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»Study Abroad« in the Long 19th Century

Modernisation, War, and Higher Education in Global Context[1]

Most of the existing works on the »study abroad« phenomenon neglect the global interdependencies between the (geo-)political and ideological agendas of the nations or empires concerned. Many studies are nation-centric and/or Western-centric, often assuming certain features to be exclusive to the case investigated, whereas a more global approach would show that they were common to many countries. At the same time, each country had its specific profile in the motives for its students going abroad – their sociocultural background, their preferred disciplines, etc. But even the seemingly wider-ranging monographs neglect the Muslim and the wider Asian world.[2]

Building on existing work in Chinese, Turkish, German, and English, this paper will address such research gaps, focusing on the Ottoman and the Qing Empires and Japan. At a time when these states were threatened by Western military and economic power, »study abroad« was their vital instrument for adopting advanced technologies, a way to catch up in an increasingly competitive and bellicose global process of modernisation. Therefore, a decisive factor in students' choice of destination was not only the reputation of the universities but also the industrial and military clout of the host nation. Wars and their outcomes thus had a visible impact on worldwide student flows. Another factor was ideological. Most studies have overlooked that many contemporary observers in the world regions from Istanbul through Beijing to Tokyo regarded Germany as a non-Western country and victim of Western imperialism, which made it a particularly desirable destination. They were aware of German intellectuals' critique of »Western civilization« and their emphasis on »German culture«, which implied the rejection of French republicanism and Anglo-Saxon liberalism.[3] They all saw Germany as an exemplary modern European power which did not harbour overt imperial ambition in Asia.[4] The paper will thus also differentiate the ideological profiles of European destinations, with

1 This paper is an outcome of my PhD project »From Empire to Republic: ›Study in Germany‹ as a Tool of Reactionary Modernization in Turkey and China (1871–1929)«, funded by Gerda Henkel Stiftung.

2 *Kemal Gürüz*, Higher Education and International Student Mobility in the Global Knowledge Economy, New York 2011; *Hilary Perraton*, International Students 1860–2010. Policy and Practice round the World, Cham 2020, *John C. Moore*, A Brief History of Universities, Cham 2019.

3 *Mark R. Thompson*, East Asian Authoritarian Modernism: From Meiji Japan's »Prussian Path« to China's »Singapore Model«, in: Asian International Studies Review 17, 2016, no. 2, pp. 125–141; *Ümit Kurt/Doğan Günpınar*, The Balkan Wars and the Rise of the Reactionary Modernist Utopia in Young Turk Thought and the Journal Türk Yurdu [Turkish Homeland], in: Nations & Nationalism 21, 2015, pp. 348–368; *Klaus Weber*, Antiwestliche Ideologien zwischen dem Deutschen Kaiserreich und dem osmanischen sowie dem ostasiatischen Raum, in: Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte 22, 2022, special issue »Eurasia«, forthcoming.

4 *David M. Crowe*, Sino-German Relations, 1871–1917, in: *Joanne Miyang Cho/David M. Crowe* (eds.), Germany and China. Transnational Encounters since the Eighteenth Century, New York 2014, pp. 71–96; *Hoi-eun Kim*, Made in Meiji Japan. German Expatriates, German-Educated Japa-

Germany offering a specific conservative and authoritarian type of modernity. In doing so, it will hint at future perspectives for research.

Scholars and intellectuals leaving their home to pursue knowledge are not a modern phenomenon. The practice was widespread even before the concepts of »nation« or »abroad« existed. Since antiquity, various civilizations have established their learning centres and attracted intellectuals from nearby and faraway regions. Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum in Athens, the library of Alexandria, the monastery at Nalanda in ancient India, the Jixia academy in China, the Mustansiriya madrasah in Baghdad, the first European universities in Bologna, Paris, and Oxford were intellectual hubs of their day.[5] Famous intellectuals like the Korean scholar Banya (562–613) travelled to China, the Chinese monk Xuan Zang (602–664) to India, Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780–855) studied in Baghdad, Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) in Paris. The practice of sending students abroad systematically by government had begun way ago, with Russia being a prominent example. To modernise the country, Tsar Peter I (known as Peter the Great) sent about 50 young students to Western Europe in 1697.[6] This policy and the reforms implemented by the Tsar contributed to Russia's rise to a major empire in Eurasia. Yet students' mobility until the 19th century was mostly limited to their continents, mostly within Europe.[7] In the 18th century, some American families sent their children to Europe, mainly to British universities, very few to Germany.[8] Only in the 19th century did the Industrial Revolution and the subsequent »Transport Revolution« make travel cheaper and faster.

Knowledge transfer had proved to be a key method to initiate modernisation. As some historians have claimed, the 19th century was a century of education. In the course of nation-building and centralizing state power, many empires and nation states in different parts of the world invested heavily in public education and increased state control of it.[9] Most countries in Europe implemented some form of com-

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nese Elites and the Construction of Germanness, in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft 41, 2015, pp. 288–320.

5 For more information on the origins of higher learning and scholars' mobility from the earliest civilization to the end of the 15th century, see *Roy Lowe/Yoshihito Yasuhara*, The Origins of Higher Learning. Knowledge Networks and the Early Development of Universities, London 2017. For the link between higher education and students' mobility, see *Gürüz*, Higher Education and International Student Mobility in the Global Knowledge Economy. For further reading on the history of the Western universities and student mobility, see *Moore*, A Brief History of Universities.

6 *John T. Zepper/William W. Brickman*, Brief Historical Sketch of Imperial Russian and Soviet Education, in: *id.*, Russian and Soviet Education 1731–1989: A Multilingual Annotated Bibliography, Abington 1992, pp. 3–56, here: 9–13.

7 *Perraton*, International Students 1860–2010.

8 *Anja Werner*, The Transatlantic World of Higher Education. Americans at German Universities, 1776–1914, New York 2013.

9 *Andy Green*, Education and State Formation. Europe, East Asia, and the USA, London 2013; *Konrad H. Jarausch*, Students, Society and Politics in Imperial Germany. The Rise of Academic Illiberalism, Princeton 1982; *Benjamin C. Fortna*, Imperial Classroom. Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire, Oxford 2002.

pulsory education.[10] Besides basic education, higher education also became a focus of state policy, in order to cover the needs of the emerging industrial societies. This was also an important field of competition among European powers. In combining teaching with research, Humboldt's concept of the University of Berlin (named Humboldt University of Berlin in 1949), founded in 1809 and opened in 1810, revolutionized higher education.[11] It not only became a model for German universities inside and outside Prussia, but also for many universities all over Europe, North America, and Asia. Students from different continents joined the international education pilgrimage. More and more American students came to Europe, now mainly to universities in France and Germany.[12] Students from Russia (mainly Jewish and later also female, who were denied higher education at home) also came to universities in German-speaking countries.[13] Studying abroad became a more global phenomenon.

During the »Long 19th Century« from the French Revolution to the outbreak of the First World War, Europe was shaped and reshaped by the Industrial Revolution, imperialism, nationalism, and finally by the »Great War«. Following the Industrial Revolution, European industrialized nation states (and even empires) became economically and technologically more powerful than far older countries or empires elsewhere in the world. The gap – prominently referred to as the Great Divergence – between the modernising »West« and a more traditional »East« was widening. In order to conquer new markets and new resources for industry, the industrialized countries even created a new imperialism which weakened the empires that lacked such ambitions and even fomented conflict among them. Changes in Europe and other parts of the world affected empires and states in the East. Some far-sighted intellectuals and rulers from India, the Ottoman Empire, Iran, Japan, and the Qing Empire concluded that Europe was superior in terms of technology but not spiritually, morally, and culturally. Sending students abroad became an important government policy to obtain Western technology in order to catch up with Europe and hopefully even to defeat Western powers. In sending students to the west, they followed the footstep of Peter the Great.[14] From the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire, Iran, Meiji Japan and Qing China sent students to countries such as France, Great Britain, the United States, and Germany in order to modernise their own

10 *James van Horn Melton*, Absolutism and Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria, New York 1988.

