THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND KOREA

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ABSTRACT

The Impact of American Missionaries on Women's Education in the Ottoman Empire and Korea

The American foreign missionary movement began in 1810 with the establishment of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). This voluntary organization oversaw American missionary activity in foreign countries. American missionaries traveled to various countries such as India, Hawaii, Burma, Africa, China, Japan, the Middle East, and Korea. Protestant missionaries prioritized mass education, allowing people to study the Bible in their native languages, leading to the establishment of educational institutions in these regions. This thesis explores the significant role of American missionaries in women's education in the Ottoman Empire and Korea during the nineteent and early twentieth centuries.

This research highlights the similarities and differences in their impact on the social, cultural, and political landscapes of the Ottoman Empire and Korea by offering a comparative analysis of their educational efforts. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions supervised the missionary activity in foreign lands, and the American missionaries' established educational institutions wherever they went. Their focus on mass education and teaching the Bible in native languages played a significant role in developing women's education in both regions. Due to the efforts of missionaries in promoting women's education, numerous women from diverse backgrounds were able to receive education. As a result, American missionary schools for women and their graduates played a vital role in the contemporary education system and made significant contributions to women's education. This study compares the impact of missionary activities on women's

education in the Ottoman Empire and Korea. Through a comparative analysis, it aims to identify the similarities and differences in the influence of American missionary women's education on these two regions.

ÖZET

Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Kore'de Kadınların Eğitimine Etkisi

Amerikan yurtdışı misyonerlik hareketi 1810 yılında *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* teşkilatının kurulmasıyla başlamıştır. Bu gönüllü kuruluş, yabancı ülkelerdeki Amerikan misyonerlik faaliyetlerini denetlemiştir. Zamanla Amerikalı misyonerler Hindistan, Hawaii, Burma, Afrika, Çin, Japonya, Orta Doğu ve Kore gibi çeşitli ülkelere seyahat etmişlerdir. Protestan misyonerler kitlesel eğitime öncelik vererek, insanların kendi ana dillerinde İncil'i incelemelerine olanak sağlamışlar ve bu bölgelerde eğitim kurumlarının kurulmasına yol açmışlardır. Bu tez, 19. Yüzyıl ve 20. Yüzyılın başlarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Kore'de Amerikalı misyonerlerin kadınların eğitimindeki önemli rolünü incelemektedir. Amerikalı misyonerler Batı eğitiminin, değerlerinin ve sosyal değişimlerin iki farklı bölgeye tanıtılmasında önemli bir rol oynamışlardır.
Bu araştırma, eğitim çabalarının karşılaştırmalı bir analizini sunarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Kore'nin sosyo-kültürel ve politikası üzerindeki etkilerini incelemektedir. Buna ek olarak, benzerlik ve farklılıkları da vurgulamaktadır. *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* gittiği her yerde eğitim kurumları kurmuştur. Kitlesel eğitime ve İncil'in ana dillerinde öğretilmesine odaklanmaları, her iki bölgede de kadınların eğitiminin geliştirilmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Misyonerlerin kadınların eğitimini teşvik etme çabaları sayesinde, farklı kökenlerden çok sayıda kadın eğitim alabilmiştir. Sonuç olarak, kadınlara yönelik Amerikan misyoner okulları ve mezunları, modern eğitim sisteminde önemli bir rol oynamış ve kadınların eğitimine önemli katkılar sağlamıştır. Bu çalışma

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Kore'de misyonerlik faaliyetlerinin kadınların eğitimine etkisini karşılaştırmaktadır. Karşılaştırmalı bir analiz yoluyla, Amerikalı misyoner kadınların eğitiminin bu iki bölge üzerindeki etkisindeki benzerlikleri ve farklılıkları tespit etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM - American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

WBM - Woman's Board of Missions for the Pacific.

WBMI - Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior

YMCA - Young Men's Christian Association

YWCA - Young Women's Christian Association

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this study, the impact of American missionaries on women's education in the Ottoman Empire and the Korean Peninsula is compared based on similarities and differences in their educational aims and outcomes. American missionaries brought foreign influence and new ideas related to education in both the Ottoman Empire and Korea. Their arrival was marked by a spirit of compassion, aiming to improve local communities' lives through education. To achieve this goal, they established schools and educational institutions for women, providing access to education previously inaccessible by some segments of both societies. They believed that education would empower women and contribute to the betterment of society. American missionaries' work in both places contributed to lasting improvements in women's education. The missionaries shared a common objective of promoting traditional, religious, and modern sciences to teach women fundamental knowledge. Due to political factors, American missionaries could only reach some segments of society and had to alter their methods and activities to comply with regulations. It is evident that Missionary women's schools and the women who graduated from them played a significant role in shaping the contemporary education systems of both the Ottoman Empire and Korea. Most instructors in women's schools in both regions were graduates of American missionary schools. Additionally, there were several similarities between the activities of American missionaries on women's education and the outcomes of their efforts in both regions. This study used primary sources such as newspapers, reports, memoirs, and books of American missionaries to see how American missionaries had different educational policies towards women in these two distinct

places where missionary girl schools impacted women's education. This work analyzes the impact of American missionaries on women's education in the Ottoman Empire and Korea through four questions.

In doing so, the thesis seeks to address the following main and sub-questions:

- How did American missionaries affect women's education in the Ottoman Empire and the Korean Peninsula?
- How have both countries' political context and institutional regulations affected missionaries' approaches to society and their activities?
- What are the similarities and differences between American missionary female schools established on the Korean Peninsula and the Ottoman Empire?
- How did American missionaries influence local women?

The research is divided into four chapters. The introduction provides a brief overview of how American missionaries impacted women's education in the Ottoman Empire and Korea. It then delves into the American Missionary movement and women's contribution to the mission, highlighting how women were the primary driving force behind the spread of American missionary women's education. The second chapter delves into the emergence of American missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire and the progress of education during that time. It provides an in-depth account of the history of American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire and the evolution of the education system to shed light on how the Ottoman Empire responded to their presence. The chapter also explores the interrelationship between the development of American missionary institutions and the advancement of education in the Ottoman Empire. In the third chapter, the focus is on the history of the American missionary effort on the Korean Peninsula. The chapter explains how American missionaries gained the trust of Korean society and the royal family. In

addition, the chapter highlights the role of American missionaries in advancing education across the peninsula, especially women's education. In the third chapter, the thesis explores the history of women's education in the Ottoman Empire and Korea. It delves into the establishment of American missionary girl schools, and examines the reactions of society and intellectuals towards these institutions. The chapter also discusses the school curriculum and the impact of American missionary girl schools on women's education in both regions. This study used primary sources such as newspapers, reports, memoirs, and books of American missionaries to see how American missionaries differed. The American Board was founded in 1810 by a group of young individuals determined to embark on missionary work in foreign locales.[1] Samuel J. Mills and his companions formally created the Society of Brethren in 1808, and two years later, members of this group founded the American Board.[2] In addition to being the biggest in the nineteenth century, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was the first foreign mission board established in the United States.[3]

The American Missionary Movement began domestically and then expanded to include international ventures. This organization was entirely volunteer, and for over 50 years, ABCFM controlled American missionary operations in foreign lands. American missionaries initially traveled to India, Hawaii, and Burma, then to Africa, China, Japan, the Middle East, and Korea by the 1900s. There was a genuine Christian concern for the inhabitants of the countries they served, which was part of

[1] See: Shelton, *"Faith, Freedom, And Flag: The Influence of American Missionaries in Turkey on Foreign Affairs, 1830-1880"*, 17; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, 51; Doğan, *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and "Nominal Christians": Elias Riggs (1810-1901) and American Missionary Activities in The Ottoman Empire*, 12; Kling, *The New Divinity and the Origins of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 792; Şahin, *Faithful Encounters: Authorities and American Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire*, 3.
[2] Strong, *The Story of the American Board*, 7.
[3] Doğan, "*From New England into New Lands: The Beginning of a Long History*", 8.

