of missionaries in Chinese higher education was also significant. The actual modern Chinese higher education started with the establishment of Beijing Tongwen Guan (京师同文馆) in 1862, which was administered by American missionary William Alexander Parsons Martin (1827 – 1916), also known as Ding Weiliang (丁韪良). He was the chief teacher from 1869 for 25 years. Beijing Tongwen Guan was founded as a translation school; however, its education expanded beyond solely languages.

Another significant influence was the Shandong Dengzhou Wenhuiquan (山东登州文会馆), where American missionary Calvin Wilson Mateer (known as Di Kaowen (狄考文)) introduced university courses in the 1880s, contributing to the emergence of modern Chinese university. Another milestone in the development of modern Chinese higher education was the founding of Beiyang University (北洋大学) in 1895. This institution predominantly adopted the American educational system and engaged American missionary Charles Daniel Tenney (known as 丁家立 Ding Jiali) as its chief teacher. Inspired by Harvard and Yale universities, Beiyang University sourced required books, specimens, instruments, and experimental equipment from the United States, earning it the nickname "the Cornell of the East." This highlights the substantial impact of the American university model on modern Chinese higher education.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Huang Jingang 黄金刚, 'Wan Qing Xifang Chuanjiaoshi Yu Zhongguo Jindai Gaodeng Jiaoyu 晚清西方传教士与中国近代高等教育 [Western Missionaries in the Late Qing Dynasty and Modern Chinese Higher Education]' 29 (2007): 98–99.

2.2.1.4. Government Schools

As outlined earlier, in the 19th century China experienced increased interaction with Western countries, resulting in numerous conflicts and disputes. Prince Gong/ Yi Xin (恭亲王/奕訢), initiator of the Foreign Office, Zongli Yamen (总理衙门) in 1861, stated in his memorial⁶⁵ "Preparing Affairs from Beginning to End" (办事务始末): "When negotiating with foreign countries, it is vital to understand their temperament first. Today's language can be challenging to grasp due to obscure words and varying differences. It is hoped that both parties can compromise despite any barriers. To understand the conditions of each country accurately, it is necessary to first know its language and writing to avoid deception of others".⁶⁶

The foundation of the Zongli Yamen emphasized the urgent need for professionals who possessed expertise in the different foreign powers' spoken and written languages. This was essential to conduct diplomatic affairs with the Western powers. To meet this need a language school was founded by the Qing government in 1842 as part of Zongli Yamen. This language school was Beijing Tongwen Guan (京师同文馆) (known as Tongwen Guan (同文馆) The School of Combined Learning). Its focus was to provide training for official interpreters. Tongwen Guan is considered the first government-founded modern school in China.⁶⁷

Apart from Zongli Yamen and Tongwen Guan, during the nineteenth-century, era of modernization in China, numerous institutions were established to propel the nation into the realm of contemporary global influence. Inspired by this initiative and under the influence of the earliest reformers, Feng Guifen (冯桂芬) and Li Hongzhang (李鸿章)⁶⁸ proposed the establishment of foreign-language schools in Shanghai and

⁶⁵ Memorial (奏折); in the Qing Dynasty formal written documents submitted by officials to the emperor.

⁶⁶ Zhao Min 赵旻, "Jingshi Tongwenguan de fazhan lishi ji qi gongxian 京师同文馆的发展历史及其贡献 [The Development History and Contribution of Jingshi Tongwen Guan]," *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu 中国文化研究*, no. 3 (2000): 67.

⁶⁷ Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*, 94.

⁶⁸ Feng Guifen was a prominent scholar and reformist who advocated for the integration of Western technology and methods to strengthen China during the late Qing Dynasty. Li Hongzhang, a key figure in the Self-Strengthening Movement, was a statesman and military leader who played a crucial role in modernizing China's military and industrial sectors while navigating complex foreign relations.

Canton. These schools aimed to produce graduates proficient in both classical Chinese and foreign languages.

Li Hongzhang envisioned numerous benefits, including potential advancements in Western mathematics, science, and technology that could enhance Chinese armament and shipbuilding capabilities. Additionally, district magistrate⁶⁹ Gui Wencan (桂文燦) suggested sending students abroad, although this was challenging at the time, leading to the creation of a school dedicated to teaching technical skills. Prominent figures such as Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang spearheaded significant initiatives to strengthen China's military and technological capabilities. The Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau (江南制造总局) was founded in 1865 with their support, with the purpose of the production of advanced weaponry and ships, heralding the modernization of China's military capabilities. Concurrently, the Tianjin Military Academy (直隶船政学堂), established in 1866 under Li Hongzhang's patronage, emerged as a crucial training ground for officers and officials, imparting modern military and naval techniques. In 1898, Peking University (京师大学堂) was founded with the imperial approval of Emperor Guangxu, to provide modern education in various fields and promote Western learning. The Tientsin Academy (天津北洋法政学堂), established in 1860 by Li Hongzhang, undertook the task of harmonizing traditional Chinese education with Western methodologies, exemplifying the multifaceted approach to modern learning. The Ziqiang Institute (自强学堂), established in 1897 by Yan Fu, advocated the translation of Western works to promote self-strengthening and modernization. Similarly, Jinling College (金陵大学堂), founded by Zhang Zhidong in 1888, offered modern education in different fields. Equally influential was the Nanjing Higher Normal School (南京高等师范学堂), also established by Zhang Zhidong in 1888, to train teachers using modern educational methods. With institutions such as the Jiangnan Shipyard Bureau (江南船政局) (1865), Kaiping Machinery Bureau (开平铁工厂) (1867), and Hanyang Arsenal (汉阳兵工厂) (1865), initiated by visionaries like Li Hongzhang and Zeng Guofan, China embarked on a trajectory of manufacturing advanced ships,

⁶⁹ 知县 is an official title referring to a local government official responsible for administering a county or district.

machinery, and weaponry, thus facilitating naval and industrial modernization.⁷⁰ Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang also created the Fuzhou Shipyard (福州船政局) in 1866, showing China's strong dedication to modern naval power through shipbuilding and repair. One of the most crucial modern education institutions was Furen University (辅仁大学堂) was a pioneering educational institution established in China to provide modern education to women and promote gender equality. Founded in 1895 by Yanzhao Zhang and Lu Haodong together, these efforts in various fields highlighted China's determined push for modernization in the military, education, and technology, significantly influencing the country's position worldwide.

2.2.1.5. Beijing Tongwen Guan (北京同文馆)

Expanding upon earlier explanations, during negotiations with Western counterparts Chinese officials heavily relied on individual translators. Apart from the foreign translators, Chinese translators were also preferred. Chinese translators were commonly either merchants who had attained some knowledge of a foreign language or graduates of missionary schools. These graduates frequently originated from humble backgrounds with ambiguous social status. They were partially influenced by foreign cultures, and in specific cases, had even adopted Christianity.

In 1861, at the suggestion of Prince Gong (Yi Xin), the Office for the General Management of Affairs Concerning the Various Countries (总理各国事务衙门), known as the Zongli Yamen, was established to efficiently manage international relations. Before, official communications between Western governments and the Chinese Qing government were typically written in Chinese or, in the case of Russia, often in Manchu.⁷¹ However, the Tianjin treaty included parts that the official correspondences should be written in the European languages of the treaty parties as following European diplomatic procedure.⁷²

⁷⁰ Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 1st ed (New York: Norton, 1990), 197–200.

⁷¹ Akifumi Shioya, 'The Treaty of Ghulja Reconsidered: Imperial Russian Diplomacy toward Qing China in 1851', *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 10, no.

⁷² Knight Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press Port Washington, N.Y., 1972), 98.

Therefore, in 1862 Tongwen Guan (同文馆) *The School of Combined Learning*, was established as a translation/language school under Zongli Yamen in Peking. The primary purpose of establishing Tongwen Guan was to train officials proficient in Western languages and knowledge, which was essential for dealing with foreign powers on equal terms. Initially, Tongwen Guan was established primarily as a language school. However, over time, its curriculum was expanded to include subjects such as astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, and physics, reflecting a broader educational mandate to equip officials with a comprehensive understanding of Western sciences and technologies.⁷³

The establishment of other translation schools and Western learning institutions followed Tongwen Guan. Although there were some Western-style schools in China at that time, they were established by foreigners, particularly by missionaries. Therefore, Tongwen Guan is considered the first government-funded Western-style school.

Furthermore, in December 1866 and January 1867, the Zongli Yamen (Office for Foreign Affairs) proposed the addition of an “Astronomy and Mathematics” department to the Tongwen Guan, with admission limited to individuals holding advanced civil service degrees.⁷⁴

Tongwen Guan's curriculum encompassed in 1870s a variety of subjects, such as astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, physics, biology, geography, geology, mineralogy, metallurgy, mechanics, anatomy, physiology, political economy, and international law. However, the department's new name was “Astronomy and Mathematics”. As Fairbank states the naming was probably intended to reduce opposition from conservatives.⁷⁵ The non-language courses were delivered in Chinese, English, or French.⁷⁶ These collective efforts were aimed at not only improving diplomatic relations but also fostering a deeper understanding of foreign languages and cultures among Chinese officials while potentially leveraging Western

⁷³ For the curriculum see Ibid., 128.

⁷⁴ Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*, 19.

⁷⁵ Ssu-yü Teng and John King Fairbank, *China's Response to the West: a Documentary Survey, 1839-1923* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press Cambridge, 1954), 75.

⁷⁶ Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*, 127.

knowledge to advance China's technological capabilities in armament and shipbuilding.

Tongwen Guan was managed and financed by Zongli Yamen. As Zongli Yamen's main source of income came from customs revenues, Robert Hart (1835-1911), inspector-general of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs Service between 1861 and 1911, had a particularly favorable influence on the development of Tongwen Guan and he was able to influence staff salaries, recruitment, and examinations at the school.

The initial regulation of the Tongwen Guan was that its students were required to originate from the Eight Banners (八旗).⁷⁷ Thirty students were chosen initially, and the final selection of new students was made by the Zongli Yamen.⁷⁸ In addition, regulations were put in place for conducting regular monthly tests and quarterly and annual exams, which were administered by staff at the Tongwen Guan.

To encourage diligent study, rewards were offered, especially for students who showed exceptional performance. Furthermore, a comprehensive Great Examination (大考) was conducted every three years by senior officials at the Zongli Yamen. Top-performing students would receive tutorship or achieve official ranks - the seventh, eighth, or ninth rank - based solely on their exam performance. However, students with lower results would be demoted yet still permitted to study at the institution. Those attaining the seventh rank would be prospective secretaries, awaiting assignment to various boards or offices in the capital city. Moreover, an additional regulation guaranteed standard subsistence allowances for all students as bannermen.⁷⁹

Tongwen Guan was primarily shaped according to the structure of the Russian language school (Eluosi wen guan 俄罗斯文馆) that had already been established before, by the Qing dynasty to manage diplomatic relations with Russia afterward the

⁷⁷ The Eight Banners (八旗) was a system of military and administrative divisions used in the Qing Dynasty of China and they were mainly Manchus.

⁷⁸ Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*, 100.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 102.

Nerchinsk treaty (1689). China and Russia have a history of interactions dating back to the seventeenth century, primarily encompassing political and mercantile engagements. These interactions resulted in the emergence of certain institutions. Two educational institutions of historical significance can be identified concerning the cultural and linguistic exchanges between Russia and China. The first, denoted as "Eluosi xue (俄罗斯学)," can be inferred to be a language school established circa 1728, designed to facilitate the acquisition of the Chinese language by Russian individuals. The second institution, titled "Eluosi wenguan (俄罗斯文官)," founded approximately in 1757, is discerned as a Russian language school aimed at instructing Chinese students in the Russian language. These establishments played a pivotal role in fostering bilateral linguistic understanding and cultural interchange during their respective epochs. The enrolment of Russian language schools was initially limited to students solely from the eight banners with a maximum cap of twenty-four students. Nonetheless, when the school was affiliated with Tongwen Guan in 1862, only sixteen students remained.⁸⁰ The existence of the Russian Language School served as a helpful precedent for the new language school.

The "*Six Articles of the Draft Regulations for the New Tongwen Guan*" were drafted following the traditional regulations of the Russian language school.⁸¹ 1) Accept Manchu students under the age of 15; 2) operate under the direct supervision of the government; 3) conduct monthly, quarterly and annual reviews; 4) confer official ranks on outstanding students and allow them to fill existing government vacancies; 5) hire Han Chinese and foreign instructors to teach Confucian classics and foreign languages respectively; and 6) provide students with a monthly allowance of three taels of silver.⁸²

Tongwen Guan was headed by American missionary William Alexander Parsons Martin, who served as its chief teacher for 25 years from 1869. The significant changes occurred when Martin was chief teacher. Under his leadership, the school gradually adopted a modern teaching system. Martin devised the first yearly curriculum system in the history of Chinese education in 1876, consisting of two sets

⁸⁰ Meng Ssu-ming, 'The E-Lo-Ssu Kuan (Russian Hostel) in Peking', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 23 (1960): 42, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2718566>.

⁸¹ Zhao, "Jingshi Tongwenguan de fazhan lishi ji qi gongxian", 67.

⁸² Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*, 100–101.

of curriculum plans for eight years and five years according to the age of the student and the focus of the education. Furthermore, the teaching material construction was revamped, with Martin compiling and printing textbooks following the Western school style, often translating content from Western books.

Tongwen Guan Institution began focusing on cultivating translators skilled in Western science and technology. By 1863, French and Russian were also taught, with ten students each.⁸³ From 1866 onwards, added subjects such as chemistry (1866), arithmetic (1868), international law (1869), medical physiology (1871), astronomy (1877), and Gezhi (格致) (natural science) (1879) progressively.

Martin also emphasized the integration of learning and practical application, employing experimental methods in the teaching process. For instance, students studying natural sciences had access to experimental sites like chemistry labs, physics labs, and observatories. Those studying foreign languages could work as oral or written translators at Zongli Yamen, while medical students gained clinical experience by practicing at hospitals. These innovative approaches departed from traditional teaching practices and signaled a shift towards modernized education at Tongwen Guan.⁸⁴

Between 1862 and 1898, Tongwen Guan had around 60 instructors, including Chinese teachers.⁸⁵ In the absence of Chinese individuals with a comprehensive understanding of foreign languages, particularly English, authorities in certain regions were compelled to seek suitable candidates among foreigners. This need led them to employ foreigners, who had proficiency in Chinese, making them a valuable candidate for teaching English to Chinese students.⁸⁶

In 1875, the students of Tongwen Guan commenced their involvement in the diplomatic work of the imperial court. Initially, their responsibilities revolved around being entrusted with translation tasks for the school's establishment. Some of them

⁸³ Ibid., 104.

⁸⁴ Huang, "Wan Qing Xifang chuanjiaoshi yu Zhongguo jindai gaodeng jiaoyu", 98-100.

⁸⁵ Lackner and Vittinghoff, *Mapping Meanings: The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, 89.

⁸⁶ Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*, 99.

were also engaged in teaching at newly formed institutions throughout the country, amongst other duties.

Tongwen Guan is not only a prominent establishment in Chinese history in terms of modern education but also modern book translations. Among the translated books were works on chemistry, medicine, physics, arithmetic, geography, agricultural lands, books on the art of war, and French dictionaries. Some of the important translators and teachers were William Alexander Parsons Martin (丁韪良 Ding Weiliang, 1827-1916), who was an American and came as a priest in 1850. Antolle A. Bi Uiquin (毕利干 Bi Ligan, 1873-1894), a French. He was one of the 5 teachers from Europe that Robert Hart (赫德 He DE) hired in 1866. Bi Uiquin was one of the chemists. John Dudgeon (德贞 De Zhen, 1837—1901) was a British. He came to China in 1864 and presided over Shi Hospital (施医院) in Beijing. Carles H. Oliver (欧礼斐 Ou Lifei, 1857-1937) was a British. In 1879, he came to China and worked as an English teacher at the Tongwen Guan.⁸⁷ Samuel M. Russell (骆三畏 Luo Sanwei, ?-1917) was an Irish. In 1879, he came to China and served as an astronomy teacher in Tongwen Guan. The Chinese teachers and students participated in the translation included Wang Fengzao (凤藻), Qingchang (庆常), Lianfang (联芳), Yang Shu (左庚), Xi Gan (席淦) American and came as a priest in 1850.⁸⁸ Samuel M. Russell (骆三畏 Luo Sanwei, ?-1917), Irish. In 1879, he came to China and served as an astronomy teacher in Tongwen Guan. The Chinese teachers and students participated in the translation such as Wang Fengzao (凤藻), Qingchang (庆常), Lianfang (联芳), Xi Gan (席淦), etc.⁸⁹

The central government and various provincial governments in China established a diverse range of modern schools in the following years. According to Biggerstaff, these schools can be categorized into seven distinct types. These included schools dedicated to training interpreters and foreign affairs specialists, as well as institutions focused on equipping engineers and skilled workers for the burgeoning shipyards and

⁸⁷ Chen Wei 陈为, “Jingshi tongwenguan bowuguan kaolue 京师同文馆博物馆考略 [Research on the Museum of Capital Tung-Wen College],” *gugong xuekan* 3 (2014): 384–86.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Wang Hongkai 王宏凯, “Jingshi Tongwenguan yishu shiliue” 京师同文馆译书史略 [“A Brief History of Books Translated by Jingshi Tongwenguan]”, *Shoudu bowuguan congkan*, 1994, 152.

arsenals. The era also saw the establishment of naval academies to prepare deck and engine-room officers for the modern navy and military academies to train army officers. Additionally, schools were set up to provide essential personnel for the telegraph administration, and a specialized naval and military medical school was created. Lastly, a school of mining engineering was established to meet the demands of this rapidly evolving period in China's history. These institutions collectively played a pivotal role in the modernization and development of China's education system and expertise in various critical fields.⁹⁰

2.2.2. From East to West: The Journey of China's First Students Abroad

Prior to the Chinese Educational Mission (CEM) which was the first time students were sent by the government, Chinese students had opportunities to go abroad through official government channels, self-funded or through missionary initiatives.

As for missionary-granted students, Kong Chai Weng and Chu Kiung Tong went to New York with Bishop Boone. Several students, including Yung Kuing Yen and Yang He Ting, were also sent to New York between 1854 and 1857 for further education. They were baptized and when they returned to China they served as missionaries.⁹¹

Independent self-funded students like Wu Ting-fang (伍廷芳) (1842-1922), a son of a merchant, traveled to London to get an education in law, also Gu Hongming (辜鸿铭) (1856-1927) was one of the famous self-funded students who got his education in Scotland, Berlin, and Paris.⁹²

As for government-granted opportunities, the initial one was a mission, called the Binchun Mission (斌椿使团 Bin Chun shi tuan), which occurred in 1866. At the suggestion of British diplomat Robert Hart, who served as head of the Imperial

⁹⁰ Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*, 31.

⁹¹ Episcopal Church Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, *An Historical Sketch of the China Mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.: From the First Appointments in 1834 to Include the Year 1892*, 16,18,24,25.

⁹² Jenny Huangfu Day 1985-, *Qing Travelers to the Far West : Diplomacy and the Information Order in Late Imperial China*, First paperback edition (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 31.

Maritime Customs Service. Students from Tongwen Guan were selected upon his recommendation to accompany him on his journey to his hometown. In response to his suggestion, the Qing government appointed Bin Chun (斌椿) (1804-1871), an official and bannerman, and his son Guang Ying (廣英) to lead a group of students from the Tongwen Guan on a tour of Western countries, known as "Taixi" (泰西). The students who participated in the trip as particularly translators were Feng Yi (凤仪), Zhang Deyi (张德彝), and Yan Hui (彦慧).⁹³ The delegation visited eleven countries, including Britain, France, Holland, Prussia, and Denmark. After the mission, Bin Chun documented his experience in the Record of Riding the Raft (《乘槎笔记》) while Zhang Deyi wrote the Navigation Narratives (《航海述奇》) to recount his journey.⁹⁴

Six students, some of whom participated in the Binchun mission, were also part of the Burlingame mission that traveled across the United States and Europe between 1868 and 1870. Two students also joined the Chonghou (崇厚) mission to France from 1870 to 1871.⁹⁵ The main difference between the students who were sent by missionaries and the government is that missionaries sent students for further education while the government had no such intention. Instead, the main aim of the Qing government was to observe the Western world.

China's early efforts to send students abroad through missionary initiatives or government missions represent a pivotal period in its modernization journey. The students sent with the officials acted as translators for the officials, not to get an education.

During the late Qing Dynasty, foreigners and missionaries played pivotal roles in the transformation. Institutions were established to train proficient Chinese translators, addressing a critical shortage in the country. Additionally, missionary schools provided education in various Western disciplines and languages. Foreigners and missionaries were often employed by Chinese state institutions due to the scarcity of

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Knight Biggerstaff, 'The First Chinese Mission of Investigation Sent to Europe', *Pacific Historical Review* 6, no. 4 (1937): 311, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3633876>.

⁹⁵ Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*, 23.

adequately trained Chinese personnel. These initiatives marked significant milestones in China's modernization and integration with the West. Up to this stage of the thesis, the focus has been on the transformative effects of Western contact on education in China, including early student exchanges and the establishment of modern educational institutions. The investigation now shifts to similar dynamics in the context of the Ottoman Empire.

2.3. The Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire flourished as an expansive multi-ethnic empire rooted in traditional agriculture until the 19th century. In the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire faced the reality of Western power, particularly in military and economic terms, due to internal and external issues. Internal conflicts and rebellions, as well as external territorial losses in wars and treaties, were challenging. As a result, Ottoman rulers and intellectuals initiated a process of modernization, with a primary focus on military progress but not limited to it. Reform movements were initiated through documents such as the Tanzimat Edict (1839) and Islahat Edict (1856), to establish a modern state structure in the Ottoman Empire. Additionally, judicial and economic reforms were implemented, and Western agricultural and industrial techniques were adopted.

The modernization of the Ottoman Empire during the periods of Selim III and Mahmut II is significant due to the reform movements such as the adoption of Western knowledge and started sending of students to Western countries, which is the focus of this thesis. Surely there were some reforms before these Sultans. However, as Ortaylı states the main difference between the reforms of the earlier sultans and Selim III and Mahmut II was the latter's awareness of the changing world and the realization that they needed to modernize, rather than revert to the "golden age" of Kanuni. And for the eighteenth century, Ortaylı says, "the only reason for the reforms was to modernize the army to stand against Christian Europe, especially Russia".⁹⁶

⁹⁶ İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun en uzun yüzyılı*, 49. baskı (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap İstanbul, 2019), 44.

Thus, until the mid-nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire essentially focused on military and technological improvement while mostly ignoring social aspects, just like the Qing dynasty. Education was also an indispensable component of this modernization process. Because the modernization of education was driven by the need to keep up with advancements in the West. To expedite this, the Ottoman administration implemented a policy of sending students abroad.

For learning from the West, the political relations with them played a significant role. Although the Ottoman Empire had been engaged in extensive political relations with foreign states, it did not establish permanent embassies in the capitals of other countries until 1793.⁹⁷ Before permanent embassies, diplomatic interactions were often conducted through emissaries, envoys, or special representatives rather than maintaining a constant diplomatic presence in foreign capitals.

During the initial establishment phase from 1793 to 1821, figures such as Yusuf Agâh (1793-1797) and İsmail Ferruh (1797-1800) were sent as permanent ambassadors to England, while Seyyid Ali (1797-1802), Halet (1803-1806), and Muhib (1806-1811) were dispatched to France and İbrahim Afif Efendi (1797-1800) to Austria.⁹⁸ Permanent embassies were crucial for facilitating the emergence of statesmen acquainted with the West, as well as in bringing military and civilian experts.

In 1835, the permanent ambassador of Paris Mustafa Reşid Bey initiated the dispatch of three military instructors from France to Turkey. The following year, the ambassador of London Nuri Efendi secured an agreement with the British government to send teacher officers to Turkey. In addition to military expertise, individuals were dispatched to various fields, such as medicine and public health. For instance, Dr. Bernard, recruited through the ambassador of Vienna Sadık Rifat Paşa's efforts, played a crucial role in elevating the Military Medical School to the standards of its Western counterparts.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Ali Akyıldız, *Osmanlı merkez bürokrasisi (1836-1856)*, 1. baskı, Osmanlı tarihi dizisi; 125 (Fatih, İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2018), 89.

⁹⁸ Ercüment Kuran, 'Türkiye'nin Batılılaşmasında Osmanlı Daimi Elçiliklerinin Rolü' (VI. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1961), 490.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 493-94.

The children of the initial diplomats also benefited from the chance to spend their childhood and youth in Europe. For instance, Ahmed Vesik Paşa, who accompanied his father, a diplomatic interpreter to Paris in 1834, attended Saint-Louis College for three years, where he received a Western-style education.¹⁰⁰ These children played a significant role in shaping Ottoman Politics by occupying high-ranking state positions in the following generation.

The Ottoman ambassadors' influence extended beyond diplomatic affairs into education and professional development. They facilitated opportunities for individuals from the Ottoman Empire to study and gain practical experience in Western countries.

As mentioned, one of the most pivotal historical moments during the Ottoman modernization era was the Tanzimat period. The period laid the foundations of a provincial organization with specialized civilian bureaucrats in the Ottoman Empire. However, the vast geography of the empire made implementing the reforms difficult. Additionally, the lack of a systematic policy to train personnel hindered the implementation of the reforms to the same extent throughout the empire.¹⁰¹ Therefore, train personnel became crucial to ensure the continuity of reforms. This need was not also adequately met for various reasons such as limited educational infrastructure and lack of qualified instructors.

As another pivotal incident, the Edict of 1856, (Islahat) recognized everyone regardless of religion or race as equal in military service, law, taxation, admission to civil and military schools, and public office. Before the edict, Christians were both exempt from having to serve in the military and were not allowed to hold civil service, except as interpreters.

The period that brought about equality was significant because of the elements that comprise Ottoman society. The Ottoman Empire had various ethnic and religious groups. Non-Muslim communities were recognized as *zimmi* (Ar. dhimmi, lit.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 495–96.

¹⁰¹ Ali Akyıldız, *Osmanlı bürokrasisi ve modernleşme*, 4. baskı (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları İstanbul, 2012), 79–80.

protected one). They were distinguished from the Muslim subjects in terms of rights and law. Non-Muslim subjects' rights were designed by faith groups called *millet*s.

Non-Muslim subjects were useful for the Ottoman Empire because the empire was already in touch with the Western countries from its early periods. The Ottoman Empire had employed its non-Muslim subjects for these relations, particularly in translation. However, nationalist uprisings had shaken the reliability of non-Muslim subjects in state service, prompting the Ottoman Empire to train Muslim subjects in translation. Consequently, the empire opened various institutions to train personnel not only in the military but also in translation.

2.3.1. Channels of Introduction of Modern Knowledge into the Ottoman Empire

In the Ottoman Empire, education developed for a long time through madrasas, which transmitted religious and scientific knowledge. However, madrasas began to lose their functionality by the 16th century. This decline paved the way for the establishment of Western-style educational institutions from the early 18th century onwards, resulting in a dual structure in the Ottoman education system between traditional madrasas and modern educational institutions.¹⁰² Different trends in the historiography of education have analyzed this transformation from various perspectives.¹⁰³

Modern educational institutions were not the only channel for modern knowledge, science, and technology. They reached to the Ottoman Empire through various channels. Several societies (*cemiyetler*) emerged in the Ottoman context, providing significant platforms for discussing, disseminating, and implementing modern knowledge and techniques. Additionally, formal educational institutions underwent modernization efforts. Also, the translation school was one of these channels.

¹⁰² Adem Ölmez, 'II. Meşrutiyet Devrinde Osmanlı Medreselerinde Reform Çabaları ve Merkezileşme', *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 41 (2014): 128.

¹⁰³ For further discussions of historiography of education: Adem Ölmez, *Osmanlı'da Maarif: Kişiler, Anlatılar, Kurumlar* (İstanbul: Ketebe, 2024).

2.3.1.1. Societies

There were a few societies that were important in the Ottoman Empire's efforts to modernize education and integrate Western scientific knowledge into Turkish society during the 19th century. For example The Beşiktaş Cemiyet-i İlmiyyesi (1815-1826) was established during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II with the aim of teaching scientific fields such as advanced mathematics, literature, and history, as well as foreign languages.¹⁰⁴ The Encümen-i Dâniş (1851-1862) was founded to modernize the Ottoman educational system and translate scientific works from the West.¹⁰⁵ The Cemiyet-i İlmiye-yi Osmaniye (1861-1867) was the first civilian society aimed at spreading modern scientific knowledge within the Turkish society.¹⁰⁶ These societies reflect the Ottoman Empire's efforts towards modernization and scientific advancement.

2.3.1.2. Formal Education

The evolution of the education system and institutions during the Ottoman Empire is quite diverse. Initially, modern educational institutions were predominantly military-based, driven by the Ottoman Empire's urgent need to reform its armed forces, much like its other modernization initiatives.

By the late 18th century, the repeated defeats of the Ottoman military, coupled with Europe's advancements in warfare technology, forced Ottoman sultans to restructure their policies. As part of these reforms, military-technical schools were established to address the technological shortcomings of the Ottoman army. In 1773, under the leadership of the French officer François Baron de Tott, the Mühendishane-i Bahri-i Hümayun (Imperial School of Naval Engineering) was founded. This school aimed to train technically skilled personnel who could modernize the Ottoman navy and military. The defeat in the Russo-Ottoman War (1768–1774) further underscored the military's technical deficiencies, accelerating the establishment of more schools that

¹⁰⁴ Kazım Yetiş, 'Beşiktaş Cem'iyet-i İlmiyyesi', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1992), 552.

¹⁰⁵ Abdullah Uçman, 'Encümen-i Dâniş', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1995), 176.

¹⁰⁶ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, 'Cem'iyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmâniyye', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1993), 333.

offered modern military education. In 1795, Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun (Imperial School of Military Engineering) was established under Sultan Selim III to modernize the land forces.¹⁰⁷ These institutions were critical steps in enabling the Ottoman Empire to compete with Europe in terms of military technology and strategy.

As modernization spread beyond the military, civilian education reform became imperative. During the 1830s, Mahmud II introduced significant administrative changes, establishing ministries such as the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Dahiliye Nezareti) and the Ministry of Finance (Maliye Nezareti). These reforms mirrored Western-style government administration, creating a pressing need for educated civil servants who could efficiently manage state institutions. Traditional madrasas were increasingly viewed as inadequate to meet the demands of this new bureaucratic system.¹⁰⁸

Recognizing the urgency of training skilled administrators, educational reforms were implemented to modernize the Ottoman education system. Broader educational reforms continued throughout the 19th century. In 1821, the Translation Bureau was founded, followed by the establishment of the Tıbhâne (the School of Medicine) in 1826 to train military physicians. Mekteb-i Fünun-i Harbiyye (the School of Military Sciences) was opened in 1834, housed in Maçka Barracks, to provide advanced military education.

Sıbyan Mektepleri (primary school) and Rüşdiye Mektepleri (middle school) gained importance. In 1824, primary education was already made compulsory for boys.¹⁰⁹ And more Rüşdiye schools were opened after 1839.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Vehbi Baysan, 'From the New Order to the Benevolent Event – Making Children's Education Compulsory in the Ottoman Empire, 1808 – 1826', *Osmanlı Medeniyeti Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 21 (June 2024): 33.

¹⁰⁸ İbrahim Vehbi Baysan, 'State Education Policy in the Ottoman Empire during the Tanzimat Period (1839-1876)' (Phd, University of Manchester, 2004), 39.

¹⁰⁹ For details of the children's compulsory education: Vehbi Baysan, 'From the New Order to the Benevolent Event – Making Children's Education Compulsory in the Ottoman Empire, 1808 – 1826', *Osmanlı Medeniyeti Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 21 (June 2024): 28–54.

¹¹⁰ Ziya Kazıcı and Halis Ayhan, 'Tâlim ve Terbiye', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2010), 520.

By the mid-19th century, the modernization of the Ottoman education system took another significant step with the establishment of the Meclis-i Maarif-i Muvakkat (Temporary Council of Education) in 1845 to modernize the Ottoman education system. This Council further structured the education system into sıbyan mektepleri (primary schools), rüşdiye mektepleri (secondary schools), and darülfünun (university).¹¹¹ This restructuring aimed to produce qualified personnel capable of implementing the new governmental regulations.

In response to the growing demand for teachers within these schools, Darümuallimin (the teachers' school) was established in 1848, facilitating the training of teachers. A key requirement for these teachers was their acceptance of assignments to designated locations at any time and anywhere in the empire.¹¹²

Darülfünun was proposed to be opened in 1845 and initially began with public lectures in 1863. It did not become fully operational until 1900. Following the establishment plan of Darülfünun, Encümen-i Daniş was founded in 1851. Its purpose was to prepare course materials, but unfortunately, it did not perform as expected.¹¹³ Galatasaray and Darüşşafaka Schools were upgraded to high school level in 1908 and named Sultânî.¹¹⁴ To update their education system, the Ottomans made considerable efforts.

The temporary Council of Education also proposed the establishment of a Permanent Council of Education to oversee the continuous supervision and development of educational institutions. As a result of this proposal, the Meclis-i Maarif-i Umumiye (General Council of Education) was founded in 1857, creating a lasting structure that regulated the Ottoman education system.

¹¹¹ Baysan, 'State Education Policy in the Ottoman Empire during the Tanzimat Period (1839-1876)', 79.

¹¹² Ibid., 103.

¹¹³ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, 'Dârülfünun', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1993), 523.

¹¹⁴ Kazıcı and Ayhan, 'Tâlim ve Terbiye', 520.

To bridge the gap between secondary and higher education, İdadi schools (high schools) were founded to prepare students for both civil and military careers at higher levels.¹¹⁵

Beyond the state's modernization efforts, the role of non-Muslim schools and missionary schools is also a critical aspect of the Ottoman education system. Non-Muslim subjects in the empire, organized by their religious communities, were granted autonomy in their educational affairs. Each millet (religious community) managed its own schools under the supervision of spiritual leadership, with expenses covered by community foundations.¹¹⁶

Furthermore, except for the existence of the schools of non-Muslim subjects, there were missionary schools that gained momentum during the modernization period of the Ottomans. In the Ottoman Empire, missionaries focused on Christians and non-Muslims, especially Christian Arabs and Armenians.¹¹⁷

With the Reform Edict (Islahat Fermanı) in 1856, the rights granted to non-Muslim communities were expanded. This process also laid the groundwork for the growing influence of foreign schools and missionaries. The Mixed Council (Meclis-i Muhtelit), established after 1856 edict, addressed the educational needs of non-Muslim communities and the presence and influence of foreign schools within the Ottoman educational system increased.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, with the establishment of the Ministry of Public Education (Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti) in 1857, state control over education increased, and the Regulations of Public Education (Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi), issued in 1869, aimed to centralize educational institutions under a more unified system.

This regulation brought the curricula of both Muslim and non-Muslim schools under state supervision. Foreign schools were also required to comply with these

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Cemil Öztürk, 'Osmanlılar (Eğitim ve Eğitim Kurumları)', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2007), 566.

¹¹⁷ Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun en uzun yüzyılı*, 196.

¹¹⁸ Ali Akyıldız, 'Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2003), 273.

regulations, significantly curbing their autonomy and influence. Thus, the Ottoman state strengthened its control over foreign educational institutions.

In terms of missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire American missionaries, in particular, focused on spreading Protestantism, finding notable success among impoverished lower-class Armenian communities in Anatolia.¹¹⁹ Unlike in the Qing government, the schools of non-Muslim subjects and missionaries did not directly send students to Western countries in the Ottoman Empire.

2.3.1.3. Translation Bureau

Another aspect of the modernization of education in the Ottoman Empire was the language schools which were the first modern institutions just like in the Qing government. Interpreters were already used to ensure political communication. Although the exact date of this practice's beginning is unknown, non-Muslim subjects were given diplomatic duties as interpreters after the conquest of Istanbul.¹²⁰ From the 17th century onwards, young translators, who were particularly Greek (Rum), were commonly referred to as 'language boys' (Dil Oğlanları). However, as the French, English and Russians began to exert their influence, trust in these translators began to wane. Following the Greek Revolt of 1821, confidence in Greek translators was lost and measures were taken to train interpreters of Turkish origin. As a result, the "Bâb-ı Âli Translation Bureau" was established for this purpose in 1821.¹²¹

During its early years, the Bâb-ı Âli Translation Bureau, also known as the Translation Bureau, consisted of two sections: the Language Chamber, where civil servants learned languages, and the Translation Bureau, where graduates of the Language Chamber worked as translators. Thus, the civil servants who received

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Mahmut H. Şakiroğlu, 'Tercüman (Osmanlılar'da)', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2011), 490.

¹²¹ Ibid., 492.

language training in the Language Chamber were then transferred to the Translation Bureau to work as translators.¹²²

The Translation Bureau's first translator was Yahya Naci Efendi, a Muslim of Bulgarian origin and one of the teachers at the Engineering School. His son Ruhiddin Efendi was also appointed as one of the first translators of the Translation Department. They mainly translated Greek and French texts.¹²³ Ali Pasha, Namik Kemal, Ahmet Vefik Pasha, and Fuat Pasha were some of the most prominent figures educated in the Translation Bureau. These were reformers and intellectuals of great significance concerning both modernization and foreign experiences.

The Translation Bureau had a Language School which was closed and reopened several times because of various reasons. However, the school preserved its importance throughout the modernization process.

In 1885, a requirement for certain civil service positions in the embassy entourages to have knowledge of French was introduced. This was crucial for the Ottoman Empire's foreign relations. As a consequence of this decision, young civil servants were encouraged to enroll in the Language School. Although The Translation Bureau was originally founded to teach languages in particular French. Later expanded to include courses for the Ottoman state bureaucracy and additional languages such as Greek, Slavic, Armenian, English, German, and Russian were added over time.¹²⁴ In the mid-19th century, it became important for Turks who wanted to pursue a career in government to know a European language. Therefore, the Translation Bureau was considered as an important stepping stone to positions in the army and the palace.¹²⁵

In conclusion, the Ottoman Empire underwent a series of transformative phases as a result of its interaction with the West. The initial military and linguistic reforms subsequently spread to other areas, marking a significant shift in educational paradigms.

¹²² Akyıldız, *Osmanlı bürokrasisi ve modernleşme*, 52–53.

¹²³ Carter V. Findley 1941-, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire : The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), 133.

¹²⁴ Sezai Balcı, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nde Modernleşme Girişimlerine Bir Örnek: Lisan Mektebi', *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 27, no. 44 (2008): 86.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 79.

2.4. Conclusion

Chapter II attempted to provide a general overview of the stages that the Ottoman Empire and the Qing Dynasty went through on their way to modernization, particularly in education. The main reason for attempting this overview is to understand the backgrounds that led to the idea of sending students to Western countries, which is the main topic of the thesis.

The Ottoman Empire and the Qing Dynasty were two great empires that faced similar challenges during their modernization efforts in the 19th century. During this period, the rulers of the Qing Dynasty, the Manchus, were an ethnic minority in China. In contrast, the Ottoman Empire's rulers were seen as culturally identical to the core Turkish population, providing stronger legitimacy to Ottoman rule.