11 *Johan Östling*, Humboldt and the Modern German University. An Intellectual History, Lund 2018; *Charles E. McClelland*, Berlin, the Mother of all Research Universities. 1860–1918, New York 2016.

12 *Konrad H. Jarausch*, American Students in Germany, 1815–1914. The Structure of German and U.S. Matriculants at Göttingen University, in: *Henry Geitz/Jürgen Heideking/Jürgen Herbst* (eds.), German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917, New York 1995, pp. 195–212.

13 *Perraton*, International Students 1860–2010, pp. 3 f.

14 Tipu Sultan, the ruler (1782–1799) of the kingdom of Mysore in South India, wanted to send 400 young Indians to France to study modern technology, but the plan was not carried out. For more details, see *Kaveh Yazdani*, India, Modernity, and the *Great Divergence*. Mysore and Gujarat (17th to 19th C.), Boston 2017. For students sent abroad by Iran, see *David Menarshi*, Education and the Making of Modern Iran, New York 1992. For a better understanding of the debates in late Qing Empire about how to save the Empire, see *Li Man*, ›To Change‹ or ›to Be Changed‹. The Dialectics of a Decaying Empire and the Political Philosophy of Wei Yuan (1794–1857), in: Global Intellectual History 1, 2016, pp. 261–274.

countries. Wealthy families from India also sent their sons to Great Britain for higher education.[15]

Two military events changed these patterns of student mobility: the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/1871 and Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 (preceded by Japan's defeat of China in 1885). With victory over France and the creation of a nation state in 1871, »prussified« Germany became a model for latecomers to industrialisation, and its universities instantaneously became a mecca for international students. The country was already well-prepared in the field of higher education. Berlin University had been created under the pressure of Napoleonic occupation, as an important part of Prussian reforms aimed at overcoming French occupation and French hegemony in higher education. Now, students from Russia, the United States, China, the Ottoman Empire, and Japan flocked in by the thousands. Among them, Russian and American students formed the largest groups.[16] The number of Chinese, Ottoman and Japanese students in Germany rose in preference to French and British universities. During the early 20th century, Ottoman, Japanese and Chinese citizens formed the largest groups of non-Western students in Germany. In Asia, it was Japan's spectacular military success that turned the tide of mobility. The defeat of Russia's supposedly powerful navy and army by this small non-European and seemingly backward country sent waves of both shock and of admiration around the globe. Throughout the centuries, tens of thousands of Japanese had studied in China, the undisputed cultural hegemon in East Asia. This hegemony had already come to look shaky amid the Opium Wars waged against China by Britain and France (1839–1834 and 1856–1860) and the Qing Empire's severe internal crisis. Now, between 1895 and 1911 alone, more than 20,000 Chinese students attended Japan's new Western-style universities, which had proved to be a key instrument in modernising and strengthening the country.[17]

I. The Ottoman Empire and the historical background of sending students abroad

The Ottoman Empire (1302–1922) was one of the longest-lasting empires in history.[18] By a series of successful military campaigns over less than 300 years, a small Anatolian principality reached its greatest territorial extent and became one of the major players in Europe. Not only that: with territories in Asia, Europe, and Africa, the Ottoman Empire was truly a world power. A strong military, a strategic location

15 *Perraton*, International Students 1860–2010, p. 143.

16 *Peter Drewek*, Limits of Educational Internationalism: Foreign Students at German Universities between 1890 and 1930, in: Bulletin of the GHI Washington, 2000, no. 27, pp. 39–63. On international students in Germany, see *Daniela Siebe*, »Germania docet«. Ausländische Studierende, auswärtige Kulturpolitik und deutsche Universitäten 1870 bis 1933, Husum 2009.

17 周勇 *[Zhou Yong]*, 我国早期留学教育（1872–1949）与中国近代科学的历史转变, [My Country's Early Study Abroad Education (1872–1949) and the Historical Transformation of Modern Chinese Science], Master's Thesis, Central China Normal University 2006, p. 19.

18 Historians disagree as to the founding year of the Ottoman Empire. Some claim that it was founded in 1299, others in 1302. For more details, see *Halil İnalcık*, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluş Tarihi, in: *id./Hasan Soygüzel/Özer Ergenç* et al. (eds), Kuruluş Osmanlı Tarihini Yeniden Yazmak, Istanbul 2010, pp. 41–65.

at the crossroads between Asia, Africa and Europe, a rich cultural and ethnic diversity gave it a crucial role in economic, cultural, and intellectual exchanges between East and West. From the 16th century, Ottoman superiority was challenged. Europe became stronger with the Renaissance, colonial expansion, and technological breakthroughs. In the 17th century, continuous war with the Ottoman Empire tipped the balance in the favour of Europe and the Ottoman Empire went into a protracted period of relative decline.[19] In Europe, Russia and Austria posed the biggest threat on the integrity of the empire.[20] This process gained pace as the Industrial Revolution began to spread across Europe. The gap between the Ottoman Empire and Europe was widening even more.

This relative decline of the empire and shrinking of its territory made the Ottoman elites aware of the superiority of Western military and civil technology. In the early 18th century, in response to internal and external threats, Ottoman sultans made efforts to introduce Western-style military institutions and weapons, but they met with resistance from high-ranking conservative officers inside the Ottoman palace. When Selim III came to power in 1789, he made another attempt, sending envoys to Prussia and Austria in order to prepare for new reforms. They started with a transformation of the existing military corps and an upgrade of the technical services, with the ultimate goal of creating a European-style land force.[21] Selim III's modernisation project was continued by Mahmud II (1808–1839). His reforms encompassed all essential aspects of Ottoman society.[22] With the proclamation of the *Tanzimat* edict (Imperial Edict of Reorganization) on 3 November 1839, the Ottoman Empire initiated an even more thorough era of modernisation.[23]

As the reform programme took hold, the Ottoman state was in urgent need of qualified personnel in the army, industry, bureaucracy, education, and other sectors. To meet the needs of modernisation and catch up with the West, from 1830 onwards the Ottoman central government began sending students to modernised countries in Europe, believing that this would help the empire catch up in a short time. However, in reality, this practice outlasted the end of the Ottoman Empire and has continued in the Republic of Turkey in spite of being interrupted by economic difficulties, war, and opposition from government officials.

The first Ottoman students are sent to Europe

In the late 18th century, two high-ranking Ottoman officials, Halil Hamid Pasha (grand vizier from 1782 to 1785) and Ebubekri Ratıp, planned to send students to

19 *Id.*, The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300–1600, New York 1973.
20 *M. Şükrü Hanioğlu*, The Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire, Princeton 2008, p. 7.
21 *Carter Vaughn Findley*, Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity. A History, 1789–2007, New Haven 2010, p. 31.
22 On Mahmud II's reforms, see *Stanford J. Shaw/Ezel Kural Shaw*, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Vol. 2: Reform, Revolution, and Republic. The Rise of Modern Turkey, Cambridge 1977.
23 On the Tanzimat reforms, see *Halil İnalcık/Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu* (eds.), Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Ankara 2006.

France and discussed the idea with French diplomats in Istanbul. However, it was only put into practice by Mehmed Ali Pasha, Ottoman governor of Egypt in the early 19th century.[24] To gain experience of European technology at first hand to modernise Egypt – by then one of the world's major producers of raw cotton, with an important cotton industry of its own[25] – he sent the first group of students to Italy in 1809.[26] From 1818 onwards, he also sent Egyptian students to England and France.[27] As the number of Egyptian students in France grew, Muhammad Ali Pasha opened the Egyptian School (École Égyptienne) and Egyptian Military School (École Militaire Égyptienne) in Paris.[28] Mahmud II was the first Ottoman Sultan who established a state policy to send students abroad. In 1830, four or five students were sent to France. Out of these, Ibrahim Edhem Pasha became the most prominent, serving as Grand Vizier from 1877 to 1878.[29] During Mahmud II's rule, a total of 89 students from different religious and ethnic backgrounds were sent to Europe, most of them on government scholarships and taking military courses. It reflected how the Ottoman government prioritised the military modernisation from the beginning of the long modernisation process. A few also studied medicine or engineering. The main destination during this period was France, but students were also sent to Austria, Great Britain, and Germany. Most of them returned to the Ottoman Empire after completing their studies and worked in important posts of the empire and played a significant role in the Tanzimat reforms.[30]

Tanzimat and sending Ottoman students to Europe (1839–1876)

The proclamation of the Tanzimat reforms was a watershed in the Ottoman policy of sending students abroad. Implementing these reforms required ever more people with key skills in foreign languages, modern technology, and governing competence. To meet this demand, sending students to Europe became an important government policy with specific regulations. Compared to the previous period, the proportion of students with government scholarships rose compared to those with

24 *Mustafa Gençoğlu*, Osmanlı Devleti'nce Batı'ya Eğitim Amacıyla Gönderilenler (1830–1908) Biyografisi Araştırması, doctoral thesis, Ankara 2008.