the American missionary's nationalist interest in lands controlled by others. American missionaries, intended for Christian ideals to guide colonial policy for indigenous and minority peoples to be protected from exploitation by the government, commercial, and industrial interests.[4]

After 1820, members of the American Board missionary organization carried out missionary activities within the borders of the Ottoman State with the intention of protestantizing the Ottoman Empire.[5] The American missionaries who began serving in the Ottoman Empire chose to establish several institutions to cope with the doctrines they believed were incorrect, spread by the Eastern churches, and physically and spiritually improve the local Christians. The first American missionary to the Ottoman Empire arrived in 1820[6], whereas the first American missionary to Korea arrived in 1884[7]. In the case of Korea, the American missionaries used similar methods to convert people. Because of political factors in both regions, American missionaries could not reach every segment of society. Missionaries faced challenges while changing their methods and activities due to political circumstances and regulations. They operated among non-Muslims and lower classes in the Ottoman Empire since it was unlawful for them to operate among Muslims. Since American missionaries aimed to assist widows and orphans, they prioritized converting the lower classes over the upper classes. Due to class segregation in Korean society and the government's refusal to allow American

[4] Beaver, *Nationalism and Missions*, 23.
[5] Alan and Bolat, "*The American Board and the Ottoman Women's Education*", 106.
[6] Shelton, Faith, *Freedom, and Flag: The Influence of American Missionaries in Turkey on Foreign Affairs, 1830-1880*, 61; Gümüş, *American Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire*, 22; Liu, *The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks during the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)*, 32.
[7] Stucke, "*The Direct and Indirect Contributions of Western Missionaries to Korean Nationalism during the Late Choson and Early Japanese Annexation Periods 1884-1920*", 33; Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945*, 45; Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity: Protestant Encounters with Korean Religions, 1876-1915*. 15.

missionaries to operate among the upper classes, the missionaries were compelled to carry out their activities among the lower classes. So, American missionaries concentrated their efforts on orphans and low-income people who could not receive education in both societies.[8]

The American missionaries used education to spread their ideologies and agendas. Missionaries believed that converting or educating native women would enable them to influence others in their family and society, ultimately assisting in the country's conversion. Because of their goals and belief that teaching women would facilitate the conversion of nations, missionaries primarily concentrated on education and women's education. In societies where gender segregation was the norm, it was considered inappropriate for men to approach women. Therefore, in order to provide medical and spiritual care to non-Western women, it became imperative to enlist the services of female evangelists and physicians. With the realization by the American Boards that missionary women may get access to regions where only women could visit was a significant turning point.[9] The primary objective of American women in missionary work has been to convert and assist local women in spreading the gospel, while simultaneously empowering them to help these "heathen" women in different countries. Women accounted for 60% of the mission force by the early 1900s as the movement gained strength. From the perspective of women missionaries, Christianity had a pivotal role in enhancing the status of women in the Western world.[10] They also considered the lives of heathen women to be dreadful and antiquated. [11]

[8] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea*: *New Women, Old Ways, 90.*
[9] Robert, "*The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home, Religion and American Culture*", 70.
[10] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 12.
[11] Robert, "*American Women in Mission: Social History of Their Thought and Practice"*, 68.

Despite maintaining traditional Victorian gender customs and failing to remove paternalistic and racist attitudes, the American missionary effort was motivated by the same religious, humanitarian, and progressive goals that had encouraged female educational advancement. They aimed to improve the lives of non-Western women, influence society by training future mothers, and fulfill their own professional goals in ways that were not feasible in their own countries. Furthermore, American missionaries believed that Christianity would liberate the women they encountered.[12] The missionaries had a genuine Christian concern for the inhabitants of the countries they served, which was part of the American missionary's nationalist interest in lands controlled by others. According to American missionaries, individuals belonging to non-Muslim and non-Turkish communities in the Ottoman Empire and Koreans living under Japanese annexation were categorized as colonized subjects.[13] The American missionaries' objective was to implement Christian ideals as a guiding force in the development of colonial policy, with the aim of shielding indigenous and minority groups from exploitation by governmental, commercial, and industrial entities.[14]

The dominance of Christian civilization was viewed as one of the causes of women's higher standing in the West. Non-Western and non-Christian nations had been evaluated according to this belief.[15] Harsh criticisms of women's miserable lives on the Korean Peninsula and Ottoman Empire followed one another, emphasizing the denial of educational possibilities and men's and society's lack of respect in general. For example, Editorial Secretary of the ABCFM William E. Strong described women

[12] Robert, *The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home, Religion and American Culture,* 76.
[13] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways,* 21.
[14] Beaver, *Nationalism and Missions,* 23.
[15] Reeves-Ellington, *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812–1960*, 151.

in the Ottoman Empire as "the women of Turkey of all races and religions were in hard and degrading positions; they were the beasts of burden in the fields, drudges in the house, or idle prisoners in the harem." [16] It was not easy at first for the missionaries to do much for the women.

The way missionaries presented the situation of foreign and "heathen"[17] women did not necessarily come from modern views on women. In contrast, these individuals were less progressive and conventional than the liberal factions of highly educated women employed in the Western region during that time.[18] Although Korean, Ottoman, and American, the conservative gender views of the missionaries had an unexpected similarity with the gender ideology in the Korean Peninsula and the Ottoman Empire, where domesticity was highly valued.[19] Furthermore, while it did not appear to substantially impact women's participation in missionary activities, educating girls on domestic skills and various modern sciences established the groundwork for interaction between missionary women and local women. To save "heathen" women from their dismal existence, missionaries highly valued women's education to achieve this goal.[20] They worked in numerous places, including the Ottoman Empire and the Korean Peninsula, to promote education among women. The Ottoman Empire was one of the first sites where they began their educational operations aimed at women, while the Korean Peninsula was one of the later locations. The Ottoman Empire's missionary female schools served as a model for subsequent missionary girl schools across the world, including the Korean Peninsula.

[16] Strong, *The Story of the American Board: an Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 221.
[17] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 12.
[18] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 12.
[19] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 13.
[20] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 121.

1.1 American missionary movement and contribution of women to the mission

Christian missionaries from North America and Europe spread into Asia, Africa, and the Middle East with Western imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They established schools, printing presses, industries, and hospitals to spread Christianity. Following the creation of the Board, they decided to direct their activities to India in 1812 and later to Jerusalem.[21]

American missionary activities began in the nineteenth century to spread Christianity to people and resurrect Eastern Christianity in the Ottoman Empire.[22] American missionaries believed that the holy territories were too sacred to be left in the control of Muslims.[23] Despite an auspicious start, the mission experienced a sustained decline in the years following the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike in Eastern Asia, many earlier American Board missions to the Middle East were geared toward local Christian communities. Even though Protestant missionaries desired to convert Muslims, Islamic law prohibited them from engaging in missions among Muslims.[24] Initially, rather than focusing on the Muslim populace, missionaries in the Ottoman Empire focused on non-Muslim communities. As a result, as D. L. Robert states, the missionaries sought to spark a "protestant reformation among the Maronites, Nestorians, Armenians, Greek Orthodox, and other Christian communities under Ottoman rule."[25] Several foreign mission groups encountered difficulties, particularly after the 1880s. According to Ryu Dae Young , “from the 1880s to the turn of the century, the number of foreign missionaries climbed from

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[21] Conroy-Krutz, *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic*, 61.
[22] Doğan, “*American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and “Nominal Christians”: Elias Riggs (1810-1901) and American Missionary Activities in The Ottoman Empire”,* 4.
[23] Shelton, *“Faith, Freedom, and Flag: the Influence of American Missionaries in Turkey on Foreign Affairs, 1830-1880”,* 61.
[24] Amasyalı, “*Protestant Missionary Education and the Diffusion of Women’s Education in Ottoman Turkey: a Historical GIS Analysis”*, 2.
[25] Robert, *American Women in Mission: Social History of Their Thought and Practice*, 86.

934 in 1890 to 5,000 at the end of the nineteenth century and 12,000 by the late 1920s."[26]

Harvard University professor of religious history William R. Hutchison describes the nineteenth century American missionary activity as a huge movement involving tens of thousands of Americans overseas and millions at home.