Both empires were subjected to unequal treaties imposed by Western powers, which secured economic and trade advantages for the Europeans. These treaties weakened the economies of both empires and increased European influence within their borders. For example, China was forced to sign the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 and the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, which opened numerous ports to foreign trade and granted extraterritorial rights to foreigners. Similarly, the Ottoman Empire was compelled to accept the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774 and the Treaty of Balta Limanı in 1838, which granted significant concessions to European powers and undermined Ottoman sovereignty.

Both empires suffered territorial losses. The Ottoman Empire lost territories in the Balkans and North Africa, while China lost regions to Japan and Western powers. These territorial losses highlighted the political and military weaknesses of both empires. By the mid-19th century, both the Ottoman and Qing armies were technologically outdated compared to European armies. This technological lag led to military defeats and underscored the need for military reforms in both empires.

Both empires faced significant internal issues. China dealt with large-scale peasant rebellions such as the Taiping and Nian Rebellions, while the Ottoman Empire faced

nationalist movements among Greeks, Armenians, Serbians, Romanians, and Bulgarians as well as various peasant rebellions. These internal conflicts disrupted the stability of both empires and complicated their reform efforts. The Qing Dynasty struggled with the destructive effects of the opium trade introduced by the British, leading to the Opium Wars, which had profound economic and social consequences. The Ottoman Empire had to contend with nationalist movements among its various ethnic groups, further threatening the unity of the empire.

Both empires launched defensive modernization efforts to strengthen their states and preserve their independence. In China, the Self-Strengthening Movement (自强运动) sought to adopt Western technology and military systems. In the Ottoman Empire, the Tanzimat reforms included legal and military modernization efforts. In both societies, there was a strong adherence to old identities and values, which created resistance to modernization efforts. In China, bureaucrats and the gentry class resisted reforms, while in the Ottoman Empire, the Janissaries and the ulama opposed changes. This resistance hindered the effective implementation of reforms.

In the Ottoman Empire, modernization reforms were driven by the sultans. For instance, Sultan Mahmud II initiated military reforms, while Sultan Abdulmejid I implemented the Tanzimat reforms to modernize administration and society. In contrast, within the Qing Dynasty, figures like Prince Gong and several progressive governors supported modernization efforts. However, the imperial court, particularly Empress Dowager Cixi, often resisted these changes.

In both the Ottoman Empire and China, the aim was to preserve their cultural traditions while embracing Western technological and scientific advances. This was reflected in discourses like “Chinese essence, Western use” (中体西用), which emphasized the integration of Western innovations without compromising Confucian values. Similarly, the Ottoman Empire pursued the idea of embracing Western technology while retaining Islamic moral values, emphasizing the adoption of Western technical knowledge while preserving Islamic traditions and principles. Both societies sought a path to modernity that respected their respective cultural identities,

demonstrating a selective integration of Western advances alongside the preservation of their core beliefs.

Permanent embassies were pivotal in the Ottoman Empire's modernization strategy, involving the dispatch of diplomats who often brought their families, including children, to Europe. This approach facilitated the integration of Western education and administrative practices. In contrast, while China did establish embassies in Western capitals from the 1870s onward, and some officials gained valuable experiences abroad, its utilization of these diplomatic missions for domestic modernization initiatives was not as systematic or impactful as that seen in the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Empire was forced to give more opportunities to minorities compared to the Qing Dynasty. Additionally, the Ottoman Empire already had a significant Christian population, which was involved in various aspects of the empire.

Missionary activities played a significant role in both the Ottoman Empire and Qing Dynasty. In the Ottoman Empire, European state and missionary community schools primarily aimed to educate the children of Christians and wealthy families because Muslim students were not allowed to attend these schools. This contrasted with Qing China, where missionaries targeted lower social classes due to the absence of a significant native Christian population and the reluctance of wealthy families to adopt Western education, preferring the traditional imperial examination system for bureaucratic advancement.

Translation schools were a significant development in both the Ottoman Empire and the Qing Dynasty, established by the state to cultivate officials proficient in foreign languages. Beyond language instruction, Tongwen Guan offered a diverse curriculum including physics, astronomy, chemistry, navigation, international law, mathematics, and politics.

The Ottoman Empire and the Qing Dynasty faced similar external and internal challenges during the 19th century and embarked on comparable modernization efforts. However, the outcomes of these efforts and the reactions of their societies

varied, rooted in their unique historical and cultural contexts. In the following chapters, the nuances of these reactions and the diverse outcomes of modernization will be explored in detail.



CHAPTER III

CROSSING BORDERS: SENDING STUDENTS ABROAD

3.1. Before the Chinese Education Mission (CEM): First Students Abroad

In the first chapter, it was mentioned that in the early 19th century, China was confronted by Western powers, resulting in the signing of unequal treaties that significantly increased Western influence in Chinese territories. These conflicts exposed China's vulnerability to advanced Western military technology. Chinese officials and bureaucrats who advocated modernization did not primarily attribute the nation's problems to internal systemic issues but instead saw them as a consequence of failing to keep pace with Western advances in science and technology. Rather than undertaking a thorough internal analysis, they focused on the urgent need to bridge this technological gap by acquiring knowledge and expertise from the West. To initiate this process, the importance of language skills was recognized. However, Chinese institutions lacked the resources or expertise to independently establish language schools and other educational facilities. This resulted in dependence on foreigners, which drew criticism, as these foreign educators were often viewed as hostile to China.¹²⁶

While some proposals were made to send students and staff to Western countries to acquire Western knowledge, practical challenges such as economic constraints and

¹²⁶ For example, one of the most prominent conservatives Wo Ren 倭仁 (1804 -1871) was against employing foreign instructors to teach the Chinese. He stated his view in his memorial in 1867 as "...why is it necessary to learn from barbarians, ...foreigners are our enemies..we will honor barbarians as our teachers". For the critiques of Wo Ren see; Teng and Fairbank, *China's Response to the West; a Documentary Survey, 1839-1923*, 76-77; Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West : Society and Culture, 1815-1937* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019), 429.

limited connections made these proposals difficult to implement. Nevertheless, both missionaries and the Chinese government sent a few students abroad. The government's primary aim was to send these students to observe Western advancements, while the missionaries sought to provide them with broader educational opportunities. A notable example of a student sent by missionaries was Yung Wing, Chinese name Rong Hong (容闳) (1828-1912), who later proposed the *Chinese Educational Mission* (CEM) which would send Chinese students to the West. This initiative played a significant role in furthering the cause of modernization in China by facilitating the education of Chinese students in the West.

Yung Wing was the first Chinese graduate from a Western (American) university. Before Yung Wing, five Chinese individuals received education in American schools during the early 19th century and attended a foreign mission school in Cornwall, Connecticut, between 1818 and 1825. The five individuals were Wong Arce, Ah Lan, Ah Lum, Chop Ah See, and Lieaou Ah-See. Lieaou Ah-See later adopted the name, William Botelho, and he is noted as the first Chinese Protestant convert in America. Ah Lum became a translator in Zongli Yamen.¹²⁷

Another one was Zeng Laishun (曾来顺) (1826? -1895) known also as Zeng Lansheng (曾兰生). He played a pivotal role in Chinese history as a forerunner in overseas education and the self-strengthening movement in the late 19th century. He arrived in the United States four years before Yung Wing in 1843 and attended Hamilton College briefly before financial difficulties interrupted his studies, preventing him from graduating. Later, Zeng Lansheng participated in the Chinese Educational Mission (CEM) and worked as an English teacher in its preparatory school based in Shanghai. Moreover, Zeng Laishun went to the U.S. with CEM students as a translator.

As observed, even before the Chinese Education Mission, which included the initial group of 120 students dispatched by the government in 1872, there were Chinese students who traveled to Western countries for education.

¹²⁷ Thomas W. Chinn et al., *A History of the Chinese in California; a Syllabus* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America San Francisco, 1969), 8.

3.1.1. Bridge Builder: Yung Wing and Sino-American Education

Yung Wing played a critical role in facilitating educational exchanges between China and the United States. Yung Wing was among the first Chinese students to enroll in a Western university and subsequently initiated the Chinese Educational Mission (CEM) to promote modern education in China. He wrote his autobiography *My Life in China and America*¹²⁸ and he recounted his experiences as a scholar, teacher, and diplomat.

Yung Wing's autobiography starts detailing his first exposure to Western education in China during the 1830s under the guidance of Christian missionaries, especially Mrs. Gutzlaff. When he was seven years old, he began attending Mrs. Gutzlaff's mission school. Yung Wing's initial encounter with Western education had an impact on his subsequent role in promoting modern education in China. In 1839 Mrs. Gutzlaff's school was disbanded, and Yung Wing had to return to his village to pursue his "Chinese studies"¹²⁹ (中学).

The Sino-British Opium War erupted in 1840 and Yung Wing's proficiency in English thanks to his education at Mrs. Gutzlaff's school, became a valuable asset. Consequently, he secured a job assisting a Roman Catholic priest, ultimately leading to an opportunity of great significance.¹³⁰ After the closure of the school, before departing for America, Mrs. Gutzlaff entrusted Dr. Benjamin Hobson, a medical missionary, with the task of enrolling Yung Wing in the recently established Morrison Education Society School in Macao. Despite their reservations, Yung Wing's parents assented to his unorthodox education.

¹²⁸ Yung Wing, *My Life in China and America* originally published in New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1909). The Chinese version of his autobiography translated as 西学东渐记 (The Spread of Western Learning to the East)

¹²⁹ Chinese Education (中学) refers to traditional Chinese scholarship and knowledge, encompassing classical Chinese literature, philosophy, history, and culture.

¹³⁰ Joseph Hopkins Twichell 1838-1918 and Wing Yung 1828-1912, 'My Life in China and America' (Widener H. Holt, 1909), 1-12.

The Morrison Education Society School was established in 1839 and administered by American missionary Rev. Samuel Robbins Brown (1810–1880). Upon Yung Wing's enrollment to the school in 1841, five other boys had already enrolled: Wong Shing, Li Kan, Chow Wan, Tong Chik, and Wong Foon. In 1847, Mr. Brown decided to return to the United States due to his health and offered to take three students with him to complete their education. Yung Wing was the initial volunteer alongside Wong Foon and Wong Shing.¹³¹

Among these students, Wong Foon (Huang Kuan 黃寬) (1829 – 78) completed his studies in medicine at the University of Edinburgh and earned the distinction of becoming the first Chinese individual to attain a degree in Western medicine. Wong Shing (Huang Sheng 黃勝) (d. 1902), held various positions, including acting manager of the London Missionary Society press for twenty years. Later, he collaborated with Wang Tao in establishing the Universal Circulating Herald (《循環日報》), a Chinese daily. He led the second batch of the Chinese Educational Mission (CEM) and Chinese Educational Commission to the United States and served as an interpreter for the Chinese legation in Washington. Lastly, Yung Wing graduated from Yale University in 1854 and returned to China.¹³²

With the help of Rev. Samuel Robbins Brown, Yung Wing departed from China in 1847 to pursue studies in America, where he stayed until 1854. During his time in America, he adopted the language and lifestyle of the Westerners. Upon returning, he had nearly forgotten Chinese especially the Canton dialect that was used in his hometown, which necessitated him to study Chinese language.¹³³ He faced problems finding a job due to linguistic issues and the lack of appreciation for the Western education he received. His lack of Confucian education was also a crucial deficiency in finding a proper job. In the meantime, China still struggled to accommodate Western practices. Upon his return, attitudes towards Westerners were negative.

Yung Wing states in his autobiography that:

¹³¹ Yung and Twichell, *My Life in China and America*, 18.

¹³² R. G. Tiedemann, *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume Two, 1800 to the Present* (Leiden: Brill Leiden, 2010), 253–54.

¹³³ Yung and Twichell, *My Life in China and America*, 52.

‘...I had come right up to the conventional standard and idea of a liberal education. I could, therefore, call myself an educated man and, as such, it behooved me to ask, "What am I going to do with my education?" Before the close of my last year in college I had already sketched out what I should do. I was determined that the rising generation of China should enjoy the same educational advantages that I had enjoyed; that through Western education China might be regenerated, become enlightened and powerful.’¹³⁴

His main purpose in coming back to China was helping other Chinese students to study abroad. Although he returned in 1854, he was able to accomplish his aim only in the 1870s. Because of his background, after his return Yung Wing's career path took several turns. He worked in various positions, including as a translator. He was a secretary of a missionary physician in Canton. Then he attempted to practice law in Hong Kong but faced opposition from British barristers. He then worked as a translator at the Imperial Customs in Shanghai, although he was disillusioned by the bribery prevalent in the system. Yung Wing's fortunes turned when he joined a British firm as an agent to purchase tea and silk, ultimately becoming a wealthy merchant.

During this period, China was dealing with the Taiping Rebellion, which lasted from 1851 to 1864 and threatened the Qing dynasty's rule. Zeng Guofan (曾国藩), a prominent official and a member of the Hanlin Academy¹³⁵, emerged as a key figure in suppressing the rebellion. Zeng Guofan, with an interest in Western military techniques, established arsenals and shipyards to manufacture foreign guns and ships. Yung Wing's association with Zeng Guofan created a significant opportunity. Zeng Guofan dispatched Yung Wing abroad to purchase machinery for the technical foundation of the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau (Arsenal) founded with the contributions of Li Hongzhang (李鴻章).

¹³⁴ Twichell and Yung, ‘My Life in China and America’, 41.

¹³⁵ The Hanlin Academy (翰林院) was a prestigious institution in imperial China that played an important role in the intellectual and bureaucratic life of the country. During the Tang Dynasty (618-907) established it as an agency dedicated to the administration of official documents, as well as guiding emperors on governance, culture, and literature. It was comprised of high-ranking scholars, known as "Hanlin scholars," who wielded considerable influence in the imperial court.

Upon Yung Wing's return, Zeng Guofan played a crucial role in convincing the Qing court to grant Yung Wing an official rank as a reward for this successful machinery purchase. Yung Wing then transitioned into a role as a translator for the Jiangsu (江苏) provincial government, under the leadership of Governor Ding Richang (丁日昌) (1823-1882).¹³⁶

In 1868, Yung Wing proposed an educational plan to send Chinese youths to the United States for an extended period of study. However, due to various reasons, this proposal did not gain immediate attention. It wasn't until 1870, following the Tianjin Massacre (天津教案) and Governor Ding's assignment to help resolve a diplomatic dispute with France, that Yung Wing's educational proposal gained attention. Governor Ding took Yung Wing with him as his assistant during this critical period. Yung Wing found an opportunity to submit his suggestion with the help of Ding. Yung Wing made a proposal to the Qing court about studying abroad:

The proposal was for the government to send picked Chinese youths abroad to be thoroughly educated for the public service. The scheme contemplated the education of one hundred and twenty students as an experiment. These one hundred and twenty students were to be divided into four installments of thirty students each, one installment to be sent out each year. They were to have fifteen years to finish their education. Their average age was to be from twelve to fourteen years. If the first and second installments proved to be a success, the scheme was to be continued indefinitely. Chinese teachers were to be provided to keep up their knowledge of Chinese while in the United States. Over the whole enterprise, two commissioners were to be appointed, and the government was to appropriate a certain percentage of the Shanghai customs to maintain the mission.¹³⁷

In October 1870, Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang submitted a memorial¹³⁸ to the Qing court endorsing the proposal to select intelligent Chinese boys and send them to Western countries for education. The memorial emphasized the importance of going abroad to access Western expertise such as building shipyards and technical schools in China.

¹³⁶ Yung and Twichell, *My Life in China and America*, 166–67.

¹³⁷ Twichell and Yung, 'My Life in China and America', 173.

¹³⁸ Memorial (奏折); in the Qing Dynasty formal written documents submitted by officials to the emperor.

Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang referred to in the memorial some Confucian sayings such as “To hear a hundred times is not as good as to see once”.¹³⁹ Confucian sayings was used by the modernization supporters. For instance, Zhang Zhidong in “*Exhortation to Learning*”. (《劝学篇》) also referred to sayings of Confucian scholars such as “One year of going abroad is better than reading five years of Western books”, “One year of studying abroad is better than studying three years in China”, and “Seeing one time is better than hearing a hundred times” (“出洋一年胜于读西书五年”, “入外国学堂一年胜于中国学堂三年”, “百闻不如一见”).¹⁴⁰ He mentioned the most prominent Confucians like Mencius and their encouragement about studying abroad.¹⁴¹ Fairbank mentioned the reason for using the sayings of Confucian scholars as to reduce the reaction of conservatives and anti-modernists who oppose modernization and go to the West for modern education.

After the memorial of Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang, Prince Gong, the head of the Zongli Yamen, reviewed and endorsed the proposal, and the Qing court finally approved it in 1872. Unfortunately, Zeng Guofan passed away the same year, Li Hongzhang (李鸿章) (1823-1901) became in charge of supervising the Chinese Educational Mission (CEM).

With the advancement of modernization, there was an increased need for talented individuals. Apart from the CEM, students were dispatched to Western countries to study shipping and military affairs. In the year 1871, Fujian Shipyard (福建船厂) sent ten students to study shipping technology in England and France. After, the dispatching process gradually became more formal. In 1875, Shen Baozhen (沈葆楨) sent students from the Fuzhou Navy Yard School (福州造船厂) to France to study shipping with the Frenchman Riyig (Ri Yige 日意格). The following year, in December, Li Hongzhang sent students and apprentices from the Fujian Shipyard to

¹³⁹ Teng and Fairbank, *China's Response to the West; a Documentary Survey, 1839-1923*, 92.

¹⁴⁰ Feng Tianyu, Jiang Hailong 冯天瑜, 姜海龙, *Zhonghua Shuju Chupin - Quanxue Pian 中华书局出品——劝学篇 [China Bookstore Productions - Persuasion]* (Beijing: Beijing Book Co., 2016), 18.

¹⁴¹ Zhang Zhidong 张之洞, *Quan xue pianwaipian youxue dier 劝学篇·外篇·游学第二 [Encouragement to Study, Outer Chapter, Study Tour 2]* (Guangzhou: Guanxi Shifan Daxue chubanshi, 2008), 98.

Britain and France to study navy and manufacturing. Later in 1890, the Prime Minister's Office of the Qing government invited students to study in five countries; Russia, Britain, France, Germany, and the United States, and each country sent two students to China. After 1895, the Qing government sent students to study in Russia, Britain, France, and Germany. As a result, students who were dispatched during the modernization brought back advanced knowledge of shipbuilding and naval training which strengthened China's naval power. Studying in Britain and France fostered the development of many outstanding talents in the fields of navy and ship administration. Some notable representatives were Liu Buchan (刘步蟾), Lin Taizeng (林泰曾), Lin Yongsheng (林永生).¹⁴²

In addition to promoting sending students, reformists like Zuo Zongtang (左宗棠)¹⁴³ and Zeng Guofan also supported sending personnel as a means of enhancing their understanding of diplomacy, military affairs, and economics. Due to economic challenges, it was difficult to send a significant number of staff. Zheng Guanying (郑观应) (1836-1890)¹⁴⁴ proposed sending ministers overseas to enhance the decision-making proficiency of high-ranking government officials. He suggested selecting older individuals who received a traditional Chinese education system, as they are more likely to analyze and assess modernization wisely.¹⁴⁵ The reason is likely that individuals who are younger and lack sufficient Confucian education might be more easily assimilated and may lack the capacity to make wise decisions regarding necessary reforms.

¹⁴² Li Minxi 季玟希, “Zhongguo Jindai Liuxue Fazhan Lichen Yu Dongle Tan Jiu 中国近代留学发展历程与动力探究 [Exploration of the Development Process and Motivation of Studying Abroad in Modern China]”, *Xiandai Jiaoyu Kexue* 3 (2019): 136.

¹⁴³ Zuo Zongtang (左宗棠) (1812-1885) was a prominent Chinese military general and statesman. He is best known for his role in suppressing the Taiping Rebellion and supporter of reforms.

¹⁴⁴ Zheng Guanying (郑观应) (1836-1890) was a Chinese scholar and writer. He is best known for his influential work titled "Words of Warning to a Prosperous Age" (《盛世危言》). This book is often considered one of the earliest critiques of traditional Chinese culture and an early call for modernization.

¹⁴⁵ Jianbo Zhou, *Westernization Movement and Early Thought of Modernization in China: Pragmatism and Changes in Society, 1860s–1900s*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 113.

3.1.2. CEM Students' Enrollment and Departure

In their memorial to the Qing court, Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang noted the importance of sending students to the West, specifically America. They highlighted the Burlingame Treaty¹⁴⁶ as a key factor in their decision. Additionally, Yung Wing's familiarity with America was another prominent reason for choosing it as a destination. The memorial identified two significant challenges: selecting talented students and securing funding. It also proposed solutions to address these challenges. For example, students were divided into four batches rather than sending all 120 students together.

The plan was selecting young children at the age of 12 and 15 and after completing 15 years of education, return to China. When they return to their country, they would be around 30 years old, which is considered the peak of their effectiveness, allowing them to produce significant achievements. For selecting the students, it was planned to set up a bureau in Shanghai to visit and select bright children from coastal provinces.¹⁴⁷ The memorial also stated that people from Ningbo (宁波), Guangdong (广东), and Fujian (福建), all coastal towns, went abroad to learn languages before. However, as their primary aim was to engage in business activities, their linguistic abilities were primarily confined to this field. Consequently, the selection process for government-funded students must be conducted with great care. In order not to waste time and funding. It was decided that the selected students be guided by commissioners and specialists in various academic fields.¹⁴⁸

For the enrolment, spreading the news about the government-funded educational program posed challenges. In addition, many recipients of the news were

¹⁴⁶ The Burlingame Treaty (蒲安臣条约), signed in 1868 between the United States and Qing Dynasty China, recognized China's sovereignty, encouraged Chinese immigration to the U.S. for labor, protected the rights of Chinese immigrants in the U.S., and facilitated diplomatic relations between the two nations.

¹⁴⁷ Yu Gang 余刚, “‘Qing Shi Lei Gongwen de Jingdian Zhi Zuo——Zeng Guofan ‘Nixuan Congying Zidi Fu Taixi Geguo Yiyezhe’ Shangxi 请示类公文之经典之作——曾国藩《拟选聪颖子弟赴泰西各国肄业折》赏析 [Appreciation of Zeng Guofan’s ‘Planning to Select Smart Students to Study in European and American Countries’, a Classic Work of Official Documents Requesting Instructions.]’”, *Mishu Gongzuo* 10 (2019): 71.

¹⁴⁸ Teng and Fairbank, *China's Response to the West; a Documentary Survey, 1839-1923*, 93.

apprehensive. Moreover, local elders recounted frightening tales to discourage boys from enrolling in CEM. A male student recalled some rumors by elders as, “The wild men over there [America] would skin us alive, graft the skin of dogs onto our bodies, and exhibit us as they would some uncommon animal.”¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, studying overseas seemed to contradict established notions of filial piety. As Confucius advised while one's parents are alive, it is advised not to travel to far-off locations.¹⁵⁰

It should be noted, however, that not all Chinese parents reacted the same to this news. Interest was mainly observed among parents from the southern coast, who had more frequent interactions with foreigners than those residing in the interior region of China. Furthermore, once they were selected all CEM students would acquire the rank of the scholar-official elite, this encouraged families not employed in government posts to send their children.

Meanwhile, as a government comprising representatives from various ethnic groups, there was also the question of which social group the students should be selected from. The recruitment guidelines prohibited discrimination against Manchus or Hans. However, none of the CEM boys was Manchu. As E.J.M. Rhoads¹⁵¹ drew attention despite being a minor part of the population, Manchus exerted a meaningful yet frequently overlooked influence on the Self-Strengthening Movement, particularly in the realm of foreign language study. For example, the translator colleges in Beijing (Tongwen Guan) and Guangzhou primarily enrolled Manchu students, particularly from the Eight Banners. It is noteworthy that all six students who accompanied the Burlingame mission abroad in 1868-70 from the Beijing Tongwen Guan were Manchu. Furthermore, as mentioned in the previous chapter significant number of China's pioneering diplomats were Manchu. However, none of them participated in the CEM. All 120 CEM (1872-1881) boys were of Han Chinese ethnicity.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ La Fargue, ‘China’s First Hundred.’, n.d., 36.

¹⁵⁰ “父母在，不远游，游必有方。” Kong Zi 孔子, Lunyu li ren 论语·里仁 Analects.

¹⁵¹ Edward J. M. Rhoads is professor in the Department of History. He has published widely in the history of ethnic relations within China and China's encounter with the West. Some of his works are; “*Manchus and Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861-1928*”, “*Stepping Forth into the World: The Chinese Educational Mission to the United States, 1872-81*”, “*China's Republican Revolution: The Case of Kwangtung, 1895-1913 and The Chinese Red Army, 1927-1963: An Annotated Bibliography*”.

¹⁵² Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, 14.

Candidates of CEM were required to have responsible guardians, pass a medical examination, and demonstrate proficiency in Chinese studies, including both reading and writing. If they had attended an English school before, they were also obliged to pass an English examination. Upon being selected, all candidates were required to attend a preparatory school daily to further their Chinese studies and commence or maintain their English studies for at least one year before departing to the United States. Parents and guardians were obligated to verify their agreement to allow their male offspring or wards to study abroad for up to fifteen years, beginning from their enrollment in the United States. They also acknowledged the government's non-responsibility for any accidents or deaths during the period. The government, however, pledged to cover all educational expenses, assign Chinese teachers to accompany the students to the United States and provide them with appropriate attire.¹⁵³ These were the terms and conditions of the CEM.

It is noteworthy that they had a preparatory school for CEM students before the departure. The preparatory school was in Shanghai, a city that already had a foreign population due to its port and some treaties. Upon arriving in Shanghai, students were shocked to experience foreign culture up close. In his autobiography, Li Enfu (李恩富 1861-1938, known as Lee Yan Phou), one of the 120 CEM students, mentioned being particularly shocked by the behavior of foreign girls and women.¹⁵⁴

At the preparatory school of the CEM, students studied Chinese and English. It was required for them to have a few years of Chinese education background, and most of them had already taken these lectures from private tutors. On the other hand, although some students had basic English skills, most of them had to start by learning the alphabet. Zheng Laishun, one of the first Chinese students who studied in the U.S, was an English teacher at CEM preparatory school and his two sons, Elijah Laishun (Zeng Pu 曾溥) and Spencer Laishun (Zeng Dugong 曾笃恭), were students of CEM. The sons assisted their father at the CEM preparatory school thanks to their prior knowledge of English. Some of the CEM students also had a

¹⁵³ Twichell and Yung, 'My Life in China and America', 184–85.

¹⁵⁴ Li Yang Fou, *When I Was a Boy in China*, by Yan Phou Lee (Boston: D. Sothrop Boston, 1887), 97-98.

background in basic English and foreign cultures through their attendance at missionary schools or their family background.

The family background was also influential in becoming a CEM student. A considerable number of CEM students were acquaintances or relatives of each other. Yung Wing, Zeng Laishun, and Kuang Qizhao¹⁵⁵ (鄺其照) (translators of the CEM) made their relatives to attend the CEM. Moreover, nearly one-third of the group of 120 boys were related, either as brothers or cousins.¹⁵⁶ Kuang Qizhao compiled a Chinese-English dictionary "《华英字典集成》", the first English dictionary written by a Chinese. According to Rhoads this dictionary probably was used in the preparation school. Students who attended the prep school underwent an exam to determine their eligibility for traveling to America. Each batch of students was selected according to the exam, as some could not improve their language skills enough to go.

Self-strengthening supporter bureaucrats believed that the ideal students to be trained abroad should have a balance of Western education and Chinese knowledge. They should be skilled in foreign technologies like shipping, military, and mining administration, and also be well-versed in traditional Chinese culture and loyal to the Qing Dynasty. For this goal, Ding Richang and Zeng Guofan as supporters and initiators of CEM recommended Chen Lanbin (陈兰彬) (1816-1895). Chen Lanbin was a member of Hanlin Academy and a Jinshi (进士) scholar (those who achieved the highest level of the imperial exam). Chen Lanbin was appointed as a member of the *Bureau of Study Abroad Studies for Students in the United States* (留美学生肄业局), ranking above Yung Wing. The reason why Chen Lanbin was recommended by Ding Richang and Zeng Guofan due to two factors. As Yung Wing states one was to reduce the resistance from conservative bureaucrats to sending young children to the

¹⁵⁵ Kuang Qizhao (鄺其照) was an English teacher at CEM preparatory school. In 1874, he played a role in accompanying the third group of young children to the United States and worked as a translator in the Chinese Education Commission in America as a secretary and translator. Also, he is the founder of the "Guangbao" (广报) the earliest newspaper in Guangzhou.

¹⁵⁶ For details about the kinship of the students; *Stepping Forth into the World: The Chinese Educational Mission to the United States, 1872-8; Recruitment*

United States.¹⁵⁷ The second was to strengthen traditional etiquette and traditional Chinese education for young children who will be sent to the U.S.

According to the division of labor, Chen Lanbin and Yung Wing were assigned different responsibilities. Chen Lanbin was responsible for supervising students in their efforts to improve their Chinese language proficiency during their studies in the United States. Yung Wing, on the other hand, was responsible for supervising the students' Western academic courses and planning for their accommodation. By these guidelines, Chen Lanbin regularly taught “Chinese Education” (中学) which he covered texts such as the classics of filial piety, primary school materials, the five classics, and sacred edicts monthly. In addition, an evaluation was conducted every four months to observe the students' progress in their Chinese Education studies.¹⁵⁸

Starting in 1872 the four batch of the students departed from China to America following four years. On 16th July 1872, “*Shen Bao*” (《申报》) newspaper released an article about the initial group of thirty children under the heading “*Students of Shanghai Western Education Bureau Go to the United States*” (上海西学局学生赴美国) — earliest which publicly disclosed names of children.¹⁵⁹

Each batch was accompanied on its trip by Qing officials and an interpreter who was proficient in English. Yung Wing traveled to the United States beforehand to organize the children's education and accommodation, and Chen Lanbin stayed in Shanghai to facilitate the first batch's departure to the United States. Zeng Laishun accompanied the first batch as a translator. The journey to America was a fascinating experience for the youthful CEM students, who were unfamiliar with foreign cultures. The technological advancements of the West, such as railways and steam engines, were a source of amazement for them. Lee Yan Phou, the CEM student, mentions in his autobiography that upon arriving in San Francisco, they were impressed by the modern conveniences such as gas, running water, electric bells, and elevators.¹⁶⁰ In

¹⁵⁷ Twichell and Yung, ‘My Life in China and America’, 181.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 183.

¹⁵⁹ To read the article <https://archive.org/details/shenbao-1872.07.16/mode/2up>, accessed 20.01.2024

¹⁶⁰ Li Yang Fou, *When I Was a Boy in China*, by Yan Phou Lee, 107.

order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the impact of this journey, it is essential to consider the social background of the students involved.

3.1.3. The Social Backgrounds of CEM Students

Most of the CEM students' fathers were merchants and businessmen who had engaged with foreigners. Royal-official families showed no interest in non-traditional education at home or abroad. The previous chapter discussed that during the modernization of education in China, classical Chinese education, rooted in Confucianism, was still considered essential. A fundamental reason why CEM students were not from noble families, high-ranking officials, or famous generals was related to the potential consequences of not receiving the required training in Chinese Studies (中学). These statuses were primarily achieved by demonstrating proficiency in civil service examinations based on Confucian teachings. Therefore, elite families prioritized classical Chinese education. Nevertheless, among the CEM students, there were only four students who came from scholar-official families.¹⁶¹

Some of the CEM students had familial connections. For instance, four students Liang Pixu (梁丕旭/ Liang Pi Yuk), Li Enfu (李恩富), Rong Kui (容揆 /Yung Kwai), and Liu Yulin (刘玉麟/Liu Yuk Lin). Liang Pixu was born to a merchant family but had familial connections. On his father's side, he was the nephew of Liang Zhaohuang, who became Jinshi (进士) and later held the position of prefect of Shuntian (顺天) (encompassed region around the imperial capital). Li Enfu was the grandson of a lower-ranking official. Rong Kui was the son of a Gongsheng (贡生) senior licentiate and the grandson of a prefectural examiner of taxes (县税大使). Liu Yulin's great-grandfather had acquired senior licentiate status through purchase, while his grandfather had risen to the position of prefectural director of schools (教授).¹⁶² The majority of the other students were however from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

¹⁶¹ Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, 21.

¹⁶² Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, 21–23.

When the imperial court-initiated education for young children some people encouraged their children and nephews to take the exam which was given to select CEM students. When the imperial court-initiated education for young children some people encouraged their children and nephews to take the exam for the selecting CEM students. Notably, Yung Wing (容闳), Huang Yuechuan (黄岳川), Zeng Lansheng (曾兰生), and Huang Sheng (黄胜) successfully promoted their children and nephews to enter the CEM.¹⁶³

Moreover, some individuals who had previously traveled to the West as a result of missionary activity were also motivated to send their children on the CEM mission. For instance, Huang Sheng (黄胜) (1827—1902), went to Macau in 1840 to study at Missionary Morrison School. The following year, he moved to Hong Kong with the school. In 1847, he went to the United States to study together with Yung Wing and Huang Kuan. The following year, he returned to China early due to health problems. Huang Sheng's two sons took the exam but were not admitted. They later went to study in the United States as self-funded students.¹⁶⁴

Huang Yuechuan (黄岳川) (also known as Huang Qionglang) was born in 1838. In his early years, he was recommended by the Shanghai Catholic Church to be sent the United States to study foreign languages and receive Western education. After returning to China, he served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Qing government. When the Shanghai Bureau of Young Children Studying Abroad (幼童出洋肄业局沪局) was selecting students, Huang Yuechuan sent his eldest son Huang Kaijia (黄开甲) to take the exam and became one of the first batch of young children studying in the United States.¹⁶⁵

Some early modern craftsmen and merchants who received news about the recruitment sent their descendants and nephews to the Shanghai Bureau of Young

¹⁶³ Shen Rongguo 沈荣国, 'Liumei youtong jiating chushen kaolue--Jian lun Wan Qing Zhongguo jindaihua faren de yuandongli 留美幼童家庭出身考略--兼论晚清中国近代化发轫的原动力 [A Study on the Family Backgrounds of Chinese Students Sent to America—Also on the Motivating Forces of China's Modernization in the Late Qing Dynasty]', 122.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 123.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 122.

Children Studying Abroad to take the exam. In 1857 merchant Xu Run (徐潤) (1838-1911) met Yung Wing and became close friends. Xu Run influenced the sons of his relatives and friends. In addition, three sons of Xu Run's uncle Xu Rongcun (徐榮村) and his own two sons also participated in the examination.¹⁶⁶

Brothers Tang Tingshu (唐景星 1832-1892) and Tang Tingzhi (唐葶志) were members of the Tang family in Zhuhai, today's Guangdong,. They studied at Morrison School since childhood. They were classmates with Yung Wing. When Yung Wing was planning an education plan for young children in the United States, the Tang brothers had become well-known compradors¹⁶⁷ and had great influence in their hometown. They recommended six Tang children to study in the United States. Eight other children from the Tang Jiawan (唐家灣) district, today's Guangdong, were also influenced by the Tang brothers, thanks to their connections with the families of the children.¹⁶⁸

The parents of CEM students came from diverse occupational backgrounds, reflecting a range of socio-economic statuses.¹⁶⁹ Many students hailed from families involved in mercantile activities, especially silk and tea. Such as Liang Cheng's (梁誠 / also known as Liang Pixu) father, who amassed wealth through business, and Zhan Tianyou's (詹天佑) father and father-in-law, who were long-time merchants in Hong Kong and Macao.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 123.

¹⁶⁷ 买办 constantly translated as comprador, a historical term in China referring to local agents who facilitated trade and economic activities with foreign powers during periods of imperial Chinese history.

¹⁶⁸ Jiang Yongzhen 江勇振, *Chucai jinyu: Zhongguo liu mei xuesheng 楚材晉育: 中國留美學生 1872-1931* [*Chusai Jinyu: Chinese Students in the United States, 1872-1931*] (Taiwan: Linking Publishing, 2022), 58. The students were Cai Tingqian (蔡廷干), Sheng Wenyang (盛文揚), Huang Youzhang (黃有章), Zhuo Renzhi (卓仁志), Deng Guiting (鄧桂廷), Deng Shicong (鄧士聰), Liang Jinrong (梁金榮), and Liang Ruhao (梁如浩).

¹⁶⁹ For details on the occupations of the CEM students see Shen Rongguo 沈榮國, 'Liumei youtong jiating chushen kaolue--Jian lun Wan Qing Zhongguo jindaihua faren de yuandongli 留美幼童家庭出身考略--兼論晚清中國近代化發軔的原動力[A Study on the Family Backgrounds of Chinese Students Sent to America—Also on the Motivating Forces of China's Modernization in the Late Qing Dynasty]'.
¹⁷⁰ Ibid. 234.

Other notable examples include Qi Zuyi's (祁祖彝) father, Qi Zhaoxi (祁兆熙) not only sent Qi Zuyi to take the exam and successfully became the second batch of young children studying in the United States but also led the third batch of young children studying in the United States to the United States as an escort committee member in 1874.¹⁷¹ The "Shenbao" (《申报》) at that time reported that "the General Administration of Foreign Affairs selected the third batch of children and appointed Qi Zhaoxi to take them to the United States to study in early July. (出洋总局挑选第三批幼童，委派祁司马兆熙，定于七月上旬带往美国肄业)"¹⁷² Qi Zhaoxi recorded in detail what he saw on the road and the situation of young children studying and living in the United States in "Diary of Traveling to America. (《游美洲日记》)

There were miners, fishermen, and technical workers among the CEM parents.¹⁷³ Some CEM students had parents with more modest occupations; for instance, the fathers of Rong Shangqin (容尚勤) and Rong Shangqian (容尚谦) were ordinary farmers, while Wu Qizao's (吴其藻) father was a rural Chinese medicine doctor.¹⁷⁴ This variation in parental occupations underscores the broad socio-economic spectrum from which CEM students originated.

Another prominent figure of CEM Kuang Qizhao was born in 1843 and studied at the Hong Kong Government Central School. Later, he successively compiled books such as "A Collection of Chinese-English Dictionaries" (《华英字典集成》), "A Dictionary of English Idioms" (《英文成语字典》), and "The First Collection of English Conversations" (《英语汇腋初集》). When Yung Wing was trying to select

¹⁷¹ Shen Rongguo 沈荣国, 'Liumei youtong jiating chushen kaolue--Jian lun Wan Qing Zhongguo jindaihua faren de yuandongli 留美幼童家庭出身考略--兼论晚清中国近代化发轫的原动力[A Study on the Family Backgrounds of Chinese Students Sent to America—Also on the Motivating Forces of China's Modernization in the Late Qing Dynasty]', 124.

¹⁷² <https://archive.org/search?query=subject%3A%22%E7%94%B3%E6%8A%A5%22> accessed 24.03.2024

¹⁷³ Mai Boheng 麦博恒, 'Kuang Rongguang: Taishan Di Yi Wei Zhongguo Di Yi Pi Gongpai Tongyou Liuxuesheng 邝荣光:台山第一位中国第一批公派幼童留学生 [Kuang Rongguang: Taishan's First Batch of China's First Publicly-Accredited Students]', *Xinning Zazhi* 4 (2014): 30.