25 *Sven Beckert*, Empire of Cotton. A Global History, New York 2014, p. 256; *Jean Batou*, Muhammad Ali's Egypt, 1805–1848. A Command Economy in the 19th Century, in: *id.* (ed.), Between Development and Underdevelopment. The Precocious Attempts at Industrialization of the Periphery, 1800–1870, Geneva 1991, pp. 181–218.

26 *James Heyworth-Dunne*, An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt, London 1968, p. 212.

27 *Alain Silvera*, The First Egyptian Student Mission to France under Muhammad Ali, in: Middle Eastern Studies 16, 1980, no. 2, pp. 1–22.

28 *Adnan Şişman*, Egyptian and Armenian Schools Attended by the Ottoman Students in Paris, in: Uşak University Journal of Social Sciences 2, 2009, no. 1, pp. 1–10.

29 Scholars disagree as to the number of students involved. Some claim that the first group consisted of four students, others give the figure as five. For more details, see *Mustafa Gençoğlu*, Osmanlı Devleti'nde Yurtdışı Eğitimin Öncüleri (1830–1839), in: ESOGÜ Tarih Dergisi 3, 2020, no. 2, pp. 6–22. See also *Aynur Erdoğan*, Osmanlı'da Yurt Dışı Eğitim ve Modernleşme, Istanbul 2016.

30 Again, the number is disputed. See *Gençoğlu*, Osmanlı Devleti'nce Batı'ya Eğitim Amacıyla Gönderilenler (1830–1908), pp. 40 f.

private funding. From 1839 until 1876, a total of 422 students were sent to Europe, of whom 254 studied in France, 67 in Great Britain, 34 in Austria, ten in Germany, and six in Belgium. A majority of them (267) were Muslims, and all of them male.[31] Students were not only sent for military education but also to study medicine, chemistry, mining, engineering, languages, law, and economics.

France was the major destination, and Paris in particular became a mecca for Ottoman students – so much so that some high-ranking officials began to question the general impact of such a localised concentration. In response, the government decided to open Ottoman schools in Paris to assist students in learning French and other important subjects required for admission to French universities. In 1857, the Ottoman government opened the Ottoman School (École Impériale Ottomane, respectively Mekteb-i Osmani) and – for Ottoman students of Christian faith – the Armenian School (Mekteb-i Muradyan) in Paris.[32] At the same time, in order to preserve their identity, the schools also taught them Turkish and their respective religion. This reflects the selectiveness of the Ottoman modernity – adopt Western technology but not the culture. In 1875, due to economic problems, the Ottoman government asked students to return, while allowing the children of wealthy families to continue their education at their own expense.

After the students had finished their study in Europe, most of them came back to the Ottoman Empire. They embarked on careers in the military or in diplomacy, industry, and education and became pioneers of Ottoman modernisation. They not only brought modern technology but also Western culture, lifestyles, modern journalism, and political ideas. This was not the outcome which the Ottoman Empire – neither the government nor the public – had expected or desired. İbrahim Şinasi, who became a famous intellectual, journalist and translator, studied finance in France between 1849 and 1853. Students like him not only brought Western technology to the empire but also Western democratic ideas. Şinasi, for example, published the first privately-owned newspaper in the Ottoman Empire.[33]

Ottoman students in Europe during the Hamidian period (1876–1908)

Abdulhamid II came to power in 1876, at a time when the Ottoman Empire faced tremendous internal and external pressure. The war with Russia (1787–1878) made the Ottoman Empire more vulnerable and forced the government to speed up the modernisation process. To rejuvenate the declining empire, he made reforms in law, bureaucracy, and education. At the same time, he emphasised the Pan-Islamist

31 *Erdoğan*, Osmanlı'da Yurt Dışı Eğitim ve Modernleşme, p. 398.

32 On the Ottoman school in Paris, see *Mehtap Ay*, Paris Mekteb-i Osmanisi'nin Kuruluş, Amaç ve İşlevi, Master Thesis, Ankara 2007. On the Egyptian and Armenian schools in Paris, see *Şişman*, Egyptian and Armenian Schools Attended by Ottoman Students in Paris.

33 See *Abdulhalim Aydin*, Batılılaşma Döneminde Şinasi ve Fransız Etkisi, in: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi 17, 2020, no. 2, pp. 105–131

idea and the loyalty of Ottoman subjects, especially the young, to the Sultan.[34] In sending students to Europe, he followed the footsteps of his predecessor. During the Hamidian period, a total of 315 students were sent abroad, including 172 to France, 109 to Germany, 12 to Switzerland, and three to Austria, with some of them studying in more than one country.[35] It is important to note that, during this period, the number of Ottoman students in *Kaiserreich* rose at the expense of French universities. The reason for this change lays in the ever closer bilateral relations between the Ottoman and the recently created German Empire. Its victory over France and the German academic model of combining teaching with research made late 19th-century Germany an attractive destination, not only for Ottoman students.[36] Another important factor was the image of France in terms of morality and the threat this meant to the moral integrity of Ottoman students. Finally, France was regarded as the home of revolutions and political unrest, and the Ottoman government feared this would instigate political activities among Ottoman students. All these factors pushed the Ottoman government to send more students to the Austrian and German empires instead of France.

From 1830, when the first students were sent to Europe, until the opening of the Ottoman school in Paris in 1856, the task of monitoring and controlling of the students fell to the Ottoman embassies in Europe. After the closing of the Ottoman schools in 1865, the government established the Ottoman students' office, which was operative until 1875, for the purpose. During this time, students were sent to Europe not only by the central government but also by local governments and various ministers. The practice was largely unregulated until 1894, from which date students had to pass an exam organised by the Ottoman government in the subjects of Turkish and the language of the destination country, as well being of good moral character. Candidates had to be aged between 20 and 26, and returning graduates were obliged to work for the government for a period of ten years. Students found to have breached the rules had to pay back their scholarship in full.[37]

Compared to the Tanzimat period, students sent abroad during the Hamidian period went to a more diverse set of European countries, and their fields of study were also more diversified, now including military, medicine, engineering, economics, political studies, law, art, telegraph technology, agriculture, and business administration. However, military students still formed the largest group. Much in contrast with the social profiles of students sent abroad from other countries (Japan in parti-

34 *Benjamin. C. Fortna*, The Reign of Abdulhamid II, in: *Reşat Kasaba* (ed.), The Cambridge History of Turkey. Vol. 4: Turkey in the Modern World, Cambridge 2008, pp. 38–61.

35 *Mustafa Gündüz*, Diyar-ı Ecnebîde Tahsil-i İlm Serüvenimiz (1830–1950), in: Eğitime Bakiş. Eğitim-Öğretim ve Bilim Araştırma Dergisi 11, 2015, no. 34, pp. 21–36.

36 After the Franco-Prussian war, Germany maintained relations with the Ottoman Empire. On the German influence in the Ottoman Empire, see *İlber Ortaylı*, Osmanlı İmparaturluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu, İstanbul 1981. For more information on the different university systems, see *Walter Rüegg* (ed.), A History of the University in Europe. Vol. 3: Universities in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (1800–1945), Cambridge 2004.