> As a movement of huge aspiration but more modest dimensions, it exceeded most other reform or benevolent organizations in size and resources. Throughout its history, it sent abroad not only the largest contingents of Americans dwarfing all other categories except that of short-term travelers but also the most highly educated.[27]

According to ABCFM, the Board was primarily created to spread the Gospel in heathen nations.[28] So their primary purpose was to "Christianize", "civilize," "preach," or "teach" those who follow different faiths.[29] This concept dates back to Puritan ideals from the 1600s. As Melike Tokay mentions, American evangelicals of the nineteenth century stereotyped people from the East as "effeminate men, oppressed women and children who undisciplined, exploited and neglected."[30] Therefore, the missionaries felt obligated to continue evangelizing the people. However, while evangelizing the people, American missionaries were careful not to "de-culturalize" "de-nationalize," local communities' longstanding traditions or cultural heritage.[31]

The American missionaries used education to insert their ideals and agendas. Protestant missionaries promoted mass education because they wanted everyone to

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[26] Young, "*Understanding Early American Missionaries in Korea (1884-1910): Capitalist Middle-Class Values and the Weber Thesis*.", 1.
[27] Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions,* 1.
[28] Khalaf, *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant: Ungodly Puritans, 1820-1860,* 16.
[29] Khalaf, *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant: Ungodly Puritans, 1820-1860,* 114.
[30] Tokay, "*American Women's Foreign Mission Movement: "Cooperation of Eve With the Redeemer" in Evangelical Missions."*, 16.
[31] Khalaf, *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant: Ungodly Puritans, 1820-1860,* 16.

read the Bible in their native language.[32] In the wake of Protestant missionaries' global outreach, their primary focus was to introduce printing technology, craft typefaces, and disseminate Bibles, pamphlets, newspapers, and other publications for the general populace. Furthermore, these missionaries launched mass literacy initiatives to promote reading proficiency amongst the masses.[33] Indeed, they were successful with their aim of literacy.

Prior to the 1970s, scholars who specialized in the American missionary movement did not accord much importance to the role played by women missionaries. Their contributions were often overlooked, and research on the subject was predominantly confined to denominational internal publications. The emergence of the first academic work on the women missionary movement authored by R. Pierce Beaver, a renowned mission historian, signaled a pivotal juncture in the acknowledgment of the invaluable contributions made by female missionaries. This seminal publication functioned as a catalyst for elevating the recognition and appreciation of their profound impact in the realm of missionary work.[34] In 1968, R. P. Beaver published a book about the women's missionary movement. Other historians became aware of his work when women's history emerged in the 1970s and understood that examining the missionary movement required a detailed study of the missionary women. Thus, by the late 1980s, academics has begun researching women missionaries and their contributions to missions.[35]

These missionary women believed they could instruct and assist the women in bad conditions. They thought that sisterhood was the key to achieving women's

[32] Conroy-Krutz, *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic,* 5*:* Woodberry, "*The Social Impact of Missionary Higher Education",*3.
[33] Woodberry, "*The Social Impact of Missionary Higher Education",* 2.
[34] Robert, "*The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home, Religion and American Culture",* 59.
[35] Robert, "*The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home, Religion and American Culture",* 60.

equality. The primary motivation for American women to pursue higher education during the initial years of Wellesley College, Mount Holyoke College, and other female seminaries was to leave the country and go to other countries to "save" their non-Christian sisters.[36] The female missionaries were convinced that they could positively impact the lives of the indigenous women they worked with, regardless of their specific circumstances, cultural practices, or religious beliefs. Their unwavering sense of purpose and determination drove them to work tirelessly towards their goal. They were always looking for innovative ways to make a meaningful impact on the communities they served. They were confident in their ability to make a difference and improve the lives of the women they were helping, regardless of the local conditions, customs, or faiths of the indigenous women. As a result, they thought that converting or educating these local women would help them influence others in their family and community, ultimately aiding in the country's conversion.

Robert Pierce Beaver demonstrates how the New York Missionary Society's new approach, adopted in 1799, was the source of the significance of being a "missionary wife."[37] The role of the women transformed when missionaries started to be sent with their families. Missionary wives were responsible for teaching the girls various skills, such as how to manage household chores, in addition to their religious instruction. The early missionaries' wives' work was mainly not acknowledged by the Board, and their activities were constrained. The first foreign missionary death in America occurred in 1812, just 10 months after Harriet Newell left for India.[38] Her death appeared to support those who had opposed women working as missionaries in their assumptions. Many individuals in society had the misconception that women

[36] Crumley, *"The Origins of the Twentieth-Century Explosion of Christianity in Korea: Changing Heaven's Landscape"*, 16.
[37] Tokay, *"American Women's Foreign Mission Movement: "Cooperation of Eve with the Redeemer" in Evangelical Missions."*, 11.
[38] Robert, *"The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home",* 61

were weaker than males and could not withstand the rigors of the service field. Harriet's passing at first reinforced this notion. Harriet asked her husband to write a letter to her fellow sisters and brothers, assuring them she never regretted being on a mission.[39] Following her passing, she began to be revered as a saint and served as a role model for any woman who wanted to become a missionary.[40]

The American Boards' realization that missionary women might get entry to places where only women could travel was a turning moment in the push for women as missionaries. In her book *A Looking-Glass for Ladies: American Protestant Women and the Orient in the Nineteenth Century*, Lisa Joy Pruitt states that some male leaders believed that allowing women to participate in the foreign missionary movement would be beneficial in two ways. First, it would free women from cultural servitude and second, it would bring salvation to the people they encountered. The leaders thought that evangelizing women in the countries they visited would ultimately improve their societies.[41] David Abeel, an American missionary, observed that the battle against heathenism in the Orient was hindered by the fact that the home, which served as its central citadel, remained untouched. This was because the women in the Orient were in a state of helplessness and misery.[42] So according to him "it was absolutely necessary to bring into the field unmarried women to reach and teach the women and children."[43]

Motivated by the idea that "woman's work for women" in 1860, the Woman's Union Missionary Society was established.[44] Woman's Union Missionary Society

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[39] Robert, *"The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home",* 61-62.
[40] Robert, *"The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home",* 61.
[41] Pruitt, "A Looking-Glass For Ladies": American Protestant Women and the Orient in the Nineteenth Century, 7.
[42] Montgomery. *Western Women in Eastern Lands: An Outline Study of Fifty Years of Woman's Work in Foreign Missions,* 21.
[43] Montgomery. *Western Women in Eastern Lands: An Outline Study of Fifty Years of Woman's Work in Foreign Missions,* 21-22.
[44] Robert, *"The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home",* 68.

aimed to dispatch unmarried female educators to Asia. As of 1868, women belonging to various denminations began forming their own missionary societies. These dedicated and motivated women ran their own operations, garnered their own resources, and even established periodicals to bolster their cause, all to facilitate the dispatch of missionaries to diverse corners of the globe.[45] They began making choices without the input of male decision-makers, selecting their missionaries and single women, and assuming exclusive responsibility for the mission activity.[46] The fundamental goal of American women in missionary work had always been to assist local women and evangelize them so they might see themselves as productive. The number of women in the mission force increased to 60% by the early 1900s due to a robust movement at the end of the ninetienth century.[47] At least 2368 women were working as missionaries in various regions of the world in 1909.[48] The missionary women worked as teachers, interpreters, nurses, physicians, and head teachers in the mission regions.