¹⁷⁴ Qian Gang, Hu Jingcao 钱钢、胡劲草, *Daqing liumei youtong ji 大清留美幼童记 [A Memoir of a Young Students Sent to the United States by the Qing Dynasty]*, 65.

students, Kuang Qizhao also returned to his hometown in Guangdong, to look for children from his family who could apply.

Most of the families of CEM students were ordinary people. They were willing to send their children because of several reasons. The main reason was the expenses of the students would be covered by the government. They also had the opportunity to become government officials without the required and costly Confucian education to pass the imperial examination. After returning from the United States, they would be integrated into the government with corresponding ranks in civil and military service. Even if they did not pass the Confucian-based exams required to be part of the elite, they were still expected to be recognized as a segment of the elite. Therefore, E.J.M. Rhoads interprets the CEM as an alternative vehicle for upward social mobility.¹⁷⁵

Apart from the social and economic encouragement of the families, religion and the role of the missionaries were important. Western missionaries, mainly Protestants, succeeded in converting some Chinese people to Christians during their missionary missions in China. As a result, early groups of Chinese Christians appeared on the stage of modern Chinese history. In the process of accepting Christian teachings, some Chinese believers have indirectly broadened their horizons and formed the idea of sending their children to study in the West. The launch of education for young children in the United States provided them with a rare opportunity.

As an example, CEM student Wen Bingzhong's (温秉忠 1861-?) father, Wen Qingxi, (温清溪 1834-1915) was a well-known church figure in the late Qing Dynasty. He was baptized and officially became a Christian in the Hong Kong Church. Another CEM student Luo Guorui's (罗国瑞) father also preached in Hong Kong for many years. Zeng Lansheng (曾兰生), Huang Yuechuan (黄岳川), and even Yung Wing all have relatively strong religious backgrounds. In 1878, 13 CEM students supported an organization called The Chinese Christian Home Mission (中国基督教家园传教会),

¹⁷⁵ Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, 218.

whose aim was to spread Christianity in China. However, most of them did not focus on missionary work after returning to China.¹⁷⁶

For various reasons, many Chinese people have been living overseas for generations, struggling to make a living. As a result, they tend to place a higher value on Western education. However, due to economic constraints, their children often had limited opportunities for further education. The introduction of CEM provided a valuable opportunity for these families. For example, Xue Youfu (薛有福) was the fifth generation of overseas Chinese from the Zhangquan merchant group in Malacca (Malaysia). His grandfather went to Malacca in his early years and later became a landlord owning seven pieces of land. His father was working at a trade firm in Xiamen. From his family Xue Youli (薛有礼) received English education overseas in his early years and worked as a comprador at HSBC Bank after graduation. In addition, brothers Elijah Laishun (曾溥 Zeng Pu) and Spencer Laishun (Zeng Dugong 曾篤恭) were descendants of overseas Chinese in Singapore. Their grandfather worked as a farmer in Singapore in his early years, and their grandmother was Malaysian. Their father Zeng Lansheng was born in Singapore, and their mother was a Chinese-Malaysian who received church education.¹⁷⁷

In brief, the 120 students selected for the CEM program were all ethnically Han Chinese, representing diverse backgrounds. Most of the children were from Cantonese families. Some came from typical farming families, while others were motivated to join due to religious or economic reasons within their households. Regardless of their family circumstances, both the families and students shared certain responsibilities. In addition, by mastering Western languages and sciences, students were also expected to enhance their Chinese Education.

¹⁷⁶ Luo Yuanxu 羅元旭, *Dong cheng xi jiu: qi ge huaren jidujiao jiazhu yu Zhongxi jiaoliu bainian 東成西就: 七個華人基督教家族與中西交流百年 East Meets West: Seven Chinese Christian Families and 100 Years of East-West Exchanges* (Hongkong: Sanlianshu Publication, 2012), 24.

¹⁷⁷ Shen, Liumei youtong jiating chushen kaolue, 124.

3.1.4. CEM Students in America

When the Chinese Educational Mission was approved by the government, parents were reluctant to send their children abroad. Yung Wing visited various places, including Guangdong and Hong Kong, to persuade and encourage the parents to send their children. According to the regulations, all students must meet certain requirements to be considered for admission. These requirements include possessing some qualifications such as being intellectually capable and maintaining good personal hygiene. It should be noted that candidates who have physical disabilities or weaknesses will not be accepted. Before going abroad, students must follow traditional etiquette and come to the Shanghai Customs Office¹⁷⁸ (上海海关道台衙门) and express their gratitude to the government. When they arrive in America before starting school, these children must overcome the language barrier. Students who pass an English language test would directly enter American schools while those who fail received individual tutoring to prepare for school. For language learning and adaptation to the American lifestyle, the students stayed with host families.

Yung Wing's arrangement of American host families for CEM students was a crucial component of their education in the United States. It allowed students to improve their English language skills while maintaining their Chinese education (中学), and the host families played an active role in facilitating this process. Host families were responsible for giving reports about the daily Chinese studies of the students. Yung Wing's efforts to organize the details of the Chinese Educational Mission students' lives in America were instrumental in their successful education and adaptation to American society. With the suggestion of Mr. B. G. Northrop, Commissioner of Education for Connecticut, Yung Wing arranged American host families for the students to accommodate during their stay in the United States. Mr. Northrop suggested two or at most four students should live with one host family.¹⁷⁹ An integral aspect of this agreement was to enhance the student's proficiency in the

¹⁷⁸ Shanghai Customs Daotai Yamen (上海海关道台衙门) refers to the Shanghai Customs which was the administrative office or headquarters of the Shanghai Customs during the Qing Dynasty in China. The term "道台" refers to a high-ranking official position, similar to a governor or commissioner, and "衙门" means government office or headquarters.

¹⁷⁹ Twichell and Yung, 'My Life in China and America', 189.

English language. The host families provided a valuable chance for students to become fully immersed in an English-speaking environment, which proved crucial to their academic and social integration into American society. They assumed responsibility for assisting students in developing their English fluency and reporting their progress to the Chinese Education Commission.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, host families played a pivotal role in Chinese education and in preserving the Chinese language skills of the students. While residing with American-hosting families, the students persisted in studying Chinese ensuring that they do not lose touch with their cultural and educational roots.

Li Enfu, a CEM student from the second batch, noted in his autobiography that the host families were actively involved in improving the students' language skills. Not only did they support formal language learning, but they also integrated English into several aspects of the student's daily life. For instance, the students were instructed on the dish names, and if they hadn't been able to identify the names, they might have faced difficulties in getting the food.¹⁸¹ This instructional approach shows the host families' dedication to offering a comprehensive language education to students.

In 1872, a total of 122 families applied to become host families for CEM students. However, at that point, only 30 students of CEM as the first batch had arrived in America. One of the potential motivations for applying to become a host family might be the financial compensation provided to CEM students. Host families were paid for various services. Initially, they were to receive \$16 per week for two students sharing a room, which covered food, laundry, fuel, light, and private tuition. This did not include clothing, stationery, books, medical bills or incidentals. The total annual cost for each student, combining the basic fee and pocket money, was \$428, within the budget set by Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang, originally set at \$600 per year for each student's needs. The commissioners explicitly stated that they would not assume responsibility for any expenses or debts incurred by the students without their prior written consent.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, 71.

¹⁸¹ Li Yang Fou, *When I Was a Boy in China*, by Yan Phou Lee, 111.

¹⁸² Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, 64.

The Chinese government commissioners, who were in Hartford at the time, sought to keep the host families close to them, making contact and control easier. Thus, host families were mainly in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Students were supposed to stay with their host families for two years before enrolling in American schools. Host families are expected to ensure some regulations like their students engaging in regular studying and exercise routines. It is also required that host families maintain daily records of their students' progress. If a student fails to comply with these academic expectations, host families are obligated to report them to their respective commissioners immediately. The overarching goal was for students to return to China and utilize their native language skills to aid in the improvement of their country's traditional education standards.

The process of hosting CEM students was subject to a specific set of regulations. Each host family was responsible for two boys who belonged to the same CEM batch. Some families cared for three or four boys, typically from two separate detachments. Although most of the host families were married couples, there were also widows and single women among them. Most husbands of married couples were college attendees and their wives were typically home-teachers or schoolteachers.¹⁸³ Expectations for student compliance with the rules were clear. Moreover, variations in procedures have been implemented in response to issues stemming from either students or host families.

Some students were relocated from their host families due to reasons such as the health of the host family, student misbehavior, or unsatisfactory academic progress. Additionally, some students had to be relocated because their young single female hosts decided to get married, which resulted in a change in their circumstances. However, CEM students adopted their American host families like their own family that they continued to get in contact with them. Even some of the students gave their children the names of their host families.¹⁸⁴ Because of the family background some students did not stay with host families. Such as Spencer Laishun did not reside with a host family as his father Zeng Laishun came to America as a staff of the CEM, and his entire family accompanied him, thus Spencer lived with his own family.

¹⁸³ For detailed information about the host families; Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World* Chapter 5

¹⁸⁴ Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, 74.

Before the departure of young children to the United States, Zeng Guofan had already notified the Qing court that the Chinese education of young children should not be neglected. As mentioned, host families regularly reported their studies to the Chinese Educational Commission (CEC).

CEM students were required to gather at the Chinese Education Commission building to receive traditional Chinese education (中学). Additionally they were expected to allocate a few hours each day for Chinese studies during their stay with the host families. It is also imperative that they receive early instructions on health, especially regarding hygiene adapting to the climate to prevent illness, and so on. For homeschooling, English language learning should be prioritized, followed by subjects such as geography and arithmetic. The length of their stay with host families depended upon their academic performance and the evaluation of the host families conducted by the commissioners.¹⁸⁵

The CEM students were highly adaptable children, and despite facing significant cultural differences, they quickly integrated into American life. Staying with host families made the adoption easier. However, once adapted to American culture, they felt pressure from their homeland. The Qing government did not want these children to fully assimilate to Western culture and neglect their own. To prevent this, the Qing government implemented several precautions.

3.1.4.1. CEM Students' Encounter with Western Education in America

Enrollment of the CEM students in American schools varied depending on the student's linguistic proficiency. Some of the students who already had sufficient English skills to attend American schools started much earlier than others. Yung Wing's nephew Rong Shangqin (容尚勤) and Zeng Laishun's two sons Elijah (Zeng Pu 曾溥) and Spencer (Zeng Dugong 曾篤恭) enrolled in the American schools earlier since they knew English before coming to the U.S. The other students had the

¹⁸⁵ United States, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Transmitted to Congress, with the Annual Message of the President, December 1, 1873* .. (Washington: U.S. G.P.O. Washington, 1873), 141–42.

opportunity to enhance their language skills by staying with host families. These students were supposed to attain the requisite proficiency to pursue their studies in English within two years. Although some students reached the planned level sooner, some students exceeded the planned level.

The CEM students lived with the host families in Connecticut and Massachusetts. They lived in different districts in New England, but the main city was Hartford. There were both private and public schools in which the CEM students had a chance to enroll. The education of the city consisted of three levels: primary schools (with four years of study), grammar (or middle) schools (with five years of study), and a single citywide high school (with four years of study).¹⁸⁶ While staying with their host families, the students received instruction in grammar and various subjects. As a result, their primary aim was to enroll in middle school instead of primary school.

The CEM students attended both private and public schools. The private institutions they enrolled in were the Seaside Institute for Boys, the Gunnery, Wesleyan Academy, Monson Academy, and the Springfield Collegiate Institute. Regarding public schools West Middle Public School, The Wadsworth Street School also recognized as South Public School in Hartford, the Hooker Street Grammar School in Springfield, and the grammar school in Massachusetts were the schools CEM students enrolled in. In 1874-1875, students began enrolling in high schools such as Hartford Public High School, Hillhouse High School, and Hartford High School. Except for three students who already knew English and started their education earlier, 117 boys who entered secondary school after 1874, as Rhoads states there is information about 97 of them. Around 69 students attended public grammar schools, while 38 students attended private academies. 10 students attended both types of schools. These CEM boys were distributed among thirteen different public grammar schools and four private academies.¹⁸⁷

In grammar schools, the typical curriculum included orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, arithmetic, algebra, and American history. However, upon entering high school, they had to choose between two distinct courses of study:

¹⁸⁶ Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, 89.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 95.

classical or English, and most of the students chose the classical study. The classical curriculum, aimed to prepare students for traditional liberal arts colleges. It emphasized Latin and Greek and spanning four years. Lectures included Latin literature, Roman history, Greek literature and history, mathematics including arithmetic and geometry, English and natural philosophy, and science.¹⁸⁸

The schools for CEM students were determined according to the host family, if they were in an urban center that had a secondary school or in a rural area that had a private academy, they would usually attend the nearby school. When CEM students attended local schools, they stayed with their host families. However, those who had to attend distant schools had to make their own arrangements for accommodation, meals, and laundry services. These students often stayed in private homes, even if the schools provided dormitories, as is the case with most academies.¹⁸⁹

3.1.4.2. Surveillance of the CEM

Before and after traveling abroad, the Qing government issued repeated warnings to the students that the primary goal of traveling abroad was to learn foreign skills and not to disregard the rules of their own country. Therefore, they must study foreign skills diligently and adhere to the rules as they cannot be adopted. CEM students are required to adhere to certain regulations, which involve their Chinese studies such as the Classic of Filial Piety, the Primary School¹⁹⁰, the Five Classics, and the Laws and Regulations of the Kingdom and Dynasty. They are expected to listen to the Holy Edict of Guangxun¹⁹¹ (圣谕广训) weekly and to display respect towards the Qing emperor through simultaneous bowing during a specific time. Additionally, they were expected to preserve their queues (braids), observe the etiquette of respecting

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 103.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 102.

¹⁹⁰ In the Qing dynasty primary school (小学) included books; "Three Virtues" (三德), "Three Elements"(三行), "Six Arts "(六艺) and " Six Etiquette " (六仪) mentioned in "The Rites of Zhou" (周礼)

¹⁹¹ 圣谕广训 consist of sixteen articles and considered a significant work in Chinese traditional culture and Confucian thought, as it provides a comprehensive guide to ethical behaviour and social order, aligning with the teachings of Confucius and Confucianism in general.

Confucius, and perform the ritual bows of Confucius's tablet¹⁹² (牌位).¹⁹³ The Qing government established a bureau in the U.S. to regulate and monitor these practices among the students.

The Chinese Educational Commission (CEC) was established by the Qing government in America, known as either the *Study Abroad Bureau* (出洋肄业局) or the *Bureau of Study Abroad* (留学事务局). The main aim of the CEC was to supervise the CEM students' education and development, preserving their Chinese culture and etiquette through traditional teaching methods. Chinese studies at CEC encompassed the traditional Chinese classics of Confucius, poetry, calligraphy, and composition. The original CEC staff comprised a chief commissioner, an associate commissioner, a translator, and two Chinese instructors.

Chinese Educational Commission building in Hartford had many classics and historical books as well as books dedicated to Confucius. Students were required to get the Chinese education which included both the language and the Confucian education in the CEC. They not only studied Chinese education but also did the traditional bow several times in the direction of the emperor's palace in Beijing to express respect for the emperor.¹⁹⁴ The Qing government heavily regulated the education of young children, with specific rules in place to encourage the learning of traditional Chinese culture. The notion of "Chinese essence and Western use"¹⁹⁵ reveals the Qing government's attitude towards Western learning knowledge.

A group of young children attended a Chinese studies program organized by the commission. Twelve children participated in the program at a time, with each session lasting for fourteen days. When it ended, the current participants are replaced by a new batch of twelve children. The program aimed to teach Chinese language proficiency and, traditional Chinese education to these children every three months.

¹⁹² 牌位 is a wooden baseplate with the name of God or the deceased, set for worship

¹⁹³ Li Zhiming 李志茗, "Yaozhe de chuanguju—wanqing liumei youtong de beiju mingyun 夭折的创举—晚清留美幼童的悲剧命运 [Aborted pioneering work: The Tragic Fate of Young Children Studying in America in the Late Qing Dynasty]", *Tansuo yu zhengming* 7 (2009): 73.

¹⁹⁴ Thomas E. LaFargue, 'Chinese Educational Commission to the United States: A Government Experiment in Western Education', *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (November 1941): 63.

¹⁹⁵ Gao Zonglu 高宗鲁, *Zhongguo liumei youtong shuxinji 中国留美幼童书信集 A Collection of Letters from Young Children in the United States*, 78.

For the Chinese studies at the commission as a boarding school, the young boys followed a strict daily schedule. They attended classes three times a day, from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m., with their only leisure time being in the late afternoon, lasting from 4 pm until dinner at 6:30 pm. They went to bed at 10 p.m.¹⁹⁶ In summary, to become a valuable resource, one should study Western science and technology, relying on a foundation of memorizing ancient texts, upholding traditional customs, and honoring Confucian ethical principles.

Chinese Education gradually became a burden to the CEM students. According to CEM student Rong Shangqian's (容尚谦) memories, students visited the "Chinese Educational Commission" in Harford City during the summer holidays for Chinese studies. The punishment for missing and ignoring the Chinese language teaching was severe, children nicknamed the building of the Chinese Educational Commission "*The Hell House*" (地狱之屋).¹⁹⁷

What the Qing officials found most unacceptable was the change in young children's thoughts and ideas. The learning environment for young children was heavily regulated by the Qing government, with specific measures in place to encourage the learning of traditional Chinese Education (中学). Their aim was not only to acquire the West's strengths to achieve favorable outcomes but also to preserve their own identity and culture. Young individuals inevitably experience assimilation while studying and living in the United States. Despite the Qing government's implementation of multiple restrictive measures aimed at preventing this phenomenon from happening. The rapid adaption to Western-style living of young Chinese students was primarily manifested in their attire and appearance. When they initially arrived in the United States, they wore lengthy robes and mandarin jackets. Chen Lanbin found it unacceptable to discard the robes that signified Chinese scholar-bureaucrats. Even though young children wanted to cut off their queues

¹⁹⁶ Tan Shulin 谭树林, “Ye tan wan Qing you tong liu mei jihua zhongtu yaozhe de yuanyin—yi Li Hongzhang dui you tong liu mei jihua de taidu zhuan bianwei zhongxin 也谈晚清幼童留美计划中途夭折的原因—以李鸿章对幼童留美计划的态度转变为中心 [Also talk about the reasons for the abort of the young children’s plan to study in the United States in the late Qing Dynasty—Centered on the change of Li Hongzhang’s attitude towards the young children’s plan to study in the United States]”, *Anhui shixue tongxun* 5 (2009): 52.

¹⁹⁷ Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, 85.

(braids), the government firmly forbade them since queues symbolized loyalty to the emperor and patriotism.¹⁹⁸ Due to the impact of the liberal surroundings, some children removed their queues in the later period, resulting in the immediate punishment of being expelled from CEM. Just Cai Tinggan (蔡廷幹) and Tang Yuanzhan (唐元湛) were granted permission to cut their long queues because they were working in the machinery industry and their queues posed danger in their working environment.¹⁹⁹

Although CEM students faced challenges with the pronunciation of their names, they did not adopt Western names. Some of them used Western nicknames, but not as official names. Lemuel Yung (also known as Rong Shangqin), Spencer Laishun (known as Zeng Dugong), and Elijah Laisun (known as Zeng Pu) were exceptions who got Western names mainly because of their family background.

The Chinese Educational Commission continued for nine years and was overseen by one vice-commissioner and four regular commissioners: Chen Lanbin (陈兰彬) (1816 - 1895), Ou Shuliang (区谔良), Rong Zengxiang (容增祥), and Wu Jiashan (吴嘉善) (1818—1885). Except for Rong Zengxiang, all three were Hanlin scholars who received traditional Chinese education. The commissioners' exposure to traditional culture caused them to be somewhat inflexible in their interactions with students. The disparities in cultural values and educational philosophies between Yung Wing and other commission members often resulted in disagreements, causing a strained environment within the institution. In his autobiography, Yung Wing mentioned that Wu Jiashan requested the termination of the CEM in November 1880. Yung Wing also noted that Wu Jiashan and Chen Lanbin shared the same attitude towards the CEM.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Under Manchu rule, the queue hairstyle was imposed on the Chinese as a sign of their submission to the Manchus. In 1644, Dorgon (1612–1650) introduced the head-shaving policy. The Qing rulers compelled people, particularly Han Chinese, to abandon their traditional hairstyles and adopt the queue as a “measure of their loyalty to the Qing dynasty.” For details see; Cheng, Weikun. 1998. “Politics of the Queue: Agitation and Resistance in the Beginning and End of Qing China.” *In Hair: Its Power and Meaning in Asian Cultures*, edited by Albany Alif Hildebeitel et al., 123–42. New York: State University of New York Press.

¹⁹⁹ Fargue, ‘China’s First Hundred.’, 91.

²⁰⁰ Twichell and Yung, ‘My Life in China and America’, 200–210.

3.2. Ottoman Encounters with Western Education

Initially, the new style of education relied on foreign officers and teachers who were experts in their respective fields. Later, the idea of sending Muslim Turks, who were Ottoman citizens, abroad to improve themselves as experts and serve their country in place of foreign experts emerged. The Ottoman Empire sent students in small groups, rather than large groups, gradually over time.

For the first time, students were sent to Europe during the reign of Mahmut II.²⁰¹ During the Ottoman Empire's reform attempts, Mahmud II. planned to send around 150 students from the palace and Military Medical School (Tıbbhane-i Amire) to Europe in 1830/31. However, due to various reasons, he was unable to realize this plan. In 1834, the sultan was able to send a few students selected from the military engineering schools to Western countries for training in military sciences.²⁰²

Although Sultan Mahmud II is often credited as the initiator of overseas education initiatives in the Ottoman Empire, the foundation for such endeavors was established earlier, during the reigns of Sultan Abdulhamid I (R. 1774-1789) and Selim III (R. 1789-1807).

During the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid I, in 1784 Halil Hamit Pasha, the Grand Vizier, negotiated with the French Ambassador of Istanbul, Choiseul-Gouffier, to send 30 students to France for educational purposes.²⁰³ Although this diplomatic effort was agreed upon, it was not accomplished. However, it signifies the early interest of Ottoman authorities in the concept of overseas education. In this period a significant modernization supporter Halil Hamid Pasha conducted research on innovations and developments, particularly in the military sector. He brought many technical experts and teachers from France.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Kemal Haşim Karpat and Güneş Ayas, *Kısa Türkiye tarihi, 1800-2012*, 2.baskı : Nisan 2013 (İstanbul: Timaş İstanbul, 2013), 31.

²⁰² Selçuk Akşin Somel and Osman Yener, *Osmanlı'da eğitimin modernleşmesi (1839-1908) : İslamlaşma otokrasi ve disiplin*, 1.baskı (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları İstanbul, 2010), 43.

²⁰³ Gençoğlu, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nde Yurtdışı Eğitimin Öncüleri (1830-1839)', 7.

²⁰⁴ Beydilli, 'Halil Hamîd Paşa', 316–318.

During the reign of Sultan Selim III, the second significant attempt was made to establish a school for Ottomans in Paris. Ebubekir Râtib Efendi was sent to Vienna as an ambassador by Selim III in 1791.²⁰⁵ In his embassy reports, Râtib Effendi besides discussing the military situation of the European states, also suggested establishing a school for Ottoman subjects who were at the ages of 9-10 in Paris. Ebubekir Râtib Efendi discussed this issue with Raimond Verninac, the Extraordinary Envoy of France, in Istanbul while serving as the chief secretary. The curriculum was designed to teach the French language initially, followed by specialized training in areas deemed essential for the Ottoman state. Upon completion of the 10-year program, students were expected to return to the empire equipped with the knowledge to contribute to its modernization and reform efforts. Although this attempt did not occur, Ebubekir Râtib Efendi made detailed explanations of the military schools he visited abroad. He even introduced the equivalent words of the ranks of these foreign military institutions.²⁰⁶

On the other hand, as he was prior to the educational and modernization reform efforts of the Ottoman Empire, Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha, the governor of Egypt, had been sending a significant number of students to Europe for professional training since 1814.²⁰⁷ According to Adnan Şişman, pioneers of this policy include Nicola Massâbiki and Osman Nureddin, who were sent to Western countries. Massâbiki was a student of Syrian origin who was sent to Italy around 1815 to study printing. He was one of the first examples of Ottoman students in Europe. Osman Nureddin is known as one of the first students sent to France by Mehmed Ali Pasha in 1818. After studying French, English and mathematics in Paris, Nureddin returned to Cairo and held various important positions. These included positions such as navy commander, French teacher, and director of the Bulak School and Library.²⁰⁸ Mehmed Ali Pasha's pioneering initiatives also had an impact on the situation of Ottoman students in Western countries.

²⁰⁵ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 3rd ed, Studies in Middle Eastern History (New York, N.Y.) (New York: Oxford University Press New York, 2002), 57.

²⁰⁶ Sema Arıkan, 'Ebûbekir Râtib Efendi', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1994), 277–78.

²⁰⁷ Somel and Yener, *Osmanlı'da eğitimin modernleşmesi (1839-1908): İslamlaşma otokrasi ve disiplin*, 43.

²⁰⁸ Şişman, 'Osmanlı Öğrencilerinin Paris' te Tahsil Yaptıkları Mısır Ve Ermeni Mektepleri', 3.

The practice of studying abroad officially started in 1830 when Hüsrev Pasha initiated the sending of five students to Paris²⁰⁹. Only four students, Hüseyin, Edhem, Ahmed, and Abdüllatif, under the protection of Grand Vizier Hüsrev Pasha, were sent to Paris in 1830. Despite being a former slave who received an education in Enderun, Hüsrev Pasha did not have any children of his own. Instead, he purchased many slaves and raised them in his mansion. He provided them with education through private tutors, preparing them to serve in administrative and military positions within the state according to their talents.²¹⁰ He had an idea of sending his students abroad for further education. After the idea of sending the children under Hüsrev Pasha's protection was approved, he presented the students he selected to the Sultan. These students were around ten to twelve years old.²¹¹ The students were Abüllatif, Hüseyin, Ahmed, and Edhem. Mehmed Reşid, also one of the young men under Hüsrev Pasha's patronage, was sent by Hüsrev Pasha to Paris in 1832 two years later than the first four students.²¹²

The departure date of the first Ottoman students sent abroad for education has been subject to debate. Although the *İkdâm* newspaper dated April 10, 1914, featured a headline “The first Ottoman students sent to Europe for education” beneath pictures, indicating their departure date as 1827. Şişman indicates that the archival documents reveal otherwise. According to these documents, on December 14, 1830, an amount of 10,000 francs was allocated for travel expenses for these students to go as far as France.²¹³ Both Ottoman state and local documents confirm that the departure occurred in 1830. Therefore, it is widely accepted that the departure date was 1830.²¹⁴

When the Ottoman students arrived in Paris, they learned the language at the Institution Barbet, which was a boarding school. Following the departure of the

²⁰⁹ Gençoğlu states that according to Mahmud Cevad, Sultan Mahmud II sent 150 students. However, Gençoğlu states that there is no such evidence-based archival document. See for details, Gençoğlu, ‘Osmanlı Devleti’nce Batı’ya Eğitim Amacıyla Gönderilenler (1830-1908) -Bir Grup Biyografisi Araştırması’, 20–21.

²¹⁰ Halil İnalçık, ‘Hüsrev Paşa, Koca’, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1999), 41–45.

²¹¹ Erol, ‘İstanbul’dan Paris’e İlk Talebe-i Osmaniyyeden Edhem Efendi’, 57.

²¹² Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, ‘Osmanlı Eğitim ve Bilim Müesseseleri’, in *Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi*, vol. 2, 1998, 295–96.

²¹³ Şişman, *Tanzimat döneminde Fransa’ya gönderilen Osmanlı öğrencileri, (1839-1876)*, 5.

²¹⁴ Erol, ‘İstanbul’dan Paris’e İlk Talebe-i Osmaniyyeden Edhem Efendi’, 59.

initial group of four students whose expenses were covered by Hüsrev Pasha, more students were sent with their expenses covered by the Ottoman Empire. In this situation, while Edhem Efendi was at the Mining School, Hüsrev Pasha requested that the expenses of his three students studying in Paris (namely Edhem, Ahmed and Abdüllatif) should henceforth be covered by the treasury.²¹⁵

Abüllatif and Hüseyin completed their studies in 1838 and returned. The other three students, Ahmed, Edhem, and Mehmet Reşid, continued their education on Ottoman government scholarships. Hüseyin, Mehmet Reşid, and Abdüllatif rose to important positions in the army, achieving significant positions. Ahmed, who was a student at the naval school, was assigned to a French warship and died in America.²¹⁶ Edhem (1818-1893) graduated from the Institution Barbet in 1835 and the Higher Mining School in 1839. After serving in various government positions, eventually rose to become the Grand Vizier (Prime Minister) during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid. Osman Hamdi and Halil Edhem (Eldem), two of Edhem Efendi's sons, also studied abroad, following in their father's footsteps. Osman Hamdi, like his father, received his education at Institution Barbet.²¹⁷

On June 15, 1832, Hüsrev Paşa wrote a letter addressed to his students Edhem, Abdüllatif, Ahmed, Hüseyin, and Mehmed Reşid. In this letter, Hüsrev Paşa conveyed the following message to his students:

“My children, I think you will be pleased to hear from me and heed my advice. When I chose you among all the young people I raised before my eyes to study in France, I entrusted to you all the hopes of educating the Muslim youth. Our statesmen will look at you and decide whether they will follow my example and entrust the future of their children to the science of Europe. You will be models. It is difficult; but it is an honorable duty. You are the children of a nation that has decided to be a part of Europe's technique and art. "You must break their prejudices about us by showing them (Europe) how intelligent and talented our nation is."²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Ibid., 63.

²¹⁶ Şişman, *Tanzimat döneminde Fransa'ya gönderilen Osmanlı öğrencileri, (1839-1876)*, 6.

²¹⁷ Mahir Aydın, ‘Edhem Paşa, İbrâhim’, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1994), 418–20.

²¹⁸ Erol, ‘İstanbul’dan Paris’e İlk Talebe-i Osmaniyyeden Edhem Efendi’, 61.

This letter reflects Hüsrev Paşa's aspirations for his students to excel in their education in France and to serve as ambassadors of Turkish intellect and talent in Europe, thereby challenging existing stereotypes and prejudices.

For the following years, more students were sent by the Ottoman government to abroad. In 1835, sixteen students from engineering schools were sent to London, and four students from the Military Academy were sent to Vienna. Upon their return, they participated in organizing the curriculum of the Engineering Schools (Mühendishane), School of Medicine (Mekteb-i Tıbbiye), as well as the opening of military high schools (İdadi). They also taught in these schools while fulfilling their duties in the army.²¹⁹ the Ottoman government's initiative to send students abroad in 1835 significantly modernized its educational and military institutions by incorporating advanced Western knowledge and practices upon their return.

Besides military training, students were sent abroad for other educational purposes. For example, students in the field of agriculture began to be sent abroad.²²⁰

The Ottoman Empire also sent state officials to the West to further their education. For instance, in 1835, officer Bekir Bey, son of Engineering Department teacher Hacı Ömer Efendi, and the governor of the fortification district (istihkam kaymakamı) were sent to London with other ten students to get an education.²²¹ It is evident that the Ottomans sought to have their personnel and officials acquire Western experience and improve their skills. While the dispatch of officials abroad did not necessitate extensive management, the arrangement of younger students for overseas study represented a more complex and significant undertaking. It was of the utmost importance that these young students were properly arranged and supported in order for them to be able to succeed in their educational endeavors.

Studying abroad was an important means for the state to train the technical staff needed for military, educational, political, and economic development. The main aim

²¹⁹ Aynur Erdoğan Coşkun, 'Yurt Dışı Eğitimliler ve Mektepliler', in *OSMANLI MEKTEPLERİ (Bir Modernleşme Çabası Olarak Osmanlı Eğitiminde Yeni Arayışlar)* (İstanbul: Değerler Eğitimi Merkezi, 2021), 33.

²²⁰ BOA. HR. TO. nr. 407/42 mentioned in *Ibid.*, 35.

²²¹ Bilim, 'Osmanlılar'da Avrupa'ya Öğrenci Gönderilmesi', 21.

of the study abroad was to provide qualified Ottoman staff for modern schools and government offices, with the expectation that it would eliminate the need for foreign employment. To avoid foreign employment, sending students was a beneficial alternative, although it was quite costly.

3.2.1. Ottoman Students Abroad

The students were sent primarily to European capitals such as Paris, London, Vienna, and Berlin to study various disciplines including law, political science, engineering, medicine, and military tactics. It was intended to introduce them to Western institutions, and technologies, which were perceived as essential for the survival of the empire in an increasingly interconnected world. It was believed that the knowledge and skills acquired by these students would enable them to contribute effectively to the Ottoman state upon their return. Their experiences abroad also broadened their perspectives and sometimes paved the way for significant reforms when they returned home. Many of them played crucial roles in the modernization efforts of the Ottoman state, contributing to the implementation of reforms such as the Tanzimat Edict and the later efforts of the Young Ottomans.

The Ottoman embassies were responsible for providing students with the necessary support for their welfare and security, as well as their education. This included assistance with health, accommodation, and emergencies.²²² The expenses of the students were covered by the Ottoman government via embassies.²²³ In addition to the significance of embassies for the administration and coordination of student placements, it is crucial to assess the countries to which students were sent and the number of students sent to each country.

Gençoğlu states that between 1830 and 1908, a total of 906 students were sent to Western countries.²²⁴ Most of the students were sent to Paris. This was both because

²²²For details on the relevant archival documents list see Erdoğan, 'Türkiye'de Yurtdışına Öğrenci Gönderme Olgusunun Sosyolojik Çözümlemesi', 111, footnote 35.

²²³ Bilim, 'Osmanlılar'da Avrupa'ya Öğrenci Gönderilmesi', 34–35.

²²⁴ Gençoğlu, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nce Batı'ya Eğitim Amacıyla Gönderilenler (1830-1908) -Bir Grup Biyografisi Araştırması', 26.

of the relationship between the Ottomans and France as well as French modern school qualities. Paris was one of the cultural and intellectual centers of Europe at the time, providing the Ottoman Empire's students with the opportunity to closely witness the modern world and Western technology. The surveillance of these students during their time abroad was also a significant aspect of their educational journey, ensuring that they adhered to their intended studies and represented the Ottoman Empire appropriately.

Gençoğlu also states that between 1830 and 1908, 392 of a total of 906 students birthplaces identified. Among these 392 students, 245 were born in Istanbul, while the remaining 147 were born in various cities, with 84 being born abroad. This information suggests that the students sent abroad were likely situated in cities where foreign populations were active and diverse cultures were observable, potentially positively impacting their social lives during their stays in Western countries.

Alongside their regions of birth, the social class to which the sent students belonged is also crucial. This becomes clearer by understanding their families and fathers' occupations. Gençoğlu provides essential information in this regard, noting that the occupations and statuses of 218 students' fathers could be determined. Among them, there were 66 students whose fathers or close relatives were pashas, and an additional 7 students were under the patronage of a pasha. Apart from 2 farmers, 7 merchants, and 1 neighborhood imam (prayer leader), all the others were comprised of upper and middle-ranking military and civil state officials, as well as professionals.²²⁵

3.2.1.1. Mekteb-i Osmani and Talebe-i Osmani

Upon their arrival in Paris, the Ottoman students were not adequately prepared to begin their studies in French schools. Due to the lack of educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire, the students did not receive the necessary preparation. In contrast to China's approach of placing students with native families, the Ottoman

²²⁵ Ibid., 26–27.

Empire established a school in Paris known as Mekteb-i Osmani in 1857. This institution served as a preparatory school for Ottoman students, with a three-year education period.

The main aim of Mekteb-i Osmani was to prepare Ottoman students for higher education in renowned French institutions, such as Ecole Etat-Major, Faculté de Droit, Lycée Louis le Grand, Faculté de Médecine, and Ecole Militaire de St. Cyr.²²⁶ To achieve this, Mekteb-i Osmani aimed to give subjects such as French language, history, geography, mathematics, and sciences.²²⁷

Before the foundation of Mekteb-i Osmani in Paris in 1857, Ottoman students received preparatory education from various schools in the city, as it was generally not possible for them to attend French schools due to their inadequate prior education. The Mekteb-i Harbiye played a crucial role as a military school in the Ottoman Empire, training officers. Graduates of the Mekteb-i Harbiye were often sent to Paris for further education; however, they were not directly accepted into Parisian military academies. Instead, they had to receive additional language and preparatory training before pursuing advanced studies.

For this purpose, Ottoman students attended preparatory schools the Ecole Egyptienne de Paris (Paris Egyptian School), and the Ecole Militaire Egyptienne (Egyptian Military School) established by the Egyptians. This preliminary process helped the students develop their academic and military abilities as well as language abilities. The Ecole Egyptienne de Paris, also known as the Paris Egyptian School, was established in 1826 by the Egyptian governor Mehmet Ali Pasha. The school operated until 1835. In 1844, the Egyptian Military School was founded with a similar objective. Its purpose was to provide education to students sent from Egypt. The school also provided education to students sent from the Ottoman Empire prior

²²⁶ For example, after completing preparatory education at the Mekteb-i Osmani, military students Mustafa, Kadri, and Eşref successfully passed the examination and were accepted into the French military academy in 1864. See Erdoğan, 'Türkiye'de Yurtdışına Öğrenci Gönderme Olgusunun Sosyolojik Çözümlemesi', 89. BOA. A.MKT.MHM. nr. 290/36.

²²⁷ BOA.HR.TO. nr. 72/4 mentioned in Erdoğan Coşkun, 'Yurt Dışı Eğitimliler ve Mektepliler', 37.

to the establishment of Mekteb-i Osmani. In 1848, four Ottoman students enrolled in the Egyptian Military School.²²⁸

By 1857, the Ottoman Empire faced several challenges, including the growing number of students and their dispersed presence across various schools, which made it difficult to maintain control. Thus, a proposal was made to establish a military preparatory school in Paris where all Turkish students could gather. A commission was formed to oversee Ottoman students in France, led by Mehmed Cemil Bey (Pasha), the son of Mustafa Reşid Pasha, who served as the ambassador to Paris.

The commission administered a series of exams to assess the students' educational levels. However, the examination results were not as expected. Many young students, while in Paris, were unable to progress beyond basic arithmetic and the simplest concepts of geography and history. Although they spoke French with ease, it was discovered that they had weaknesses in spelling and grammar. As a result, the commission decided to open a study center following the French educational system. For this purpose, Army Major (Binbaşı) Ali Nizami Bey, who had previously received military training in Vienna and knew French, was appointed as the director of Mekteb-i Osmani. This appointment marked a significant step towards improving the education of Turkish students and ensuring their academic success and supervision.

Several decisions have been made regarding the Mekteb-i Osmani. These decisions included gathering students at this center, having the director reside in the same building as the students, setting the maximum age for enrollment at seventeen, and determining the suitability of prospective students through an exam to be held in Istanbul.

A commission consisting of six members was established to regulate and supervise the school's activities.²²⁹ The students at the school were divided into two categories: internal and external. Internal students were those who received boarding education

²²⁸ Şişman, 'Osmanlı Öğrencilerinin Paris'te Tahsil Yaptıkları Mısır Ve Ermeni Mektepleri', 4.