37 *Erdoğan*, Osmanlı'da Yurt Dışı Eğitim ve Modernleşme, pp. 224 f.

cular), the Ottoman students were mostly orphans, homeless, or the children of poor families.[38]

Ottoman students abroad from 1908 until the First World War

In 1908, the Young Turk Revolution weakened Abdulhamid II, and power was taken over by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP, in Turkish: Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti). Like its predecessors, the new government continued the reforms and sent more students abroad. In contrast with previous periods, however, this government also sent students to the United States. During this period, the close ties between the Young Turks and the German government meant that *Kaiserreich* became the main destination for Ottoman students. Apart from Germany, France, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium and the United States also attracted Ottoman students. From 1909 until 1913, a total of 487 students were sent to foreign countries.[39] From 1910, under an agreement with Columbia University (New York), the United States provided free education to three Ottoman students each year. In the same year, the Ottoman government sent another two students with scholarships.[40] It was the beginning of a new era for Ottoman students, allowing them to go beyond Europe. Regarding the fields of study, they now included all natural and social sciences. Another important innovation was the sending of female students to Europe. In the early 20th century, the policy of sending only male students was changed thanks to the political, intellectual, and institutional changes in the Ottoman Empire. Some intellectuals and politicians who studied in Europe emphasised the importance of female education and advocated to send young women to Europe. From 1910 until the First World War, the new government sent more than 10 non-Muslim female students to Europe.[41] Muslim female students were sent to Europe only in 1914, after many debates among intellectuals and a few women writers in the journal »Kadınlar Dünyası Dergisi« (Women's World).[42]

II. China and the historical background of sending students abroad

China is well known for its ancient civilization, its diversity of cultures, and for the great inventions which were adopted by Europeans and other peoples of the »Old World«: papermaking, gunpowder, printing, the compass, etc. Since its beginnings more than 3,000 years ago, China has been formed from several kingdoms, fallen apart, been reunited, and has been ruled by different ethnic groups. In 1644, the Manchu people from north of the Great Wall overthrew the Ming Dynasty (1368–

38 *Güray Kırpık*, Yurtdışına Öğrenci Göndermenin Tarihî Meseleleri, in: Eğitime Bakiş. Eğitim-Öğretim ve Bilim Araştırma Dergisi 11, 2015, no. 34, pp. 11–20.

39 *İsmail Ayhan*, Eğitim Amacıyla Yurd Dışına Gönderilen Öğrenciler (1908–1922). Prosopografik Bir Çalışma Örneği, doctoral thesis, Ankara 2021.

40 *Erdoğan*, Osmanlı'da Yurt Dışı Eğitim ve Modernleşme p. 298.

41 *Güldane Çolak*, Avrupa'da Osmanlı Kızları, Istanbul 2013.

42 *Erdoğan*, Osmanlı'da Yurt Dışı Eğitim ve Modernleşme, pp. 299–307.

1644) and established the Great Qing Empire, which lasted until 1911. The Qing continuously widened the empire's territory, reaching its peak by the end of 18th century and making it a leading world power.[43] The export of high-value goods like tea, silk, porcelain, cotton, etc. generated wealth and social stability. Only from the late 18th century did wars and higher taxes lead to political unrest. This, in turn, contributed to stagnation and decline in the Qing Empire at the very time when the Industrial Revolution gave western European powers a competitive edge in the race for world domination.[44] In the early 19th century, the crisis intensified, making it evident to many reform-minded and high-ranking Chinese officials and intellectuals that the Qing Empire was falling behind the modern West.

This became even more evident with the First Opium War (1839–1842), which ended with China's defeat and changed the trajectory of its history. Western powers increased their economic, political, and cultural influence in China. The more liberal officials in the Qing Empire renewed their stress on the importance of learning from the West and the need to modernise the country. Wei Yuan (1794–1857) was one of the few intellectuals and officials who developed a coherent theoretical and strategic plan for remaking the empire. The idea of »learning the advanced technology of barbarians in order to defeat them« was at the core of his proposal.[45] The Second Opium War (1856–1860), general economic problems, and the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1964) further weakened the empire. In order to recover from these crises, members of a reform-minded elite like Zeng Guofan (1811–1872), Li Hongzhang (1823–1901), and Zo Zungtang (1812–1885) initiated the »self-strengthening movement«, which lasted from the 1860s well into the 1890s.[46] The movement promoted and initiated the translation of books from Western languages, established factories, shipyards and schools, and invited foreign experts into the country. At the same time, it sent education missions to the United States and Europe in order to reduce dependency on foreigners.[47] The »self-strengthening movement« helped ensure that the practice of sending students abroad became an important government policy during China's late Qing and early republican periods.

The Qing Empire starts sending students abroad

The beginnings of sending Chinese students abroad were closely related with the Catholic and Protestant missionaries and their missionary schools in China. From the 18th century onwards, hundreds of Chinese studied Catholic theology in France,

43 *William T. Rowe*, China's Last Empire. The Great Qing, Cambridge 2009, pp. 63–89.

44 *Paul S. Ropp*, China in World History, New York 2010, p. 102.

45 *Man*, ›To change‹ or ›to be changed‹.

46 赵党留 *[Zhao Dangliu]*, 新平评洋务运动 [New Comments on the Self-Strengthening Movement], in: Journal of Changsha University 30, 2016, no. 6, pp. 80–82.

47 On links between translation and Chinese modernisation, see *Lawrence Wangchi Wong* (ed.), Translation and Modernization in East Asia in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, Hong Kong 2018. On the links between the Self-Strengthening Movement and studying abroad, see 侯耀先 *[Hou Yaoxian]*, 洋务运动时期的留学教育 [Study Abroad Education during the Self-Strengthening Movement], in: Journal of Northwest University for Nationalities (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition), 2007, no. 5, pp. 13–16.

Italy, and Portugal. They enjoyed the support of missionaries, who expected them to continue missionary work in China after completing their studies.[48] Yung Wing (容闳, pinyin: Róng Hóng, 1828–1912) who went to the United States with the support of missionary activist Samuel R. Brown, studied at Yale University (1851–1854), where he obtained a degree in literature. He was the first Chinese to graduate from an American university. Back in China, he rallied for more Chinese to study in the United States. During his work as a translator, he met Zeng Guofan, the pioneer of the »self-strengthening movement«, who advocated »saving the nation by education«. Zeng Guofan was also the head of the Kiang-nan arsenal in Shanghai, China's first modern armament factory. During the 1860s, Yung Wing helped him to obtain modern American machinery needed for this key industry. In 1863, the Qing government began to discuss plans for sending students abroad systematically, but many conservative officials and scholars still opposed it. They objected that sending students abroad was a waste of money and time, and (more importantly) that owning up to a need to learn from other nations would make China »lose its face«.[49] Yet with support from Zeng Guofan and other progressive civil servants, Yung Wing's proposal for sending students to the United States was finally approved by the Qing court.[50] The first group of 30 carefully selected students was sent to San Francisco in 1871. Until 1875, 120 students aged from 10 to 16, most of them from poor families in Southern China and with government stipends, a few with private funding, arrived in America.[51] Upon arrival, most of these students stayed with local families to learn English faster. Within a few years, quite a few of them had started their studies at Yale, Columbia, Harvard, and other universities and colleges in the fields of natural science, social science, and military studies. Having arrived so young, they adopted American culture faster, cutting off their queues and in some cases even converting to Christianity. Due to the worsening of bilateral relations between the United States and China in the 1870s and due to a few critical reports conservative Chinese officials sent to the Qing court about students losing their Chinese identity, abandoning their religious beliefs and joining revolutionary groups, the Qing government decided in 1881 to abort the program and repatriate the remaining 112 students. Back in China, they were initially treated almost as prisoners and were not given adequate high-ranking positions. However, after a short time, their skills were recognized and many of them obtained prominent government positions, in the fields of diplomacy, mining, and railroad planning and building, as well as in commerce and education. A few made spectacular careers, like Tang Shaoyi (1862–1938), who became the first prime minister of the Republic of China in 1912. Even though they made great contributions in advancing technology and bureaucratic reform, their influence on political reform was modest.[52]

48 董守义 *[Dong Shouyi]*, 清代留学运动史 [History of the Study Abroad Movement in the Qing Dynasty], Shenyang 1985, pp. 1–27.

49 *Stacey Bieler*, »Patriots« or »Traitors«. A History of American-Educated Chinese Students, New York 2003, p. 4.