By 1915, there were over forty religious women's mission societies in America with more than three million active members. Church women established women's denominational missionary organizations in the 1860s, sending single women to mission fields.[49] According to Kerby Goff, women established the world's greatest nongovernmental movement as part of the Protestant missionary movement, "catalyzing the development of mass education everywhere they went."[50] Nevertheless, why did female Protestant missionaries work together to promote

[45] Robert, "*The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home*", 68
[46] Tokay, "*American Women's Foreign Mission Movement: "Cooperation of Eve with the Redeemer" in Evangelical Missions."*, 19.
[47] Robert, *American Women in Mission: a Social History of Their Thought and Practice*, 68.
[48] Montgomery, *Western Women in Eastern Lands: An Outline Study of Fifty Years of Women's Work in Foreign Missions*, 351.
[49],Robert*, "The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home",* 63.
[50] Goff, "*Missionaries of Modernity: The Women's Protestant Missionary Movement and the Expansion of Female Education Outside The West, 1950-2010",* 11.

women's education worldwide? During the nineteenth century, educational options for American women grew considerably. As a result of this, many educated women began to be mobilized. The objective of raising "good mothers and good wives"[51] to enhance the societies they entered prompted missionaries to direct their attention towards the education of women. Evangelizing the native women was regarded as necessary because of the vital roles played by American women as mothers who instill Christianity in their children and as "guardians of the home and collectively of the nation."[52] 'Woman's Board of Missions" (WBM) has placed a high value on female education from the moment they were formed and founded since they believed it was "inextricably linked to evangelism."[53] Similar to what happened in the Ottoman Empire and Korea, the WBM and 'Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior' (WBMI) made educating local women their main goal throughout their mission fields. Protestantism was inextricably linked to a new focus on the family as the leading institution that regulated the gendered allocation of moral and communal authority. As Bendroth and Brereton shows, "women were integrated into Protestant societies as mothers, daughters, wives and aunts-or in other words through their relationship to the male of the household."[54]

They linked women's education to rejecting some of the indigenous traditional practices that they and others saw as detrimental, such as early and forced marriages. These woman-founded missionary denominations faced opposition from traditional men and women and battled for approval. However, throughout time, the church women who raised funds and supported missions developed confidence

[51] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways,* 195.
[52] Bendroth and Brereton, *Women and Twentieth-Century Protestantism,* 284.
[53] Ishii, *American Women Missionaries at Kobe College, 1873-1909: New Dimensions in Gender,* 20.
[54] Bendroth and Brereton, *Women and Twentieth-Century Protestantism,* 283.

particularly due to their adequate backing of female missionaries.[55] Missionary efforts for women in America presented them with opportunities to pursue various professions, including medicine, which were not commonly embraced during that period. Nevertheless, male missionaries required assistance in approaching women in the foreign lands they visited for their missions, leading to women frequently being recruited for this purpose.[56]

In the early days of female Protestant missionary work, emphasis was placed on establishing and strengthening connections between girls' education and socially acceptable values and activities. These pioneering women actively sought to create new professional opportunities for girls and young women, while also immersing themselves in the educational process. Their tireless efforts reinforced the significance of education and its potential to unlock new paths and opportunities in life. They established the basis for upcoming women to follow their dreams of acquiring knowledge and pursuing professional careers.[57] The missionaries aided in the spread of female education by aggressively expanding schools and recruiting girls. After the recruitment phase, they established a new network for their students to pursue their studies and advance their careers in these new professions.[58] As the many female students taught at missionary schools in Korea and the Ottoman Empire, female students could also receive knowledge about and access to educational possibilities overseas through these transnational networks.[59]

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Woman's Missionary Movement had changed Protestant missions into predominantly female, with one of their key aims

[55] Robert, *American Women in Mission: Social History of Their Thought and Practice*, 73.
[56] Robert, *American Women in Mission: Social History of Their Thought and Practice,* 70.
[57] Goff, *"Missionaries Of Modernity: The Women's Protestant Missionary Movement and the Expansion of Female Education Outside The West, 1950-2010",* 17.
[58] Goff, *"Missionaries Of Modernity: The Women's Protestant Missionary Movement And The Expansion Of Female Education Outside The West, 1950-2010",* 18.
[59] Goff, "*Missionaries Of Modernity: The Women's Protestant Missionary Movement And The Expansion Of Female Education Outside The West, 1950-2010",* 19.

being the promotion of girls' education regardless of where they started their mission journey. Female Protestant missionaries, the majority of whom were unmarried, benefited directly from the increase in education in the areas where they went. Even though the movement maintained conventional Victorian gender conventions and failed to eradicate paternalistic and racist attitudes, it was driven by the identical religious, humanitarian, and progressive values that had inspired female educational development. They aimed to offer societal improvement for non-Western women, impact society by teaching future mothers, and achieve their occupational ambitions in manners that were not possible in their homelands.

The nineteenth century is known as the "Age of Education."[60] The Ottomans' interest in the reform of education coincided with that of various nations throughout the world. Education was viewed as the most effective tool for meeting the requirements of their times. The majority of American missionary schools for women developed overseas during this period had their roots in schools established by female missionaries. Mrs. Albert Bowker, according to Mary Mills Patrick, was the inspiration for the push for women's education. Mrs. Bowker was the first Woman's Board of Missions president and was passionate about worldwide education.[61] Women missionaries were the most effective approach to reaching women in the Ottoman Empire and Korea. In Korea and the Ottoman Empire, gender segregation was a societal norm that posed challenges for men in approaching women. To overcome this, female evangelists and physicians were called upon to provide medical and spiritual care to non-Western women. The role of women in these societies was limited, making interaction with female missionaries in schools, hospitals, orphanages, and gatherings the only viable way to reach them. Ercan

[60] Aydınlık and Kenan, "*Between Men, Time and the State: Education of Girls during the Late Ottoman Empire (1859–1908*), 1.
[61] Patrick, *A Bosporus Adventure: Istanbul (Constantinople) Women's College, 1871-1924*, 29.

Kaçman's insights shed light on the transformative impact that the arrival of single female missionaries had on the Ottoman Empire's perspective towards women. These missionaries introduced novel ways of interacting with women, which presented a marked departure from the previous approaches.[62] As noted by Choi, much like the Ottoman case, missionary women were instrumental in reaching out to Korean women in a society that was strictly segregated by gender. Despite facing challenges, these single missionary women traveled far and wide, even to the most remote villages, in order to connect with their Korean counterparts. As the church's membership grew, more Korean women joined the missionaries' ranks, working together to spread the gospel. This collaboration led to the creation of a platform that allowed female missionaries and Korean women to organize themselves more efficiently and train future generations, thereby perpetuating the work of women for women.[63]

[62] Kaçmaz, "*Missionary Activities in the Lands of Ottoman Turkey: The Emergence of Robert College and the American College For Girls",* 384.
[63] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 69.

CHAPTER 2

THE ACTIVITIES OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The ABCFM, founded in Boston in 1810, was the most crucial American missionary institution there.[64] Other American missionary groups working in Ottoman areas besides the ABCFM include the WBM formed in 1868 the WBMI women's missionary associations, and the 'American Bible Society'. There were groups such as 'The Near East Relief', the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and the 'Young Women's Christian Association' (YWCA). Closer ties between the Ottoman Empire and the United States, particularly after the signing of their commerce treaty in 1830[65], fueled American missionary activity in the empire, and the number of missionaries rapidly increased.[66] According to Başaran, the significant factors that made the Ottoman countries appealing to "Christian missionaries were geostrategic, economic, and theological".[67] Missionaries who committed to the church and viewed themselves as servants of the Bible did not hesitate to use any technique or tactic to attain their aims. They were required to learn and investigate the language, religion, and culture of the country they were visiting, discover flaws, and act appropriately. These missionaries encountered many individuals from various racial and religious

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[64] See: Gordon, "*American Relations with Turkey, 1830-1930: An Economic Interpretation",* 221; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*,51; Shelton, *"Faith, Freedom, And Flag: The Influence of American Missionaries in Turkey on Foreign Affairs, 1830-1880",* 17; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of The Middle East,* 51; Doğan, "*American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and "Nominal Christians": Elias Riggs (1810-1901) and American Missionary Activities in the Ottoman Empire",* 12

[65] Liu, "*The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks during the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)",* 33.

[66] Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East,* 156.

[67] Başaran. "*Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908).",* 10.

backgrounds throughout the Ottoman Empire. Their ultimate purpose was to expand evangelical Christianity, but things did not proceed as planned, and only a small number of people converted to evangelical Christianity.The issue of mission in the Ottoman Empire was first to evangelize nominal Christian churches in the lack of a Bible in the people's spoken language. When the missionaries first came to the empire, they aimed to introduce the Gospel to the ancient churches in the people's spoken languages.