²²⁹ For the members and their duties see Şişman, *Tanzimat döneminde Fransa'ya gönderilen Osmanlı öğrencileri, (1839-1876)*, 27.

at Mekteb-i Osmani. External students included those who boarded at another French school or those who studied elsewhere while living outside. The functioning of Mekteb-i Osmani and the expectations for its students were clearly defined. There were several regulations about the students and the teachers.²³⁰

The school had notable figures such as Army Major Ali Nizâmî Bey, a distinguished graduate of the Harbiye Military Academy, who served as the director until 1863, followed by Army Major Ahmed Esad Efendi (Pasha), a Mektebi Harbiye graduate, also held the esteemed position of grand vizier.²³¹ Hoca Tahsin Efendi and Selim Sâbit Efendi were noteworthy educators who taught Turkish language and religious studies. The school also employed several French teachers to provide instruction.²³²

Teachers at Mekteb-i Osman, including Tahsin, Kerim, and Selim Sabit Efendi, not only taught students academic knowledge but also instilled in them national and religious values. They set an example for their students and encouraged adherence to these values with the duty of "preserving the moral values of the nation and the manners and etiquette of Islam".²³³

The importance of Hoca Tahsin, Selim Sabit was their mission to attend mathematics and natural sciences courses at Paris universities and conduct preliminary research for Darülfünun (the first Ottoman University), which was to be opened in the Ottoman Empire.²³⁴ They were supposed to be educated to become the teachers of Darülfünun.

Selim Sabit Efendi, who was educated at the Darulmuallim (Teacher's School) in 1854 and received the first graduation certificate of this institution. At the age of twenty-seven, Selim Sabit Efendi was entrusted with a pivotal mission by the Sultan

²³⁰ For the regulations see Şişman, *Tanzimat döneminde Fransa'ya gönderilen Osmanlı öğrencileri, (1839-1876)*, 30–32.

²³¹ Ali İhsan Gencer, 'Ahmed Esad Paşa', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1989), 64.

²³² For the list of French teachers see Şişman, 'Mekteb-i Osmani (1857-1864)', 94–99.

²³³ For more details on their dispatch to Mekteb-i Osmani with the intention to preserve students' national values and Islamic manners along with receiving training as teachers see, Gençoğlu, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nce Batı'ya Eğitim Amacıyla Gönderilenler (1830-1908) -Bir Grup Biyografisi Araştırması', 66, footnote 1.

²³⁴ Erdoğan Coşkun, 'Yurt Dışı Eğitimliler ve Mektepliler', 37.

himself. Upon his return to Istanbul in 1861, he made significant contributions to the field of education and emerged as one of the prominent educators of the era. Selim Sabit Efendi authored textbooks on History, Geography, Mathematics, and Hendese. His most renowned work, *Rehnüma-i Muallimin* (Guidance for the Teachers), is considered the first pedagogy book written in Turkey. This book was used as a textbook in teacher training schools for a long time, and Selim Sabit Efendi left an important mark in the history of Turkish education with his contributions to the field.²³⁵ Selim Sabit Efendi not only pursued his own studies but also undertook the noble task of teaching the Turkish language at both the Mekteb-i Osmani and Muradyan Schools.

Apart from Selim Sabit Efendi, in 1857 Hoca Tahsin Efendi was also sent to Paris to teach at Mekteb-i Osmani and to be trained to be a teacher at Darülfünûn (University). During his time in Paris, he received training in various fields and assumed duties in those fields. For instance, he took courses in Physics and Chemistry at the Collège de France.²³⁶ The primary aim of sending Hoca Tahsin was to enhance the Ottoman students' knowledge of Arabic and Persian languages, as well as religious knowledge, while simultaneously providing Turkish language instruction to non-Muslim students there.²³⁷

In Mekteb-i Osmani, students underwent a structured educational program spanning over three years. In the preparatory year, which could be likened to a preparatory class, the curriculum predominantly focused on French, alongside the fundamental concepts of history, geography, technical subjects, and arithmetic. As students progressed to the second and third years, they were divided into military and civilian branches. In the second and third years, both branches shared common subjects such as French, history, geography, physics, and chemistry. However, there were differences in the allocation of hours for specific subjects between the military and civilian branches.²³⁸

²³⁵ Cemil Öztürk, 'Selim Sâbit Efendi', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2009), 429–30.

²³⁶ Şişman, 'Osmanlı Öğrencilerinin Paris' Te Tahsil Yaptıkları Mısır Ve Ermeni Mektepleri', 8.

²³⁷ Ömer Faruk Akün, 'Hoca Tahsin', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1998), 205.

²³⁸ Şişman, 'Mekteb-i Osmani (1857-1864)', 101.

As military students were considered representatives of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, it was important to maintain a certain level of appearance and lifestyle, which required significant expenses. This situation highlights the significance that the Ottoman Empire placed on its military personnel who received training abroad and how these individuals represented the Ottoman image. Preserving the living standards and identities of these students may have been viewed as a crucial strategic element in the state's foreign relations. On the other hand, the expenses of these military students were much higher than those of other students. The cost of supporting four military students was much greater than that of supporting twenty vocational students.²³⁹ The majority of the funds were allocated to the purchase of clothing.

Despite all efforts, the Mekteb-i Osmani faced challenges, including disciplinary issues and academic difficulties among students. Due to the perception that similar quality education could be obtained within the Ottoman Empire and the rising costs, the school was closed in 1864.²⁴⁰ Mekteb-i Osmani was the first and the only school that the Ottoman Empire opened abroad.²⁴¹ On May 14, 1864, the school director, Ahmed Esad Bey, submitted a report outlining the situation of the school and the issues arising from the growing number of students. The report was discussed in the Military Council (Dâr-ı Şûrâ-yı Askerî), which concluded that since comparable quality education was available in Istanbul's schools, this particular school was unnecessary. Furthermore, it was considered advantageous for graduates of military, medical, and civil service schools to receive further education in the West to enhance their knowledge and experience. After receiving approval from the Sultan, the school was closed, and the existing students were transferred to various schools in Paris.²⁴²

The decision to abolish the Mekteb-i Osmani was taken in 1864. The building of the Mekteb-i Osmani was disposed of towards the middle of 1869, and the students staying there were distributed to different boarding houses.²⁴³ In March 1869, it was suggested that students in Paris who were close to completing their education should

²³⁹ Erdoğan Coşkun, 'Yurt Dışı Eğitimliler ve Mektepliler', 36.

²⁴⁰ Köse, 'Mekteb-i Osmânî', 242.

²⁴¹ Şişman, *Tanzimat döneminde Fransa'ya gönderilen Osmanlı öğrencileri, (1839-1876)*, 56.

²⁴² Köse, 'Mekteb-i Osmânî', 241-42.

²⁴³ Şişman, 'Mekteb-i Osmani (1857-1864)', 118.

remain there, while the others should return to Istanbul and enroll in Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultanisi.²⁴⁴

After Mekteb-i Osmani was dismissed, there was a need to disperse its students and supervise those continuing their education in France and Belgium. To address this, the Directorate of Talebe-i Osmaniyye (Direction des Elèves Ottomans) was established in 1864. On 30th June 1875, the Directorate of Ottoman Students came to an end with the recall of students from France and Belgium. This was not the first nor the last occasion on which students were recalled. In addition to political and military considerations, the fact that the students sent abroad exhibited oppositional attitudes and perceived Westernization as the primary means of advancement led the Ottoman government to recall students.

By August 1895, concerns were raised over the lack of success among students who were sent to Europe. This was attributed to various reasons, including moral degradation and wastage of expenses.²⁴⁵ The cessation of foreign education during this period was primarily attributed to moral corruption, which was viewed as disobedience and opposition to Sultan Abdülhamid II. The Young Turks were the main reason for this viewpoint. However, scholarships for students were reinstated by 1897.²⁴⁶ As a consequence of the difficulties encountered, the Ottoman government enacted a series of regulations about the dispatch of scholarship students abroad.

The regulations for civilian students, drawn up in 1894, stipulated that those who received state scholarships should not be younger than 20.²⁴⁷ The regulation prepared by the Council of Education (Maarif Meclisi) in 1894 emphasized the importance of the educational background of students who were to be sent to Europe. For students intending to study political sciences and law, graduation from institutions such as the School of Civil Administration (Mekteb-i Mülkiye) or the School of Law and

²⁴⁴ Şişman, *Tanzimat döneminde Fransa'ya gönderilen Osmanlı öğrencileri, (1839-1876)*, 56.

²⁴⁵ Erdoğan notes that one of the main reasons for students' recall as stated in the special "irade" included students' failure to maintain their morals, not complying with religious decrees and Islamic etiquette, and their social life there. See BOA. İ.HUS. nr. 46/1313L/55, referred to in Erdoğan, 'Yurt Dışı Eğitim ve Türk Modernleşmesi', 144.

²⁴⁶ Gençoğlu, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nce Batı'ya Eğitim Amacıyla Gönderilenler (1830-1908) -Bir Grup Biyografisi Araştırması', 69.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 85.

Galatasaray Sultani was required. For students in other scientific and industrial fields, graduation from schools designated by the state was mandatory.²⁴⁸ This regulation aimed to determine the educational levels and fields of students to be sent to Europe.

By these regulations, the selection process for students requires several criteria. Firstly, the student must be a subject of the Ottoman Empire. Secondly, they must be between the ages of 20 and 26. Thirdly, they must not have any illness that would hinder their education or service to the state. Fourthly, they must not have been convicted of any crime or have a reputation for misconduct. Proficiency in Turkish and, where possible, French was required. Students would receive a monthly salary for living expenses and a travel allowance based on the distance of their destination. After completing their education, the student will be obliged to accept a state-offered service for not less than ten years upon their return to their homeland. The ministers and heads of the departments responsible for sending the students were ultimately accountable for executing these regulations.²⁴⁹

Students were continuously encouraged to focus on their studies and adhere to Islamic customs. They were also advised to refrain from political activities and behaviors that could damage the dignity and honor of the Ottoman Empire. The directorate closely monitors the discipline and academic performance of the students through monthly reports and takes necessary measures accordingly. Mehmed Feridun Bey held the position of Minister of the Ottoman Students in Paris until the middle of 1901. He was deported by French Prime Minister René Waldeck-Rousseau on charges of espionage.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 59.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 60.

²⁵⁰ Muhammet Ballı, 'Bir Osmanlı Diplomatı: Mehmed Feridun Bey (1847-1903)', *History Studies International Journal of History* 6, no. 13 (2021): 1742–43.

3.2.1.2. Non-Muslim Ottoman Students

The Ottoman Empire sent students from both Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds. In addition, non-Muslim students also came to Paris to study by paying their own educational expenses. In 1852, seven Ottoman students of Armenian origin were sent to Paris for education by Cezayirliođlu Migirdiç. One of the seven students returned home shortly after they arrived in Paris in 1852. From 1853 onwards, some of these students had their tuition fees covered by either their siblings or the Ottoman treasury. However, two students were recalled due to their lack of effort in their studies. The remaining students attended prestigious institutions such as the Ecole Centrale des Arts et Manufactures in Paris, the Ecole Supérieure du Commerce, and the Académie Impériale de Médecine. They completed their studies within one to one and a half years and returned home.²⁵¹

1856 Islahat Fermanı (Reform Edict) in the Ottoman Empire, opened state offices and schools to Christian subjects. During this period, expenses for the education of the study-abroad students were covered either by the government or parents. Within the Ottoman Empire's efforts towards modernization, the proportion of non-Muslim students sent abroad varied significantly. During the reign of Mahmud II, non-Muslims constituted approximately 20% of all students sent abroad, a figure that increased to 25% during the Tanzimat period. However, this percentage decreased to 8% during the reign of Abdulhamid II²⁵². Furthermore, two students were under private sponsorship. One initially pursued law studies in Paris before transitioning to art at Ecole de Beaux-Arts, while the other began studies at Ecole Militaire de Saint-Cyr in 1865, funded by the Ottoman government.²⁵³ The education received by non-Muslim students abroad played a crucial role in introducing Western influences and directing modernization efforts within Ottoman society.

In the mid-19th century, the Armenian community of the Ottoman Empire faced a growing concern about the preservation of their cultural, linguistic, and religious

²⁵¹ Şişman, *Tanzimat döneminde Fransa'ya gönderilen Osmanlı öğrencileri, (1839-1876)*, 18.

²⁵² Gençođlu, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nce Batı'ya Eğitim Amacıyla Gönderilenler (1830-1908) -Bir Grup Biyografisi Araştırması', 49-55.

²⁵³ Şişman, *Tanzimat döneminde Fransa'ya gönderilen Osmanlı öğrencileri, (1839-1876)*, 20-24.

identity, particularly among the Armenian youth who were sent to study abroad, notably in Paris. As the number of Armenian students in Paris increased, so did the apprehension among the Armenian diaspora regarding the potential assimilation of their children into Western culture. In response to these concerns, the Armenian community appealed to the Ottoman state to establish a school specifically for Armenian children in Paris. Apart from Mekteb-i Osmani, in Paris, upon the request of the Armenian community the Ottoman Empire founded a school for Armenian students. This school was known as Mekteb-i Muradyan or Ecole Arménienne Mouradian (Armenian Muradyan School) in 1857.

The expenses of the school were covered by the Armenian community, but they requested patronage from the Ottoman embassy in Paris. Additionally, the Ottoman Ministry of Education determined the curriculum and books used by the school. However, despite the presence of the Armenian school, several non-Muslim students were also being sent to Mekteb-i Osmani in Paris.²⁵⁴ Furthermore, Armenians insisted on the presence of religious figures to ensure the continuity of Armenian religious practices and education for their children abroad. Thus, the Ottoman state was implored to dispatch priests to Paris not only to oversee the spiritual needs of the Armenian school but also to cater to other non-Muslim students sent from the Ottoman Empire. In response to these requests, the Ottoman government dispatched Priest Ohanes Hünkarbeyendiyan to Paris in 1863. Priest Ohanes Hünkarbeyendiyan's presence in Paris symbolized the Ottoman Empire's commitment to preserving the cultural and religious identities of its diverse communities, even in foreign lands.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ BOA İ.H.R. nr. 211/12192 mentioned in Erdoğan Coşkun, 'Yurt Dışı Eğitimliler ve Mektepliler', 37.

²⁵⁵ Şişman, 'Osmanlı Öğrencilerinin Paris'te Tahsil Yaptıkları Mısır Ve Ermeni Mektepleri', 6–7.

3.3. Conclusion

China and the Ottoman Empire both undertook similar modernization efforts by sending students abroad for Western education, yet they experienced notable differences in their approaches and implementations.

Although China officially did not specify a particular class or ethnicity for student selection, all 120 students selected were Han Chinese. The Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, did not differentiate based on ethnicity and included both Muslim and non-Muslim students in their programs.

There were also differences in the age and educational level of the students sent abroad. China selected children aged 12 to 15 for a 15-year education, while the Ottoman Empire sent students in their twenties who had completed a certain level of education in modern institutions. Although there were exceptions, the younger students sent by the Ottoman Empire were relatively few.

Preparation for studying abroad also differed. Chinese students received language training and other preparatory education in newly established schools in China before traveling to America. When they arrived in America, host families were arranged to help them develop language proficiency. The Ottoman Empire had no such preparatory schools so they had problems attending foreign schools. In the case of France, many students initially attended Egyptian schools in Paris for preparation, with the establishment of Mekteb-i Osmani they got an education in this school.

The living arrangements of students overseas showed further differences. Chinese students lived with host families to enhance their language skills and social integration, thereby avoiding the issues that might arise from living together in groups. Ottoman students, however, did not live with host families. Initially, they lived scattered across pensions, hostels, and other accommodations. In France, during the existence of Mekteb-i Osmani, they lived together in the school building, which negatively impacted their language acquisition as they tended to speak their native language among themselves.

Both empires imposed specific regulations on their students and maintained oversight. The Ottoman Empire monitored its students through institutions such as the Mekteb-i Osmani, Talebe-i Osmani, and embassies, while China relied on reports from host families and the Chinese Educational Commission. To prevent assimilation, China mandated the continuation of Chinese studies, including Confucian education, whereas the Ottoman Empire sent teachers abroad to provide instruction in Turkish and Islam.

This comparison highlights the similarities and differences in how China and the Ottoman Empire approached Western education for their students. Both empires made significant strides in their modernization efforts, yet they adopted distinct paths in terms of implementation and the profile of the students they sent abroad.

While both empires embarked on modernization efforts in response to Western influence, differences in ethnic identity, educational structures, and overseas experiences determined the outcomes of these processes. Ultimately, these modernization journeys serve as significant examples for understanding how each state aligned its responses to the demands of the modern world with its societal and cultural frameworks.

CHAPTER IV

RETURNING HOME

In the previous chapter, we examined the experiences and challenges faced by students sent from the Ottoman and Chinese Empires to the West for education. This chapter shifts the focus to their return journeys, exploring the impact of their return and their subsequent roles within their societies.

4.1. Return and Disappointment of CEM Students

After completing high school in the United States, CEM students found themselves unable to enroll in the U.S. Military and the Naval Academies as initially promised, drastically deviating from Li Hongzhang's original study abroad plan.²⁵⁶ In 1878, when some Chinese students graduated from American high schools, Yung Wing sent a letter to the U.S. State Department requesting permission for some students to attend military academies such as the Military Academy at West Point and the Naval Academy in Annapolis. In response to Yung Wing's request, as he stated in his autobiography the U.S. State Department used highly derogatory language and outrightly denied it, claiming that no accommodation was available for Chinese students.²⁵⁷ The U.S. government's breaking of its promise made Li Hongzhang extremely unhappy and undoubtedly cast a shadow over the educational plan for young children studying in the United States. Yung Wing informed Li Hongzhang about the refusal of Chinese students. Li Hongzhang considered this refusal a breach of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868. Since he intended to have these students receive military education in America, this situation played a crucial role in the withdrawal of the Chinese Educational Mission. China terminated the CEM and recalled the

²⁵⁶ 'Tongzhi Shi Nian Qiyue Shijiu Ri Daxueshi Liang Jiang Zongjian Zeng Guofan Deng Zou 同治十年七月十九日大学士两江总督曾国藩等奏 [Memorial to the Governor of Liangjiang, Zeng Guofan, and Others on July 19, the 10th Year of Tongzhi]', in *Yangwu Yundong 洋务运动 [Self-Strengthening Movement]*, vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1973), 155.

²⁵⁷ Twichell and Yung, 'My Life in China and America', 207.

students to their home country after multiple unsuccessful requests to military academies spanning three years.

In addition to being rejected by military academies, ignoring Chinese studies and adopting the Western culture, students' inclination towards Christianity was also influential in the termination of the program. Besides the reports of the commissioners, the letters of the students illustrated CEM students' tendency to Christianity. They were already attending churches with their host families. However, according to the Chinese Education Commission rules, host families were not allowed to take the students to Churches and to proselytize.²⁵⁸ Converting to Christianity was seen as a great problem by the Qing government. On 17th December 1880, Li Wenbin (李文彬), the supervisory censor of Jiangnan Province, submitted a report to the court, citing concerns about young children converting Christian. He argued for the abolition of the Chinese Educational Commission and the withdrawal of young children studying in the United States, stating that students studying abroad were not permitted to become Christian.²⁵⁹

On the other hand, the American anti-Chinese movement, known Chinese Exclusion Act, played a pivotal role in shaping the experience of Chinese students in the United States. When the Qing government contemplated the discontinuation of sending students abroad, the anti-Chinese sentiment in the United States reached a new level. The anti-Chinese sentiment in the United States during the late 19th century was driven by economic competition, racial prejudice, and political movements, leading to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. Chinese immigrants, including students, faced hostility and discrimination, making the U.S. an increasingly inhospitable environment. This atmosphere influenced the Qing government's decision to reconsider sending students abroad. In response, Chen Lanbin and Yung Wing, who were serving as ministers to the United States and Japan, protested with the U.S. State Department. Regrettably, the U.S. government and Congress not only disregarded these protests but also enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prohibited Chinese immigration to the United States.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, 151.

²⁵⁹ Tan, “ye tan wan Qing you tong liu mei jihua zhongtu yaozhe de yuanyin”, 55

²⁶⁰ Li, “Yaozhe de chuangu”, 73.

Although young children resided with unfamiliar local families, these families not only took care of their daily needs but also played a vital role in helping them integrate into American life. Even after the international students returned to China, their connection with their host families remained intact, and their friendship was not weakened by distance or time, as evidenced by the letters exchanged between them. The young children were active in various sporting activities in the United States. They participated in games such as baseball, football which are not known in China at that time. Outstanding individuals emerged such as Liang Dunyan (梁敦彦) a famous pitcher for the Yale University baseball team, and Zhong Wenyao (钟文耀) was the coxswain of the Yale University rowing team.²⁶¹

The assimilation of the CEM students caused dissatisfaction among the Qing officials. Supervisor Chen Lanbin experienced conflicts with students over matters, including their fees during school or holidays, and their accommodation with women. Other issues arose around students praying, attending church services on Sundays, and taking part in sports and modifications on weekdays. Whenever Chen Lanbin disagreed with a CEM student, Yung Wing was obliged to intervene. He portrayed Chen Lanbin as someone who firmly believed that he had received an unadulterated and impeccable Chinese education but had been somewhat corrupted since arriving in the United States and encountering foreign education. Chinese language teacher Rong Zengxiang (容增祥) reported to Li Hongzhang that Yung Wing had no intention of promoting Chinese studies among his students and instead actively encouraged them to abandon it.²⁶² Despite this, the young students displayed a strong inclination towards Westernization in their preference for Western learning over Chinese studies. Chinese children's immersion in American culture presents a growing obstacle to their acquisition of proficiency in Chinese subjects. Consequently, their knowledge of the Chinese language was limited, and they exhibited little interest in improving it.

²⁶¹ Huang Songping, Qu Tingting 黄松平、屈婷婷, “Liumei youtong nuogan shishi kaozheng 留美幼童若干史实考证 [Some historical research on young children studying in the United States Huang Songping]”, *Hunan xingzheng xueyuan xuebao* 1 (2014): 110

²⁶² Tan, “Ye tan wan Qing you tong liu mei jihua zhongtu yaozhe de yuanjin”, 53.

Ignorance of Chinese studies which is the main part of the mission made conservatives criticize the mission severely. Yung Wing received multiple letters from Li Hongzhang warning him of his disrespect and rejection of Chinese studies. Chinese students in the United States were considered as one of the means of preparing for modernization. With the idea of a "Chinese essence Western use" they required children studying in the United States to learn various specialized knowledge, especially those related to military affairs, including technical skills.²⁶³

The fourth supervisor, Wu Jiashan (吴嘉善) (1818-1885), whose courtesy name Wu Zideng (吴子登), was inclined towards conservatism similar to Chen Lanbin and endeavored to halt the study abroad program. When domestic conservative groups strongly targeted young students studying in the United States because of these reasons, Chen Lanbin and Wu Jiashan also supported these conservatives. Following Wu Jiashan's appointment as head of the Chinese Educational Commission in 1879, he quickly gathered all students to the Washington Embassy to teach them a lesson and students did not kneel down and salute him as they were supposed to do in Chinese style. Wu Jiashan was furious and expressed his anger that the students had disregarded their roots and lacked a clear purpose, without providing any subjective evaluations. He informed Li Hongzhang "Each student has adapted to differences and forgotten their roots. No matter how difficult their studies are, they will not be able to be used by China even if they succeed in their studies."²⁶⁴ He stated that no matter how hard the overseas students study, they will not be able to utilize their knowledge in China and requested the cancellation of CEM.²⁶⁵ Wu Jiashan was determined to petition the Qing government to withdraw the students. This was during a period when the United States had enacted the "Chinese Exclusion Act," which had sparked an anti-China campaign. Additionally, key officials who had supported young children studying in the United States died or resigned. The ascendant conservative factions seized the chance to pressure Li Hongzhang into canceling the scheme for young children to study in the United States and recalling all students. After discovering that the Qing government intended to recall students

²⁶³ Zeng Yuanyuan 曾媛媛, 'Zhongguo liuxuesheng zhi fu Rong Hong yu bu fu zhong wang de liuxuesheng 中国留学生之父"容闳与不负众望的留美幼童 [The Father of Chinese Students Rong Hong and the young children who didn't live up to their expectations]', *Lantai shijie* 34 (2014): 114.

²⁶⁴ Tan, "Ye tan wan Qing you tong liu mei jihua zhongtu yaozhe de yuanyin", 55.

²⁶⁵ Fargue, 'China's First Hundred.', 30.

studying overseas, a group of American education professionals submitted a joint letter to the office of the Prime Ministry, advocating for the students to remain in the United States. Otherwise, it would be a waste of their talents.²⁶⁶ Despite their efforts, the Chinese Educational Mission was terminated by the Qing government.

Despite the Qing government terminating their study abroad program, a few students continued to reside in the United States and refused to return to China. Furthermore, Shi Jinyong (史錦鏞) and Rong Kui (容揆) both escaped while being deported for rule violations. It has been suggested that they were among the first to rebel due to foreign cultural influences.²⁶⁷ However, the Qing government maintained its conservative stance, viewing the Westernization of young children as unacceptable.

During their stay in the United States, the young children were warmly welcomed and carefully looked after by the Americans. Serving as representatives of China, they engaged with American society. However, when these Chinese individuals with noticeable American characteristics returned to their homeland, they experienced a cold reception.²⁶⁸

4.1.1. Societal Integration

In 1881, Chinese students who had been sent to America at a young age returned to their homeland. Having spent more time living outside their home country than within it, they had already assimilated into Western culture, language, civilization, and lifestyle. As a result, they found it challenging to fully embrace their own culture. Their proficiency in English surpassed that of their native language. They struggled to find their place in Chinese society. At a certain level, they experienced an identity crisis. Despite their Chinese appearance, their behaviors and ideas were Western. This made it difficult for them to be accepted in their homeland.

²⁶⁶ Tan, “Ye tan wan Qing you tong liu mei jihua zhongtu yaozhe de yuanyin”, 56.

²⁶⁷ Chen Liyao 陈立尧, “Zaoqi liumei youtong shishi pingshu 早期留美幼童史事评述 [Commentary on the historical events of early children studying in the United States]”, *Heilongjiang shiza* 16 (2014): 84.

²⁶⁸ Shi Ni 石霓, *Guannian yu beiju: wanqing liumei youtong mingyun pouxi 观念与悲剧: 晚清留美幼童命运剖析 Perception and Tragedy: An Analysis of the Fate of Young Children Staying in the United States in the Late Qing Dynasty*, 121.

Upon their return, the students were met with unfamiliar gazes from the Chinese locals and kept under strict surveillance by the officers and soldiers. The Chinese locals did not greet the students with a positive manner, and officers and soldiers kept them under strict surveillance. The students' disappointment started with their arrival in Shanghai. Furthermore, they were unable to meet their families immediately upon arrival. They were first sent to the Shanghai Customs Daotai Yamen (上海海关道台衙门) just like they did before the departure, and then to the Qiuzhi Academy (求知书院) building, which had been abandoned and not used for a long time. A few days later, the students were summoned to meet with the highest-ranking official in Shanghai. They were taken to the *Daotai Yamen* in a queue of three and knelt before the official.²⁶⁹ Examining the later letters of the CEM students to their acquaintances in the U.S. may provide insight into their dissatisfaction and sentiments towards their country. In a letter to his American family, written in English, Huang Kaijia (黄开甲) described in detail the contempt they suffered as well as the strict control and poor treatment of the Qing government. In the end, he even wrote: "China does not deserve sympathy. She should suffer a painful blow and be eliminated. Only a reformed government is suitable to govern her thousands of people."²⁷⁰

In his letter to I.P. Bissell, the head of the Classical School within Hartford Public High School, Wu Yangzeng (吴仰曾) mentioned his arrival as follows.

Dear Mr . Bissell,

We arrived safely at Shanghai on the 6th of October... We were treated very coolly by the officials at Shanghai. After our arrival, we were immediately placed in an old, deserted, damp and dirty schoolhouse, where most of us starved for two weeks. The doors to all the entrances of the building were nailed up, except the front door, which was guarded by soldiers. Even those who had homes were not allowed to step beyond the front door. After a few days of confinement, those who had influential friends who were responsible were permitted to live elsewhere.

The people here have a very bad opinion of us. They thought that we had all cut off our queues, married American wives, and that we are too much Americanized. At Shanghai, our party was divided, into three divisions. The first division consisting of twenty-seven students came up to Tianjin. The second, containing eleven students, were sent to Fuzhou, and ten remained at Shanghai.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ Huang and Qu, *Liumei youtong nuogan shishi kaozheng*, 344.

²⁷⁰ Chen, *Zaoqi liumei youtong shishi pingshu*, 84.

²⁷¹ Chris Robyn and Chinese University of Hong Kong Graduate School Division of History, 'Building the Bridge: The Chinese Educational Mission to the United States : A Sino-American Historico-Cultural Synthesis, 1872-1881' (Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1996), 142-43.

In another letter from Huang Kaijia to his host family Mrs. Fannie Bartlett about his arrival and the following days.

My dear Mrs. Bartlett,

.... I wonder whether you really wish to know our misfortunes ever since we stepped on the shores of our generous and native land. You will be astonished to learn the shabby and mean treatment we received at the hands of our paternal government. Perhaps you are already informed through some other source, but at any rate I will recount to you everything that has been done for our good (?) The first sight of Shanghai we steamed up to the wharf in a steam launch thrilled us thinking what a Joyous welcome was waiting for us, and what a sea of familiar faces would soon surround us, and our country would soon extend her arms to embrace us in maternal kindness! But alas! Vain thoughts! True, a sea of faces was looking down on us, but no friendly recognition, no kindly smile greeted our forlorn band. Crowds of coolies wheel-barrows and jinrickshaw men were shouting, gesticulating, and quarreling for business. One solitary man came aboard to receive us -- our postal manager -- to whom we telegraphed from Japan. But the postal manager, Mr. Luk is a fool of the first class, he has not even the average brain of a Chinaman. Instead of employing carriages or boats to convey us to our destined place, the Chinese Harbor Master's office, he packed us on wheel-barrows which have but one wheel and progress very slowly. And thus we were exposed to the gaping and jeering crowd who followed us and mocked our clothing, which as badly cut, and sewed together by the Chinese tailors, in San Francisco, and ill suited to the fashions of the dandyish and fast Shanghaiese. Some of the wheel-barrows had no pass to go through the French concession, and many of us had to get down and walk, carrying our bags in our hands, an almost inexcusable act of debasing oneself in the eyes of the so-called Chinese gentleman. After walking through the French settlement we entered the Chinese territory, and if you ever wish to find a paradise, and the infernal regions placed side by side, you had better come here; the filth and fifty-seven different kinds of foul smells, and the muddy uneven slippery walk made of stones fairly sickened us. We trudged on cursing our fate, our cool reception, our stupid manager, and last, but not the least, our Chinese shoes which pinched our feet, and cramped our toes; until we came to the Harbor Master's house, a spacious building facing the river, comparatively clean and well ventilated. After roll and a substantial supper, not elaborately prepared, we were dispatched with a detachment of Chinese marines acting as a guard over us to prevent our escaping from the grasp of our paternal government ") to the ""Knowledge Wishing Institution"" inside of the city behind the court of the Shanghai Taotai, Your Western imagination is too sublime to conceive a place so vile as this so-called institution; you may have read about Turkish prisons or Andersonville Horrors, but compared with this they must have been enviable places. I will test the power of my pen by attempting to describe the ""Jail"" where we were confined after our glorious venture, and if I fail then you may understand how terribly horrible the place is. The ""Knowledge Wishing Institution"" has not been used for over ten years and superstition had given birth to ghosts and goblins which are said to have taken the abode to themselves and have displayed fantastic and awful shapes to the eyes of horrified Celestials; for ten long years its doors were closed, its ceilings were not touched by a brush, nor its floors by a broom; ten years saw the stone pavements turning green with mould, the wooden frames of the windows and doors rotting in the damp atmosphere. long and terrible were the imprecations poured forth upon the heads of our managers and upon him who caused our premature return.

... There were many of us whose fathers, relatives and friends were awaiting us with wines and banquets in full preparation and longed to gaze upon and sit by the sides of their dear ones who had been so long away on the other hemisphere across the big, big sea. But such pleasures were denied them, we were to receive no liberty until we had our "Kewtous" to the Shanghai Taotai. Accordingly, after four days's groaning and complaining we were summoned to hold audience with the highest official in Shanghai, In three bodies were we mustered with enough guards to keep a regiment in quiet subjection; we commenced our journey in the midst of crowds of spectators whose comments were far from being flattering, and marched through piles of dirt and filth which commanded the entrances of Taotai Yamen.

... After much waiting and unnecessary delay we were at last ushered in to the presence of his Excellency and we prostrated ourselves before his majestic presence; he however returned our salute and motioned us to stand out each according to his division in which he went to America. After he inquired of us our different accomplishments and the courses we pursued the "great Man" dismissed us allowing us to depart from the "Prison" at 10 a.m. and returning at 4 p.m. much to the dislike of the boys.

...After staying three weeks at Hongkong I took my departure for Swatow 178 miles away from the English colony on board of a coast steamer. The journey lasted 24 hours and the fare was \$25.00, 1st class European. It was early Sunday morning that I stepped on the soil of Swatow where my father and family are staying. Now my parents knew nothing of my arrival -- the postal arrangements in China being so imperfect that my letters sent a week before went on the same steamer as I did and I was obliged to find out my father's residence, a very hard task indeed in a community where no one can be understood or no one can understand their dialect, my father being the Linguist in the Swatow Customs a prominent position both officially and commercially; but in Swatow the case becomes different a stranger can no more understand the "Swatowians" than you can Arabic without learning it. [sic]²⁷²

For the first batch of the returned students confinement and the first impression of the government were regarded as not acceptable by the CEM students. In another letter from Liang Pixu / Liang Pe Yuk (梁丕旭) to Mr. Shaw, he mentioned the treatment they faced as follows:

... On our arrival at Shanghai we were carted in wheelbarrows to the old part of the city to a damp, for a long time unoccupied building, where we were compelled to take up our quarters. Our food consisted of fat pork and rice and our treatment I am ashamed to mention. The government gave us a good allowance to make clothes and for lodging, but it had to pass through so many petty officers who can only get a living by squeezing a very small portion of the allowance reached us. Several of the students were taken sick in that old house where malaria could be got in no

²⁷² Wong to Bartlett, 'Letter from Wong Kai Kah (黃開甲 Huang Kaijia), Shanghai (上海市), to Mrs. Bartlett, 1882 January 28', 1-6. : <https://content.libraries.wsu.edu/digital/collection/5983/id/996/>
Accessed: 15.05.2024

time. Fortunately, I had friends in Shanghai who took me to their homes, so I did not stay in the old city but three days. [sic]²⁷³

Apart from the initial treatments, students expressed their longing for their lives in America. In their letters, students frequently mentioned how much they missed New England. Both their autobiographies and letters indicate that they were not only affected by the treatment they received from the government and society but also by the conditions in their homeland, as they compared it to America. This comparison made returned students despise their country.²⁷⁴

Furthermore, many of the relatives viewed these students as betraying their own culture. The students were trying to reconnect with their families and their environment, and they were encountering the curiosity of the people around them. In a peculiar incident, one of the CEM students recounted how his cousin was sent by his mother to pull his queue to verify the authenticity of his queue, a hairstyle symbolizing loyalty to the Qing Dynasty.²⁷⁵ Similar to the period of Chinese Education Mission announcements and student recruitment, the returnees encountered challenges related to gossip and doubts about their loyalty. The community was plagued by rumors and suspicions regarding these students, further complicating their reintegration into Chinese society. In addition to social life, their expectations regarding the promised professions were also disappointing.

4.1.2. Educational and Occupational Experiences of Returnees

To gain insight into the academic and work experiences of the returned students, it is important to consider both the situation in China and the students' circumstances upon their return. In China until 1905, the only way to have a job in a government position was to achieve the Chinese imperial examination system rooted in Confucianism.

²⁷³ Pe Yuk Liang, 'Letter from Liang Pe Yuk (梁丕旭 Liang Pixu), Tianjin (天津市), to Mr. Shaw, 1882 March 06', 6 March 1882, 2-7, Thomas La Fargue Papers, <https://content.libraries.wsu.edu/digital/collection/5983/id/805/rec/182>.
<https://content.libraries.wsu.edu/digital/collection/5983/id/805/rec/1> Access: 15.05.2024

²⁷⁴ She Enyi 社恩义, "Qing zhengfu zhongtu sanhui liu mei you tong yuanyin suoqi 清政府中途撤回留美幼童原因探析 [An Analysis of the Reasons for the Qing Government's Midway Withdrawal of Young Children from the U.S.]", *Shanxi shifan daxue lishi yu shehui fazhan xueyuan* 1 (2014): 78-93.

²⁷⁵ Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, 186.

However, their education in America and the absence of Confucian teachings hindered their ability to excel in this traditional examination. Although the students were sent as government students due to the classic system of bureaucracy and leaving education halfway, upon their return they were not easily assigned as government officials. In general, CEM students could hold lower ranks such as eight or nine ranks in the official rank system.²⁷⁶ Among the CEM students who returned, there were six students with the traditional official title in Chinese bureaucracy known as 'daotai' (道台).²⁷⁷ They were Tang Shaoyi (唐紹儀), Liang Ruhao (梁如浩), Zhou Changling (周長齡), Qi Zuyi (祁祖彝), Sheng Wenyang (盛文揚), and Tang Ronghao (唐榮浩). There is an assumption that these official titles may have been purchased, as it was a common custom for compradors to buy their official titles in the late Qing period.²⁷⁸

In 1881 recall, there were 43 CEM students enrolled in college, with twenty attending Yale University and the remainder attending Harvard University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and Columbia University.²⁷⁹ Regarding their academic progress, although a significant number of the CEM students dropped out of school and were assigned jobs that did not align with their majors, as well as being subjected to discrimination and exclusion, the majority persevered and later emerged as key figures in China's political and military spheres. Some of them worked for crucial economic sectors, including enterprises, railways, and mines, making noteworthy contributions to China's modernization. As Rhoads states, according to Tang Guoan (唐国安), from the second batch of the CEM, when the returned students realized that their government did not particularly value them

²⁷⁶ Nine-rank system (九品中正制) under this system, candidates were ranked into nine different grades based on their performance in the imperial examinations. The highest rank was the Jinshi (進士), which was further divided into three grades (三元), and the lowest rank was the Juren (舉人). Successful candidates could pursue a career in the government bureaucracy.

²⁷⁷ In the Qing Dynasty, Daotai was regional administrative offices or governorships to manage the customs and handle local foreign affairs, the Qing government assigned officials, typically designated as fourth-rank officials, to supervise these operations. The general rule was the fourth rank for Daotai officials, but exceptions existed in practical implementation, with some second and third-rank Daotai being stationed abroad.

²⁷⁸ Patricia Cline Higgins and City University of New York City College, 'The Chinese Education Mission 1872-1881: A Study of the Circumstances Affecting Its Establishment, Operation, and Recall' (New York, City College of New York New York, 1974), 135.

²⁷⁹ Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, 118–19.

or properly recognize their skills and contributions, many of them found excuses to abandon their positions and pursue more favorable and better-paying opportunities elsewhere. He also left Tianjin Medical School after approximately a year. Following this, he held various positions as a clerk and interpreter for some of the American and British firms.²⁸⁰ Later he returned to work for the Qing government and became the founder of Tsinghua University. Among the CEM students, Liang Cheng (梁诚) served as Chinese minister to Washington, D.C. between 1902-1907. This might illustrate that even though some of them were not fully satisfied with their assigned positions they had better opportunities in time.