50 On Yun Wing's life, see *Yung Wing*, My Life in China and America, New York 1909.

51 吴霓 *[Wu Ni]*, 中国人留学史话, 北京 [History of Chinese Study Abroad], Beijing 1997, pp. 16–19.

52 *Lian Xi*, Returning to the Middle Kingdom. Yung Wing and the Recalled Students of the Chinese Educational Mission to the United States, in: Modern Asian Studies 49, 2015, no. 1, pp. 150–176.

The Qing government not only sent students to the United States but from 1876 onwards also to Europe. Li Hongzhang, a Qing army general and statesman, admired German military prowess. After the Prussian victory over France in 1871, he ordered large numbers of Krupp cannons. Like many Chinese, he believed »the Germans did not bring any imperial baggage to China like other Western powers«.[53] It was upon Krupp's proposal that, in 1876, Li Hongzhang sent seven young officers – the first Chinese army students overseas – to Germany. Another student went in 1881 and five more in 1889.[54] Aware of the needs for costal defence, the Qing government also developed the navy. From 1877 until 1886, it sent three groups of navy students, 81 in total, to Great Britain and France. The Qing court believed that »in running the shipyards, France is most prestigious, and in the training of the navy, England is most prosperous«. Accordingly, future shipbuilding engineers were sent mainly to France and future navy commanders to Great Britain.[55] China also sent students to Great Britain to learn English.[56] In 1878, a group of 23 students was sent to France, a second group of eight students in 1881 and a third group of 14 students in 1886.[57] Most of them returned to China after completing their studies in Europe and played significant roles in modernising the Qing army and navy. It is important to note that some students studied more than one field and in more than one country.

Increasing the number of Chinese students abroad (1896–1914)

The First Sino-Japanese War (1894/1895), fought over supremacy over Korea, ended in another humiliating defeat for the Qing Empire and heralded the end of its »self-strengthening movement«. Japan, in contrast, became the regional hegemon. Nonetheless, the defeat renewed the enthusiasm of Chinese people to learn from both East and the West in order to revive their country's fortunes and catch up with the modernising world. The Qing government even had to learn to accept its rival Japan in the role of teacher. The 1890s and 1900s therefore saw a significant increase in the number of students sent abroad. In 1896, the first group of 13 individuals went to Japan, which soon became the most important destination for Chinese students.[58] Yet due to the war, Japanese attitudes towards the Chinese were hostile, and only seven of them were able to complete their studies. The Russo-Japanese War (1904/1905) ended in a Japanese victory – the first victory of an Asian over a

53 *Crowe*, Sino-German Relations, 1871–1917, p. 74.

54 徐健 *[Xu Jian]*, 晚清官派留德学生研究 [A Study on Chinese Students Studying in Germany Sponsored by the Government in the Late Qing Dynasty], in: Historical Collections, 2010, no. 1, pp. 72–79.

55 谢萧瑾 *[Xie Xiaojin]*, 晚清海军留学生派遣情况述析 [An Analysis of the Dispatch of Naval Students in the Late Qing Dynasty], in: Cultural Journal, 2016, no. 1, pp. 236–238.

56 赖继年 *[Lai Jinian]*, 留英学生与当代中国 - 以回国人员为中心 [Chinese Students Studying in the UK and Modern China. A Focus on Returnees], doctoral thesis, Nankai 2012, p. 21.

57 索凯峰 *[Suo Kaifeng]*, 晚清留法教育书评 [Review of Studying in France in the Late Qing Dynasty], in: Educational Research and Experiment, 2012, no. 1, pp. 68–72.

58 邵宝 *[Shao Bao]*, 清末留日学生与日本社会 [Overseas Students of the Late Qing Dynasty in Japan and Japanese Society], doctoral thesis, Suzhou 2013, p. 17.

European power in the modern history. This inspired even more Chinese students to go to Japan. The abolition of the famous »Imperial Exam« (科举考试) for prospective civil servants in 1905 was another important factor. As career opportunities improved, the number of students going to Japan saw another dramatic increase from 1905. This may also have been a reason why the number of self-funded students exceeded the number of those travelling on government bursaries. It goes without saying that for both groups Japan's geographical and cultural proximity made it first choice among foreign destinations.

Year	1896	1897	1898	1988	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Number	13	9	18	207	–	280	500	1000	1300	8000	8000	7000	4000	4000

Source: 薛玉 胜 / 杨 学新 [Xue Yusheng/Yang Xuexin], 近代中国留 日与留美运动之比较 [A Comparison of the Movements of Chinese Studying in Japan and in the United States in Modern Times], in: Japanese Studies, 1996, pp. 53–58.

Table 1: Chinese students in Japan, 1896–1909

From the perspective of the Japanese government, hosting so many Chinese students offered a great opportunity to expand Japanese influence in China. In order to attract even more of them, Japan even established a special college for Chinese students.[59]

The first group of Chinese sent to the United States in 1871 were of the humblest background, from poor families, some of them even orphans. In the early 20th century, the attitude began to change. Now, the Qing court encouraged noble families to send their own children abroad. Some went to Germany, France, and Great Britain, most of them to study fields related to politics and the military. Accordingly, most of these students took important posts in these fields on their return to China. Another important development in this period was that female students now also went abroad. Some girls travelled to the West with their families, some of them with the help of missionaries, while others went to Europe alone with financial support from their families. The first group of 20 officially sponsored female students, all from the Hunan province, were sent to Japan in 1905, after which the number of female students in Japan continually increased. Quite a few of these female students became active in publishing Chinese-language journals and newspapers in Japan, and in anti-Qing republican activities.[60]

Besides sending more and more students to Japan, the Qing government continued to send students to the United States and Europe, but in far smaller numbers. In 1896, the government sent only four students to Germany to learn the language. Students were sent to Germany on a large scale since 1901 with the »New Policies«,

59 *[Shouyi]*, [History of the Study Abroad Movement in Qing Dynasty], p. 208.

60 On Chinese female students and their activities, see 孙石月 *[Sun Shiyue]*, 中国近代女子留学史 [History of Women Studying Abroad in Modern China], Beijing 1995, pp. 110–121.

advocating study in Europe and the United States to prevent revolutionary-minded Chinese students being contaminated with the new ideas that were already spreading in Japan. In this context, the Qing government asked each province to select the most promising students. By the end of the Qing Empire, about 120 were studying in Germany.[61] Besides the military schools, which absorbed the largest subgroup, they also studied in the fields of mining, law, electrical engineering, and German language and literature. To speed up learning German, the Qing government ordered the students to be divided into small groups living in the homes of local citizens, following the model established with the first group sent to the United States in 1871.[62] Among those students, Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940) had huge influence on the modern education of China. He had been attracted by what he had read about the reforms of Wilhelm von Humboldt in Prussia and the critical role of education in Germany's nation building process. So, Cai Yuanpei declined an offer by the government to study in Japan. Instead, he learned German in Qing Dao and travelled to overseas in 1907, at the age of 40, to study philosophy, psychology, and art history at Universität Leipzig.[63] When back in China, he served as minister of education and president of Peking University. In 1897, the Qing government started to send another wave of students to France. It is hard to establish their exact number. According to Qing government reports, between 1908 and 1910 about 140 Chinese students were sent to France, most of them on government scholarships.[64] After the disaster of the Sino-Japanese War, which cost China most of its more modern vessels, the Qing government intended to continue sending naval students to Great Britain, but the government in London initially refused the request. Only in 1904 did Britain relent. Chinese students studied in a variety of fields in Britain, again, most of them on government scholarships.[65] The Qing government also sent students to Belgium, Austria, and Russia, but in far smaller numbers.

The United States had yet to emerge as an important destination for Chinese students. After the Qing government had ordered the 1881 repatriation of students from the United States, no more were sent there until 1909. In the previous year, the US government had created a peculiar instrument for attracting Chinese students: a portion of the reparations China had to pay to the United States after the suppression of the Boxer Uprising in 1901 was channelled into the »Boxer Indemnity Scholarship« (庚子赔款奖学金), which offered grants for Chinese students coming to American universities. In this manner, the US government – like several of its European counterparts – sought to extend its cultural, political, economic, and military influence in China. From 1909 until the end of the Qing Empire, the Chinese go-

61 *Hong Ming*, Das Auslandsstudium von Chinesen in Deutschland (1861–2001), Frankfurt am Main 2005, pp. 56 –70.