The Ottoman administration was likely the only entity that did not resist Protestant missionary activities in their early stages, due to their attitude of mutual good relations.[68] The missionaries' initial years in the capital Istanbul, on the other hand, coincided with a period of political upheaval in the Ottoman Empire. Following the dissolution of the Janissaries in 1826 and Greece's independence in 1829, the missionaries established themselves in Istanbul.

Historically, British Protestant missionaries directed their efforts towards the Middle East, while American missionaries devoted their attention to Anatolia. [69] The Church Missionary Society was the first to launch rigorous Protestant missionary campaigns in the Ottoman Empire, and it was the most notable British Protestant missionary group to operate within the region. Despite this, the British missionaries were not as effective in winning over the Ottoman populace as their American Board counterparts.[70] In the 19th century, the presence of the British Embassy and consulates had a discernible influence on the Ottoman central government and local authorities. This influence was particularly evident in the ability of British and

[68] Erhan, "*Ottoman Official Attitudes Towards American Missionaries"*, 194.
[69] Liu, "*The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks during the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)",* 32.
[70] Önal, "*In the Light of Own Sources the Activities of Protestant Missionaries in Demirtas and Countermeasures of Native Orthodox Elements",* 164.

American missionaries to traverse the expansive Ottoman Empire with relative ease, owing to the protection afforded them by British officials.[71] In the decades of the 1820s and 1830s, the Sublime Porte, the governing center of the Ottoman Empire, demonstrated a limited concern towards the activities of the missionaries. These activities were chiefly restricted to regions away from the capital, including Palestine and Lebanon. It can be inferred that the government did not consider these pursuits to be a significant threat to their authority and, as a result, did not give them much attention.[72]

The Protestant missionaries successfully competed with the Catholic missions, which had been established much earlier. Notwithstanding the ardent proselytizing, the rate of adherence to Protestantism among the populace remained modest.[73] The encounters with the missionaries had a strong and lasting impact on all parties involved. These included changes in ideas, practices, and outlooks. First, American missionaries to the Ottoman Empire needed more information on people, regions, and culture, and their knowledge was drawn from an information pool; some were true, and some were not. However, one thing they were sure of was their belief about how their faith carried an imperative of universal evangelization.[74] According to them other beliefs, such as Judaism, Orthodox Christianity, and Roman Catholicism, were corrupted in comparison, and their religion was supreme. During the nineteenth century, American missionaries gained increased opportunities and political access due to Western imperialist expansion.[75] American churchgoers supported the missions. Despite their initial expectations of successful conversions,

[71] Erhan, "*Ottoman Official Attitudes Towards American Missionaries",* 195
[72] Erhan, "*Ottoman Official Attitudes Towards American Missionaries"*, 195
[73] Güven, "*American Foreign Missions to the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire: Fashioning The Model of Educated Christian Womanhood in the East in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century",* 6.
[74] Sharkey, *American Missionaries in Ottoman Lands: Foundational Encounters*, 3.
[75] Sharkey, *American Missionaries in Ottoman Lands: Foundational Encounters*, 3.

they eventually came to the realization that their approach was not applicable in the context of the Ottoman Empire.

In the early 1820s, missionaries arrived in Ottoman territory[76] and began work in Beirut. They then expanded to other Anatolian cities. Their primary purpose from the 1820's until the 1860s was to promote Christianity and Protestantism, educate people about it, and get it recognized. Fisk and Parsons embarked on a mission to Palestine in November 1819 with the aim of spreading their faith. Their primary objective was to reach out to the Jewish community, and they had plans to establish their base in Jerusalem, rather than focusing on the Muslims or Oriental Churches.[77] Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons, two American missionaries, arrived in Izmir in January 1820.[78] These two missionaries were members of the ABCFM, the largest missionary organization in Anatolia. First Parsons, then Fisk, passed away.[79] In the course of missionary activity in the Ottoman territory, Parsons died in February 1822,[80] at the age of thirty, in Alexandria, Egypt, on his second voyage to Jerusalem. Fisk died, like his colleague, in 1825, at the age of thirty-three, after falling ill while serving for the mission among Palestinian Jews.[81] Before 1827, American missionaries Parsons, Fisk, King, Bird, Goodell, and Smith visited Syria and Palestine and reported that the situation in these nations was ideal for the mission.[82] Later on Western missionaries targeted the Ottoman Empire and non-Muslim groups, "including Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Jacobites, Nestorians,

[76] Yücel, *"A Missionary Society at the Crossroads: American Missionaries on the eve of the Turkish Republic",* 53.
[77] Erhan, "*Ottoman Official Attitudes Towards American Missionaries",* 193.
[78] Doğan, "*Missionary Schools" Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire"*, 387: Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 70.
[79] Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign,* 87.
[80] Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign*, 107.
[81] Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign*, 137.
[82] Akça, *"Protestan Misyonerler Ve Milli Devletlerin Doğuşu: Robert Kolej Ve Bulgar Milli Devleti Örneği.",* 285.

Chaldeans, Copts, and Maronites"[83], as Mehmet Ali Doğan informs us. The primary objective of the missionaries was to propagate the Christian faith among the Muslim and Jewish populations. However, they encountered significant challenges in their attempts to engage with the Muslim community, which proved to be largely impervious to direct Christian evangelism. Consequently, the missionaries shifted their focus to the Greek and Jewish communities in İzmir (Smyrna), where they made their first concerted effort in 1826.[84]

With all their advances in religion, education, health, and printing, the missionaries developed a living space inside the Ottoman Empire's borders. They propagated their lifestyles to the region's inhabitants, mainly via education. To spread their message, American missionaries established printing presses in cities like Izmir and Istanbul to support education and training programs and to produce religious propaganda materials. They printed millions of pages of books and pamphlets, most of which had religious themes. These printing presses played a vital role in promoting mass education and spreading the Bible in the native language of the Ottoman Empire[85] and Korea. The printed materials were distributed to schools, libraries, and individuals, making knowledge and religious teachings more accessible to the local communities. The number of pages in the Bible and other Christian publications written and disseminated from the 1820s to the 1900s, as well as textbooks taught in universities, is estimated to be 7 million.[86]

The committed members of established missionary organizations traveled a great distance. They took up residence within Anatolian towns, intending to instruct

[83] Doğan, "Missionary Schools" *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire.*", 386
[84] *Liu, "The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks during the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)",* 32.
[85] Phillips, "*Protestant America and the Pagan World: the First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860",* 153.
[86] Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika - Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, 110.

the local Christian population on matters related to their faith.[87] In the historical context of the Ottoman Empire, the act of publicly embracing Islam was not only encouraged, but also rewarded by the government. However, the act of renouncing Islam, or apostasy, was met with strict restrictions and was deemed a forbidden practice.[88] The proselytizing activities of the missionaries were restricted from extending to the Muslim populace. The American missionaries dispatched to the region were expected to gather information by associating with the locals in the areas they visited. It was precisely to determine the people's religious status, to acquire knowledge about the clergy (their number, degree of knowledge, education level, etc.), to determine the country's education and training situation, and to ascertain what kind of work would be done after learning the people's morality.[89] As previously stated, the missions carried out in Anatolia yielded a comprehensive understanding of the organization's operations in the region. The intelligence gathered during these missions facilitated the authorities in taking appropriate and efficacious action against the organization.

During and after the nineteenth century, the first American missionaries, and subsequently all missionaries who arrived in the region, had impacts and traces on the ethnic structure, social, economic, and even political life of the region's people. After establishing a mission in Istanbul, which became the center of missionaries throughout the Ottoman Empire, additional stations established within the empire. According to Çağrı Erhan, stations that were established were in "Trabzon (1835), Erzurum (1839), Aintab (1849), Marash (1855), Adana, Aleppo, Tarsus, Hadjin,

[87] Erol, "*Becoming Protestant: Greek Orthodox Responses to Conversion in 19th-Century Ottoman Anatolia"*, 336.
[88] Şahin, *Faithful Encounters: Authorities and American Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire*, 22.
[89] Akgün, *"The Turkish Image in the Reports of American Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire."*, 104-105.