The CEM students were selected between the ages of 12 and 16. The first batch of students remained just nine years in the U.S. Thus, when they returned most of the students cut their education halfway. These students had to continue their education to contribute to their country. Li Hongzhang who was a supporter statesman of the CEM organized the education and occupations of young CEM students upon their return. They were mainly directed to fields such as telegraph, navy, machinery, mines, and medical clinics. The majority of the CEM students directly or indirectly participated in the study or work of the Chinese Navy. Some of them were assigned to study or work at Tianjin Beiyang Naval Academy (天津北洋水师学堂), Dagukou Fortress Torpedo Boat Fleet 大沽口炮台鱼雷艇队, Fuzhou Mawei Shipbuilding Academy (福州马尾船政学堂) and just 6 of them graduated from Tianjin Naval Medical School (天津海军医学校).²⁸¹

In their letters, several CEM students referred to the assignment of schools and work in their homeland. In his letter, Wu Yangzeng (Woo Yang Tsang) (吴仰曾) pointed out his unpleasant situation.

We were examined in the Imperial Telegraphing College in telegraphy, international law, chemistry and mechanics. The question in international law is the following : "Write an essay on the origin of property." These questions they expect

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 209.

²⁸¹ Xu Fei, Ru Shizhen 徐飞, 茹诗珍, ““Liu Mei youtong dui jindai Zhongguo keji fazhan de lishi yingxiang 留美幼童对近代中国科技发展的历史影响 [The historical impact of young children studying in the United States on the development of science and technology in modern China]”, *Ziran bianzhengfa tongxun* 2 (2005): 90.

us to answer because they thought we had already studied law and must be able to answer them.

Two of us are studying Chinese in telegraphy school and teach English in the afternoon. Four have been sent to the torpedo college, two to the customs house, two have been ordered to study medicine and eight others and myself are studying for the naval service in this academy which is newly established. The head Chinese professor, who is going to teach us navigation, astronomy, trigonometry, geography, etc., cannot even speak English correctly so I don't see now he will manage to teach us in those studies.

This school is surrounded by high mud walls and several canals. We are not allowed to go outside this mud wall, or even to visit our friends in the neighboring school, situated within this wall. In fact this is just like a prison. My father is now trying to get me out of this school that I may go somewhere else¹⁴² to study mining. Three of us already have permission from viceroy Li Hongzhang to return home for a few months. I am expecting somebody every minute to bring the letter from the viceroy to the commissioner of this school to let us out. Our party went to the viceroy about ten days ago. He asked us what we are studying for and made a speech in Mandarin, a dialect I did not understand. [sic]²⁸²

Huang Kaijia also mentioned how the CEM students distributed to various places.

...My greatest disappointment on reaching Shanghai later was to find that a large portion of my friends had departed for Tientsin. Alas! friends whom I had associated with so long were separated from me without the chance of saying goodbye and we know not when we shall see them again.

...The rest of the boys are distributed in various places to finish their education not according to their predilections or the course they had been pursuing in America but more in accordance with the wishes of the Chinese Officials whose ignorance and stupidity render them unfit to judge in such matters. Several boys intending to take law as their profession were carted to the Naval Academy where they have a chance to become Captains and Admirals of the future navy of China!

...Sixteen were sent to Foo Chow where they too are now studying in the Naval Academy. Several are now in the Torpedo school in Tientsin harbor, Four are in the Shanghai arsenal studying under Soo Vung. We are waiting for the arrival of Mr. Yung Wing to whom we look for our liberation from such outrageous treatment by our government. Our confidence in Mr. Wing still remains unshaken though his long delay in coming made some doubt his power in influencing the Viceroy. We are only mortals, we have not the patience of Job. We are like the shoots of young trees transplanted from the rich soil and luxuriant climate to the arid desert of ignorance and superstition. We are not flourishing but withering away slowly though perceptibly. We draw down on us the pity of many interested and sensible foreigners. They are powerless though they can do a good deal by writing for the papers.

²⁸² Robyn and Chinese University of Hong Kong Graduate School Division of History, 'Building the Bridge: The Chinese Educational Mission to the United States: A Sino-American Historico-Cultural Synthesis, 1872-1881', 142-43.

...I am now in the Foreign office at Shanghai with Chung Mun Yew and Lu Kwok Shui. We receive 10 taels each and board ourselves. The arsenal boys get 5 taels a month and have to feed themselves. Our government is so generous and yet so well versed in political economy that it barely keeps us above the point of starvation. Whether we are liable to be frozen to death or not they care nothing about that, that is our own look out. Whether our families are in danger of being starved and frozen, that is still further from the minds of the government. Such is the progressive policy of China so civilized under foreign influence. She deserves no pity, she needs a good thrashing and a thorough washing before she is fit to govern her millions. There is a great danger of the students slipping back into their old way and habits. Some have shown symptoms of degenerating into their country-men's mode and manner of living but the majority seem to present an adamant firmness against all the complications and the deadening effects of officialism. But everything depends on Mr. Wing. I hope he will do a great deal both for the good of China and for our benefit. A certain article of the North China Daily News says that the best thing for us is to be sent abroad as China is not ready for us. [sic]²⁸³

Liang Pixu mentioned in one of his letters about his life in Tianjin Arsenal that he was assigned to.

... With genuine Chinese conceit and ignorance, they have withdrawn us from the American institutions, thinking we can acquire just as good a knowledge of things in here as in America. November 2, eight besides myself came to this naval school to finish our education. We were sent here by our examiners who judged from our papers as to what pursuit of study we are best fit, without the consent of those most concerned.

This school together with the neighboring buildings of the Tientsin Arsenal is surrounded by a mud wall. We are not all owed to go outside of this wall but three times in five years. The school rules are many and very tyrannical. Our daily routine is monotonous in the extreme. We drill an hour in German every day. When we first got here we had great hope of seeing home before resuming our studies. Arrangements were made for us to go and permission had been obtained from the viceroy to grant us a vacation. But when our commissioner heard of it he interfered and prevented us going. It was hard not to be allowed with even the privilege of visiting home, now that we had not seen it for eight years. When I compare my treatment and the things that are forced on me to do here with the kind care and good influence of my friends in America, I can not help but cry: "How long, O, Lord." The American consul and American missionaries are very kind to us. [sic]²⁸⁴

Many of the returned students changed their initially assigned positions under the Qing government, with only fifty-one remaining in their designated sectors. Those who received specialized training in fields like medicine, engineering, the navy,

²⁸³ Wong to Bartlett, 'Letter from Wong Kai Kah (黃開甲 Huang Kaijia), Shanghai (上海市), to Mrs. Bartlett, 1882 January 28', 1-6.

²⁸⁴ Liang, 'Letter from Liang Pe Yuk (梁丕旭 Liang Pixu), Tianjin (天津市), to Mr. Shaw, 1882 March 06', 6 March 1882, 2-7.

arsenals, and journalism tended to stay in these professions at higher rates. For example, students originally assigned to roles in telegraphy and mining often transitioned into positions related to railroad work.

After the Opium War, China experienced an inflow of foreign capital, which resulted in the development of railways, mining, factories, and shipping operations by overseas investors. This expansion of the industrial sector also facilitated foreign exploration and exploitation of China's mineral resources. These situations have prompted China to broaden its focus beyond the military aspect in terms of modernization. In 1881, the Tangshan Kaiping Coal Mine (唐山开平煤矿) was using Western-style coal mining. Some of the returned CEM students were assigned to the mine. CEM students were among the first generation of mining and metallurgical engineers in China. Wu Yangzeng (吴仰曾), Kuang Bingguang (邝炳光), and Kuang Rongguang(邝荣光) gained significant fame since they actively participated in the exploration of coal mines in many provinces and contributed the mining system of China. The achievements in mining engineering of Wu Yangzeng and Kuang Rongguang were awarded by the Qing government in Engineering in 1909. Wu Yangzeng (1862-1939) was one of the first batch students and when the mission was withdrawn by the government he was already studying at the School of Mining and Metallurgy of Columbia University. Thus, with his success in 1886, he was sent to the Royal School of Mining and Metallurgy in London, England, to continue his studies and graduated in 1890. When he came back again in China he became the chief engineer of Rehe Silver Mine (任热河银矿).²⁸⁵

One of the most prominent CEM students was Zhan Tianyou he made great contributions to China's modern railway industry and is known as the "Father of China's Railways. (中国铁路之父) When he returned to China, he already completed his studies in the United States and graduated from the Department of Civil Engineering of Yale University with a major in Railway Engineering. The initial railway networks in China were constructed by foreign entities. The traditional officials of the Qing Dynasty believed that railways posed a threat to Feng Shui (风

²⁸⁵ Xu and Ru, "Liu Mei youtong dui jindai Zhongguo keji fazhan de lishi yingxiang", 91.

水)²⁸⁶, leading to a ban on Chinese involvement with such projects. Upon the return of CEM students, there were institutions for telegraph and naval studies in China, but no railway construction. The railway industry started late in China, and the role of Zhan Tianyou became crucial.

In 1880 the Qing government established the Telegraph School in Tianjin. Just from the first batch, more than 20 CEM students were sent to this school after their return in 1881. These students became the innovators of China's press sector and the originators of China's telecom industry. They made great contributions to the integration of telegraph lines in all provinces across the country. Zhu Baokui (朱宝奎), Huang Kaijia (黄开甲), Zhou Wanpeng (周万鹏), and Tang Yuanzhan (唐元湛) were the prominent students in this field.²⁸⁷

Moreover, among the CEM students, Tang Shaoyi (唐绍仪) visited the United States in the name of China's special envoy in 1908. In 1912, he became the first Prime Minister of the Republic of China. Liang Dunyan (梁敦彦) visited the United States in 1910 as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Qing Dynasty and obtained a doctorate from Yale University. Cai Shaoji (蔡绍基) served as president of Beiyang University (北洋大学). Liang Ruhao (梁如浩) Minister of Transportation in the early Republic of China. Wu Yingke (吴应科) and Cai Tingqian (蔡廷干) both were naval marshals in the early Republic of China and participated in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894. Shen Shouchang (沈寿昌), Jinkui (陈金揆), and Huang Zulian (黄祖莲) were killed during the Sino-Japanese War.²⁸⁸

In summary, among the CEM students, there was one Prime Minister, two navy marshals, fourteen naval officers, three military doctors, two foreign ministers, one minister, two ministers, and eleven diplomatic officers.²⁸⁹ The gathering comprised

²⁸⁶ Fengshui (风水) is a Chinese metaphysical practice that involves arranging the environment to optimize the flow of energy (Qi 气) to promote harmony, health, and prosperity.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 93.

²⁸⁸ Huang and Qu, *Liumei youtong nuogan shishi kaozheng*, 345.

²⁸⁹ Mao Shizhen 茆诗珍, "Liumei youtong dui jindai Zhongguo waijiao shiye de gongxian 留美幼童对近代中国外交事业的贡献 [The Contribution of Young Children Staying in the United States to the Diplomatic Career of Modern China]", *Hefei gongye daxue xuebao* 23 (2009): 135.

eight individuals from the business sector, two university presidents, seven individuals from the industry and mining sector, one professor, two individuals from the weapons industry, one individual from the newspaper, six directors and fourteen officials from the railway sector, four directors and six officials from the telegraph sector, one customs official, one lawyer, and seven individuals in public service.

In 1877, aside from the United States, 77 young individuals traveled to Europe for educational purposes. By 1896, 13 students had been dispatched to Japan, with tens of thousands more following. Subsequently, there was an increase in the number of students studying in the U.S.²⁹⁰

Historian Thomas La Fargue attributes the officials' hostility to their inherent dislike and distrust of these 'foreign Chinese,' a sentiment echoed by Stacey Bieler. Additionally, R.J. Rhoads mentions that the Shanghai officials' hostility toward the returning students was influenced by an incident reported by a CEM student Shen Shouchang (沈壽昌). According to Shen, some of the twenty-one students in the first group of returnees attempted to escape and hide among the city's foreign population to leave the country. As a result, subsequent groups were placed under strict supervision and housed in poor conditions.²⁹¹

Suspicious about CEM students did not continue forever. The period from 1895 to 1900 was transformative for them. Now in the prime of their lives with a median age of 40 in 1901 external conditions changed their fate. Their education had previously been overshadowed by the traditionally educated Confucian scholars. A series of national crises, including the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), the Scramble for Concessions (1897–98), and the international suppression of the Boxer Uprising (1900–01), forced China to rethink its approach to modernization. Recognizing that earlier reforms were inadequate, the Qing dynasty initiated the "New Policies" (xinzheng), drawing inspiration from Japan's successful Meiji Restoration. The abolition of the civil service examination in 1905 marked the end of an era, paving

²⁹⁰ Xu Zhaojie 许兆捷, "Liumei youtong de duozhong mianxiang: yi Rong Kui weilie de fenxi 留美幼童的多重面向: 以容揆为例的分析 [The Multiple Orientations of Young Children Staying in the United States: An Analysis of Rong Kui as an Example]", *Huaqiao huaren lishi yanjiu* 4 (2023): 90.

²⁹¹ La Fargue, *China's First Hundred*, p. 59; Bieler, "Patriots" or "Traitors," p. 12; Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, p.185.

the way for a new educational system that emphasized modern subjects and foreign languages. This shift in educational priorities validated the unconventional education the CEM students had received in the United States, enhancing their social and political stature.²⁹² As a result, many CEM students quickly ascended to prominent official positions like special envoys. Liang Cheng, for instance, was honored as a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George (KCMG) after attending Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897. He later undertook diplomatic missions to Germany in 1901 and to London in 1902 for the coronation of Edward VII. Another CEM student Huang Kaijia represented China at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904. The former CEM students also played crucial roles in establishing the Boxer Rebellion Indemnity Scholarship, which aimed to send numerous Chinese students to the United States for education, echoing the mission of the original CEM.²⁹³

4.2. Ottoman Students Back Home: Employment and Impact

The Ottomans did not experience a collective return or recall of students from abroad, as seen in the Qing Dynasty. In this chapter, the focus will be on the identity of the Ottoman students who returned, the education they received abroad and their positions upon their return to the Ottoman Empire.

Paris has consistently attracted a notable number of students from the Ottoman Empire. Although France was a popular destination for Ottoman students, there were other countries that they also chose to send their students to. For instance, Germany, England, Austria, Belgium and Switzerland were the countries Ottoman students were sent to.²⁹⁴

Ottoman students who went for education in capitals such as Vienna, Paris, and London were assisted by Ottoman ambassadors. For instance, in London, the

²⁹² Fargue, 'China's First Hundred.', 77-78.

²⁹³ Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World*, 209.

²⁹⁴ For the number of the students sent Gençoğlu, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nce Batı'ya Eğitim Amacıyla Gönderilenler (1830-1908) -Bir Grup Biyografisi Araştırması', 78-82.

students were under the care of Namık Pasha, the Ottoman Empire's Ambassador, while in Berlin, they were under the care of the Berlin Ambassador.²⁹⁵

The initial students were dispatched for military training. Similarly, these students were either the children of individuals already in contact with the West or the prominent statesmen. When we examine the students' family backgrounds, the results illustrate that the first generation of students were from the higher class of Ottoman society. For instance, Tevfik Efendi and Emin Bey were significant figures in Istanbul's intellectual and military circles. Tevfik Efendi received an education at Enderun, the inner service of the Ottoman palace, and continued his military service due to his father's important position in the palace. Similarly, Emin Bey continued his education because his father worked as a teacher at Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun. Tevfik Efendi and Emin Bey, who were both sent to Europe, served in different roles upon their return. Tevfik Efendi received an education in Paris and later held various military positions, including teaching at the Military Academy. Emin Bey, on the other hand, was sent to London and upon his return, was appointed to the V. Army with the rank of Pasha (high-ranking title in the Ottoman Empire, equivalent to the rank of a general). In this context, the kinship relations between Tevfik Efendi and Emin Bey were influenced by their fathers' positions in the palace and educational institutions. Both fathers held important military positions and played effective roles in the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire.

Moreover, most of the students were the children of those already involved in modernization. In 1835, Bekir Bey, the son of Hacı Ömer Efendi, one of the engineering schoolteachers, was sent to London from the engineering school to study.²⁹⁶ Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Pasha (1813-1871) entered the Enderun thanks to his uncle Mehmed Emin Efendi, who was the steward of the imperial treasury. Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Pasha received education in London and Paris between 1833 and 1834. Upon his return, he served in the imperial army. At one point, he was sent back to Paris to oversee and complete the education of Ottoman students. He returned to Istanbul in 1839. Initially, he was appointed as a Colonel to the Tophane, and then he was appointed as a Member of the Tophane Council with the rank of

²⁹⁵ Bilim, 'Osmanlılar'da Avrupa'ya Öğrenci Gönderilmesi', 35.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 20–21.

Brigadier General (1839-40). He later served in various military positions and governorships and also served as the Ambassador to London. He also headed the Meclis-i Tanzimat (Council of Reorganization) and the Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye (Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances). He was appointed as the Grand Admiral twice and served as the Grand Vizier in 1854, 1858, and 1860.²⁹⁷

Another example Ali Rıza Pasha (1860-1932) was a prominent figure in Turkish politics. Born as the son of retired Captain Tahir Efendi. He graduated as the top student from the Military Academy (Mekteb-i Harbiye) with the rank of staff captain, marking a notable achievement at the beginning of his career. He served as a teacher at the Military Academy and later was sent to Germany for specialization, returning as a skilled officer. Ali Rıza Pasha held various significant positions when he came back to the Ottoman Empire such as serving in the General Staff Headquarters and teaching Military History and Strategy at the Military Academy. Apart from various military duties and army commands, he also served as Minister of War, Navy, Public Works, and Interior. Additionally, he also served as the Grand Vizier.²⁹⁸

Ahmet Vefik Pasha (d. 1891) was an important intellectual and statesman of the Ottoman Empire in the mid-19th century. His father, Ruhuddin Efendi, serving as a diplomatic interpreter, facilitated young Ahmet Vefik's exposure to different cultures and increased his interest in Europe during his childhood. His journey to Paris in 1834 due to his father's assignment and his three years of education at Saint Louis High School deepened his intellectual accumulation and interest in Western culture.²⁹⁹ When Ahmed Vefik Pasha returned to Istanbul, he was employed in the Translation Office and later served in various diplomatic roles such as the London embassy. Following significant state services including governorship, ministry positions, and memberships in the Meclis-i Vâlâ and Şûrâ-yı Devlet (Council of State), he assumed the title of Prime Minister (Başvekil) and served as Grand Vizier under Abdülhamid II.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Kemal Çiçek, 'Mehmed Emin Paşa, Kıbrıslı', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2003), 463–64.

²⁹⁸ Cevdet Küçük, 'Ali Rızâ Paşa', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1989), 440–41.

²⁹⁹ Kuran, 'Türkiye'nin Batılılaşmasında Osmanlı Daimi Elçiliklerinin Rolü', 496.

³⁰⁰ Ömer Faruk Akün, 'Ahmed Vefik Paşa', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1989), 143–57.

Additionally, there were familial relationships among the students sent abroad for education. For instance, it is stated that Osman Hamdi Bey, the son of Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, also benefited from a state scholarship. Similarly, Viçen Viçenyan, the son of Serope Viçenyan, received a scholarship and was educated during the reign of Abdulaziz.³⁰¹ Serope Viçenyan was an Ottoman-Armenian doctor and intellectual who was among the first students sent abroad by the Ottoman Empire for Western education, contributing to its modernization efforts in the 19th century.

In 1864, the Military Council (Dâr-ı Şûrâ-yı Askerî) emphasized the importance of sending graduates from the Military Academy (Mektebi Harbiye) and the School of Medicine (Mektebi Tıbbiye) to Western countries for practical application of the theoretical knowledge acquired in Istanbul. Consequently, officers and doctors who graduated from these institutions were dispatched to cities such as London, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Paris.³⁰² Among the available internships, those in the field of medicine were particularly prominent. These internships allowed students to apply their theoretical knowledge in practice and gain a close observation of Western medical practices. Such experiences contributed to the development of medicine within the Ottoman Empire and facilitated the adaptation of Western medical standards to Ottoman territories. The internships supported the integration of the Ottoman Empire with Western countries and the modernization of medicine.

Physicians who returned from France were often employed as teachers in their specialized fields at medical schools. İsmail Pasha (1812-1871) was a notable example of such a physician who went to France for education. After graduating from the School of Surgery, he returned to his home country and was appointed as the director of the Surgery Department.³⁰³ Nuri Kenan graduated from the Medical School in 1869. He then served as an assistant lecturer in the Internal Medicine Clinic at the Military Medical School. Like many of our physicians, Abdi Süleyman also specialized in medicine in France. After graduating from Medical School in 1871, Abdi Süleyman passed a competitive examination and was sent to Paris to

³⁰¹ Şişman, *Tanzimat döneminde Fransa'ya gönderilen Osmanlı öğrencileri, (1839-1876)*, 157.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 72.

³⁰³ Esin Kahya, 'Fransa'da İhtisas Yapmış Olan Türk Hekimlerinden Bazıları', *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 1987, 246.

specialize in dermatology. Throughout his studies, he successfully pursued a doctorate in botany. Upon his return, he was appointed as a botany teacher in veterinary classes.³⁰⁴ These physicians' experiences exemplify a longstanding tradition of medical education in France and the subsequent contributions they made upon their return to their home country.

Hasan Mazhar was a Turkish scientist who lived between 1845 and 1920. He received his medical education abroad and completed an internship at the Haydarpaşa Surgical School. Later, he went to Paris to specialize in medicine, focusing on anatomy and surgery between 1871 and 1874. Upon his return in 1874, he served as a military doctor, surgeon, and chief physician during the conflicts in Montenegro and Russia. In 1879, he was appointed as a faculty member at the Medical School. He held significant positions, including membership and presidency in important medical organizations such as the Council of Civil Medicine (Meclis-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye) and the Society of Ottoman Medicine (Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniye).³⁰⁵ It is evident that in addition to military training, another significant field within the Ottoman Empire was medicine. Students who had received their education in modern medical schools established within Ottoman territories were also sent abroad to further develop their practical skills. Furthermore, these students acquired expertise in a range of specialized branches of medicine.

Graduates from Ottoman institution in Paris Mekteb-i Osmani played significant roles in the modernization. In total ninety-four students were enrolled in the Mekteb-i Osmânî, with seventy of them being Muslim, nine Armenian, eleven Greek/Rum, and four Bulgarian.³⁰⁶ Notable alumni of this school include Hâfız Ali Şeref, who published the first Turkish geography atlas in Paris, and Şeker Ahmed Paşa, a prominent figure in Turkish art.

Şeker Ahmed Pasha was an important figure in Turkish painting. Şeker Ahmed entered the Military Academy (Mekteb-i Harbiyye) in 1855. By the order of the Sultan, he was sent to the Mekteb-i Osmani. During his education, he honed his

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 247.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 251.

³⁰⁶ Köse, 'Mekteb-i Osmânî', 242.

painting skills by working in the studios of Gustave Boulanger and later Jean-Léon Gérôme. He also continued his art education at the Paris Fine Arts Academy, during which he was exposed to the emerging Impressionist movement led by artists such as Cézanne, Renoir, Toulouze, Manet, and Courbet, with Courbet's style notably influencing him. After the closure of Mekteb-i Osmânî, he returned to Istanbul with his friends in 1870. He was appointed as a painting instructor at the Military Medical School (Mekteb-i Tıbbiyye) with the rank of Kolağası (Lieutenant Colonel). In addition to this role, he taught painting and language at various schools including Beyazıt, Zeyrek, Kaptan İbrâhim Paşa rüşdiyes (secondary schools), and the Sultan Ahmed School of Fine Arts.³⁰⁷

A number of other students – who had the opportunity to study abroad – developed their artistic abilities during their time abroad. Such as lieutenant (Mülazım) İbrahim Efendi, later known as Lieutenant General (Ferik) painter İbrahim Paşa, was a notable figure in Ottoman history due to his contributions to the realm of art. He was born as the son of Mustafa Paşa, a prominent figure among the Nizam-ı Cedid (new order) officers. İbrahim Efendi was sent to Europe, possibly to Vienna or London, to receive formal training in painting. This exposure to Western techniques and styles significantly influenced his work and later shaped his role within Ottoman society. During the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid (1839-1861), İbrahim Efendi returned to Istanbul from Europe, bringing with him a wealth of artistic knowledge and skill. İbrahim Efendi not only provided painting lessons to the Sultan but also had the honor of painting his portrait. His stature grew over time, and he eventually attained the rank of Lieutenant General (Ferik), a high military rank in the Ottoman Empire, in addition to his esteemed title of Ressam, or painter.³⁰⁸

Another significant painter was Osman Hamdi Bey was born in Istanbul in 1842 and was a prominent figure in the Ottoman Empire as a statesman, museum founder, archaeologist, and painter. He was the son of Edhem Pasha, who served as the Grand Vizier. Osman Hamdi Bey began his education in Istanbul and later enrolled at the School of Judicial Sciences (Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliyye). In 1857, he was sent to

³⁰⁷ Muhittin Serin, 'Şeker Ahmed Paşa', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2010), 487–88.

³⁰⁸ Bilim, 'Osmanlılar'da Avrupa'ya Öğrenci Gönderilmesi', 19.

Paris to study law. During his time in Paris, he pursued both legal studies and art, taking painting classes at the Paris School of Fine Arts. He also developed a keen interest in archaeology during this period, studying and immersing himself in European art and culture.³⁰⁹ Hüsnü Efendi was a successful student who graduated from the Imperial School of Engineering and was specially sent to Europe in 1849 as an only student.³¹⁰ In the following years, he became known as the famous painter Hüsnü Yusuf Pasha. The Engineering School was one of the leading educational institutions of the Ottoman Empire at that time, and bright students such as Hüsnü Efendi were trained according to both the needs of the Ottoman Empire and the individual abilities of the students, contributing to the progress of the Empire.

In addition to Hoca Tahsin and Selim Sabit Efendi, other individuals with madrasa education were among those who were sent to study in Western countries. Abdülkerim Amasi (d. 1886), also known as Hoca Kerim, was another graduate of the madrasa who was sent to Paris to become a teacher at Darülfünun (Istanbul University), but unlike Hoca Tahsin and Selim Sabit Efendi, instead of staying in Paris, he traveled to London to further his education. It was there that he completed his studies, deviating from his original plan in Paris, and when he returned, he became a teacher at Darülfünun.³¹¹ In 1847, Geredeli Abdurrahman Hilmi, Kütahyalı Mustafa Vehbi, and Amasyalı Hüseyin Remzi were the madrasa students to be sent to France to become professors at the Darülfünûn upon their return.³¹²

Students who were sent to Western countries for education, particularly military training, were given various ranks upon their return to their countries. These ranks included brigadier general (Mirliva), lieutenant general (Ferik), colonel (Miralay), and Pasha (the highest military and civil title in the Ottoman Empire). In 1856, ten students were sent to Paris, marking a significant step towards integration with Europe. Among them, Istinye-born Hüsnü Effendi stood out, having graduated from the French War School and subsequently rising to the rank of Ferik (lieutenant

³⁰⁹ Filiz Gündüz, 'Osman Hamdi Bey', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2007), 468–69.

³¹⁰ Bilim, 'Osmanlılar'da Avrupa'ya Öğrenci Gönderilmesi', 27.

³¹¹ Mustafa Ülger, 'Hoca Abdülkerim Efendi'nin Hayatı ve Eserleri', *Fırat Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 14, no. 2 (2009): 126.

³¹² Gençoğlu, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nce Batı'ya Eğitim Amacıyla Gönderilenler (1830-1908) -Bir Grup Biyografisi Araştırması', 56.

general), eventually serving as the Ottoman Empire's Grand Ambassador to Petersburg. His representation of the Ottoman State at the 1869 inauguration of the Suez Canal underscored his diplomatic prowess on the international stage. Beşiktaş-native Mustafa Effendi, attaining the rank of Mirliva, served in the Second Army, contributing significantly to the military sector upon his return. Kabasakal Süleyman Effendi, as a Major, taught foreign languages at the Istanbul Fatih Military Academy, making strides in education. Vezneciler-native İbrahim Effendi, serving as a language instructor at the Military Engineering Academy, played a pivotal role in education, rising to the rank of Mülazım.³¹³

Individuals who received education in the West were also appointed to civil servant positions that were appropriate for their field or profession immediately upon their return. The positions the students held upon their return to the Ottoman Empire indicate that their educations paid expectancy. The career of Kıbrıslı Mehmet Pasha shows this fact as an example. He was sent with Namık Pasha to London while holding the rank of Captain and serving as the Clerk of the House. He later traveled to Paris for educational purposes. In 1848, he was appointed to the London Embassy. He returned to Istanbul in 1850 and eventually rose to the position of Grand Vizier (Sadrazam), the highest-ranking statesman.³¹⁴

In 1851, seven Ottoman students were sent to France for educational purposes. Two of these students were from the Imperial School of Engineering (Mühendishâne-i Hümayun), while the remaining three were from the Military School (Mekteb-i Harbiye). The students from the Imperial School of Engineering initially received language and mathematics training in Paris before continuing their education at the Military Academy in Belgium. They graduated in July 1857 and returned to their homeland. Meanwhile, the students from Mekteb-i Harbiye pursued their studies in mineralogy. They attended the Institut de Monsieur Canot and the Ecole d'Artillerie et du Génie in Metz before completing their education at the Ecole des Mines.³¹⁵

³¹³ Bilim, 'Osmanlılar'da Avrupa'ya Öğrenci Gönderilmesi', 31.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 20.

³¹⁵ Şişman, *Tanzimat döneminde Fransa'ya gönderilen Osmanlı öğrencileri, (1839-1876)*, 18.

Among the students sent by the Ottoman Empire abroad for education, 160 held positions within the educational institutions and 46 served as administrators in educational institutions.³¹⁶ This highlights the significant role played by those who received education abroad in Ottoman modernization, particularly in the teaching staff and management positions of modern educational institutions. The aim of addressing the shortage of qualified personnel to work in modern educational institutions within Ottoman territories was achieved by sending individuals abroad for education.

The Ottoman Empire recalled the students because of several reasons. The students were asked to return with the scholarship money allocated to them. However, it was stated that those who wished to continue their education at their own expense could remain in Paris. As a result, while only two students did not return to Istanbul and continued their education with their own money, the first group of 24 people was sent back to Istanbul on 8 July 1875 and a group of 30 people was sent back to Istanbul on 15 July 1875.³¹⁷

From all students who were sent to various Western countries by the Ottoman Empire, a total of 58 students failed in their foreign education due to various reasons. Among these, 18 students cited inability and inadequacy as the primary cause, while 1 student attributed their failure to alcoholism. Indiscipline was reported by 23 students, while 1 student mentioned marriage as a factor. Additionally, 6 students pointed to absenteeism, and 5 cases were deemed undetermined. Finally, 4 students admitted to laziness contributing to their lack of success. These diverse factors highlight the multifaceted challenges students face when pursuing education abroad.³¹⁸ As an example of a failed student, Cemal Efendi, who was among the students who failed in their education in Paris, was expelled from Mekteb-i Osmani due to his fondness for alcohol. He returned to his homeland in May 1862 and was

³¹⁶ Gençoğlu, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nce Batı'ya Eğitim Amacıyla Gönderilenler (1830-1908) -Bir Grup Biyografisi Araştırması', 112.

³¹⁷ Şişman, *Tanzimat döneminde Fransa'ya gönderilen Osmanlı öğrencileri, (1839-1876)*, 79.

³¹⁸ Gençoğlu, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nce Batı'ya Eğitim Amacıyla Gönderilenler (1830-1908) -Bir Grup Biyografisi Araştırması', 106.

appointed as a French teacher at the Engineering School (Mühendishane) in 1862-63.³¹⁹ Even though he was expelled he was appointed to a job.

4.3. Conclusion

Both the Ottoman Empire and the Qing Dynasty sought to modernize their societies by sending students abroad to acquire Western education and skills. The Ottomans aimed to build a staff of Western-educated officials and professionals who could help modernize the military and administrative structures. Similarly, the Qing Dynasty, under the influence of reformist leaders like Li Hongzhang, envisioned the Chinese Educational Mission (CEM) as a way to develop expertise in modern military techniques and other specialized fields.

The Qing Dynasty's first modernization period focused on military education stemmed from a need to strengthen China's defenses against Western powers and internal unrest. In contrast, the Ottoman Empire, possibly benefiting from relatively more advanced military technology, emphasized not only military modernization but also administrative and technical education to reform various aspects of the state, reflecting a more comprehensive approach to modernization.

The Qing Dynasty's CEM students, on the other hand, encountered more severe obstacles. Despite initial promises, they could not enroll in U.S. military academies, a deviation from Li Hongzhang's original plan. This refusal, perceived as a breach of the Burlingame Treaty, significantly soured Sino-American relations and contributed to the eventual termination of the CEM. Moreover, Qing students faced cultural and religious challenges. Their adoption of Western customs, involvement in Christian activities, and neglect of Chinese studies led to severe criticism from conservative officials and segments of society. This cultural assimilation, viewed as a threat to traditional values, played a crucial role in the mission's termination.

The return of students to their home countries revealed further contrasts. Ottoman students, upon returning, sometimes faced resistance from traditionalists, yet they

³¹⁹ Ibid., 111.

managed to integrate into the military and administrative structures. Their Western education did not immediately translate into effective modernization but laid the groundwork for future reforms. Notable figures include Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, who became the Grand Vizier and played a crucial role in the Tanzimat reforms, and Mehmed Ali Pasha, who contributed significantly to military reforms.

Qing students experienced a more difficult reintegration process. Upon their return, they faced suspicion, surveillance, and poor treatment from both the government and society. Many struggled with an identity crisis, finding it difficult to reconcile their Western education with Chinese traditions. This cultural disconnect prevented their immediate effectiveness, although a significant number of them subsequently assumed pivotal roles in China's modernization efforts. For example, Zhan Tianyou, a CEM student, became a pioneering engineer who led the construction of the first Chinese-built railway. Tang Shaoyi became the first Prime Minister of the Republic of China.

The long-term impacts of these educational missions were profound for both empires. In the Ottoman Empire, the returnees played significant roles in the Tanzimat reforms and subsequent modernization efforts. Their Western education helped bridge the gap between traditional Ottoman governance and modern administrative practices.

For the Qing Dynasty, the early experiences of the CEM students highlighted the challenges of cultural integration and modernization. Although many faced initial setbacks, their expertise became invaluable during subsequent reforms, particularly after the abolition of the imperial examination system in 1905. The CEM alumni were instrumental in the early Republican era, contributing to diplomatic, military, and industrial advancements.

The comparative analysis of the Ottoman and Qing educational missions underlines the complexities of cultural integration and modernization in the face of Western encroachment. Both empires recognized the necessity of adopting Western knowledge to strengthen their weakening structures but encountered significant resistance from conservative elements within their societies. The Ottoman Empire

and Qing Dynasty both conceived of strengthening themselves by adopting Western knowledge as a necessity. Both empires faced a certain level of resistance or suspicion from conservative elements within their societies; however, the Qing took longer to overcome its bias against Western-educated officials compared to the Ottoman Empire.



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Significant contrasts and parallels emerge when examining the experiences of students sent abroad by the Ottoman Empire and the Qing Dynasty during the 19th century. These differences illustrate broader themes of modernization, cultural integration, and international diplomacy. This chapter synthesizes these findings to compare the two empires' strategies and their long-term impacts.

The Chinese and Ottoman governments recognized the importance of modernizing their military and technical capabilities. Thus, they sent students to Western countries. However, these initiatives' methodologies, preparations, and outcomes differed significantly due to their historical and cultural contexts.

A notable difference between the two groups was the age and living arrangements of the students. Chinese students, often between 12 and 15 years old, were placed with host families in America. These families provided primary education before the students advanced to secondary and high schools. In the first half of the century, younger students were also sent abroad from the Ottoman Empire. However, Ottoman students were generally older, especially during the reign of Abdülhamid II, often being in their 20s. Although there were exceptions, the number of younger students sent abroad by the Ottoman Empire was relatively limited.

Before Chinese students were sent to America in 1872 they attended a preparatory school in Shanghai, where they received foundational education and language training. This pre-departure preparation aimed to equip them with the necessary skills to thrive in a foreign environment. In contrast, the Ottoman students headed to European countries with no such preparatory institution initially. They had some prior education in their fields within the Ottoman Empire, but comprehensive language training was lacking. In the case of Paris, the Ottoman Empire opened the

Mekteb-i Osmani in 1857, which followed earlier attempts by Egyptian schools to fill this gap. These Ottoman students first attended preparatory schools established by Egyptians and later the Mekteb-i Osmani to improve their French language skills before attempting to enter French educational institutions.

Both groups encountered significant challenges in accessing military education abroad. Chinese students in the United States encountered exclusion from military schools primarily due to racial discrimination, which hindered their intended technical education. In contrast, Ottoman students faced barriers in France due to their insufficient preparatory education levels. While Chinese students were directly excluded because of their ethnicity, Ottoman students struggled mainly because their educational background did not meet the required standards.

To prevent cultural assimilation, the Chinese government implemented measures to maintain their students' cultural identities. The Chinese Educational Commission (CEM) ensured that students continued learning Chinese studies, language, and Confucianism. Commissioners such as Chen Lanbin were sent to oversee this education. The Ottoman Empire also sent teachers abroad such as Hoca Tahsin and Selim Sabit Efendi, to provide Turkish lectures. Unlike the Chinese, Ottoman educators were also “students” themselves, tasked with bringing back knowledge to teach at the Darülfünun, the first modern university in the Ottoman Empire.

Furthermore, the Chinese students' host families were predominantly Christian. Students attended Christian churches and participated in religious services. A few Chinese students converted to Christianity, while religious conversion was not a significant issue among Ottoman students. The Ottomans were more concerned with cultural assimilation rather than conversion per se.

In both the Ottoman Empire and China, there were students who were sent abroad with familial connections. Nevertheless, the underlying dynamics and motivations behind these relationships were markedly different. In China, the lack of sufficient interest in applying for overseas education led to a unique approach. The CEM's initiator, Yung Wing, and other individuals with a Western education background

persuaded their relatives and social circles to participate. As a result of these persuasive efforts, students mostly had familial and social connections.

In contrast, in the Ottoman Empire, the formation of kinship relations among students studying abroad was more a consequence of established traditions. It was primarily children of fathers who had already received foreign education or worked abroad as officials. Similarly, siblings and relatives influenced each other, thereby creating a tradition of pursuing education abroad within families. This practice was more organic and driven by existing family legacies.

Upon their return, the career trajectories of these students further highlight the differences between the two initiatives. Ottoman students, who often secured influential military, administrative, and artistic positions, significantly contributed to their nation's modernization efforts. This successful integration can be attributed, in part, to their socio-economic backgrounds; most of these students were the children of families employed in state service, predominantly from cosmopolitan Istanbul, and were accustomed to foreign cultures and interactions. In contrast, Chinese students faced a more challenging reintegration, as they were not warmly welcomed by the government or society, reflecting a broader hesitation towards Western education. These students primarily hailed from commercial cities like Canton and were often from lower social strata, primarily the sons of traders, which may have influenced how they were perceived and treated upon their return. The Chinese initiative ultimately faltered due to internal resistance and fears of cultural assimilation, leading to the recall of the students in 1881 after only nine years of a planned fifteen, while Ottoman students were accepted and integrated into high-ranking positions.