62 *Xu Jian*, Die offizielle Entsendung chinesischer Studenten nach Deutschland in der späten Qing-Zeit, 1876–1911, in: *Mechthild Leutner/Andreas Steen/Xu Kai* et al. (eds.), Preußen, Deutschland und China. Entwicklungslinien und Akteure (1842–1911), Berlin 2014, pp. 195–229.

63 *Ricardo K. S. Mak*, The German Intellectual Tradition, Cai Yuanpei and the Founding of Peking University, in: *Ricardo K. S. Mark* (ed.), Transmitting the Ideal of Enlightenment. Chinese Universities since the Late Nineteenth Century, New York 2009, pp. 36–52.

64 *[Suo]*, [Review of Studying in France in the Late Qing Dynasty], p. 71.

65 *[Lai]*, [Chinese Students Studying in the UK and Modern China. A Focus on Returnees], pp. 17–25.

vernment sent 179 students to the United States.[66] Most attended such leading universities as Harvard, Columbia, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and most studied in the fields of science and engineering. After their return to China, a majority went on to work in education, thus spreading the skills and knowledge they had obtained.[67]

Continuous crisis and the slow but steady decline of the Qing Empire were accompanied by the growth of Chinese revolutionary nationalism. The nationalists too wanted to see a strong and modern China, but they wanted to achieve it by means of revolution.[68] Students who had studied abroad played an important role in the rise of Chinese nationalism, especially those returning from Japan – a country that had already gone through such a revolutionary process (somewhat misleadingly labelled a »restoration«), which had resulted in constitutional reform and rapid industrialisation. Returnees launched anti-Qing publications and established revolutionary societies. In 1911, the Xinhai Revolution put an end to 267 years of Qing rule over China. After the founding of the Republic of China, many students returned from abroad to occupy important posts in the new state. The republican government continued to send students abroad and encouraged more to follow this path. Japan remained to be the main destination. The United States, Germany, France, and Great Britain continued to be the major destinations outside Asia.[69] During the early period of the Republic, the motives of studying abroad changed. Many went abroad to serve the new republican state and make the renewed nation richer and stronger. So, the rate of returning to China was generally high.[70] It seems like the Xinhai Revolution and the Republic gave more coherence to the study abroad program, more similar to the Japanese model of modernisation which had previously been rejected by parts of the Qing elite.

III. Japan and the historical background of sending students abroad

Historically, Japan has been much influenced by the culture of its powerful neighbour China. In the 6th century, Japan began to cultivate a bilateral relationship with China, and exchange between both countries intensified. The Chinese writing system and Buddhism spread in Japan. The first strong central government in Japan developed in the 8th century. During the Heian era (794–1185), the Samurai warrior class emerged. Samurai lords called *shoguns* took over the government in 1185.

66 *T. K. Chu*, 150 Years of Chinese Students in America, in: Harvard China Review 5, 2014, no. 1, pp. 7–26.

67 马菲菲 / 廖桃园 *[Ma Feifei/Liao Taoyuan]*, 论美国退还庚款与 1909—1911 年间留美热潮 [View on the American Boxer Refund and the Upsurge of Studying in the United States from 1909 to 1911], in: Journal of Henan Electromechanical College 27, 2019, no. 4, pp. 76–80.

68 *Klaus Mühlhahn*, Making China Modern. From the Great Qing to Xi Jinping, Cambridge 2019, p. 203.

69 陈学恂 / 田正平 *[Chen Xuexun/Tian Zhengping]*, 留学教育 [Education for Study Abroad], Shanghai 1991.

70 曲铁华 / 薛 冰 *[Qu Tiehua/Xue Bing]*, 民国时期留学教育政策的特征及现实启示 [Characteristics of Education Policy for Studying Abroad in the Republic of China and Its Realistic Indication], in: Journal of Hebei Normal University (Educational Science Edition) 18, 2016, no. 1, pp. 34–40.

From this time, the class of strong regional magnates *(daimyo)* increased in power; their rule lasted until the end of the Edo period, also known as the Tokugawa Shogunate, in 1868. At that time, Samurai power also went in decline.

Another major influence from outside was Christianity, spread in Japan by missionaries from Portugal and Spain in the 16th century. When the number of Christians increased dramatically, the Japanese government began to perceive it as major threat to the country. It banned Christianity in 1630 and in 1639 decreed the expulsion of all Europeans except the Dutch. Protestant merchants from the Netherlands persuaded the Japanese government that their interest in Japan was merely commercial and that they refrained from missionary activity. In spite of this seclusion policy, Japan was never totally isolated from the outside world. As well as with the Netherlands, Japan maintained relations with China, Korea, and the Ryukyu Islands to the south of Japan.[71] During this time, intellectuals in Japan tried to understand the outside world by studying Chinese and »Dutch studies«.[72] From the late 18th century, Japan began to fear Russian invasion, particularly of its northern islands. The samurai and Dutch studies specialist Hayashi Shihei (1738–1793) urged the use of Western military science in order to protect the north against Russia.[73] The arguments made against complete isolation by Shihei and other practitioners of Dutch studies played a significant role in bridging the intellectual gap between the West and Japan in the mid-19th century.[74] In the early 19th century, Japan's internal crisis intensified and the increasing presence of Russian, American, and British ships on Japan's shores led to open debates about whether Tokugawa administrators were up to the challenges of dealing with internal and external threats.[75] China's defeat in the First Opium War (1839–1842), which forced the country to open its trade to Western powers, was a wake-up call for many Japanese thinkers and political leaders. Again, Japanese intellectuals argued for the importance of learning Western technology. Sakuma Shozan (1801–1864), a samurai scholar, proposed a fusion of »Eastern ethics, Western science« as the means to strengthen Japan both internally and externally and to safeguard its independence.[76] This became the slogan of the Meiji Restoration and enjoyed broad support. The arrival of US commodore Matthew C. Perry and his navy in Edo Bay in 1853 was an open challenge to Japan's policy of isolation. More and more people called for their country to open up and learn Western technology in order to preserve its sovereignty. To catch up with the West, the shogunate invited foreign teachers and advisers into Japan, and books

71 *Tashiro Kazui*, Foreign Relations during the Edo Period: *Sakoku* Reexamined, in: The Journal of Japanese Studies 8, 1982, pp. 283–306.

72 From the mid-18th century, the term »Dutch studies« in Japan refers not only to the Dutch language as such but to European science studied through the medium of the Dutch language. For further reading, see *Richard Rubinger*, Private Academies of the Tokugawa Period, Princeton 1982.

73 *William G. Beasley*, The Meiji Restoration, Stanford 1972.

74 *Hirakawa Sukehiro/Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi*, Japan's Turn to the West, in: *Marius B. Jansen* (ed.), The Cambridge History of Japan. Vol. 5: The Nineteenth Century, Cambridge 1989, pp. 432–498.

75 *James L. Huffman*, Japan in World History, New York 2010.

76 *John E. van Sant*, Sakuma Shozan's Hegelian Vision for Japan, in: Asian Philosophy 14, 2004, pp. 277–292.

were translated from Western languages. And even during this phase, before the Meiji Restoration began, the first students were sent abroad, greatly facilitating technological, intellectual, and cultural transfer between the West and Japan.