Kilis, Salonica (1850) and İzmir (1859)".[90] The missionaries held the belief that by connecting with Christian communities in the area, they could also reach out to Muslims and other ethnic groups. Unfortunately, their strategy was unsuccessful due to the strict prohibition and restriction on conversion from Islam to other religions. Consequently, the missionaries redirected their efforts towards the Christians residing in Ottoman territory.[91] However, these attempts were futile; they had a minor influence on the Greeks or Muslims and were only successful on the Armenians.[92] In a certain era, there existed a plan to eradicate Protestantism from the Empire. The initial objective was to improve the nominal Christian population by bringing them to perfect Christianity. So, due to the failure of converting the population, they changed their policy. Various factors contributed to the policy shift, the most significant of which was the resistance level from local church authorities. This plan entailed the apprehension of missionary workers and the replacement of the moderate Armenian patriarch with a more severe one. The Greek and Armenian patriarchs released decrees that banned the possession or perusal of missionary literature and any form of interaction with the missionaries.[93] The Greek and Armenian Churches had a strong resistance against the Protestant missionaries. "Right after Robert College opened, they started attacking us with their pens with a very shallow wisdom and understanding," Cyrus Hamlin said. They distributed many booklets condemning Protestants and their worldview as being very "simplistic and vulgar."[94]

[90] Erhan, *"Ottoman Official Attıiudes Towards American Missionaries"*, 202.
[91] Finnie, *Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East*, 123.
[92] Yücel, "Kendi Belgeleri Işığında Amerikan Board'ın Osmanlı Ülkesindeki Teşkilatlanması", 4.
[93] Liu, "*The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks during the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)"*, 34.
[94] Hamlin, *Among the Turk*, 252.

On the 1st of July, 1846, the inaugural evangelical Armenian Church was established in Istanbul with the aid of foreign ambassadors. The church was founded to provide a sanctuary for Armenian Protestants who had been excommunicated from their former church by the Patriarch's verdict.[95] The church was headed by a native pastor, and it marked a significant milestone in the history of the Ottoman Empire, as it was the first of its kind. Following the establishment of the initial congregation, three additional congregations were founded, signifying a new chapter in the Armenian Church's history. Regrettably, the then-Patriarch expressed strong disapproval towards the Americans and converts, alleging that they lacked religious fervor and devotion.[96]

In the year 1847, the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire issued an edict that recognized the Protestant community as a separate religious entity with ministerial-level status. [97] This edict granted Protestant Armenians a privileged status similar to other millets within the empire.[98] Also, as a result, Armenians were classified as Gregorian, Catholic, or Protestant. This legal measure was instrumental in preventing the rampant abuses and attacks that were being perpetrated against the Protestant Armenians. Subsequently, in 1850, Sultan Abdulmecid enacted an imperial edict that granted official recognition to the Protestant millet, thus cementing its place within the Ottoman Empire's complex religious and administrative hierarchy.[99] The millet

[95] Erol, "*Becoming Protestant: Greek Orthodox Responses to Conversion in 19th-Century Ottoman Anatolia",* 340.
[96] Liu, "*The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks during the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)",* 34.
[97] Doğan, *"American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) And "Nomıınal Christians": Elias Riggs (1810-1901) and American Missionary Activities in the Ottoman Empire,* 114.
[98] Başaran, "*Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in The Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)",*41.
[99] Doğan, *"American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) And "Nomıınal Christians": Elias Riggs (1810-1901) and American Missionary Activities in the Ottoman Empire,* 115.

system was a sociocultural and communal structure based on religion in the first instance and ethnicity in the second that also corresponded to linguistic distinctions.[100] It allowed non-Muslim communities to maintain their unique identities and practices by granting separate millets limited freedom to govern their affairs, which included the ability to run their schools throughout the Ottoman Empire. With the Reform Edict of 1856 granting the right to convert, missionaries accelerated their activity throughout the Ottoman Empire. According to a letter sent by Harrison Gray Otis Dwight, there were four groups of activity within the mission's framework: enhancing missionaries' skills in local languages, publication preparation, education, and improving social contact between missionaries and local communities.[101]

After the Ottoman Empire recognized the Protestants, the Board focused its resources exclusively on the Armenians. The American missionaries saw the Reform Edict as permission to expand their work among Muslims, citing the sixth article as clearance for their activities.[102] With this edict, each community was free to practice their faith. The Edict granted complete religious freedom to non-Muslim subjects, which made the position of these missionaries more secure. As a result, there was a significant increase in their numbers during this period.[103] However, it is important to note that the Edict did not extend to Muslim subjects, who still faced capital punishment for converting.[104] Therefore, the primary focus of the missionaries did not center on the Muslim population. Consequently, the government offered little or

[100] Karpat, "*Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era.",* 612**.**
[101] Başaran. "*Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908).",* 15. Letter from H. G. O. Dwight dated July 17, 1834. *Papers of the ABCFM, ABC 16.9, Reel 562*, Vol. 2, No 25.
[102] Salt, *Imperialism, Evangelism, And the Ottoman Empire. 1878-1896*, 34.
[103] Bartlett, *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 13.
[104] Liu, "*The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks during the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)",* 35.

no resistance to the activities of the missionaries during this time. As a result, their work was able to continue with minimal disruptions

During the Annual Meeting of 1856, the Mission Committee recognized the significance of strategic division and concentration of their efforts. Consequently, the committee created new branches like the Western, Central, and Eastern Anatolia missions in 1860, which led to a new phase of expansion and growth for their missionary activities.[105] American missionaries attempted to build stronger ties with the people by focusing first on education and, subsequently, on health care. Following this, the ABCFM strengthened its outreach to Anatolian Christians. According to the ABCFM, every Christian Protestant missionary and church believed that their civilization was superior and that "unbeliever nations" could be "civilized" through the morality of the missionaries and the strength of the churches.[106]

Despite encountering challenges under the rule of Abdulhamid II, the missionary community experienced a period of growth and prosperity from the 1850s through the early 1910s.[107] By 1908, the American missionary network in the Ottoman Empire had grown to include "140 churches, 16,000 members, 4,000 pupils in Mission Colleges and High Schools (23,000 in all), 102 ordained and 100 un-ordained preachers, 784 teachers, 1,100 native labourers, 305 regular preaching places, 40,000 attendants, 54,000 adherents, 308 Sunday schools, 34,000 pupils, and seven hospitals with 40,000 patients each year."[108]

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[105] Liu, "*The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks during the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)"*, 36.
[106] Dwight, *Report of the ABCFM at the Fourth Annual Meeting*, 100.
[107] Liu, "*The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks During the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)",* 37.
[108] Liu, "*The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their*

2.1 Education and the missionary education in the Ottoman Empire

During Mahmud II's rule in the first part of the nineteenth century, the idea of educational reform began to emerge. The government's goal in 1838 was to create primary education for all Ottoman subjects.[109] Following this, Abdulmecid issued an edict in 1845 to address the public's misconception of the changes. A commission to investigate schools was constituted in response to this mandate. This panel issued a report that advocated establishing a state education system and a publication commission. Following this, the Meclis-i Maarif-i Umumiye was established in 1857.[110] Ottomanism, a recognized strategy, demanded the development of mixed schools for Muslims and non-Muslims to foster a shared feeling of loyalty to the state.[111]

During the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire underwent a series of significant transformations in the realm of education. These changes were catalyzed by a burgeoning education movement that encompassed both the intelligentsia and the general populace. The movement sought to enhance access to education and to modernize the Ottoman education system, which had remained largely stagnant for centuries. As part of this movement, novel schools were established, and existing ones were reformed to incorporate contemporary pedagogical methods and curricula. The movement also gave rise to new educational institutions, such as teacher training colleges and universities. American missionaries established several high schools, as well as colleges, in the mid-nineteenth century. First, they established primary schools where students could acquire reading, writing, and primary education such as

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Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks During the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)", 38.