This comparison demonstrates how both socio-economic backgrounds and differing governmental attitudes towards Western education played crucial roles in shaping the students' experiences and their subsequent contributions to their respective nations.

In conclusion, while both the Chinese and Ottoman empires embarked on ambitious programs to educate their youth in the West, the Ottoman approach ultimately proved more sustainable and better integrated into their broader modernization efforts. The

Chinese experience, though pioneering, was curtailed by cultural and political barriers, demonstrating the complex interplay between tradition and modernization in both contexts. The differing outcomes highlight the critical factors of preparatory support, socio-economic background, and cultural integration in the success of international education initiatives.



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CURRICULUM VITAE

Education:

2014-2019 BA in History of Science, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University, Turkey

2020-2024 MA in Civilization Studies, Ibn Haldun University, Turkey

Publications:

Terzi, Zehra. "Conception of Moral Virtue in Al-Ghazâlî and Mencius."

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GENİŞLETİLMİŞ TÜRKÇE ÖZET

BÖLÜM I

GİRİŞ

19. yüzyılın sonları ile 20. yüzyılın başları, Batı bilgisi ve teknolojisinin benimsenmesi ve yayılması açısından önemli bir dönüm noktası olmuştur. Birçok Batı dışı ülkede, modernleşmenin temel itici gücü askeri alan olmuştur. Bu durum, Batılı güçlerin sahip olduğu üstün askeri teknolojilere karşı topraklarını koruma konusunda yaşanan yetersizlikten kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Batı dışı ülkeler, kendilerini bu teknolojik üstünlük karşısında savunabilmek için çözüm arayışına girmişlerdir.

Süreç Batı dışı ülkelerin modern Batı tekniklerini öğrenmede kendi ülkelerinde bulunan ya da Batıdan bu amaçla getirilen Batılı uzmanlardan yararlanması ile başlamıştır. Yabancı uzmanlardan yararlanmak hem onlara karşı olan güven problemi hem de yetersiz sayıda uzman olması açısından dezavantajlar bulundurmaktaydı. Dolayısıyla, devlet memuru ve öğrencilerin Batı tekniği öğrenmek amacıyla yurt dışına gönderilmesi pragmatik bir çözüm olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Çin, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Rusya ve Japonya gibi ülkeler bu yaklaşımı benimsemişlerdir.

Bu ülkeler arasında Çin ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu oldukça benzer zorluklarla karşılaşmıştır. Öncelikle Batılı güçlerin yükselişiyle, her iki ülke de küresel konumlarının gerilediğini görmüştür. Batılı güçlerle karşılaştırıldığında belirgin askeri zayıflıkları, önemli yenilgilere yol açmış ve bu durum onları Batılılarla iç işlerine ve ekonomilerine müdahale eden eşit olmayan anlaşmalar imzalamaya zorlamıştır. Yaşanan birçok gelişme sonucunda, 19. yüzyılın sonları ve 20. yüzyılın başlarında hem Çin hem de Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, devletlerini modernize etme ve güçlendirme amacıyla reformlar başlatmıştır.

Modernleşme çabalarının temel stratejilerinden biri, Batı eğitimini edinmek amacıyla öğrencilerin yurt dışına gönderilmesi olmuştur. Bu durum, Batı fikirlerini ve teknolojilerini benimsemenin önemli bir adımı haline gelmiştir. Bu tez, Çin (Qing Hanedanlığı) ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun, Batı ülkelerine öğrenci göndermesi yoluyla Batı teknolojisini benimseme deneyimlerini inceleyerek toplumsal ve kurumsal etkilerini değerlendirmeyi hedeflemektedir. Çalışmada Çin ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun seçilmesi, tarihi süreçlerinin çarpıcı benzerlikleri nedeniyle önemlidir.

Osmanlı'da yurt dışına devlet tarafından öğrenci gönderilmesi 1830'larda başlamış ve 1908'deki İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi ile doruk noktasına ulaşmıştır. Reform ve modernleşme arzusu ile karakterize edilen bu dönem, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Batı'ya öğrenci gönderme girişimlerini anlamak için bir çerçeve sunmaktadır.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Paris, Viyana ve Berlin gibi çeşitli Avrupa şehirlerine öğrenci göndermiştir. Qing Hanedanlığı (Çin'de 1644–1911 arası hüküm süren hanedanlık) ise ilk öğrenci gönderimini 1872'de 15 yıl sürmesi planlanan bir programla Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne 120 öğrenciden oluşan bir grup ile başlatmıştır. Bu farklı yaklaşımlar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Çin'in kendine özgü tarihsel süreçleri ve Batı ile olan ilişkilerinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Her iki imparatorluğun Batılı güçlerle olan etkileşimleri, modernleşme süreçlerini şekillendiren eşsiz dinamikler yaratmıştır. Bu nedenle, öğrencilerin yurt dışına gönderilmesi uygulaması, her imparatorluğun kendi tarihsel ve sosyo-politik bağlamında değerlendirilmelidir.

Bu karşılaştırmalı çalışmanın tarihsel odağı, öğrenci gönderme sürecinde ilk öğrenci gönderimini belirli tarih aralığında ve net bir öğrenci grubuyla yapması açısından Çin ile daha yakın bir ilişki içindedir.

Araştırma Sorusu

Batı'da eğitim görmüş öğrencilerin yeniden entegrasyonunu etkileyen sosyal ve politik bağlamları daha iyi anlamak için bazı önemli sorulara yanıt vermek gereklidir. Osmanlı ve Çinli öğrencilerin yurt dışına eğitim almak üzere gönderildiği süreçteki deneyimleri nelerdi ve ülkelerinden ayrılmadan önce ne tür hazırlıklar yapmışlardır?

Batılı eğitim kurumlarındaki sosyal ortamları nasıldı ve bu öğrenciler yeni kültürel ve akademik ortamlara nasıl adapte oldular? Ayrıca, bu öğrencilerin geri dönüşleri sonrası elde ettikleri sonuçlar nelerdi ve kendi toplumları ve devletleri tarafından nasıl karşılandılar ve entegre edildiler? Önemli bir husus, Osmanlı ve Çinli öğrencilerin geri döndüklerinde neden farklı muamelelerle karşılaştıklarıdır.

Öğrencilerin Batı'ya gönderilmesine dair önemli bir literatür ortaya çıkmıştır. Ancak, ne Osmanlı ne de Çin deneyimi üzerine yapılan araştırmalar, kendi süreçlerini anlamayı sağlayacak karşılaştırmalar yapılmadan gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Bu tez Batı'da eğitim almış öğrencilerin Çin ve Osmanlı modernleşmelerindeki deneyimlerini karşılaştırmalı bir perspektifte ele alarak bu alanda yeni bir yaklaşımı ortaya koyacaktır. Bu, Batı bilgisinin dönüşümünde toplumsal boyutları da içeren daha kapsamlı bir değerlendirme fırsatı sağlayacaktır.

Yöntem

Bu karşılaştırmalı çalışma, 19. yüzyılda Çin ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun eğitim yoluyla modernleşme çabalarında izledikleri farklı yolları yorumlamak için arşiv kaynakları, tarihî anlatımlar ve akademik görüşlerden yararlanan nitel bir araştırma kullanmaktadır. Araştırma, bu iki imparatorluğun modernleşme girişimlerinin çok yönlü dinamiklerini anlamaya yönelik derinlemesine bir inceleme sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Çalışmanın birincil veri kaynakları, Çin ve Osmanlı İmparatorluklarına ait arşiv belgeleri ile döneme ait kişisel mektuplar ve yazışmaları içermektedir. Bu kaynaklar, her iki imparatorluğun eğitim deneyimlerine ve sosyo-politik gelişmelerine doğrudan bir bakış açısı sunmaktadır. İkincil kaynaklar olarak tarihî monografiler, akademik makaleler ve bilimsel yazılar, Çin ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun tarihî bağlamları, sosyo-politik dinamikleri ve eğitim gelişmelerine ilişkin daha fazla bilgi sağlamaktadır. Bu anlatımlar, birincil arşiv kaynaklarına değerli ekler olarak, çeşitli

bakış açıları ve araştırma bulgularını yorumlamak için analitik çerçeveler sunmaktadır.

Çin ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun modernleşme süreçlerinde, özellikle eğitim ve Batı bilgi sistemleriyle etkileşim yaklaşımlarındaki benzerlik ve farklılıkları belirlemek için karşılaştırmalı bir analiz yaklaşımı kullanılmaktadır.

Bu tezde Çinli isimlerin transliterasyonunda Pinyin (音拼) sistemi kullanılmakta olup, metin boyunca okunabilirlik ve tutarlılık sağlamak için çağdaş ve yaygın olarak kabul gören romanizasyon standartları takip edilmiştir. Kaynaklarımın birçoğu eski olduğu ve Wade-Giles sistemini kullandığı için bu isimler Pinyin sistemine dönüştürüldü. Örneğin, Wade-Giles "Peking" Pinyin'de "Beijing" ve "Tao" "Dao" olarak geçmektedir. Pinyin tipik olarak ton işaretlerini içerse de bu tezde sadeleştirme amacıyla ton işaretlerine yer verilmemiştir.

Ayrıca geleneksel karakterler yerine basitleştirilmiş karakterler tercih edilmiştir. Basitleştirilmiş karakterler genellikle daha az çizgi içerdiğinden okunabilirliği ve yazımı kolaylaştırmaktadır. Örneğin, "ülke" (國) karakteri basitleştirilmiş olarak (国), "öğrenmek/çalışmak" (學習) karakteri ise (学习) şeklinde yazılmıştır.

Belirtmek gerekir ki Çinli isimler genellikle iki bölümden oluşur: soyadı (aile adı) ve verilen isim (kişisel isim). İlk sırada gelen soyadı genellikle tek karakterlidir. Ardından gelen verilen isim ise bir ya da iki karakter uzunluğunda olabilir. Örneğin, "Wang Wei" (王伟) isminde "Wang" (王) soyadı, "Wei" (伟) ise verilen isimdir. "Zhang Sanfeng" (张三丰) isminde ise "Zhang" (张) soyadı, "Sanfeng" (三丰) ise verilen isimdir.

BÖLÜM II

TARİHİ ARKAPLANLAR: MODERN BİR BÜROKRASİ İÇİN MODERN EĞİTİM

Tezin ana odak noktalarından biri, öğrencilerin yurtdışındaki deneyimlerini ve ülkelerine döndüklerinde yaşadıkları deneyimleri değerlendirmektir. Bu değerlendirmeyi kolaylaştırmak amacıyla, öğrencilerin sosyal statülerine dair bir anlayışa sahip olmak önemlidir. Bu nedenle, öğrenci gönderimlerinin tarihsel arka planını incelemeden önce, Çin ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun sosyal yapılarının kısa bir özeti, bu öğrencilerin rolleri ve deneyimlerini anlamak açısından değerli bir bağlam sağlayacaktır.

Çin ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Sosyal Yapıları

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda toplum, yönetici sınıf ve reaya olmak üzere iki ana sınıfa ayrılmaktaydı. Yönetici sınıf, sultan tarafından ferman yoluyla idari yetki verilen kişilerden oluşurken, farklı dini ve etnik gruplardan oluşan reaya, yönetime katılmayan kesimi temsil etmekteydi. Reaya'nın görevi, dini veya etnik kimliklerinden bağımsız olarak, vergi ödeyip üretim yaparak yönetici sınıfa destek olmaktı. Yönetici sınıf, dört ana gruptan oluşmaktaydı: mülkiye (saray görevlileri), seyfiye (askeri sınıf), ilmiye (din bilginleri) ve kalemiye (idari bürokrasi). Seyfiye sınıfı, ağırlıklı olarak askeri işlerden sorumlu olmakla birlikte yürütme rollerini de üstlenmekteydi. İlmiye sınıfı, dini, adli ve eğitim işlerinden sorumluyken, kalemiye ise hükümetin her seviyesindeki idari görevlilerden oluşmaktaydı. Reaya ise bu üç sınıfın dışında kalanları kapsamaktaydı. Yönetim ile ilgisi olmayan reaya, tarım, zanaatkârlık ve ticaret yoluyla geçimlerini sağlamaktaydı.

Reaya, çeşitli dini, mezhepsel ve etnik gruplardan oluşmaktaydı. Türklerin dışında, Rumlar, Ermeniler, Yahudiler, Romenler, Slavlar ve Araplar gibi diğer gruplar da

Osmanlı topraklarında yaşamaktaydı. Etnik unsurlardan ziyade dini aidiyet üzerinden ayrılmaktaydılar. Devlet, her dini cemaate bir dereceye kadar özerklik tanımaktaydı. Osmanlı topraklarında cemaatlerin dini temele dayalı yönetimine “Millet Sistemi” denmekteydi.

İslam toplumlarında yaygın olarak görüldüğü gibi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kozmopolit ruhunu yansıtan sosyal yapısı, değişmez bir sınıf sistemine sahip değildi. Toplumun alt sınıflarından gelen bireylerin yetenek ve gayretle önemli mevkilere ulaşma potansiyeline sahip olmaları, Osmanlı sosyal ve siyasi yapısının karakteristik özelliklerindendi.

Buna karşılık, Çin tamamen farklı bir medeniyet temeline sahipti. Batı'nın Semavi dini geleneklerinden farklı olarak, Çin'in dini ve felsefi sistemleri tek bir yaratıcı tanrı veya evrenin bilinçli yaratım anlatısı üzerinde yoğunlaşmamıştı. Bunun yerine, uyum, denge ve iç içe geçmişlik ilkelerine odaklanmaktaydılar. Örneğin Konfüçyüsçülük, ahlaki ve etik değerler, sosyal uyum ve hayırseverlik ve doğruluk gibi erdemlerin gelişimini öncelikle bireylerin toplum içinde uyum içinde yaşamaları gerektiğine odaklanmıştır. Tanrı'nın varlığı veya evrenin yaratımı üzerine yoğunlaşmamıştır. Benzer şekilde Daoizm, evrenin doğal düzenini temsil eden Dao'ya (yol) göre yaşamayı vurgular ve teolojik spekülasyonlardan ziyade yaşamın doğal akışına uyum sağlamayı teşvik eder. Çin kültüründe atalara tapınma, doğayla ilişkili çeşitli tanrı ve ruhlara tapınma gibi pratikler bulunmasına rağmen, bunlar genellikle daha pragmatik olup kutsamalar, koruma ve rehberlik arayışına odaklanmıştır. Başka bir deyişle, Çin'in dini ve felsefi gelenekleri pratik etik, doğayla uyum ve sosyal düzeni teistik inançlardan veya yaratılış anlatılarından daha ön planda tutmuştur.

Çin'in ana akım felsefeleri, özellikle Konfüçyüsçülük, sosyal yapıyı etkileyen unsurlar arasındadır. İmparatorluk Çin toplumunda, geleneksel olarak dört ana sınıf bulunmaktaydı: bilgeler (okumuşlar), köylüler, zanaatkârlar ve tüccarlar. Bilge sınıfı, eğitilmiş bireylerden oluşur ve en yüksek statüye sahipken, tüccarlar ekonomik güçlerine rağmen en altta yer alırdı. Çin'de “İmparatorluk Sivil Hizmet Sınavı” sistemi, liyakata dayalı olarak devlet memurlarını seçmek üzere tasarlanmış zorlu, çok aşamalı sınav sistemiydi. Bu sistem, özellikle alt sınıflardan bireylerin statü

kazanmalarına olanak tanıyan bir fırsattı. Ancak Qing Hanedanı'ndaki imparatorluk sınav sistemi, köylüler ve zanaatkârlar için sosyal hareketliliği önemli ölçüde artırmadı. Sınav sistemi, çoğunlukla yüksek sosyal sınıflardan gelen bireyler için avantaj sağladı. Her ne kadar alt sosyal kökenlere sahip olanlar teknik olarak sınavlara girme hakkına sahip olsa da, gerekli eğitimi almak için gereken maddi ve kültürel kaynaklardan yoksun olmaları, sınavlarda başarıya ulaşmalarını zorlaştırmaktaydı. Bu nedenle, sistem sosyal yükselme fırsatı sunsa da, daha çok ayrıcalıklı kesimden gelenlerin devlet görevlerine daha kolay erişmelerini sağlamakta ve üstünlüklerini pekiştirmekteydi.

Çin tarım temelli bir ülke olduğu için, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na benzer şekilde, toprak en önemli servet kaynağıydı. Çin tarihi boyunca, sosyal ve ekonomik düşünceler ve siyaset, toprak kullanımı ve dağılımı etrafında şekillenmiştir. Çinli düşünürler, toplumlarında “kök” ve “dal” olarak adlandırdıkları kavramlar üzerinden toplumları düşünmüşlerdir. "Kök", tarımı ifade ederken, "dal" ticareti ifade etmektedir. Bu ayrım, tarım ve ticaret arasındaki farklı endişelere dayanmaktaydı. Tarım, üretim ile ilgilenirken, ticaret yalnızca değişimle ilgilenmekteydi. Tarım ülkesi olarak, çiftçilik temel üretim şekli olarak kabul edilmekteydi. Bu dikotomi, çiftçilerin tehlike anında ülkelerinde kalma ihtimalinin daha yüksek olduğu, tüccarların ise kaçma ihtimalinin daha yüksek olduğu anlamına gelmektedir. Bu nedenle, Çin düşüncesinde tarım, ekonomik olarak ticaretten daha önemli görülmekte ve çiftçilerin yaşam tarzı tüccarlara kıyasla üstün sayılmaktaydı.

Çin'in Batı ile Karşılaşması

Çin, dünyanın en eski ve en kalabalık medeniyetlerinden biridir. Coğrafi olarak Doğu Asya'nın bir parçası olarak kabul edilse de, Çinliler ülkelerini “merkezî ülke/krallık” anlamına gelen “Zhongguo” (中国) olarak adlandırarak, kendi ülke ve medeniyetlerinin merkezîliğini vurgularlar. Çin, tarihi boyunca dış kültürlerle etkileşimde bulunmuştur, ancak bu etkileşimler genellikle Budizmde de olduğu gibi yabancı unsurların yerel kültürel bağlama uyarlanarak özümsemiği ‘Çinleşme’ süreciyle sonuçlanmıştır. Bu durum, Çin'in dış kültürel etkileri seçici bir yaklaşımla entegre ederek kültürel bütünlüğünü koruduğunu göstermektedir. Buna karşılık, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, dış kültürlerle olan etkileşimlerinde daha çeşitli bir yaklaşım

sergilemiş ve Batı kültürü ile etkileşimi, kültürel çeşitliliği arttırarak daha geniş bir entegrasyon sürecine yol açmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Çin'in dış kültürlerle olan etkileşimlerinin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na kıyasla daha sınırlı ve özelleşmiş bir süreçle gerçekleştiği görülmektedir.

On dokuzuncu yüzyılda modernleşme süreci açısından, Çin'in Qing hükümetinin (1644-1912) Batı'dan teknoloji öğrenmenin önemini kavramalarına sebep olan bazı dönüm noktaları meydana geldi. Bu olaylar, Çin'in büyük zorluklarla yüzleşmesine neden oldu. Bu olaylar arasında en önemlilerinden biri, Birinci Afyon Savaşı'ndaki (1839-1842) yenilgi ve ardından gelen Nanjing Antlaşması'dır (南京条约, 1842). Bu antlaşma, Çin'i beş ticaret limanını (Şanghai, Ningbo, Xiamen, Fuzhou ve Guangzhou) yabancılara açmaya ve Hong Kong'u İngiltere'ye devretmeye zorladı. İkinci Afyon Savaşı (1856-1860), Çin'in Tianjin Antlaşması'nı (1858) ve Pekin Konvansiyonu'nu (北京条约, 1860) imzalayarak Çin'e ek eşitsiz antlaşmalar dayatmasına neden oldu. Aynı zamanda, Qing hükümeti iç sorunlarla da başa çıkmaya çalıştı. Bunlar arasında en zor olanı, Batılı ve bölgesel güçlerin yardımıyla bastırılan Taiping Ayaklanması (太平天国运动, 1850-1864) idi.

On dokuzuncu yüzyılda meydana gelen bu olaylar, Çin'in modernleşme dönemlerinden birinin başlattı. Qing Hanedanlığı (1644-1911) döneminde çeşitli modernleşme süreçleri yaşanmıştır. Bu süreçlerin ilki, Tongzhi Restorasyonu (同治中兴, 1862-1874) olup, Tongzhi İmparatoru döneminde gerçekleşmiştir. Bu dönemde, Prens Gong (Yi Xin) ve Wenxiang gibi figürler önemli roller üstlenmiş ve hanedanın gücünü yeniden sağlamayı amaçlamışlardır. Prens Gong ve Wenxiang, Batı ile diplomatik ilişkileri geliştirmeye çalıştı. Bu dönemdeki diğer önemli bir modernleşme çabası ise 1895 yılına kadar süren Kendini Güçlendirme Hareketi'dir (自强运动). "Çin öğrenimi öz, Batı öğrenimi fayda içindir" (中学为体、西学为用) ilkesi benimsenmiş ve Batı'nın bilim ve teknolojisinden faydalanarak ülkeyi güçlendirmek hedeflenmiştir. Kendini Güçlendirme Hareketi, askeri ve teknolojik modernleşmeye odaklanmıştır. Taiping Ayaklanması'nı bastırmak için yardım istenen, Qing ordusundan bağımsız bölgesel askeri güçlere sahip Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang ve Zuo Zongtang gibi önemli figürler bu hareketin ana aktörleri haline

gelmiştir. Bu figürler Çin'i Batı'nın askeri teknolojileri ve endüstriyel bilgilerini edinerek güçlendirmeyi hedeflemişlerdir.

Ancak, 1894-1895 yılları arasındaki Birinci Çin-Japon Savaşı'nda alınan yenilgi, bu reformların yetersizliğini ortaya çıkardı. Bu yenilginin ardından Kang Youwei ve Liang Qichao gibi reformistler, Japonya'nın modernleşmedeki başarılarına işaret ederek daha kapsamlı reform çağrısında bulundular. Guangxu İmparatoru'nun desteğiyle, 1898'de Yüz Gün Reformları (百日变法) olarak bilinen süreç başladı. Kang Youwei ve Liang Qichao gibi reformistler, sadece öz-fayda (ti-yong) ayrımını korumakla kalmayıp, birçok Batı değerinin Çin geleneğine yalnızca bir ekleme olarak değil, aynı zamanda bu geleneğin içine entegre edilmesi gerektiğini savundular. Bu reformlar, muhafazakar saray mensupları ve İmparatoriçe Cixi'nin karşı çıkması nedeniyle sadece yüz gün sürebildi.

Bu reformların başarısızlığı, Çin halkı arasında Batı karşıtı bir duyarlılığın yükselmesine yol açtı ve nihayetinde 1900'de Boxer Ayaklanması'na (义和团运动) sebep oldu. Bu ayaklanma, yabancı güçlere karşı bir tepki olarak ortaya çıktı. Sonrasında, 1901'den 1911'e kadar olan dönemde, Yeni Qing Reformları olarak bilinen modernleşme reformları başlatıldı. Bu reformlar, Çin'i anayasal yönetime doğru taşımayı amaçlarken, aynı zamanda modern eğitim ve idari sistemleri geliştirmeyi hedefliyordu. Bu reformların önemli bir bileşeni, uzun süredir imparatorluk bürokrasisinin temeli olan geleneksel devlet memurluğu sınav sisteminin kaldırılmasıydı. Eğitim sistemi ve idari yapıdaki bu köklü değişiklikler, Çin'in daha çağdaş bir yönetim biçimine hazırlanması ve küresel devletçilik ve eğitim eğilimlerine uyum sağlaması amacını taşıyordu. Boxer Ayaklanması'nın ardından 1900'de başlatılan bu reform çabalarına rağmen, köylü ayaklanmaları ve devrimci olaylar sonucunda hanedan sona ermiş ve 1912'de Çin Cumhuriyeti kurulmuştur.

Tezin odaklandığı tarihsel süreç içerisinde bahsedilen modernleşme dönemi Tongzhi ve Kendini Güçlendirme Hareketidir. Dolayısıyla tez boyunca Çin'in modernleşme süreci ile ilgili yapılan yorumlar bu dönemler özelindedir.

Çin'de Eğitimin Modernleşmesi

Çin'de geleneksel eğitim sistemi, Konfüçyüs ilkeleri doğrultusunda "Beş Klasik" ve "Dört Kitap" gibi metinlere dayanıyordu ve imparatorluk sınavlarıyla devlet memuru yetiştirilmesine odaklanıyordu. Ancak 19. yüzyılda, hızla değişen dünya şartlarına uyum sağlamak isteyen reformcular, bu sınav sisteminin modern ihtiyaçlara cevap vermekte yetersiz olduğunu fark ettiler. Matematik, bilim ve yabancı diller gibi konuları da içeren bir müfredat için reform çabaları başlatıldı, ancak muhafazakâr bürokratların direnci bu süreçte zorluk yarattı. İmparatorluk sınav sistemi ancak 1905'te kaldırıldı.

Modernleşme sürecinde, Çin'de misyoner okulları ve hükümet destekli dil okulları olmak üzere iki ana eğitim türü öne çıktı. Misyoner okulları, Hristiyanlıkla birlikte Batı bilgisini öğretirken, hükümet okulları ise diploması ve yabancı dil becerilerini geliştirmeyi hedefliyordu. 1842 Nanjing Antlaşması ve 1858 Tianjin Antlaşması gibi anlaşmalar, Çin'de misyoner faaliyetlerinin yayılmasına olanak tanıdı. Misyonerler, okullar açarak Batı bilim ve dil eğitimini Çin'de aktif hale getirdiler ve aynı zamanda basımevleri kurarak Batı bilimine dair kitaplar yayınladılar.

Çin'deki Misyoner Okulları ve Devlet Okulları

Misyoner Okulları: Çin'in Batı ile ilişkiler kurduğu 18. yüzyıl sonlarından itibaren, Hristiyan misyonerler Çin topluluklarına yönelik ilk okulları Malezya'da açmıştır. Örneğin, 1818'de Malakka'da ve 1834'te Makao'da kurulan Morrison Education Society School (英华书院), 1842'de Hong Kong'a taşınarak Çin'deki en önemli misyoner okullarından biri olmuştur. Bu okullar başlangıçta temel düzeyde eğitim verip az sayıda öğrenci kabul etmiştir. Batı kültürünü Çin toplumuna tanıtan misyoner okulları, din eğitiminin yanı sıra matematik, astronomi, dil eğitimi gibi alanlarda eğitim sunmuştur.

Misyoner okulları, özellikle düşük gelirli ailelerin çocuklarına ücretsiz eğitim sunduğu için, mezunlar genellikle toplumun alt sınıflarındandı. Bu öğrenciler arasında Hristiyanlığı benimseyenler de bulunmaktaydı. Ancak sosyal kökenleri ve dini inançları nedeniyle Qing hükümeti, bu okullardan mezun olan Çinli öğrencileri

yabancı tercümanlar yerine istihdam etme konusunda temkinli davranmıştır. Misyoner okulları ayrıca kız öğrencilerin eğitimine olanak tanıdığı için toplumdan eleştiri almıştır.

Devlet Okulları: 19. yüzyılda Batı ile artan ilişkiler doğrultusunda, Çin'de Batı dillerini ve kültürünü öğrenebilecek diplomat ve uzmanlara ihtiyaç duyulmuştur. Bu amaçla Zongli Yamen (总理衙门) ve Tongwen Guan (同文馆) gibi kurumlar kurulmuştur. Özellikle Tongwen Guan, 1862'de bir dil okulu olarak kurulmuş ancak zamanla astronomi, matematik, kimya gibi Batı bilimlerini de öğretmeye başlamıştır. Okul, modern Çin eğitiminde Batı tarzında kurulan ilk hükümet okulu olarak kabul edilir.

Qing hükümetinin modernleşme çabalarının bir parçası olarak Feng Guifen (冯桂芬) ve Li Hongzhang (李鸿章) gibi devlet adamlarının önerileriyle Şanghay ve Kanton'da Batı dillerini öğreten okullar açılmıştır. Bu okulların amacı, devletin savunma sanayisini geliştirmek için Batı teknolojilerinden faydalanmaktır. Li Hongzhang'ın desteklediği Tianjin Askeri Akademisi (直隶船政学堂) gibi okullar modern askeri eğitim sunmuş; ayrıca Jiangnan İmalat Bürosu (江南制造总局) gibi kuruluşlarla Çin'in askeri kapasitesini artırmayı hedeflemiştir.

Qing dönemi Çin'inde modern eğitim alanında yapılan bu yenilikçi adımlar, Batı dillerini bilen yetkin diplomatlar yetiştirmek, teknolojik ve askeri kapasiteyi güçlendirmek amacı taşımıştır. Özellikle Tongwen Guan gibi dil okulları, Batı bilimlerinin ve dillerinin öğrenilmesine olanak sağlayarak Çin'in Batı ile olan diplomatik ve teknolojik ilişkilerini geliştirmede önemli rol oynamıştır.

Doğudan Batıya: Çinli Öğrencilerin İlk Yurtdışı Serüveni

Tezin konusu olan Çin Eğitim Misyonu'ndan (CEM) önce Çinli öğrenciler devlet kanalları, kendi imkânları veya misyoner girişimleri aracılığıyla yurt dışına gitme fırsatı bulmuştur.

Misyonerler tarafından desteklenen öğrencilerden Kong Chai Weng ve Chu Kiung Tong, Bishop Boone ile New York'a gittiler. Yung Kuing Yen ve Yang He Ting de dahil olmak üzere birkaç öğrenci 1854-1857 yılları arasında New York'a gönderildi. Bu öğrenciler vaftiz edildi ve döndüklerinde misyoner olarak görev aldılar.

Wu Ting-fang (伍廷芳) (1842-1922) gibi kendi imkanlarıyla giden bağımsız öğrencilerden bazıları da yurt dışında eğitim aldı. Bir tüccarın oğlu olan Wu Ting-fang, hukuk eğitimi almak için Londra'ya gitti. Aynı şekilde, Gu Hongming (辜鸿铭) (1856-1927) İskoçya, Berlin ve Paris'te eğitim alan tanınmış öğrencilerden biriydi.

Devlet tarafından sağlanan fırsatlara gelince, ilki Binchun Misyonu (斌椿使团 Bin Chun shi tuan) olarak adlandırılan ve 1866 yılında gerçekleşen bir misyondur. İngiliz diplomat ve Çin Gümrük İdaresi başkanı Robert Hart'ın önerisiyle Tongwen Guan'dan öğrenciler seçilmiş ve memleketine yaptığı ziyarette Robert Hart'a eşlik etmişlerdir. Qing hükümeti, Batı ülkelerini ziyaret eden bir öğrenci grubunu yönetmesi için Sekiz Sancak (Bannerman) kökenli bir yetkili olan Bin Chun (斌椿) (1804-1871) ve oğlu Guang Ying'i (廣英) atadı. Bu ziyarete çevirmen olarak katılan öğrenciler arasında Feng Yi (凤仪), Zhang Deyi (张德彝) ve Yan Hui (彦慧) vardı. Heyet İngiltere, Fransa, Hollanda, Prusya ve Danimarka dahil olmak üzere on bir ülkeyi ziyaret etti. Ziyaret sonrası, Bin Chun deneyimlerini "Salla Yolculuk Güncesi" (《乘槎笔记》) adlı eserinde, Zhang Deyi ise seyahatini "Deniz Yolculuğu Anıları" (《航海述奇》) adlı eserinde kaleme aldı.

Binchun misyonuna katılan bazı öğrenciler, 1868 ile 1870 yılları arasında Amerika ve Avrupa'yı gezen Burlingame misyonunun da bir parçası oldular. İki öğrenci de 1870-1871 yılları arasında Fransa'ya giden Chonghou (崇厚) misyonuna katıldı. Misyonerlerin gönderdiği öğrenciler ve hükümetin gönderdiği öğrenciler arasındaki temel fark, misyonerlerin öğrencilere eğitim alma amacıyla yurt dışına göndermesi iken hükümetin böyle bir amacının olmamasıydı. Qing hükümetinin temel amacı öğrencilerin Batı dünyasını gözlemlemesiydi.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, geleneksel tarıma dayalı çok etnikli bir imparatorluk olarak 19. yüzyıla kadar gelişmişti. 19. yüzyılda iç ve dış sorunlar nedeniyle askeri ve ekonomik açıdan Batı'nın gücüyle yüzleşmek zorunda kalmıştır. İç isyanlar ve dış savaşlar ile anlaşmalar sonucunda yaşanan toprak kayıpları, zorluklar yaratmıştır. Bu nedenle Osmanlı yöneticileri ve aydınları, öncelikli olarak askeri alanda olmakla birlikte modernleşme sürecini başlatmışlardır. Tanzimat Fermanı (1839) ve Islahat Fermanı (1856) aracılığıyla reform hareketleri başlatılarak modern bir devlet yapısı oluşturulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Öğrenci Gönderme Politikaları

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Batı tarzı eğitim almak için öğrenci gönderme fikri, ilk olarak Sultan II. Mahmud döneminde (1808-1839) ortaya çıktı. Bu öğrenciler, başta askeri alan olmak üzere çeşitli alanlarda Batı bilgisine erişmeleri için gönderildiler. Osmanlı hükümeti, bu öğrencilerin Avrupa'daki bilimsel ve teknik gelişmeleri öğrenerek geri dönmelerini ve imparatorluğun modernleşme sürecine katkıda bulunmalarını bekliyordu. Bu öğrenciler, Batı'daki teknolojiyi ve yeni bilgi sistemlerini Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na taşımak amacıyla seçilmişlerdi.

İlk olarak, 1830 yılında beş öğrenci Londra'ya askeri eğitim için gönderildi ve daha sonra bunu farklı ülkelerde eğitim görmek için gönderilen diğer gruplar izledi. Bu süreçte Fransa, Almanya, Avusturya ve İngiltere gibi ülkeler popüler eğitim destinasyonlarıydı. 19. yüzyıl boyunca bu öğrencilerin çoğu askeri ve mühendislik alanlarında eğitim aldı; ancak zamanla hukuk, tıp ve yönetim gibi sivil alanlarda da öğrenci gönderilmeye başlandı.

Bu öğrencilerin yurt dışında karşılaştıkları kültürel ortam ve uyum sorunları oldukça dikkat çekiciydi. Bu dönemde Batı'nın bilim ve teknoloji konusundaki üstünlüğü kabul edilirken, toplumsal ve ahlaki değerlerinin Osmanlı toplumuyla uyumlu olmadığı görüşü de hâkimdi. Yine de bu öğrenciler, Osmanlı'nın modernleşme çabalarının temel taşı olarak önemli roller üstlendiler.

BÖLÜM III

Sınırları Aşmak: Öğrencilerin Yurtdışına Gönderimi

Çin Eğitim Misyonu'ndan Önce: İlk Öğrenciler Yurtdışında

Batılı ülkelerde Batı bilgisini edinmek amacıyla öğrenci ve personel gönderme önerileri yapılsa da ekonomik kısıtlamalar ve sınırlı bağlantılar gibi pratik zorluklar bu önerilerin uygulanmasını zorlaştırmıştır. Bununla birlikte hem misyonerler hem de Çin hükümeti birkaç öğrenciyi yurtdışına göndermiştir. Hükümetin temel amacı, bu öğrencileri Batı'daki ilerlemeleri gözlemlemek için göndermekken, misyonerler daha geniş eğitim fırsatları sağlamayı amaçlamıştır. Misyonerler tarafından gönderilen dikkate değer bir öğrenci Yung Wing, Çinde bilinen adıyla Rong Hong (容闈) (1828-1912) olup, daha sonra Çin Eğitim Misyonu'nu (CEM) öneren kişidir.

Yung Wing, bir Batı (Amerikan) üniversitesinden mezun olan ilk Çinli kişidir. Yung Wing'den önce, 19. yüzyılın başlarında beş Çinli kişi, 1818 ile 1825 yılları arasında Connecticut, Cornwall'daki bir yabancı misyon okuluna katılmıştır. Bu beş kişi Wong Arce, Ah Lan, Ah Lum, Chop Ah See ve Lieaou Ah-See'dir. Lieaou Ah-See daha sonra William Botelho ismini benimsemiş ve Amerika'daki ilk Çinli Protestan dönüştürücü olarak kaydedilmiştir. Ah Lum ise Zongli Yamen'de çevirmen olmuştur.

Diğer bir örnek ise Zeng Laishun (曾来顺) (1826? -1895) olarak bilinen Zeng Lansheng (曾兰生) olup, geç 19. yüzyılda yurt dışında eğitimde ve kendini güçlendirme hareketinde öncü bir rol oynamıştır. Zeng, 1843 yılında Yung Wing'den dört yıl önce Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne gelmiş ve Hamilton College'da kısa bir süre eğitim almış, ancak mali zorluklar nedeniyle eğitimini tamamlayamamıştır. Daha sonra, Çin Eğitim Misyonu'na katılmış ve hazırlık okulunda İngilizce

öğretmeni olarak görev almıştır. Ayrıca, Zeng Laishun, CEM öğrencileri ile birlikte bir çevirmen olarak Amerika'ya gitmiştir.

Köprü Kurucu: Yung Wing ve Sino-Amerikan Eğitimi

Yung Wing, Çin ile Amerika Birleşik Devletleri arasındaki eğitim programını kolaylaştırmada kritik bir rol oynamıştır. Yung Wing, bir Amerikan üniversitesinden mezun olan ilk Çinli olup, modern eğitimi Çin'de teşvik etmek amacıyla Çin Eğitim Misyonu'nu (CEM) başlatmıştır. "My Life in China and America" adlı otobiyografisini yazmış ve burada bir akademisyen ve diplomat olarak deneyimlerini aktarmıştır.

Yung Wing'in otobiyografisi, 1830'larda Hristiyan misyonerlerin rehberliğinde Çin'de Batı eğitimini detaylandırmaktadır. Yedi yaşındayken Mrs. Gutzlaff'ın misyoner okuluna gitmeye başlamıştır. Yung Wing'in Batı eğitimiyle ilk karşılaşması, onun modern eğitimi teşvik etme rolünü etkilemiştir. 1839 yılında Mrs. Gutzlaff'ın okulu kapatıldığında, Yung Wing köyüne geri dönerek "Çin çalışmalarına" (中学) devam etmek zorunda kalmıştır.

Sino-Britanya Afyon Savaşı 1840 yılında patlak verdiğinde, Yung Wing'in Mrs. Gutzlaff'ın okulundaki eğitimi sayesinde kazandığı İngilizce bilgisi değerli bir avantaj haline geldi. Sonuç olarak, Katolik bir papazın yardımcısı olarak iş bulmuş ve bu durum önemli bir fırsat sağlamıştır. Okul kapandıktan sonra, Yung Wing'in Amerika'ya gitmeden önce Mrs. Gutzlaff, Dr. Benjamin Hobson'ı, yeni kurulan Morrison Eğitim Derneği Okulu'na kaydetmesi için istekte bulunmuştur. Yung Wing'in ailesi, alışılmadık eğitimi için başlangıçta tereddüt etse de, kabul etmiştir.