Japanese students abroad before the Meiji Restoration

Studying abroad is not a modern phenomenon for the Japanese, who have a long history of intellectual exchange with China. In the early 7th century, 14 Japanese students were sent to China, among them ten monks. During the Tang Dynasty (618–907), numbers of such students increased.[77] From 1603, when Japan implemented its isolation policy and banned all foreign travel, not one Japanese travelled abroad. This only changed in the 1850s, when the United States and other countries forced Japan to open up. To respond to the internal and external threats in 1856, a leading official, Abe Masahiro, proposed to the navy and coast guard that young samurai should be sent to Europe to study natural sciences and make observations on European society. Although this particular idea did not materialise, the view was shared by other important members of the cabinet[78], and Japan started to send students abroad even before the isolation policy was officially ended. In 1862, the government sent the first group of 15 students to the Netherlands to study military, natural, and social sciences. Another six students were sent to Russia in 1865, 14 to Great Britain in 1866, and 27 to France in 1867. The *han* or local governors also selected students for foreign study, some of them illegally, without government approval. In 1863, the lord of Choshu sent a first group of five students to University College London for a period of five years. Even though some students like Inoue Kaoru (1836–1915) and Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909) came back to Japan before completing their studies, they became important politicians in Japan. Inoue Kaoru organized one of the earliest political parties in Japan and served as Japan's first foreign minister between 1885 and 1887. Itō Hirobumi became prime minister of Japan four times between 1885 and 1901. Likewise, Satsuma, a Japanese feudal domain in southern Kyushu, sent a first group of students to Britain in 1865. Out of these, Terashima Munenori became a leading diplomat (1873–1879), and Mori Arinori became minister for education (1885–1888) and is considered to be the creator of Japan's modern education system.[79] Only in 1866 a proclamation officially permitted travel overseas for the purpose of education. The Bakufu then sent a first group of students to Great Britain.[80] It is interesting to note that during the early phases of sending students abroad Great Britain became the main destination for Japanese stu-

77 张 鸿 *[Zhang Hong]*, 7 世纪唐朝国学中日本留学生就学状况再探索 [Re-exploration of the Schooling Situation of Japanese Students in Sinology in the Tang Dynasty in the 7th Century], in: Shaanxi Education (Higher Education), 2017, no. 9, pp. 4–7.

78 *Tomihide Kashioka,* Meiji Japan's Study Abroad Program. Modernizing Elites and Reference Society, doctoral thesis, Durham 1982.

79 Ibid.

80 *Takutoshi Inoue*, Japanese Students in England and the Meiji Government's Foreign Employees (Oyatoi): The People Who Supported Modernisation in the Bakumatsu-Early Meiji Period, in: Discussion paper series, 2008, no. 40, pp. 1–30.

dents. Both local governors and the Bakufu were aware that Great Britain was an island country like Japan. Yet Great Britain, in contrast with Japan, had a huge influence in global affairs and posed an enormous threat on the sovereignty of China and Japan due to its advanced technology and strong navy. This is the main reason why Great Britain became more attractive for sending students abroad. Behind the educational efforts of local and central authorities was their rivalry over the hegemony within Japan. In 1877, samurais from Satzuma even launched a futile rebellion, the last one against Meiji central government. Besides Britain, Japan also sent students to the Netherlands, Russia, the United States, and China. These activities were promoted by the shogunate in the expectation that students would learn navigation and naval affairs as well as acquiring the knowledge of Western governmental systems necessary to conduct foreign relations. The government of this pre-Meiji period demanded them to come home for an evaluation before they completed their studies, to differentiate the qualified from not qualified students and give them an aid for continuing their study. This interruption was one of the causes why some of these first students abroad showed no tangible results. Various feudal lords continued to send students. They were motivated by the idea of opening up the country to rival the West in wealth and military power.[81] These early groups of students – a total of 152 before the Meiji Restoration[82] – not only played a significant role in the modernisation of Japan, they also paved the road for future students abroad. The shogunate or *bakufu* sent more students to the Western European countries like France and Great Britain, whereas the *han* sent students mostly to the Anglo-Saxon world: Great Britain and the United States. During the early period, all these students were male and most of them from upper-class families. While staying abroad, they had a chance to come into direct contact with Western culture and to realise the domination of Western power in Asia. Based on their understanding of international politics and Japan's reality as an isolated country, they felt the necessity for national unity as indispensable for Japan's independence from foreign powers. To make Japan a strong and independent nation, many among them concluded that not only military technology but other techniques as well had to be learned from the West and reforms carried out. So, during the Meiji period their ideas became a basis for development.[83]

Japanese students abroad during the Meiji Restoration (1868–1912)

In 1868, the Tokugawa Shogunate was toppled, and a new centralized government was established under the emperor. During the Meiji Restoration, Japan implemented a full-scale modernisation policy. It is worth noting that the Meiji government's state-sponsored modernisation project was very selective and differentiated in

81 *Ishizuki Minoru*, Overseas Study by Japanese in the Early Meiji Period, in: *Burks*, The Modernizers, pp. 161–186.

82 *Keiko Sasaki/Yuri Uchiyama/Sayaka Nakagomi*, Study Abroad and the Transnational Experience of Japanese Women from 1860s–1920s: Four Stages of Female Study Abroad, Sumi Miyakawa and Tano Jōdai, in: Espacio, Tiempo y Educación 7, 2020, no. 2, pp. 5–28.

83 *Minoru*, Overseas Study by Japanese in the Early Meiji Period, pp. 163 f.

what to take from which country and in what aspects of Japanese culture needed to be preserved. During this period, sending students abroad became an important tool of modernising and Japan's government soon encouraged more students to go abroad. From 1868 to 1902, Japanese government had issued 11,248 passports for studying abroad. Many of them went abroad with private funding, but various government agencies were also actively involved and granted scholarships. The number of overseas students rapidly increased around 1870.[84] In contrast to the practice before the Meiji restoration, young women now also had an opportunity to go abroad for study. In 1871, Japan sent the first group of girls to the United States, as members of the famous Iwakura Mission, established from 1871 to 1873 in order to study the modern institutions of the United States and Europe. All five girls were aged under 16; three of them completed their education in the United States and played an important role in the development of women's education. Ume Tsuda (1864–1929), the youngest among them, laid the foundations to Japan's system of women's universities.[85]

Between 1868 and 1874, a total of 550 students were sent to foreign countries, of whom 209 studied in the United States, 168 in Great Britain, 82 in Germany, and seven in China. Three factors contributed to the popularity of the United States. First, the cost of living and studying in the US was lower. Second, many Japanese people believed there was a spiritual affinity between Japan and the US, and that there was more to be learnt from the US. Finally, there was the influence of American missionaries and teachers in Japan.[86] Meanwhile, compared to the Tokugawa period, Germany was getting more important for Japanese students. With the number of students abroad on the rise, the government strengthened the means of surveillance. Instead of monitoring the students through the Japanese consuls in each country, in 1874, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued »Rules for Supervising Students Abroad« and sent officials specifically responsible for this purpose.[87] More than 4,000 students went overseas with government and private funding between 1881 and 1895. The number of privately funded students was larger than that of publicly funded students. American universities were still the main destination for Japanese students, but many also went to China due to its geographical proximity, shared culture and, most importantly, because it was cheap. Between 1881 and 1905, more than 1,600 students studied in China. Many students studied in more than one country. Their subjects included natural sciences, social sciences, engineering, and industry-related fields. Between 1875 and 1905, the ministry of education sent 425 promising students to advanced countries in the West, 321 out of these to the *Kaiserreich*. Between 1896 and 1905 the ministry of education sent students not only to

84 *Minoru*, Overseas Study by Japanese in the Early Meiji Period.

85 *Sasaki/Uchiyama/Nakagomi*, Study Abroad and the Transnational Experience of Japanese Women from 1860s–1920s, pp. 5–28; for more details, see *Yoshiko Furuki*, The White Plum. A Biography of Ume Tsuda, Pioneer of Women's Higher Education in Japan, Honolulu, 2015.

86 *James T. Conte*, Overseas Studies in the Meiji Period. Japanese Students in America, 1867–1902, doctoral thesis, Princeton 1977.