[109] Gündüz and Yıldız, *"Maarif: Transformation of a Concept in the Ottoman Empire at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century"*, 2.

[110] Erdoğdu, "*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Teşkilatı"*, 46.

[111] Başaran, *"Reinterpreting American Missionary presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)",*46.

math. In the meantime, they sought to build strong ties with the public by teaching the Bible to adults at Sunday Schools. Secondary education institutions were established after primary education to give higher education. In addition, vocational schools were established, particularly in some areas.

The American missionaries, outperformed Catholic and Orthodox missionaries after their arrival, particularly in education.[112] American Board missionaries gave education top emphasis for two causes. The initial one was to train the people to read the Bible to spread religious propaganda. The second goal was to gain public acceptance by developing constructive connections with individuals and delivering educational activities in regions lacking such possibilities. These missionaries, who began arriving around the turn of the century, constructed schools at various levels and missions. The ABCFM created the majority of these schools. In 1822, William Goodell and Isaac Bird were appointed to Ottoman Palestine as one of the newly elected missionaries of the Board to carry out missionary activities. They quickly established a homeschool and successfully turned two Armenian clerics to Protestantism. Furthermore, while the missionaries were preaching and translating, the wives were active. On July 28, 1824, the wives of William Goodell, Isaac Bird, Abigail Goodell, and Ann Bird started the first Protestant missionary In 1829, Rufus Anderson, a long-serving clerk at the American Board, planned a journey to the Ottoman Empire. This journey was significant because it redirected the Board's focus to the Near East. This time, Istanbul and Anatolia were picked for the mission. After Eli Smith and Harrison Gray Otis Dwight's study visit in 1830, it was deemed that this area would be appropriate for Protestantization.[113] In 1831, Goodell headed to

[112] Başaran. *"Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)",* 1.
[113] Grabill, Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927, 8.

Istanbul with the instruction conveyed by the administration of the American Board. Goodell was initially sent to deal with Armenians in Istanbul. In the summer of 1832, he obtained support from Harrison Otis Gray Dwight, who accompanied him.[114] Goodell established four schools for Greek children in November 1831, one in the city and the others in the neighboring villages.[115] So, in light of this mindset, Goodell created four schools throughout Istanbul and its neighboring areas in a short period, with a total of 155 male pupils. According to Kocabaşoğlu, there were three American schools in Istanbul back in 1836. These schools were not only educating young minds, but they were also serving as a testament to the American influence in the region. The schools collectively had 120 students, with 46 of them being girls.[116] The Bursa station had 200 students, while more than 300 students attended Greek and Armenian schools established by American missionaries in Izmir.[117] As Goodell did not know Greek and Armenian, he began the educational institution by selecting instructors who were fluent in the language.

Since education was the most significant factor in spreading missionaries' beliefs, the new missionary was dispatched to Istanbul to propagate Protestant higher education in 1839. Overall, in the nineteenth century, American missionary educational institutions expanded their reach from Istanbul to Anatolia, making significant progress in establishing educational facilities in the region. American missionaries established over 400 schools in Anatolia to promote Protestantism

[114] Başaran, "*Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in The Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)"*, 29.
[115] Yetkiner, "*İstanbul'da Bir Cemaatin Doğuşu: William Goodell ve Amerikan Protestan Misyonu", 146.*
[116] Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika-Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları,* 61.
[117] Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika-Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları,* 61.

through education.[118] As Yıldız and Avaroğulları inform us the most significant institutions included Robert College (1863) and American Girls' College (Istanbul, 1873), International College (Izmir,1878), Anatolia College (Merzifon, 1886), Syria Protestant College (Beirut, 1866), Bursa American Girls' College (Bursa, 1876), Euphrates College (Harput, 1852) and Tarsus American College (Tarsus, 1888). [119] Hamlin established American higher education in the Middle East, which is still in operation today. After three years after withdrawing from the American Board, he built the Bebek Theology School in 1840 and the Robert College in 1863.[120] Despite being one of the first colleges established by Americans abroad, Robert College was the only institution with more professors than students. In its initial year of operation, the institution had only four pupils. In the words of ABFCM missionary John Raleigh Mott:

> The work in Constantinople was in connection with Robert College, the only institution of higher learning worthy of the name in European Turkey. Its location is more beautiful and richer in historical associations than any other institution in the world. This college has probably exerted a greater influence during the first twenty- five years of its history than any other college unless it is the Doshisha in Japan, the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, or the Duff College in Calcutta. It has been the chief cause, leading to the foundation of many other colleges and universities in southeastern Europe. It has raised the standard of the educational system of that entire section.[121]

According to the Annual Report of the American Board in 1844, the Bebek Theological School would be a liberal art school, with students studying not just religion but also English, mathematics, and science. Many of the students at the school were from low-income Armenian families. Sewing, bookbinding, and blacksmithing workshops were established to help students with tuition

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[118] Yıldız and Avaroğulları, *"Role of American Protestant Missionaries in Late Ottoman Empire Educational System"*, 70.
[119] Yıldız and Avaroğulları, "*Role of American Protestant Missionaries in Late Ottoman Empire Educational System"*, 60.
[120] Yetkiner, "*İstanbul'da Bir Cemaatin Doğuşu: William Goodell ve Amerikan Protestan Misyonu"*, 21.
[121] Mott, *Strategic Points in the World's Conquest: The Universities and Colleges as Related to the Progress of Christianity*, 44-45.

expenditures.[122] Muslim students were also allowed into this theological institution between 1860 and 1863. Four theological seminaries with 74 students, nine secondary boarding schools for girls with 189 students, and 220 elementary schools with 5,617 students were set up by 1870. Five years after Bebek Theological School, a Female Seminary was opened in Pera because the education of girls was also prioritized.[123] Girls' education was valued equally by American educational institutions, which maintained both boarding and formal schooling. Central Turkey College was the third institution established in the Ottoman Empire,[124] following Robert College and Syrian Protestant College. According to the college's report, which had 110 graduates in 1893, although the graduates were primarily teachers, they went on to work in various disciplines such as preacher, lawyer, doctor, pharmacy, and engineering.

American missionaries were greeted with admiration when they initially arrived in the Ottoman Empire, and their actions were not suspected. However, the era between 1839 and 1870 was defined by efforts against American missionary educational pursuits.[125] The advancements in non-Muslim education acted as a driving force for the Ottomans. This led some leaders like Midhat Pasha to establish schools where students of all faiths could be educated together. In the 1860s, Ali Pasha, the grand vizier, also aimed to create government schools with a mixed student body to attract non-Muslim groups and maintain their loyalty to the

[122] Aksu, "*Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Osmanlı Anadolusu'ndaki Eğitim Faaliyetleri (1820-1900) ve Bunun Osmanlı Toplum Yapısına Etkileri*", 151.
[123] Aksu, "*Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Osmanlı Anadolusu'ndaki Eğitim Faaliyetleri (1820-1900) ve Bunun Osmanlı Toplum Yapısına Etkileri"*, 170.
[124] Liu, "*The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks During the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)"*, 42.
[125] Başaran, *Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in The Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)*, 3.

empire.[126] The activity of American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire increased in the 1830's and 1840's.[127] Due to worries over American missionaries' associations with Armenian nationalists in Anatolia, the Regulation of 1869 on Public Education was established.[128]

So the Ottoman administration began to take precautions in response to the rising threat from the missionaries. Back in 1864, the government implemented measures to oversee the sale of properties to missionaries and the distribution of publications. The primary objective of this intervention was to guarantee that the properties being sold to missionaries were lawful and not being utilized for any illicit purposes. Furthermore, the government aimed to supervise the publications being circulated to ensure that they were not promoting any rebellious or subversive concepts that could potentially jeopardize the stability of the nation. This action was deemed essential to uphold law and order and safeguard the welfare of the state.[129] As per the legislation that governed foreign real estate ownership,[130] proprietors of such properties were held accountable for all the obligations and responsibilities associated with the subjects of the sultan in the empire. This legal provision mandated that the owners were legally responsible for ensuring that all the necessary duties and obligations towards the sultan's subjects were fulfilled, including but not limited to paying taxes, providing basic amenities, and maintaining law and order. [131]

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[126] Davison, *"Westernized Education in Ottoman Turkey."*, 299.
[127] Erhan, "*Ottoman Official Attitudes Towards American Missionaries",* 195
[128] Hasebe, "*The 1869 Ottoman Public Education Act:Proceedings and Participants",* 181.
[129] Doğan, "*American Board of Commissioners For Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and "Nominal Christians": Elias Riggs (1810-1901) and American Missionary Activities in The Ottoman Empire"*, 131.
[130] The Royal Edict of Reform in 1856 facilitated the establishment and expansion of foreign schools in the Ottoman Empire, leading to a rapid increase in the number of American missionary schools.
[131] Yıldız and Avaroğulları, "*Role of American Protestant Missionaries in Late Ottoman Empire Educational System"*, 63; Başaran, "*Reinterpreting American missionary presence in the Ottoman Empire: American schools and the evolution of Ottoman educational policies (1820-1908)"*, 67.