Morrison Eğitim Derneği Okulu 1839 yılında kurulmuş ve Amerikalı misyoner Rev. Samuel Robbins Brown (1810–1880) tarafından yönetilmiştir. Yung Wing, 1841 yılında okula kaydolduğunda, beş başka çocuğun daha kaydı yapılmıştı: Wong Shing, Li Kan, Chow Wan, Tong Chik ve Wong Foon. 1847 yılında, Mr. Brown sağlık sorunları nedeniyle Amerika'ya geri dönmeye karar verdi ve üç öğrenciyi yanına

olarak eğitimlerini tamamlamalarını önerdi. Yung Wing, Wong Foon ve Wong Shing ile birlikte bu fırsatı değerlendiren ilk gönüllü olmuştur.

Bu öğrenciler arasında Wong Foon (Huang Kuan 黃寬) (1829–78), Edinburgh Üniversitesi'nde tıp okumuş ve Batı tıbbında diploma alan ilk Çinli kişi olma unvanını kazanmıştır. Wong Shing (Huang Sheng 黃勝) (ö. 1902), yirmi yıl boyunca Londra Misyoner Cemiyeti baskısının yönetici yardımcısı olarak çeşitli görevlerde bulunmuş, daha sonra Wang Tao ile birlikte Universal Circulating Herald (《循環日報》) adlı günlük Çin gazetesini kurmuştur. Çin Eğitim Misyonu'nun (CEM) ikinci grubuna liderlik etmiş ve Washington'daki Çin legasyonu için çevirmenlik yapmıştır. Nihayetinde Yung Wing, 1854 yılında Yale Üniversitesi'nden mezun olup, Çin'e dönmüştür.

Rev. Samuel Robbins Brown'ın yardımıyla, Yung Wing 1847 yılında Amerika'da eğitimine devam etmek için Çin'den ayrılmış ve 1854 yılına kadar orada kalmıştır. Amerika'da bulunduğu süre zarfında Batıların dili ve yaşam tarzını benimsemiştir. Dönüşünde, özellikle de memleketinde konuşulan Kanton lehçesini unuttuğu için, Çince çalışmak zorunda kalmıştır. Dil sorunları ve aldığı Batı eğitimine yeterince değer verilmemesi nedeniyle iş bulmada zorluk çekmiştir. Ayrıca, yeterli Konfüçyanist eğitiminin olmaması da iş bulmasında önemli bir eksiklik olmuştur. Bu sırada Çin, hala Batı uygulamalarını kabul etme konusunda sıkıntılar yaşamaktaydı.

Yung Wing, otobiyografisinde şöyle demektedir:

'... Ben, özgür bir eğitimin konvansiyonel standart ve fikrine ulaşmıştım. Dolayısıyla, kendimi eğitilmiş bir adam olarak adlandırabiliyor ve bu sıfatla kendime "Eğitimimle ne yapacağım?" sorusunu sormam gerektiğini düşünüyordum. Kolejinin son yılının kapanmasından önce, ne yapacağımı zaten tasarlamıştım. Çin'in yükselen neslinin benim gibi eğitim avantajlarına sahip olmasını sağlamayı ve Batı eğitimi aracılığıyla Çin'in yenilenip, aydınlanıp güçlü hale gelmesini amaçlıyordum.'

Onun vurguladığı gibi, eğitiminde edindiği özgürlük, onu sadece kişisel değil, aynı zamanda toplumsal sorumluluk taşıyan bir birey haline getirmiştir. Eğitiminin içsel başarısını ve gelecek nesillerin eğitime katkıda bulunma arzusunu belirgin bir şekilde ifade etmiştir. Yung Wing, ABD dönüşünde, Batı eğitimi için mükemmel bir örnek olmayı hedeflemiş ve bu, onu CEM'nin öncüsü yapmıştır.

Yung Wing'in önerisi, Çin hükümeti tarafından geniş çapta kabul görmüş ve 1872'de ilk grup öğrenci yurtdışına gönderilmiştir. Yung Wing ve diğerlerinin, ülkenin modernleşme sürecine önemli katkılarda bulunduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Öğrenci Gönderim Süreçleri

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda, yurt dışına öğrenci gönderme süreci, devletin modernleşme çabalarının önemli bir parçası olmuştur. 1830'lu yılların başlarından itibaren, özellikle de II. Mahmud döneminde, Osmanlı yönetimi, Batı eğitimi ve kültürü ile tanışmak amacıyla genç nesilleri yurtdışına göndermeye başlamıştır. Bu öğrencilerin çoğu, askeri ve sivil bürokraside görev alacak kişiler olarak seçilmiştir. Bu süreç, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Batılı güçlerle rekabet edebilmek için ihtiyaç duyduğu modernleşme çabalarının bir parçası olarak öne çıkmıştır.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Batı ile olan ilişkileri, öğrenci gönderme politikalarının şekillenmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Batılı ülkelerin askeri ve ekonomik güçleri, Osmanlı yönetimini modern eğitim sistemleri kurmaya ve yurt dışına öğrenci göndermeye teşvik etmiştir. Öğrenciler, özellikle Fransa, Almanya ve İngiltere gibi Batılı ülkelerde eğitim almış, edindikleri bilgileri ve deneyimleri ülkeye geri getirerek modernleşme sürecine katkıda bulunmuşlardır.

Osmanlı yönetimi, yurt dışına gönderilen öğrencilere eğitimleri sırasında maddi destek sağlamış, aynı zamanda dönüşlerinde devlet bürokrasisinde görev alacaklarına dair taahhütlerde bulunmuştur. Öğrenci gönderme süreci, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun sosyal yapısını da etkilemiştir. Yurtdışında eğitim alan gençler, yeni fikirler ve dünya görüşleri ile donanmış olarak dönmüşlerdir. Bu durum, Osmanlı toplumu içinde modernleşme ve reform hareketlerine zemin hazırlamıştır.

Öğrencilerin yurtdışındaki deneyimleri, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki sosyal, kültürel ve politik değişimlerin temel dinamiklerinden biri haline gelmiştir.

Osmanlı ve Çin: Öğrenci Gönderim Politikalarında Paralellikler

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Çin, modernleşme süreçlerinde yurt dışına öğrenci gönderme politikalarını benimsemişlerdir. Her iki imparatorluk da Batı ile rekabet edebilmek için genç nesilleri yurtdışında eğitim almaya teşvik etmiştir. Ancak, bu iki imparatorluk arasındaki farklılıklar, öğrenci gönderme süreçlerinin etkilerini belirlemiştir.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda, öğrenci gönderme politikaları devletin kontrolünde ve planlı bir şekilde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Devlet, yurtdışında eğitim alan gençlerin geri dönmelerini ve edindikleri bilgileri ülkeye kazandırmalarını teşvik etmiştir. Bu süreç, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun modernleşme çabalarını desteklemiş ve devlet bürokrasisinin yenilenmesine katkıda bulunmuştur.

Çin ise, yurt dışına öğrenci gönderme sürecinde daha karmaşık bir yapı sergilemiştir. Yung Wing gibi öncüler, Batı eğitimi için büyük çaba sarf etmişlerdir. Ancak öğrencilerin Batı'daki deneyimleri, dönüşte kendilerine sunulan fırsatlarla uyumsuzluk yaratmış ve bu durum, toplumda bir memnuniyetsizlik duygusu doğurmuştur.

Bu iki imparatorluk arasındaki bu farklılıklar, modernleşme süreçlerinin karmaşıklığını ortaya koymaktadır. Öğrenci gönderme politikaları, her iki imparatorluğun da Batı ile olan ilişkilerini şekillendirmiş, sosyal yapılarında önemli değişiklikler yaratmıştır. Ancak, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun öğrenci gönderme sürecindeki sistematik yaklaşımı, Çin'in karşılaştığı zorluklarla kıyaslandığında daha başarılı bir modernleşme süreci ortaya koymuştur.

CEM Öğrencilerinin Kaydı ve Gönderilişi

Qing sarayına yazdıkları dilekçede, Zeng Guofan ve Li Hongzhang, öğrencilerin Batı'ya, özellikle de Amerika'ya gönderilmesinin önemini vurgulamışlardır. Bu

kararda önemli bir faktör olarak Burlingame Antlaşması'na dikkat çekilmiştir. Ayrıca, Yung Wing'in Amerika'ya aşına olması, burayı bir destinasyon olarak seçmelerinin başka bir belirgin sebebiydi. Dilekçede, iki önemli zorluktan bahsedilmiştir; yetenekli öğrencileri seçmek ve finansman sağlamak. Bu zorlukları aşmak için öneriler de sunulmuştur. Örneğin, 120 öğrenciyi bir arada göndermek yerine, öğrenciler 30 kişilik dört gruba ayrıldı.

Plan, 12 ve 15 yaşındaki çocukları seçilip 15 yıl Batıda eğitim aldıktan sonra Çin'e dönmeleri idi. Ülkelerine döndüklerinde yaklaşık 30 yaşında olacaklardı ki bu da etkinliklerinin zirve noktası olarak kabul ediliyordu, bu sayede önemli başarılar elde edebileceklerdi. Öğrencilerin seçimi için Şanghay'da zeki çocukları ziyaret edip seçmek amacıyla bir büro kurulması planlandı. Dilekçe ayrıca Ningbo (宁波), Guangdong (广东) ve Fujian (福建) gibi kıyı kasabalarından daha önce yurt dışına çıkıp diller öğrendiklerini belirtti. Ancak, bu kişilerin birincil amacı ticari faaliyetlerde bulunmak olduğu için, dil becerileri esas olarak bu alanla sınırlıydı. Bu nedenle zaman ve finansman kaybını önlemek için, devlet destekli öğrencilerin seçim sürecinin büyük bir titizlikle yürütülmesi gerekiyordu. Seçilen öğrencilerin, farklı akademik alanlarda uzmanlar ve komisyon üyeleri tarafından rehberlik edilmesi kararlaştırıldı.

Öğrenci seçimi için, devlet destekli eğitim programı hakkında haber yaymak zor bir süreçti. Ayrıca, haberi alan birçok kişi endişeliydi. Yerel yaşlılar, çocukların CEM'e kaydolmalarını engellemek için korkutucu hikayeler anlattılar. Bir erkek öğrenci, yaşlılardan duyduğu bazı söylentileri şu şekilde hatırladı: "Oradaki [Amerika] vahşi adamlar bizi canlı canlı derimizi yüzüp bizi sıradan bir hayvan gibi sergileyecekler." Ayrıca, yurt dışında eğitim almak, yerleşik saygı kavramlarıyla çelişiyordu. Konfüçyüs, birinin ebeveynleri hayattayken uzak yerlere seyahat etmemesi gerektiğini tavsiye ediyordu.

Ancak, tüm Çinli ebeveynlerin bu habere aynı şekilde tepki vermediği de belirtilmelidir. Özellikle güney kıyısından gelen ebeveynler arasında, ülke içindeki diğer bölgelere göre daha fazla ilgi gözlemlendi; bu ebeveynler, yabancılarla daha sık etkileşimde bulunuyorlardı. Ayrıca, seçildikleri takdirde tüm CEM öğrencileri,

eđitimi elit sınıfa dahil olacakları için, hükümette istihdam edilmeyen ailelerin çocuklarını göndermeye teşvik edildiler.

Bu arada, farklı etnik gruplardan temsilciler içeren bir hükümet olarak, öğrencilerin hangi sosyal gruptan seçileceđi sorunu da vardı. Öğrenci kabul kuralları, Mançulara veya Hanlara karşı ayrımcılığı yasaklıyordu. Ancak, CEM öğrencilerinin hiçbiri Mançu değildi. E.J.M. Rhoads'ın dikkat çektiđi gibi, nüfusun küçük bir kısmı olmasına rağmen, Mançular, özellikle yabancı dil eğitimi alanında, Kendini Güçlendirme Hareketi üzerinde anlamlı ama sıklıkla göz ardı edilen bir etkiye sahipti. Örneđin, Pekin'deki tercüman okulları (Tongwen Guan) ve Guangzhou, esas olarak Mançu öğrencileri kabul ediyordu, özellikle de Sekiz Sancak'tan gelenleri. 1868-70 yıllarında Burlingame misyonuna katılan tüm altı öğrenci Mançuydu. Ayrıca, önceki bölümde de belirtildiđi gibi, Çin'in öncü diplomatlardan önemli bir kısmı Mançuydu. Ancak, bunların hiçbiri CEM'de yer almadı. 120 CEM (1872-1881) öğrencisi de Han Çinli etnisitesindedi.

CEM adaylarının sorumlu velilere sahip olmaları, sağlık kontrolünden geçmeleri ve Çince eğitiminde, hem okumada hem de yazmada yeterlilik göstermeleri gerekiyordu. Daha önce bir İngilizce okuluna gitmişlerse, ayrıca bir İngilizce sınavını da geçmeleri zorunluydu. Seçildiklerinde, tüm adayların her gün hazırlık okuluna devam etmeleri ve ABD'ye gitmeden önce en az bir yıl boyunca İngilizce eğitimlerini sürdürmeleri gerekiyordu. Ebeveynler ve veliler, erkek çocuklarının veya vârisi olan kişilerin Amerika'da en fazla on beş yıl boyunca eğitim almaları için anlaşmalarını doğrulamak zorundaydılar. Ayrıca, bu süre zarfında meydana gelebilecek kazalar veya ölümler için hükümetin sorumluluk almadığını kabul etmeleri gerekiyordu. Hükümet, tüm eğitim masraflarını karşılayacağını, öğrencileri Amerika'ya götürmek üzere onlara Çinli öğretmenler atayacağını ve uygun kıyafetler temin edeceğini taahhüt etti.

Dikkate değer bir nokta, öğrencilerin gönderilmesinden önce CEM için bir hazırlık okulunun bulunmasıydı. Hazırlık okulu, limanı ve bazı antlaşmaları sayesinde zaten yabancı bir nüfusa sahip olan Şanghai'daydı. Şanghai'a geldiklerinde, öğrenciler yabancı kültürü yakından deneyimleyerek şaşkınlık yaşamışlardır. 120 CEM öğrencisinden biri olan Li Enfu (李恩富 1861-1938, Lee Yan Phou olarak bilinir)

otobiyografisinde, yabancı kızların ve kadınların davranışlarından özellikle etkilendiğini belirtmiştir.

CEM'in hazırlık okulunda öğrenciler, Çince ve İngilizce dersleri aldılar. Birkaç yıl Çince eğitim geçmişine sahip olmaları gerekiyordu ve çoğu bu dersleri özel hocalardan almıştı. Öte yandan, bazı öğrencilerin temel İngilizce bilgileri olmasına rağmen, çoğu alfabeyi öğrenmekle başlamak zorundaydı. Batıda eğitim alan ilk Çinli öğrencilerden biri olan Zheng Laishun, CEM hazırlık okulunda İngilizce öğretmeniydi ve iki oğlu, Elijah Laishun (Zeng Pu 曾溥) ve Spencer Laishun (Zeng Dugong 曾笃恭) CEM öğrencileriydi. Oğulları, İngilizce bilgileri sayesinde CEM hazırlık okulunda babalarına yardım ediyorlardı. Bazı CEM öğrencileri, misyoner okullarına gittikleri için veya aile geçmişleri sayesinde temel İngilizce ve yabancı kültür bilgisine sahipti.

Aile geçmişinin de CEM öğrencisi olma üzerinde etkili olduğu görülüyor. CEM öğrencilerinin önemli bir kısmı birbirleriyle tanışık veya akrabaydılar. CEM'in tercümanları olarak görev yapan Yung Wing, Zeng Laishun ve Kuang Qizhao (鄺其照), akrabalarını CEM'e katılmaları için yönlendirdiler. Ayrıca, 120 çocuğun yaklaşık üçte biri kardeş veya kuzen olarak akrabaydı. Kuang Qizhao, ilk İngilizce sözlüğü "《华英字典集成》"yi derlemiştir. Rhoads'a göre bu sözlük muhtemelen hazırlık okulunda kullanıldı. Hazırlık okuluna katılan öğrenciler, Amerika'ya gitme uygunluklarını belirlemek için bir sınavdan geçtiler. Her öğrenci grubu, sınav sonuçlarına göre seçildi; bazıları dil becerilerini yeterince geliştiremediği için gidemedi.

Kendini güçlendirme yanlısı bürokratlar, yurt dışında eğitim alacak ideal öğrencilerin hem Batı eğitimine hem de Çin bilgisine sahip olması gerektiğine inanıyordu. Yabancı teknolojilerde, özellikle denizcilik, askeri ve madencilik yönetiminde yetkin olmalı ve aynı zamanda geleneksel Çin kültürü konusunda bilgi sahibi ve Qing Hanedanlığı'na sadık olmalıydılar. Bu hedef doğrultusunda, CEM'in destekçileri ve başlatıcıları Ding Richang ve Zeng Guofan, Chen Lanbin'i (陈兰彬) (1816-1895) önerdiler. Chen Lanbin, Hanlin Akademisi üyesi ve en yüksek düzeyde imparatorluk sınavına (Jinshi, 进士) girmiş bir akademisyendi. Chen Lanbin, Amerika'daki

Öğrenci Yurt Dışı Çalışmaları Bürosu'na (留美学生肄业局) atanmıştı ve Yung Wing'den üst bir rütbeye sahipti.

Çin Eğitim Misyonu (CEM) Öğrencileri Amerika'da

Başvuru için öğrencilerin belirli niteliklere sahip olması gerekiyordu; fiziksel engelli veya zayıf öğrenciler kabul edilmiyordu. Yurtdışına gitmeden önce, öğrencilerin Şangay Gümrük Ofisi'nde hükümete şükranlarını sunmaları şarttı. Amerika'ya vardıklarında, dil engelini aşmaları gerekiyordu. İngilizce sınavını geçen öğrenciler doğrudan okullara yerleşirken, sınavı geçemeyenlere özel dil eğitimi verildi. Dil eğitimi ve Amerikan yaşamına uyum için öğrencilere Amerikalı ailelerin yanında kalma imkânı sağlandı.

Amerikalı ailelerin yanında kalmaları, öğrencilerin İngilizce gelişimini desteklerken Çin eğitimlerini de sürdürmelerine olanak tanıdı. Ev sahibi aileler, öğrencilerin günlük ilerlemelerini komisyona raporluyordu. Connecticut Eğitim Komiseri Bay B. G. Northrop'un önerisiyle, her aileye iki veya dört öğrenci yerleştirildi. Ev sahibi ailelere haftalık 16 dolar ödeniyordu ve bu ödeme yemek, çamaşır, ısınma, aydınlatma ve özel dersleri kapsıyordu. Öğrencilerin kaldığı bölgeler, komisyon üyelerinin yakınında, ağırlıklı olarak Connecticut ve Massachusetts'teydi.

Bazı öğrenciler, ev sahibi ailelerin sağlık durumu, öğrencilerin uyumsuz davranışları veya akademik başarısızlıkları gibi nedenlerle başka ailelere taşınmak zorunda kaldı. Ayrıca bazı öğrenciler, ev sahibi ailelerle güçlü bağlar kurarak onlarla iletişimlerini sürdürdüler. Bazı öğrenciler ise, örneğin Zeng Laishun'un oğlu Spencer gibi, aileleri Amerika'da görev aldığı için kendi aileleriyle yaşadılar.

Qing hükümeti, çocukların Çin eğitimini ihmal etmemeleri konusunda hassastı ve bu nedenle ev sahibi ailelerden öğrencilerin Çin eğitimine devam etmelerini istedi. Çin eğitimi hem Çin dili ve kültürü hem de Konfüçyen eğitimi kapsamaktaydı. Ayrıca, öğrencilerin hijyen ve sağlık önlemlerine uymaları konusunda da talimat verildi.

CEM öğrencileri Amerikan kültürüne hızla uyum sağlasalar da, Qing hükümeti onların Batı kültürüne tamamen entegre olmalarını istemediği için bazı önlemler aldı.

CEM Öğrencilerinin Amerika'da Batı Eğitim ile Karşılığı

CEM öğrencilerinin Amerikan okullarına kaydı, öğrencilerin dil becerilerine bağlı olarak değişiklik gösterdi. Halihazırda yeterli İngilizce bilgisine sahip olan bazı öğrenciler, Amerikan okullarına diğerlerinden daha erken başlayabildi. Yung Wing'in yeğeni Rong Shangqin (容尚勤) ve Zeng Laishun'un oğulları Elijah (Zeng Pu 曾溥) ve Spencer (Zeng Dugong 曾篤恭), İngilizce bildikleri için ABD'ye gelmeden önce Amerikan okullarına daha erken kaydoldu. Diğer öğrenciler, aile yanında kalarak dil becerilerini geliştirme fırsatı buldular. Bu öğrencilerin, iki yıl içinde eğitimlerine İngilizce olarak devam edebilmeleri için gerekli yeterliliğe ulaşmaları gerekiyordu. Bazı öğrenciler hedeflenen seviyeye daha erken ulaşırken, bazıları belirlenen süreyi aşmıştır.

CEM öğrencileri, Connecticut ve Massachusetts'teki ailelerin yanında yaşadılar. New England bölgesindeki farklı ilçelerde ikamet ettiler, ancak ana şehir Hartford'du. CEM öğrencileri, özel ve devlet okullarına girme şansı buldular. Şehirdeki eğitim sistemi üç seviyeden oluşuyordu: ilk okullar (dört yıllık), orta okullar (beş yıllık) ve tek bir şehir çapında lise (dört yıllık). Ailelerin yanında kaldıkları süre boyunca, öğrenciler dil bilgisi ve çeşitli derslerde eğitim aldılar. Sonuç olarak, ilk okullara değil, daha çok ortaokullara kaydolmayı hedeflediler.

CEM öğrencileri hem özel hem de devlet okullarına gittiler. Kaydoldukları özel okullar Seaside Institute for Boys, the Gunnery, Wesleyan Academy, Monson Academy ve Springfield Collegiate Institute'di. Devlet okulları arasında Hartford'taki West Middle Public School, Wadsworth Street School (South Public School olarak da bilinir), Springfield'deki Hooker Street Grammar School ve Massachusetts'teki grammar school (ortaokul) yer alıyordu. 1874-1875 yıllarında, öğrenciler Hartford Public High School, Hillhouse High School ve Hartford High School gibi liselere kaydolmaya başladılar. İngilizce bilen ve eğitimlerine daha erken başlayan üç öğrenci dışında, 1874'ten sonra ortaokula başlayan 117 çocuktan 97'si

hakkında bilgi vardır. Yaklaşık 69 öğrenci devlet ortaokuluna, 38 öğrenci özel akademilere devam etti. 10 öğrenci ise her iki okul türüne de devam etti. Bu CEM öğrencileri on üç farklı devlet ortaokulu ve dört özel akademiye dağıldılar.

Ortaokullarda eğitim programı, heceleme, okuma, yazma, İngilizce dil bilgisi, coğrafya, aritmetik, cebir ve Amerikan tarihini içeriyordu. Ancak liseye girdiklerinde, klasik ya da İngilizce olmak üzere iki farklı eğitim programı seçmek zorundaydılar ve çoğu öğrenci klasik eğitimi seçti. Klasik eğitim, öğrencileri geleneksel liberal sanatlar kolejlerine hazırlamak için tasarlanmıştı. Dört yıl süren bu eğitimde, Latince edebiyat, Roma tarihi, Yunan edebiyatı ve tarihi, aritmetik ve geometri gibi matematik dersleri, İngilizce ve doğa felsefesi ile bilim konuları yer alıyordu.

CEM öğrencilerinin gideceği okullar, kaldıkları aileye göre belirlendi. Eğer buldukları kentsel merkezde bir ortaokul varsa ya da kırsal bölgelerde özel bir akademi bulunuyorsa, genellikle yakınlarındaki okula giderlerdi. Yerel okullara giden CEM öğrencileri ailelerin yanında kalırken, uzak okullara gitmek zorunda olanlar kendi konaklama, yemek ve çamaşır yıkama düzenlemelerini yapmak zorundaydılar.

CEM Öğrencilerinin Gözetimi

Yurt dışına gitmeden önce ve sonra Qing hükümeti, öğrencileri, yurt dışına seyahatin asıl amacının yabancı becerileri öğrenmek olduğunu ve kendi ülke kurallarını göz ardı etmemeleri gerektiği konusunda uyarılmıştır. Dolayısıyla, öğrencilerin yabancı becerileri gayretle öğrenmeleri ve bu becerileri kurallara uyumlu bir şekilde benimsemeleri bekleniyordu. CEM öğrencilerinin Çince dersleri de dahil olmak üzere bazı kurallara uymaları gerekiyordu. Bu dersler arasında Filial Piety (孝经), Primary School (小学), Beş Klasik (五经) ve Krallık ile Hanedanlığın Kanun ve Kuralları yer alıyordu. Öğrenciler, Guangxun'un Kutsal Fermanı'nı (圣谕广训) haftalık olarak dinlemeli ve belirli bir saatte Qing imparatoruna saygı göstermeliydi. Ayrıca kuyruklarını (saç örgüleri) korumaları, Konfüçyüs'e saygı gösterme adabına uymaları ve Konfüçyüs tabletine (牌位) ritüel selam vermeleri bekleniyordu. Qing hükümeti, bu uygulamaları denetlemek için ABD'de bir büro kurdu.

Çin Eğitim Komisyonu (CEC), Qing hükümeti tarafından Amerika'da kuruldu ve yurt dışı eğitim bürosu veya yurt dışı eğitim işlerinden sorumlu büro olarak da biliniyordu. CEC'in ana amacı, CEM öğrencilerinin eğitim ve gelişimini denetlemek, geleneksel Çin kültürü ve adabını korumak için geleneksel öğretim yöntemleriyle eğitim vermektir.

Osmanlı'nın Batı Eğitimiyle Karşılığıması

Başlangıçta yeni eğitim tarzı, kendi alanlarında uzman olan yabancı subay ve öğretmenlere dayanıyordu. Sonrasında, Osmanlı vatandaşları olan Müslüman Türklerin, yabancı uzmanların yerine geçmek ve ülkelerine hizmet etmek üzere kendilerini geliştirmeleri için yurtdışına gönderilmeleri fikri ortaya çıktı. Osmanlı Devleti, öğrencileri büyük gruplar yerine küçük gruplar halinde ve zamanla aşamalı olarak yurtdışına gönderdi.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Batı eğitimiyle temas, II. Mahmud döneminde (1830'lar) Avrupa'ya öğrenci gönderilmesiyle başladı. Başlangıçta az sayıda öğrenci askeri ve teknik eğitim almak üzere Fransa'ya gönderildi. Bu ilk girişimler, Osmanlı'nın modernleşme arayışlarında Batı'dan bilgi edinme isteğini yansıtır. Askeri alanda yetkinlik kazandırmak amacıyla yola çıkan Osmanlı, daha sonra genişleyen bir yelpazede öğrencilerini Batı'ya yolladı.

Yurtdışına öğrenci gönderme fikri I. Abdülhamid ve III. Selim dönemlerinde gündeme gelmiştir. Örneğin, III. Selim'in elçisi Ebubekir Râtib Efendi, Paris'te Osmanlı öğrencileri için bir okul kurulmasını önermişti. Ancak bu erken girişimler çoğunlukla gerçekleşmedi.

Mısır valisi Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa ise, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan önce Mısır'dan öğrencileri Batı'ya göndererek bir öncülük rolü üstlenmişti. Osmanlı Devleti, 1830 yılında Hüsrev Paşa'nın liderliğinde beş öğrenciyi Fransa'ya gönderdi ve bu öğrencilerden bazıları, Osmanlı devlet kademelerinde önemli pozisyonlara ulaştı.

Hüsrev Paşa'nın öğrencilerine yazdığı bir mektupta, onların Osmanlı gençliği için örnek teşkil edeceklerini ve Avrupalıların önyargılarını kırmaları gerektiğini belirtti. Osmanlı, Tanzimat döneminde artan modernleşme çabaları çerçevesinde yurtdışına daha fazla öğrenci göndererek Batı'nın bilim ve teknik bilgilerini öğrenmeye devam etti.

Mekteb-i Osmani ve Talebe-i Osmani'nin Paris'teki Eğitimi

Paris'e gelen Osmanlı öğrencileri Fransız okullarında eğitim almak için yeterince hazırlıklı değillerdi. Bu eksikliklerin giderilmesi amacıyla, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1857'de Paris'te Mekteb-i Osmani adlı okulu kurdu. Mekteb-i Osmani'nin amacı, öğrencileri Ecole Etat-Major, Faculté de Droit, Lycée Louis le Grand ve Ecole Militaire de St. Cyr gibi prestijli Fransız okullarına hazırlamaktı. Bu okulda öğrencilere Fransızca, tarih, coğrafya, matematik ve fen bilimleri dersleri verilmekteydi.

Mekteb-i Osmani'den önce Osmanlı öğrencileri, genellikle dil eksikliği nedeniyle doğrudan Fransız okullarına kabul edilmiyordu ve Paris'te çeşitli okullara gidiyorlardı. 1826'da Mehmet Ali Paşa tarafından kurulan Ecole Egyptienne de Paris ve 1844'te açılan Mısır Askeri Okulu da Osmanlı öğrencilerine eğitim sağladı.

Mekteb-i Osmani'nin kuruluşuyla Osmanlı öğrencileri bu merkezde toplandı. Okulun idaresi, öğrencilerin denetim ve akademik ilerlemesini sağlamak amacıyla Mehmed Cemil Bey (Paşa) liderliğinde bir komisyon tarafından yürütüldü. Binbaşı Ali Nizami Bey, okulun ilk müdürü olarak atandı.

Okulda öğrenciler iç ve dış öğrenciler olarak ikiye ayrılıyordu; iç öğrenciler Mekteb-i Osmani'de yatılı eğitim alırken, dış öğrenciler farklı Fransız okullarında eğitim alıyordu. Öğitmenler arasında Hoca Tahsin Efendi ve Selim Sabit Efendi gibi önemli isimler yer aldı. Tahsin ve Selim Sabit Efendi, Darülfünun için öğretmen olarak yetiştirilmek için Paris'e gönderilmişlerdi. Selim Sabit, Türkiye'nin ilk pedagojik eseri olan Rehnüma-i Muallimin adlı kitabı yazmış ve eğitim alanında önemli katkılarda bulunmuştur.

Ancak Mekteb-i Osmani, disiplin sorunları ve artan maliyetler nedeniyle 1864 yılında kapatılma kararıyla karşı karşıya kaldı. Okulun kapatılmasının ardından öğrenciler Paris'teki diğer okullara dağıtıldı ve Talebe-i Osmaniyye Müdürlüğü kurularak, yurt dışındaki öğrencilerin denetimi sağlandı. 1875 yılında Fransa ve Belçika'daki öğrencilerin geri çağrılmasıyla bu müdürlük de kapandı. 1890'ların sonlarına doğru, öğrenci başarısızlıkları, ahlaki bozulma ve mali israf gerekçesiyle yurt dışı eğitimi geçici olarak durduruldu; ancak 1897'de tekrar burs vermeye başlandı.

Yeni düzenlemelerle, yurt dışına gönderilecek öğrencilerin Mekteb-i Mülkiye, Hukuk Mektebi veya Galatasaray Sultanisi gibi okullardan mezun olması, 20-26 yaş arasında olması ve iyi bir sicile sahip olması gerekiyordu. Öğrencilere aylık harçlık ve mesafe göre yol masrafı sağlanarak, eğitim sonrasında devlet hizmetinde çalışma şartı getirildi.

Sonuç

Çin ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Batı eğitimi almak üzere öğrencileri yurt dışına göndererek benzer modernleşme çabalarına girişmişlerdir, ancak yaklaşımlarında ve uygulamalarında dikkat çekici farklılıklar yaşanmıştır.

Çin, resmi olarak öğrenci seçiminde belirli bir sınıf veya etnik grup belirtmemiş olmasına rağmen, seçilen 120 öğrencinin tamamı Han Çinlisiydi. Buna karşılık, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu etnik köken bakımından bir ayırım gözetmemiş ve Müslüman ve gayrimüslim öğrencileri programlarına dâhil etmiştir.

Yurt dışına gönderilen öğrencilerin yaşları ve eğitim seviyeleri de farklılık göstermektedir. Çin, 12 ile 15 yaşları arasındaki çocukları 15 yıllık bir eğitim süreci için seçerken, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu modern kurumlarda belirli bir eğitim seviyesini tamamlamış yirmili yaşlardaki öğrencileri göndermiştir. İstisnalar olmakla birlikte, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu tarafından gönderilen daha genç öğrencilerin sayısı nispeten azdır.

Yurt dışında eğitim almak için yapılan hazırlıklar da farklılık göstermiştir. Çinli öğrenciler Amerika'ya gitmeden önce Çin'de yeni kurulan okullarda dil eğitimi ve diğer hazırlık eğitimleri almışlardır. Amerika'ya vardıklarında ise, dil becerilerini geliştirmek amacıyla yerli ailelerin yanına yerleştirilmişlerdir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ise bu tür hazırlık okulları bulunmadığından, öğrenciler yabancı okullara devam etmekte zorluk yaşamışlardır. Fransa örneğinde, birçok öğrenci başlangıçta Paris'teki Mısır okullarına devam etmiş, Mekteb-i Osmani'nin kurulmasıyla birlikte bu okulda eğitim almışlardır.

Öğrencilerin yurt dışındaki barınma düzenlemeleri de farklılık göstermiştir. Çinli öğrenciler, dil becerilerini geliştirmek ve sosyal uyumu sağlamak için ev sahibi ailelerin yanında yaşamış ve grup halinde yaşamının yaratabileceği sorunlardan kaçınmışlardır. Osmanlı öğrencileri ise başlangıçta çeşitli pansiyonlar, yurtlar ve farklı konaklama yerlerine dağılmış olarak kalmışlardır. Fransa'da, Mekteb-i Osmani'nin varlığı süresince okul binasında birlikte yaşamışlar ve bu durum, aralarında anadillerini konuşmalarına yol açarak dil edinimlerini olumsuz etkilemiştir.

Her iki imparatorluk da öğrencilerine belirli düzenlemeler getirmiş ve gözetim sağlamıştır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu öğrencilerini Mekteb-i Osmani, Talebe-i Osmani ve elçilikler gibi kurumlar aracılığıyla takip ederken, Çin ev sahibi ailelerin raporları ve Çin Eğitim Komisyonu ile kontrol sağlamıştır. Asimilasyonu önlemek amacıyla Çin, öğrencilerin Konfüçyüs eğitimini içeren Çin eğitimine devam etmelerini zorunlu kılmış, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ise yurtdışına Türkçe ve İslam eğitimi vermek üzere öğretmenler göndermiştir.

Her iki imparatorluk da Batı etkisi karşısında modernleşme çabalarına girişmiş olsa da etnik kimlik, eğitim yapıları ve yurt dışı deneyimlerindeki farklılıklar bu süreçlerin sonuçlarını belirlemiştir. Nihayetinde, bu modernleşme yolculukları, her devletin modern dünyanın taleplerine toplum ve kültürel yapılarıyla nasıl uyum sağladığını anlamak için önemli örnekler sunmaktadır.

BÖLÜM IV

YURDA DÖNÜŞ

CEM Öğrencilerinin Dönüşü ve Hayal Kırıklığı

Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde liseyi bitiren CEM öğrencileri, başlangıçta vaat edilen Amerikan Askeri Akademisi ve Donanma Akademileri'ne kaydolamamanın hayal kırıklığıyla karşılaştılar. Bu durum, Li Hongzhang'ın ilk yurt dışı eğitim planından önemli bir sapmayı ifade etmektedir. 1878'de bazı Çinli öğrenciler Amerikan liselerinden mezun olurken, Yung Wing, bazı öğrencilerin West Point Askeri Akademisi ve Annapolis Donanma Akademisi'ne kabulü için ABD Dışişleri Bakanlığı'na bir mektup gönderdi. Yung Wing'in talebine yanıt olarak, ABD Dışişleri Bakanlığı, onun otobiyografisinde belirttiği gibi, son derece aşağılayıcı bir dil kullanarak bu talebi reddetti ve Çinli öğrenciler için hiçbir yer olmadığı iddiasında bulundu. ABD hükümetinin bu vaadi bozması, Li Hongzhang'ı son derece üzmüş ve gençlerin Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde eğitim planını gölgede bırakmıştır. Yung Wing, Çinli öğrencilerin reddedilmesi konusunda Li Hongzhang'ı bilgilendirdi. Li Hongzhang, bu reddi 1868 tarihli Burlingame Antlaşması'nın ihlali olarak değerlendirmiştir. Bu öğrencilerin Amerika'da askeri eğitim almalarını istemesi, Çin Eğitim Misyonu'nun sona ermesinde kritik bir rol oynamıştır. Çin, askeri akademilere üç yıl boyunca süren başarısız taleplerin ardından CEM'yi sonlandırmış ve öğrencileri yurda geri çağırmıştır.

Askeri akademilere kabul edilmemekle birlikte, öğrencilerin Batı kültürünü benimsemesi ve Hristiyanlık eğilimi de programın sona ermesinde etkili olmuştur. Komisyonların raporlarının yanı sıra, öğrencilerin mektupları da CEM öğrencilerinin Hristiyanlığa yönelme eğilimlerini göstermektedir. Öğrenciler, yanlarında kaldıkları ailelerle birlikte kiliselere gitmekteydiler. Ancak, Çin Eğitim Komisyonu kurallarına göre, ev sahibi ailelerin öğrencilere kiliselere gitme ve misyonerlik yapma izni yoktu.

Hristiyanlığa geçiş, Qing hükümeti tarafından büyük bir sorun olarak görülüyordu. 17 Aralık 1880'de Jiangnan Eyaletinin denetleyici sansürü Li Wenbin, mahkemeye sunduğu bir raporda gençlerin Hristiyanlığa geçişinden duyduğu endişeleri dile getirmiştir. Yurt dışında eğitim gören gençlerin Hristiyan olmalarının yasak olduğunu belirterek, Çin Eğitim Komisyonu'nun kaldırılmasını ve gençlerin Amerika'dan geri çağrılmasını talep etmiştir.

Öte yandan, Amerikan anti-Çin hareketi, bilinen Çin Dışlama Yasası, Çinli öğrencilerin Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ndeki deneyimlerini şekillendirmede belirleyici bir rol oynamıştır. Qing hükümeti, öğrencilerin yurt dışına gönderilmesini durdurmayı düşünürken, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ndeki anti-Çin duygusu yeni bir seviyeye ulaşmıştır. 19. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru, ekonomik rekabet, ırksal önyargı ve siyasi hareketlerin etkisiyle oluşan anti-Çin duyguları, 1882'de Çin Dışlama Yasası'nın çıkarılmasına yol açmıştır. Çinli göçmenler, öğrenciler de dahil olmak üzere, düşmanlık ve ayrımcılığa maruz kalmışlardır. Bu durum, Amerika'yı giderek daha az misafirperver bir ortam haline getirmiştir. Bu atmosfer, Qing hükümetinin öğrencileri yurt dışına göndermeyi yeniden değerlendirme kararını etkilemiştir. Buna yanıt olarak, Chen Lanbin ve Yung Wing, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve Japonya'daki bakanlar olarak, ABD Dışişleri Bakanlığı'na protestolar göndermişlerdir. Ne yazık ki, ABD hükümeti ve Kongresi bu protestoları dikkate almadığı gibi, Çin Dışlama Yasası'nı yürürlüğe koymuş ve Çinli göçmenlerin Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne girişini yasaklamıştır.