87 *Kashioka*, Meiji Japanese Study Abroad Program.

countries in the West but also to countries in the East like India, China, Korea, and Turkey.[88]

It is worth noting that from the 1870s, Germany became more attractive for Japanese politicians and Japanese students. The following few factors contributed to this change: First, Prussian victory over France and the unification of Germany in 1871, closely observed by Japanese intellectuals, encouraged them to follow the Prussian path to make the military strong and united Japan. Second, the positive image of Germany among Japanese as an exemplary modern Western power which did not harbour overt imperial ambition in either in Japan or East Asia.[89] Third, Germany's success in the fields of medicine, chemistry, pharmacy, and prestige of higher education. Finally, around the 1890s, some intellectuals in Japan started to question »the over-Westernization« of Japan and advocated to »return to being Japanese«. The government also encouraged to study German to overcome the dominance of English and French hegemony in Japan.[90] The Japanese 1889 constitution was also modelled on the Prussian-German constitution of 1871.[91]

It is important to note that from the beginning of the study abroad program, Japanese students from high social class were actively involved in the program. In the 1880s, even young members of the Imperial family went to Great Britain and France. From the beginning of its implementation, government sent students from both sexes to the West. Most of them came back to Japan after completing their studies, worked in important posts of the country and played a significant role on the success of Meiji Restoration. In less than 50 years, Japan became a global power and set an example for China and the Ottoman.

Conclusion

Not many scholars have compared the modernisation of Japan with that of China or Ottoman modernisation with that of Japan. Their focus has been mainly on comparing the policies and ideologies of modernisation and reform with Western countries.[92] Hardly any comparison has been made of their practice of sending students abroad, even though it was closely connected to modernisation. It was implemented

88 Ibid.

89 *Kim*, Made in Meiji Japan, p. 303.

90 *Sukehiro*, Japan's Turn to the West, pp. 487–495.

91 *Bernd Martin/Peter Wetzler*, The German Role in the Modernization of Japan. The Pitfall of Blind Acculturation, in: Oriens Extremus 33, 1990, no. 1, pp. 77–88; *Andō Junko*, Japan und die preußische Verfassung, in: *Gerhard Krebs* (ed.), Japan und Preußen, Munich 2002, pp. 163–184; *Bert Becker*, Der Staatsrechtler Hermann Roesler als Regierungsberater in Japan, in: *Martin Guntau* (ed.), Mecklenburger im Ausland. Historische Skizzen zum Leben und Wirken von Mecklenburgern in ihrer Heimat und in der Ferne, Bremen 2001, pp. 92–98. After Japan adopted the constitution of Prussia, China adopted it from Japan. The first constitutional document in Chinese history, the outline of the 1908 Imperial Constitution, was a copy of this Japanese constitution. To learn more on Japanese constitutional influence on China, see *Shiping Hua*, Shen Jiaben and the Late Qing Legal Reform (1901–1911), in: East Asia 30, 2013, pp. 121–138.

92 *Cemil Aydin*, The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia. Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought, New York 2007; *Renée Worringer*, Ottomans Imagining Japan. East, Middle East, and Non-Western Modernity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century, New York 2014; *Huri Is-*

when Japan, China, and the Ottoman Empire came under increasing pressure from Western powers. High-ranking officials and intellectuals from those countries accepted the superiority of Western technology but rejected »Western« culture. So, their modernisation process in the 19th and early 20th century was very selective. And yet the practice of sending students abroad led to different results in the Ottoman Empire, in Japan, and in the Qing Empire.

The Ottoman Empire started to send students abroad in the 1830s, much earlier than Japan and China. Their destination was almost exclusively Europe. Japan started to send students to Europe and the Unites States in the 1860s, China started to do so in the 1870s. Geographical proximity and modern industry made Europe attractive for the Ottoman Empire. What is more, this empire never implemented any isolation policy, so Ottomans had always been aware of developments in Russia and Western Europe. For Japanese students, the main destination was initially the United States, where living and studying were cheaper than in European countries. This was even more important for those who went at their own expense. From the 1870s, Germany became the main destination for Ottoman and government-funded Japanese students. The reasons for this lay first and foremost in the Prussian victory over France in 1871. Ever since, the Japanese and the Ottoman government saw the *Kaiserreich* as a model for modernising its own military, education, medicine, and industry. The second factor was the prestige of Germany's system of higher education. Finally, elites in Japan and the Ottoman Empire appreciated the conservative aspects of Prussian modernity and Prussian aversions towards its western rivals France and Great Britain. So, they advocated to learn from Germany for reducing the cultural and political influence of these western European imperial powers.

The Ottoman Empire and Japan from the second half of the 19th century and China in the early 20th century started to emphasise morality and national loyalty of the students. Ottoman and Japanese student supervisors perceived Germany as a safer place in terms of morality and political attitudes, and therefore sent more students to Germany. From the early 20th century, Qing government saw Japan as a dangerous attraction for revolutionary-minded Chinese subjects and as a threat for political stability within the Empire. Therefore, the Qing government advocated students to rather go to the United States and Europe instead of Japan. Yet, after the Sino-Japanese War, and even more so after the Russo-Japanese War, many Chinese students preferred Japan, even if they had to go there with their own private money. Japan's victories over China and Russia had given it an image similar to that of Prussia. This helped Japan to become the main destination for the Chinese students. At the same time, Germany became an important European destination for Chinese students. There were parallels in the impact that wars had on the choice of destinations for Ottoman, Japanese and Chinese students, but there were also significant differences in the students' social and economic backgrounds. Most Japanese students came from the upper classes, and even the emperor's family sent a prince to

lamoglu, Modernities Compared. State Transformations and Constitutions of Property in the Qing and Ottoman Empires, in: Journal of Early Modern History 5, 2001, pp. 353–386; *George M. Beckmann*, The Modernization of China and Japan, New York 1983.

Europe in the 1880s. This not only set a good example for students from all strata to go abroad but also relieved the government of economic burdens: their socio-economic background is one reason why Japanese students mostly went abroad with private funding. The Ottoman and Qing Empires, by contrast, mostly sent orphans and children of poor families abroad, in particular during the early phase. Consequently, until c. 1900 most of the Chinese and Ottoman students went abroad with scholarships that were a significant economic burden for their governments. Regarding gender, the Ottoman and Qing Empires sent mainly or exclusively male students abroad until the early 20th century. Japan, by contrast, already sent the first group of female students to the United States in the 1870s. Its government encouraged women to be actively involved in the process of modernisation and therefore invested hugely in women's education.

Initially, all these governments saw sending students abroad as a short-term policy and believed that they can catch up to their rivalries if only they adopt modern technology. The students were meant to learn such superior technology but to reject Western culture. Ottoman, Japanese and Chinese supervisors set up mechanisms of control: first by selecting them by »morality« and then by monitoring them in their host countries, seeking to preserve their religious and cultural identity, etc. Students going abroad with their own private funding were probably more difficult to control. For their part, the Ottomans established the École Impériale Ottomane in Paris in 1857, with an emphasis on religion and language, while the Qing Empire established a China Study Abroad Affairs Office (中国留学事务所) in Hartford City, Connecticut, to monitor the students and instruct them in Chinese and Confucian classics. Embassies or consulates assessed students' academic success and monitored their activities. Yet, contrary to the expectations and efforts of their home countries, many among them not only played a significant role in the technological and educational modernisation of their country but also brought democratic values and many other elements of Western culture. They openly criticized their rulers and demanded political reforms. Some Chinese students even launched anti-government publications and formed political associations. These students played a significant role in the Xinhai Revolution in China of 1911 and in the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. Yet these countries' study abroad programmes also enhanced the development of domestic education.

Of the three countries considered here, the policy pursued by Meiji Japan was probably the most successful. The success is illustrated with its own higher education system. Japan established the first imperial university (Tokyo University) in 1877 and by the early 20th century had become the most important destination even for Chinese students. Its protagonists advocated a modern constitution and thus a more inclusive approach and no religious conservatism. In sending many students from elite families, the Japanese practice of studying abroad was loaded with social status.

Study abroad as an intellectual phenomenon was crucial for global transfers of concepts of modernisation, technology, institutional models, democratic values, and Western culture, even though wars were fought between countries involved. The outcomes of wars even stimulated student mobility, including mobility from the vanquished to the victorious nation. This is what also happened in East and West

Germany and in Japan after 1945. The study abroad programs of the Ottoman Empire, Japan and China had developed in parallel to the modernisation processes of their countries and were from their beginnings inseparable part of the international student mobility in the Long 19th Century. Even if it had some differences compared to the study abroad phenomenon in the West, it shared many commonalities as well.