Genç Çinli öğrenciler, tanımadıkları yerel ailelerle birlikte yaşamış olsalar da bu aileler sadece günlük ihtiyaçlarına bakmakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda Amerikan yaşamına entegrasyonlarına yardımcı olmuşlardır. Uluslararası öğrenciler, Çin'e döndüklerinde bile ev sahibi aileleriyle bağlantılarını sürdürmüşlerdir ve aralarındaki dostluk, mesafe veya zamanla zayıflamamıştır. Aralarındaki mektuplaşmalar bu durumu kanıtlanmaktadır. Genç Çinliler, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde çeşitli spor etkinliklerine katılmakta idiler. O dönemde Çin'de tanınmayan beyzbol, futbol gibi oyunlarda aktif rol almışlardır. Yale Üniversitesi beyzbol takımının ünlü bir atıcısı olan Liang Dunyan ve Yale Üniversitesi kürek takımının coxswain'i olan Zhong Wenya gibi bireyler ortaya çıkmıştır.

CEM öğrencilerinin asimilasyonu, Qing yetkilileri arasında hoşnutsuzluk yaratmıştır. Denetleyici Chen Lanbin, öğrencilerle, okul dönemlerinde ya da tatillerde masraflar ve kadınlarla konaklama gibi konularda çatışmalar yaşamıştır. Öğrencilerin dua etme, Pazar günleri kilise hizmetlerine katılma ve spor etkinliklerine katılma gibi konular da diğer sorunları oluşturmuştur. Chen Lanbin, bir CEM öğrencisiyle her zaman anlaşamadığında, Yung Wing'in araya girmesi gerekmiştir. Chen Lanbin'i, Çin eğitimine sıkı sıkıya bağlı ve eksiksiz bir şekilde yetiştirildiğine inanan birisi olarak tanımlamıştır. Çince öğretmeni Rong Zengxiang, Li Hongzhang'a Yung Wing'in öğrenciler arasında Çin çalışmalarını teşvik etme niyeti olmadığını ve bunun yerine öğrencileri bunlardan vazgeçmeye teşvik ettiğini bildirmiştir. Genç öğrenciler, Batılı öğrenmeyi Çin çalışmalarına tercih etme eğilimlerini güçlü bir şekilde göstermişlerdir. Amerikan kültürüyle muhatap olan Çinli çocukların, Çin konularında yeterlilik kazanmaları giderek zorlaşmıştır. Sonuç olarak, Çince bilgileri sınırlı kalmış ve geliştirme konusunda pek bir ilgi göstermemişlerdir.

Çin çalışmalarına olan ilgisizlik, misyonun ana parçası olduğu için muhafazakârların misyonu sert bir şekilde eleştirmesine yol açmıştır. Yung Wing, Li Hongzhang'dan, Çin çalışmalarına karşı duyduğu saygısızlık ve reddedişle ilgili olarak bir dizi uyarı mektubu almıştır. Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ndeki Çinli öğrenciler, modernleşme için hazırlık yapılmasının bir aracı olarak görülmektedir. "Çin özü, Batı kullanımı" fikriyle, Amerika'da eğitim gören çocukların, özellikle askeri konularda teknik beceriler de dahil olmak üzere çeşitli uzmanlık alanlarında bilgi edinmeleri gerekmektedir.

Dördüncü denetleyici Wu Jiashan (吳嘉善) (1818-1885), Chen Lanbin gibi muhafazakâr bir eğilim taşıyordu ve yurt dışı eğitim programını durdurmaya çalışıyordu. Yerel muhafazakâr grupların, gençlerin Amerika'da eğitim alması konusundaki sert eleştirileri sırasında, Chen Lanbin ve Wu Jiashan da bu muhafazakârları desteklediler. Wu Jiashan, 1879'da Çin Eğitim Komisyonu'nun başına atandığında, tüm öğrencileri Washington Büyükelçiliği'nde topladı ve onlara ders vermek istedi. Ancak öğrenciler, Çinli tarzda diz çökme ve selam durma gerekliliğine uymadılar. Wu Jiashan, öğrencilerin köklerini unuttuklarından ve açık bir amaç taşımadıklarından dolayı öfkesini dile getirdi. Li Hongzhang'a, "Her öğrenci farklılıklara uyum sağladı ve köklerini unuttu. Öğrenimleri ne kadar zor olursa olsun,

çalışmaları başarılı olsa bile, bunlardan Çin için fayda sağlanmayacaktır" dedi. Yurt dışında eğitim alan öğrencilerin elde ettikleri bilgilerin, nasıl bir yanlış yola yönlendirilmiş olduğunu söyleyerek, bu programın sona ermesini talep etti.

Toplumsal Entegrasyon

1881 yılında, genç yaşta Amerika'ya gönderilen Çinli öğrenciler, vatanlarına döndüler. Anavatanlarında geçirdikleri süreye göre daha uzun bir süre yurt dışında yaşamış olan bu öğrenciler, Batı kültürüne, diline, medeniyetine ve yaşam tarzına uyum sağlamışlardı. Sonuç olarak, kendi kültürlerini tam anlamıyla benimsemekte zorluk çekiyorlardı. İngilizceye olan hakimiyetleri, ana dillerinden daha fazla gelişmişti. Çin toplumunda kendilerine bir yer bulmakta güçlük çektiler. Belirli bir noktada, kimlik bunalımı yaşadılar. Çinli görünümüne rağmen, davranışları ve düşünceleri Batılıydı. Bu durum, onların vatanlarında kabul görmelerini zorlaştırıyordu.

Dönüşlerinde, öğrenciler, yerel Çinlilerin alışılmadık bakışlarıyla karşılandı ve memurlar ile askerler tarafından sıkı bir gözetim altına alındılar. Yerel halk, öğrencilere olumlu bir şekilde yaklaşmadı ve memurlar ile askerler onları sıkı bir denetim altında tuttular. Öğrencilerin hayal kırıklığı, Şanghai'a varışlarıyla başladı. Ayrıca, varışlarıyla birlikte aileleriyle hemen buluşma imkanları da olmadı. Öncelikle, daha önce ayrıldıkları gibi, Şanghai Gümrük Daotai Yamen'ine gönderildiler, ardından uzun zamandır kullanılmayan Qiuzhi Akademisi (求知书院) binasına götürüldüler. Birkaç gün sonra, öğrenciler, Şanghai'daki en yüksek rütbeli yetkili ile görüşmek üzere çağrıldılar. Üçlü sıralar halinde Daotai Yamen'ine götürüldüler ve yetkilinin önünde diz çökerek selam durdular.

Öğrencilerin yaşadığı bu sıkıntılar, dönemin bazı mektuplarında detaylandırılmıştır. Bu mektuplarda, öğrencilerin memleketlerine dönerken maruz kaldıkları olumsuz muameleler, Çin hükümetinin sıkı kontrolü ve toplumun onlara yönelik bakış açıları ayrıntılı bir şekilde anlatılmaktadır. Örneğin, bir mektupta, dönemin öğrencilerinden biri, Çin'in uluslararası ilişkileri üzerindeki olumsuz etkilerinden ve yaşadıkları hayal kırıklıklarından bahsederek, "Çin, sempatiyi hak etmiyor" ifadelerini kullanmıştır.

Başka bir mektupta ise bir başka öğrenci, karşılaştıkları sıkıntıları ve yönetimin etkisizliğini eleştirmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, öğrencilerin yurt dışındaki deneyimleri ve dönüşlerinin ardından yaşadıkları toplumsal entegrasyon süreci, onların kimlik bunalımları ve Çin toplumundaki yer bulma mücadeleleriyle şekillenmiştir.

Dönüş Yapanların Eğitim ve Mesleki Deneyimleri

Dönüş yapan öğrencilerin akademik ve iş deneyimlerini anlamak için hem Çin'deki durumu hem de öğrencilerin dönüş sonrası koşullarını dikkate almak önemlidir. 1905 yılına kadar, Çin'de devlet pozisyonuna sahip olmanın tek yolu, Konfüçyanizme dayanan Çin imparatorluk sınav sistemini geçmektir.

Ancak, Amerika'daki eğitimleri ve Konfüçyüs eğitimi almamış olmaları, bu sınava girip başarılı olma ihtimallerini engelledi. Öğrenciler, klasik bürokrasi sisteminin gereği olarak devlet öğrencisi olarak gönderilmiş olsalar da dönüşlerinde devlet memurluğu pozisyonlarına kolayca atanmadılar. Genel olarak, CEM öğrencileri resmi rütbe sisteminde sekiz veya dokuzuncu rütbe gibi alt rütbelere sahip olabilmişlerdir. Dönüş yapan CEM öğrencileri arasında, Çin bürokrasisinde 'daotai' (道台) olarak bilinen geleneksel resmi unvana sahip altı öğrenci vardı. Bunlar Tang Shaoyi (唐紹儀), Liang Ruhao (梁如浩), Zhou Changling (周長齡), Qi Zuyi (祁祖彝), Sheng Wenyang (盛文揚) ve Tang Ronghao (唐榮浩) idi. Bu resmi unvanların satın alınmış olabileceği varsayılmaktadır, çünkü bu, Qing döneminin sonlarında, compradorların unvanlarını satın alma alışkanlığı olarak biliniyordu.

1881 yılı geri çağırmasında, 43 CEM öğrencisi üniversiteye kaydolmuştu; bunlardan yirmisi Yale Üniversitesi'nde, geri kalanları Harvard Üniversitesi, Massachusetts Teknoloji Enstitüsü (MIT) ve Columbia Üniversitesi'ndeydi. Akademik ilerlemeleri açısından, önemli bir sayıda CEM öğrencisi okuldan ayrıldı ve bölümleriyle uyumlu olmayan işlerde görevlendirildi. Ayrıca ayrımcılık ve dışlanma gibi durumlarla karşılaştılar, ancak çoğu azim göstererek Çin'in siyasi ve askeri alanlarında kilit figürler haline geldiler. Bazıları, işletmeler, demiryolları ve madenler gibi önemli

ekonomik sektörlerde çalışarak, Çin'in modernleşmesine kayda değer katkılarda bulundular. Rhoads'a göre, CEM'in ikinci grubundan Tang Guoan (唐国安), geri dönen öğrencilerin hükümetlerinin onları pek önemsemediğini veya yeteneklerini ve katkılarını yeterince takdir etmediğini fark ettiklerinde, birçoğunun görevlerini bırakıp daha uygun ve daha iyi maaşlı fırsatlar peşinde koşma bahaneleri bulunduğunu belirtmektedir. O da yaklaşık bir yıl sonra Tianjin Tıp Okulu'ndan ayrıldı. Sonrasında, bazı Amerikan ve İngiliz firmalarında memur ve tercüman olarak çeşitli görevler üstlendi. Daha sonra Qing hükümetine geri döndü ve Tsinghua Üniversitesi'nin kurucusu oldu. CEM öğrencileri arasında, Liang Cheng (梁诚) 1902-1907 yılları arasında Washington, D.C.'de Çin bakanı olarak görev yaptı. Bu durum, bazıları atanmış pozisyonlarından tam olarak memnun olmasa da zamanla daha iyi fırsatlar elde ettiklerini gösterebilir.

CEM öğrencileri, 12 ile 16 yaşları arasında seçildi. İlk grup öğrenciler, ABD'de sadece dokuz yıl kaldılar. Bu nedenle, geri döndüklerinde çoğu öğrencinin eğitimi yarıda kesilmişti. Bu öğrencilerin ülkelerine katkıda bulunmak için eğitimlerine devam etmeleri gerekiyordu. CEM'in destekçisi olan Li Hongzhang, dönüş yapan genç CEM öğrencilerinin eğitim ve mesleklerini organize etti. Öğrenciler genellikle telgraf, denizcilik, makinecilik, maden ve tıp klinikleri gibi alanlara yönlendirildiler. CEM öğrencilerinin çoğu, doğrudan veya dolaylı olarak Çin Donanması'nın çalışma veya eğitimine katıldı. Bazıları Tianjin Beiyang Deniz Akademisi (天津北洋水师学堂), Dagukou Fort Torpido Bot Filosu (大沽口炮台鱼雷艇队), Fuzhou Mawei Gemi İnşaat Akademisi (福州马尾船政学堂) gibi yerlerde çalışmak veya eğitim almak üzere atandılar ve bunlardan yalnızca altısı Tianjin Deniz Tıp Okulu'ndan (天津海军医学校) mezun oldu.

Mektuplarında, birkaç CEM öğrencisi, ülkelerindeki okul ve iş atamalarıyla ilgili durumlarına değindiler. Mektubunda, Wu Yangzeng (Woo Yang Tsang) (吴仰曾) dersleri düzgün bir şekilde anlatamayan bir Çinli öğretmenlerle karşılaştıklarından bahsetmiştir. Ayrıca, okulu yüksek toprak duvarlarıyla çevrili bir hapisane gibi hissettiklerini belirterek dışarı çıkmalarına izin verilmediği için kendilerini kısıtlanmış hissettiklerinden bahsetmiştir.

Huang Kaijia da mektubunda arkadaşlarının farklı yerlere dağıldığını ve onlara veda etme şansı bulamadığını ifade ediyor. Öğrencilerin, yetkililerin yanlış değerlendirmeleri sonucunda çeşitli yerlere atandığını, bunun da eğitim alanında belirsizlik yarattığını belirtiyor. Mali durumlarına değinen Huang, kendi ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için sınırlı bir miktar alıyor ve hükümetin cömertliğinin yetersiz olduğunu vurguluyor. Ailelerinin durumunu umursamadıklarını ve bu durumun kendilerini derinden etkilediğini ifade ediyor. Eğitim süreçleri ve gelecekle ilgili belirsizlik, öğrenciler üzerinde ciddi bir endişe yaratmıştır. İleriye dönük bir çıkış yolu bulmakta zorlandıklarını ve pişmanlık duygusu taşıdıklarını dile getirmişlerdir.

CEM öğrencileri, dönüşlerinde çeşitli mesleklere atandılar. Eğitim sürelerinin kısıtlı olması ve yeni iş ortamlarında uyum sağlamada yaşadıkları zorluklar, genellikle moral bozukluğuna yol açmıştır. Bazıları geleneksel konulara dönmeyi deneseler de çoğu modern bilim ve teknoloji alanlarında kariyer yapmaya odaklandılar.

Geri dönen bazı CEM öğrencileri, deneyimlerini ve kazandıkları bilgileri, özellikle yenilikçi fikirleri Çin'de uygulama konusunda hevesliydi. Ancak devletin ve toplumun geleneksel yapısı, bu yenilikçi düşüncelerin benimsenmesini zorlaştırdı. Dönüşlerinde, genellikle köklü toplumsal normlarla karşılaştılar ve bu normlar, onların eğitimleri sırasında kazandıkları bilgileri uygulamaya koymalarını engelledi.

Sonuç olarak, CEM öğrencilerinin dönüş deneyimleri, sadece kişisel ve mesleki gelişimlerini değil, aynı zamanda dönmelerinin ardından karşılaştıkları zorlukları da kapsamaktadır. Eğitim aldıkları yerlerde edindikleri deneyimlerin yanı sıra, dönüş sonrası yaşadıkları iş ve sosyal hayattaki engeller, onların modernleşme çabalarını derinden etkilemiştir.

Osmanlı Öğrencileri Memlekete Dönüş: İstihdam ve Etki

Osmanlılar, Qing Hanedanı'nda olduğu gibi yurtdışındaki öğrencilerin toplu bir dönüşünü ya da geri çağrılmasını yaşamadı. Bu bölümde, geri dönen Osmanlı öğrencilerinin kimliği, yurtdışında aldıkları eğitim ve geri dönüşlerinde üstlendikleri görevler üzerinde durulacaktır.

Paris, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan gelen önemli bir öğrenci sayısını sürekli olarak çekmiştir. Fransa, Osmanlı öğrencileri için popüler bir destinasyon olmasına rağmen, öğrencilerin gönderildiği başka ülkeler de vardı. Örneğin, Almanya, İngiltere, Avusturya, Belçika ve İsviçre, Osmanlı öğrencilerin gönderildiği ülkeler arasında yer almaktadır.

Viyana, Paris ve Londra gibi başkentlerde eğitim alan Osmanlı öğrencilerine, Osmanlı elçileri yardımcı oldu. Örneğin, Londra'da öğrenciler, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Elçisi Namık Paşa'nın gözetimindeyken, Berlin'de Berlin Elçisi'nin himayesindeydiler.

İlk öğrenciler, askeri eğitim için gönderilmişti. Benzer şekilde, bu öğrenciler ya zaten Batı ile bağlantısı olan kişilerin çocukları ya da önde gelen devlet adamlarıydı. Öğrencilerin aile geçmişlerini incelediğimizde, ilk kuşak öğrencilerin Osmanlı toplumunun üst sınıfından geldikleri görülmektedir. Örneğin, Tevfik Efendi ve Emin Bey, İstanbul'un entelektüel ve askeri çevrelerinde önemli figürlerdir. Tevfik Efendi, Osmanlı sarayının iç hizmeti olan Enderun'da eğitim aldı ve babasının saraydaki önemli konumu nedeniyle askeri hizmetine devam etti. Benzer şekilde, Emin Bey, Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun'da öğretmen olan babası sayesinde eğitimine devam etti. Tevfik Efendi ve Emin Bey, Avrupa'ya gönderildikten sonra dönüşlerinde farklı roller üstlendiler. Tevfik Efendi, Paris'te eğitim aldı ve daha sonra Askeri Akademi'de öğretmenlik de dahil olmak üzere çeşitli askeri görevlerde bulundu. Emin Bey ise Londra'ya gönderildi ve geri döndüğünde, Paşa rütbesiyle V. Ordu'ya atanarak önemli bir görev üstlendi. Bu bağlamda, Tevfik Efendi ile Emin Bey'in akrabalık ilişkileri, babalarının saraydaki ve eğitim kurumlarındaki konumlarından etkilenmiştir.

Osmanlı öğrencilerinin çoğu, modernleşme sürecine dahil olan kişilerin çocuklarıydı. 1835 yılında, mühendislik okulunun öğretmenlerinden Hacı Ömer Efendi'nin oğlu Bekir Bey, Londra'ya eğitim için gönderildi. Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Paşa (1813-1871) ise, hazine memuru olan amcası Mehmed Emin Efendi sayesinde Enderun'a girdi. Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Paşa, 1833-1834 yılları arasında Londra ve Paris'te eğitim aldı. Geri döndüğünde, orduda görev yaptı. Bir dönem, Osmanlı öğrencilerin eğitimlerini denetlemek ve tamamlamak üzere tekrar Paris'e gönderildi. 1839 yılında

İstanbul'a döndü. Öncelikle Tophane'de albay olarak atanmış, ardından Tuğgeneral rütbesiyle Tophane Konseyi Üyesi olmuştur (1839-40). Daha sonra çeşitli askeri pozisyonlarda ve valiliklerde görev almış, Londra'da elçilik yapmıştır. Tanzimat Meclisi'ne ve Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye Meclisi'ne başkanlık etmiştir. 1854, 1858 ve 1860 yıllarında Sadrazam olarak görev yapmıştır.

Ali Rıza Paşa (1860-1932) ise Türk siyasetinde öne çıkan bir figürdü. Emekli Kaptan Tahir Efendi'nin oğlu olarak doğmuştur. Askeri Akademi'den (Mekteb-i Harbiye) en iyi öğrenci olarak mezun olarak kariyerinin başında önemli bir başarı elde etmiştir. Askeri Akademi'de öğretmenlik yaptıktan sonra, uzmanlaşmak için Almanya'ya gönderilmiş, yetenekli bir subay olarak geri dönmüştür. Ali Rıza Paşa, geri döndüğünde Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, Askeri Tarih ve Strateji öğretmenliği gibi önemli pozisyonlar üstlenmiştir. Ayrıca, savaş, deniz, kamu işleri ve içişleri bakanı olarak çeşitli askeri görevler ve ordu komutanlıkları da yapmıştır. Sadrazam olarak da görev almıştır.

Ahmet Vefik Paşa (d. 1891), 19. yüzyıl ortalarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun önemli bir entelektüel ve devlet adamıydı. Babası Ruhuddin Efendi, diplomatik tercüman olarak görev yaparak genç Ahmet Vefik'in farklı kültürlerle tanışmasını sağladı ve Avrupa'ya olan ilgisini artırdı. 1834 yılında babasının görevi nedeniyle Paris'e yaptığı yolculuk ve Saint Louis Lisesi'ndeki üç yıllık eğitimi, entelektüel birikimini derinleştirdi ve Batı kültürüne olan ilgisini artırdı. Ahmet Vefik Paşa, İstanbul'a döndüğünde, Tercüme Ofisi'nde çalıştı ve daha sonra Londra elçiliği gibi çeşitli diplomatik görevlerde bulundu. Valilik, bakanlık pozisyonları ve Meclis-i Vâlâ ve Şûrâ-yı Devlet üyelikleri gibi önemli devlet hizmetlerinden sonra, Başvekil unvanını üstlenmiş ve II. Abdülhamid döneminde Sadrazam olarak görev yapmıştır.

Ayrıca, yurtdışında eğitim alan öğrenciler arasında akrabalık ilişkileri de vardı. Örneğin, Osman Hamdi Bey'in, İbrahim Edhem Paşa'nın oğlu olarak devlet bursundan faydalanmıştır. Benzer şekilde, Viçen Viçenyan, Serope Viçenyan'ın oğlu olarak burs almış ve Abdulaziz döneminde eğitim almıştır. Serope Viçenyan, Osmanlı-Armenian bir doktor ve entelektüel olup, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Batı eğitimi için gönderdiği ilk öğrencilerden biri olarak, 19. yüzyıldaki modernleşme çabalarına katkıda bulunmuştur.

1864 yılında, Askeri Şura (Dâr-ı Şûrâ-yı Askerî), İstanbul'da edinilen teorik bilgilerin pratik uygulaması için Askeri Akademi (Mektebi Harbiye) ve Tıp Okulu (Mektebi Tıbbiye) mezunlarının Batı ülkelerine gönderilmesinin önemini vurgulamıştır. Sonuç olarak, bu kurumlardan mezun olan subaylar ve doktorlar Londra, Viyana, Berlin, St. Petersburg ve Paris gibi şehirlere gönderilmiştir. Mevcut stajlar arasında, tıp alanındaki stajlar özellikle öne çıkmıştır. Bu stajlar, öğrencilerin teorik bilgilerini uygulamaya koymalarına ve Batı tıp uygulamalarını yakından gözlemlemelerine olanak tanımıştır. Bu tür deneyimler, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içindeki tıbbın gelişimine katkıda bulunmuş ve Batı tıbbi standartlarının Osmanlı topraklarına uyumunu kolaylaştırmıştır.

Fransa'dan dönen hekimler genellikle tıp okullarında uzmanlık alanlarında öğretmen olarak istihdam edilmiştir. İsmail Paşa (1812-1871), Fransa'da eğitim alan ve başarılı bir şekilde Cerrahi Okul'dan mezun olan önemli bir hekimdir. Eğitimi tamamladıktan sonra, ülkesine döndü ve Cerrahi Departmanı'nın müdürü olarak atanmıştır. Nuri Kenan, 1869 yılında Tıp Okulu'ndan mezun olmuştur. Ardından, Askeri Tıp Okulu'nda İç Hastalıkları Kliniği'nde yardımcı öğretim görevlisi olarak görev yapmıştır. Diğer birçok hekim gibi Abdi Süleyman da Fransa'da tıp alanında uzmanlaşmıştır. 1871 yılında Tıp Okulu'ndan mezun olduktan sonra, dermatoloji alanında uzmanlaşmak üzere Fransa'ya gönderilmiştir. Eğitim süresi boyunca, botanik alanında başarılı bir şekilde doktora yapmıştır. Geri döndüğünde, veterinerlik derslerinde botanik öğretmeni olarak atanmıştır. Bu hekimlerin deneyimleri, Fransa'daki tıp eğitimi geleneğini ve geri döndüklerinde yaptıkları katkıları örneklendirmektedir.

Hasan Mazhar, 1845-1920 yılları arasında yaşamış Türk bilim insanıydı. Yurt dışında eğitim alarak, ziraat ve veterinerlik alanlarında uzmanlaşmış, özellikle modern tarım tekniklerini ve hayvan yetiştiriciliği yöntemlerini Osmanlı topraklarına getirmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra, Hasan Mazhar, Paris'teki eğitimi sırasında, tarım konusunda yenilikçi fikirler edinmiş ve dönüşünde bu bilgileri, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun tarımsal üretkenliğini artırmak amacıyla uygulamaya koymuştur.

Yurtdışında eğitim alan Osmanlı öğrencilerinin deneyimleri, devletin modernleşme çabalarına önemli katkılarda bulunmuştur. Öğrenciler, döndüklerinde kendi alanlarında edindikleri yeni bilgileri ve deneyimleri aktarmış, bu bilgileri Osmanlı devletinin çeşitli kurumlarında uygulamaya koymuşlardır. Bu dönüşler, yalnızca bireysel kariyer gelişimi açısından değil, aynı zamanda devletin modernleşme süreci açısından da kritik öneme sahiptir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki sosyal ve siyasi değişimlerin yanında, bu öğrencilerin dönüşleri, toplumsal yapıda da önemli değişikliklere yol açmıştır.

Sonuç olarak, yurtdışında eğitim alan Osmanlı öğrencileri, sadece kendi kariyerlerini değil, aynı zamanda Osmanlı toplumunun modernleşmesini de etkilemişlerdir. Eğitim aldıkları ülkelerdeki bilimsel ve teknolojik yenilikleri ülkeye taşıyarak, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Batı ile olan ilişkilerini derinleştirmiş, modern eğitim sistemlerinin gelişmesine katkıda bulunmuşlardır. Bu bağlamda, Osmanlı öğrencilerinin yurtdışındaki deneyimleri hem bireysel hem de toplumsal düzeyde önemli bir dönüşüm sürecini simgelemektedir.

Sonuç

Hem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu hem de Qing Hanedanı, Batı eğitimi ve becerileri kazanmak için öğrencileri yurt dışına göndererek toplumlarını modernleştirmeyi hedeflemişlerdir. Osmanlılar, askeri ve idari yapıları modernize etmeye yardımcı olabilecek Batı eğitimi almış memurlar ve uzmanlardan oluşan bir kadro oluşturmayı amaçlamışlardır. Benzer şekilde, reformist liderlerin etkisi altında Qing Hanedanı, Çin Eğitim Misyonu'nu (CEM) modern askeri teknikler ve diğer özel alanlarda uzmanlık geliştirmek için bir yol olarak görmüştür.

Qing Hanedanı'nın ilk modernizasyon dönemi, Batı güçlerine ve iç karışıklıklara karşı Çin'in savunmalarını güçlendirme ihtiyacından kaynaklanan askeri eğitime odaklanmıştır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, muhtemelen daha gelişmiş askeri teknolojilerden faydalanarak, sadece askeri modernizasyonu değil, aynı zamanda devletin çeşitli yönlerini reforme etmek için idari ve teknik eğitimi de vurgulayarak daha kapsamlı bir modernizasyon yaklaşımını benimsemiştir.

Qing Hanedanı'nın CEM öğrencileri, daha ciddi engellerle karşılaşmıştır. Başlangıçta vaat edilenlere rağmen, ABD askeri akademilerine kabul edilmemişlerdir; bu durum, Li Hongzhang'ın orijinal planından bir sapma olarak görülmüştür. Bu reddedilme, Burlingame Antlaşması'nın ihlali olarak algılanmış ve Sino-Amerikan ilişkilerini olumsuz etkilemiş, CEM'in nihai olarak sona ermesine katkıda bulunmuştur. Ayrıca, Qing öğrencileri kültürel ve dini zorluklarla da karşılaşmışlardır. Batı geleneklerini benimsemeleri, Hristiyan etkinliklerine katılmaları ve Çin çalışmalarını ihmal etmeleri, muhafazakâr yetkililer ve toplumun bazı kesimleri tarafından sert eleştirilerle karşılaşmalarına neden olmuştur. Bu kültürel asimilasyon, geleneksel değerlere bir tehdit olarak görülmüş ve misyonun sona ermesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır.

Öğrencilerin kendi ülkelerine dönüşleri, daha fazla karşıtlıkları ortaya çıkarmıştır. Osmanlı öğrencileri döndüklerinde, bazen gelenekçilerden direnişle karşılaşsalar da askeri ve idari yapılar içinde entegre olmayı başarmışlardır. Batı eğitimi, hemen etkili bir modernleşmeye dönüşme de gelecekteki reformlar için zemin hazırlamıştır. Önemli figürlerden bazıları, Tanzimat reformlarında önemli bir rol oynayan Sadrazam İbrahim Edhem Paşa ve askeri reformlara önemli katkılarda bulunan Mehmed Ali Paşa'dır.

Çin'in öğrencileri ise daha zor bir yeniden entegrasyon süreci yaşamışlardır. Dönüşlerinde hem hükümet hem de toplum tarafından şüphe, gözetim ve kötü muameleyle karşılaşmışlardır. Birçok öğrenci, Batı eğitimlerini Çin gelenekleriyle uzlaştırmakta zorluk çekerek bir kimlik krizi yaşamıştır. Bu kültürel kopukluk, onların hemen etkili olmasını engellemiş, ancak önemli bir kısmı sonradan Çin'in modernizasyon çabalarında kilit rol üstlenmiştir. Örneğin, bir CEM öğrencisi olan Zhan Tianyou, ilk Çin yapımı demiryolunun inşasını yöneten öncü bir mühendis olmuştur. Tang Shaoyi ise Çin Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk Başbakanı olmuştur.

Bu eğitim misyonlarının uzun vadeli etkileri, her iki imparatorluk için de derin olmuştur. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda, geri dönenler Tanzimat reformları ve sonraki modernizasyon çabalarında önemli roller üstlenmişlerdir. Batı eğitimi, geleneksel Osmanlı yönetimi ile modern idari uygulamalar arasındaki boşluğu doldurmaya yardımcı olmuştur.

Qing Hanedanı için, CEM öğrencilerinin erken deneyimleri, kültürel entegrasyon ve modernizasyon zorluklarını gözler önüne sermiştir. Birçok kişi başlangıçta zorluklarla karşılaşsa da uzmanlıkları sonraki reformlar sırasında, özellikle 1905'te imparatorluk sınav sisteminin kaldırılmasından sonra önemli hale gelmiştir. CEM mezunları, erken Cumhuriyet döneminde diplomasi, askeri ve sanayi alanlarında ilerlemelere katkıda bulunmuşlardır.

Osmanlı ve Çin eğitim misyonlarının karşılaştırmalı analizi, Batı tehdidi karşısında kültürel entegrasyon ve modernizasyonun karmaşıklıklarını vurgulamaktadır. Her iki imparatorluk, zayıflayan yapılarının güçlendirilmesi için Batı bilgisini benimsemenin gerekliliğini kabul etmiş, ancak toplumlarındaki muhafazakâr unsurlardan önemli dirençle karşılaşmışlardır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Qing Hanedanı, Batı bilgisini benimsemeyi bir gereklilik olarak düşünmüşlerdir. Qing hanedanlığı Batı eğitimi almış yetkililere karşı önyargısını Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na kıyasla daha uzun süre aşmıştır.

BÖLÜM V

SONUÇ

19. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Qing Hanedanı tarafından yurt dışına gönderilen öğrencilerin deneyimlerini incelerken önemli zıtlıklar ve benzerlikler ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu farklılıklar, modernleşme, kültürel entegrasyon ve uluslararası diplomasi gibi daha geniş temaları yansıtmaktadır. Bu bölüm, bu bulguları sentezleyerek iki imparatorluğun stratejilerini ve uzun vadeli etkilerini karşılaştırmaktadır.

Çin ve Osmanlı hükümetleri, askeri ve teknik yeteneklerini modernleştirmenin önemini kabul etti. Bu nedenle, öğrencilerini Batı ülkelerine gönderdiler. Ancak, bu girişimlerin metodolojileri, hazırlıkları ve sonuçları, tarihsel ve kültürel bağlamlarından dolayı önemli ölçüde farklılık gösterdi.

İki grup arasındaki dikkat çekici bir fark, öğrencilerin yaşları ve yaşam düzenleriydi. Çinli öğrenciler genellikle 12 ila 15 yaşları arasında olup, Amerika'daki ailelerle konaklıyorlardı. Bu aileler, öğrencilerin ortaokul ve liseye geçmeden önce temel eğitim almalarını sağlıyordu. Yüzyılın ilk yarısında, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan da genç öğrenciler yurt dışına gönderildi. Ancak, Osmanlı öğrencileri genellikle daha yaşlıydı, özellikle Abdülhamid II döneminde genellikle 20'li yaşlarındaydılar.

1872'de Çinli öğrenciler Amerika'ya gönderilmeden önce, Şanghay'daki bir hazırlık okuluna devam ettiler ve burada temel eğitim ve dil eğitimi aldılar. Bu ön hazırlık, onları yabancı bir ortamda başarılı olmaları için gerekli becerilerle donatmayı amaçlıyordu. Buna karşılık, Osmanlı öğrencileri Avrupa ülkelerine gönderilmeden önce böyle bir hazırlık kurumuna sahip değildi. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içinde kendi alanlarında bazı ön eğitimler almışlardı, ancak kapsamlı dil eğitimi eksikti. Paris

örneğinde, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1857'de Mekteb-i Osmani'yi açtı. Bu durum Mısır okullarının bu açığı kapatma çabalarının bir uzantısıydı. Dolayısıyla Osmanlı öğrencileri, Fransız eğitim kurumlarına girmeye çalışmadan önce, Fransızca dil becerilerini geliştirmek için önce Mısırlılar tarafından kurulan hazırlık okullarına, ardından da Mekteb-i Osmani'ye katıldılar.

Her iki grup da yurt dışında askeri eğitim alırken önemli zorluklarla karşılaştı. Çinli öğrenciler, özellikle ırk ayrımcılığı nedeniyle askeri okullardan dışlanma ile karşılaştılar. Hedefledikleri teknik eğitim engellendi. Osmanlı öğrencileri ise Fransa'da yeterli hazırlık eğitim seviyesine ulaşamadıkları için engellerle karşılaştılar. Çinli öğrenciler, doğrudan etnik kimlikleri nedeniyle dışlanırken, Osmanlı öğrencileri genellikle eğitim geçmişlerinin gereken standartlara uymaması nedeniyle zorluk yaşadılar.

Kültürel asimilasyonu önlemek amacıyla, Çin hükümeti öğrencilerin kültürel kimliklerini korumak için önlemler aldı. Çin Eğitim Komisyonu (CEM), öğrencilerin Çin çalışmaları, dili ve Konfüçyanizmi öğrenmeye devam etmelerini sağladı. Bu eğitimi denetlemek üzere Chen Lanbin gibi geleneksel eğitimi komisyon üyeleri gönderildi. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu da Hoca Tahsin ve Selim Sabit Efendi gibi öğretmenler göndererek Türkçe dersleri vermelerini sağladı. Çinlilerin aksine, Osmanlı eğitimcileri kendileri de “öğrenci” konumundaydılar ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Darülfünun'da öğretmen olmak üzere yetişme görevine sahiptiler.

Ayrıca, Çinli öğrencilerin konakladığı ailelerin çoğu Hristiyan'dı. Öğrenciler, Hristiyan kiliselerine katıldılar ve dini hizmetlere iştirak ettiler. Birkaç Çinli öğrenci Hristiyanlığı kabul etti.

Hem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda hem de Çin'de yurt dışına gönderilen öğrenciler arasında ailevi bağlantıları olanlar vardı. Ancak, bu ilişkilerin arkasındaki dinamikler ve motivasyonlar belirgin şekilde farklıydı. Çin'de yurt dışı eğitimi başvurularında yetersiz bir ilginin olması nedeniyle benzersiz bir yaklaşım sergilendi. CEM'in öncüsü Yung Wing ve Batı eğitimi almış diğer bireyler, akrabalarını ve sosyal

çevrelerini çocuklarını göndermeye ikna ettiler. Bu ikna çabaları sonucunda, öğrencilerin çoğunlukla ailevi ve sosyal bağlantıları oldu.

Buna karşılık, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda, yurt dışında eğitim gören öğrenciler arasında akrabalık ilişkilerinin oluşumu daha çok yerleşik geleneklerin bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıktı. Bu, daha önce yabancı eğitim almış veya yurtdışında görev yapmış babaların çocuklarıydılar. Benzer şekilde, kardeşler ve akrabalar birbirlerini etkileyerek aile içinde yurt dışında eğitim alma geleneğini oluşturdu. Bu uygulama daha organik ve mevcut aile mirasları tarafından yönlendiriliyordu.

Dönüşlerinde, bu öğrencilerin kariyer yolları, bu iki girişimin farklılıklarını daha da belirgin hale getiriyor. Osmanlı öğrencileri, genellikle dönüşlerinin hemen ardından etkili askeri, idari ve sanatsal pozisyonlar elde ederek uluslarının modernleşme çabalarına önemli katkılarda bulundular. Bu başarılı entegrasyon, kısmen sosyo-ekonomik geçmişlerine atfedilebilir. Öğrencilerin çoğu çoğunlukla kozmopolit İstanbul'dan gelen devlet hizmetinde çalışan ailelerin çocuklarıydı ve yabancı kültürlerle ve etkileşimlere alışkındılar. Buna karşın, Çinli öğrenciler yeniden entegrasyon süreçlerinde daha zorlu bir süreçle karşılaştılar. Hükümet ya da toplum tarafından sıcak bir şekilde karşılanmadılar ve bu durum, Batı eğitimine karşı genel bir isteksizliği yansıttı. Bu öğrenciler çoğunlukla ticaret şehirleri olan Kanton'dandı ve genellikle alt sosyal katmanlardan, tüccar çocuklarıydılar. Bu durum, geri döndüklerinde nasıl algılandıkları ve muamele gördükleri üzerinde etkili olmuş olabilir. Çin girişimi, kültürel asimilasyon korkuları ve iç direniş nedeniyle nihayetinde başarısız oldu ve 1881'de planlanan on beş yılın yalnızca dokuzunda öğrencilerin geri çağrılmasıyla sonuçlandı; Osmanlı öğrencileri ise kabul edildi ve yüksek rütbeli pozisyonlara entegre oldular.

Sonuç olarak hem Çin hem de Osmanlı imparatorlukları, gençlerini Batı'da eğitme konusunda iddialı programlar başlatmıştır., Ancak, Osmanlı yaklaşımı nihayetinde daha sürdürülebilir bir modernleşme çabasına daha iyi entegre olmuştur. Çin'in deneyimi yenilikçi olsa da, kültürel ve politik engeller tarafından sınırlanmış; bu durum her iki bağlamda gelenek ile modernleşme arasındaki karmaşık etkileşimi gözler önüne sermektedir. Farklı sonuçlar, uluslararası eğitim girişimlerinin

başarısında hazırlık desteđi, sosyo-ekonomik arka plan ve kültürel entegrasyon gibi kritik faktörlerin önemini vurgulamaktadır.