Many advancements in the sphere of education and training were achieved in the Ottoman Empire as a result of the enactment of this legislation. There were laws on every topic at every level of schooling in the 1869 education regulations. This legislation regulated everything from how pupils would be educated to monthly teacher wages.[132] The state was particularly interested in spreading elementary education throughout the empire and providing education at a basic level. Also, this legislation made it necessary for girls to finish their education, and if they were not sent to school, local authorities had the authority to interfere. The first restrictions were enacted in 1870, with the organization of the contents of the books to be taught in schools.

With the acceleration of legislative rules in education, it has become mandatory to complete primary school for boys and girls. The rule attempted to officially merge different schools in the Ottoman Empire under a single roof and monitor them with inspectors working across the empire. Simultaneously, it was determined to formally specify the teaching techniques used in schools. The Education Regulation sought to increase the number of schools across the empire and improve the quality of instruction and training provided in these institutions. According to this law, it was intended to build at least one primary school, the first step in general education, in each town and village and to convert these educational institutions into four-year schools for girls, boys, Muslims, and non-Muslims.[133] Many secondary, higher technical, and vocational institutions opened after adopting the Public Education Regulation.

The Ottoman authorities considered that the demand for American missionary schools and other foreign schools should be reduced and that a new solution to this

[132] Altın, *"Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi ve Öğretmen Yetiştirme Tarihimizdeki Yeri",* 281-282.
[133] Çağır and Türk, "*1869 Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi ve Türk Eğitim Tarihindeki Yeri"*, 64-65.

problem was needed. Having non-Muslim students attend Ottoman schools was preferred to foreign schools.[134] As the number of Muslim students attending American educational institutions grew, the missionaries became increasingly familiar with Muslims and their families. It is interesting to note that Muslims preferred American educational institutions, even though they were not allowed to attend. Moreover, those who broke the rules to attend the missionary schools were not allowed to continue attending.[135]

The Ottoman Empire encountered obstacles in their efforts to shut down American missionary schools, as it would have strained their diplomatic ties with the United States. Instead, they sought to integrate foreign schools that had been operating independently into their education system by implementing legally binding regulations and establishing a reliable inspection system.[136] The Declaration of the Regulation of 1869 on Public and the Regulation on Provincial Education Directors provided the legal framework for Abdulhamid II's campaign to exert centralized control over foreign schools within the Ottoman Empire. However, the government's intended inspection process failed to materialize due to foreign embassy interference, Ottoman authorities being barred from entering school property, and a shortage of trained personnel.

Back in 1869, the Ottoman Empire made an effort to bring uniformity to education with the introduction of the Regulation on Public Education. This regulation established a clear division between public and private schools, with foreign schools falling under the latter category. Article 129 of the regulation outlined the guidelines for private schools. It required that founders of such schools

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[134] Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*, 246.
[135] Akgün, "*The Turkish Image in the Reports of American Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire"*, 93.
[136] Başaran, *"Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)",* 89.

bear the expenses, and that foreign schools meet three specific conditions. These conditions entailed obtaining a diploma from the Ministry of Education and Educational Directorates, as well as securing permission for instructors with diplomas from the same institutions.[137] Additionally, the government was responsible for assessing all private school textbooks and curricula, and institutions had to obtain an official license. However, due to the slow bureaucracy and conflicts between the missionary institutions and the government, it often took a long time for educational institutions to receive the license.[138] For instance, the Ottoman Empire and the United States negotiated for six years until Anatolia College in Merzifon received a license from the government.[139] Missionary schools were closed when the government refused to grant those permits in certain situations. For example, in Tarsus, two schools were closed down, and when these two schools requested that they be reopened, it was ruled that they could not.[140] As a result, the empire had to devise new control methods. The Ottoman administration was effective in reorganizing licenses as part of these attempts.

As time passed, mission schools showed signs of secularization and focused more on modern sciences.[141] Despite opposition from some Muslims and academics, some Muslim families chose or wanted their children to receive education at the missionary schools because they also believed that the education given at these schools were of better quality.[142] Mehmed Rauf Pasha, the governor of Damascus, wrote to the capital about education in 1892. After observing the negative effects of

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[137] Başaran, "*Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)"*,49.
[138] BOA. Y.PRK. BŞK./32/12, About Anatolian College of Merzifon's request for a license.
[139] Aksu, "*Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Osmanlı Anadolusu'ndaki Eğitim Faaliyetleri (1820-1900) ve Bunun Osmanlı Toplum Yapısına Etkileri",* 250.
[140] BOA. DH. TMIK. M. 105-36. 03-03-1901.
[141] Sharkey, *American Missionaries in Ottoman Lands: Foundational Encounters*, 9.
[142] Maze, *"Foucault and Violence: A Genealogy of National Belonging and Representative Power in Turkey"*, 184.

missionary schools in his district, Rauf Pasha suggested that the state should establish alternatives to missionary schools. He argued that because the process of preventing Muslim children from attending non-Muslim schools would be gradual, it would be prudent to continue the policy of sending ulama throughout the empire during the holy month of Ramadan to inveigh against the missionary schools.[143]

On the sultan's request, Ahmed Zühdü Pasha wrote three reports on the status of missionary schools in 1893. The report's information was gathered from the Educational Directorates. According to these records, there were 392 Protestant missionary schools for both boys and girls within the borders. 108 of these schools were founded during Abdulhamid's reign. Despite meeting the criteria set by the Regulation of 1869, only 51 schools were granted official government permits.[144] In 1896, the state obtained the authority to inspect all non-Muslim minority and foreign educational institutions at least three times a year.[145] The state also had the authority to inspect books from abroad that came to the empire to be investigated. Before books could be handed to their owners, it was determined in 1895 that copies of the books would be checked by government personnel. Considering this was impractical, private schools were allowed authority over book selection in 1908.[146]

It is indicated that out of a total of 500 schools, only 159 were officially licensed by the Ottoman Empire. The remaining 341 schools were not licensed, and it is believed that many of these were American missionary schools. Zühdü Pasha suggests that one of the main reasons for this discrepancy is the inability of

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[143] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom Islam, The State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 94.
[144] Başaran, *"Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)",* 56.
[145] Başaran, "*Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)",* 67; Liu, "*The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks during the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)",* 181.
[146] Başaran, *"Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)",* 86.

inspectors to visit and verify the status of these schools. This was partly because American missionary schools had already informed embassies and consulates that they had applied for the required licenses, making it difficult for officials to investigate their status. As a result, many of these schools were operating without a license from the Ottoman Empire, which was a legal requirement at that time.

Due to the system's inefficiency, Zühdü Pasha claimed that foreign educators were indoctrinating children with Western habits and lifestyles.[147] Upon the completion of their studies, certain groups were deemed unsuitable for Ottoman society if they attended foreign schools and received official government approval. [148] Zühdü Pasha submitted a report to the Sultan outlining several steps to tackle this issue. Moreover, it was decreed that all Ottoman subjects, irrespective of their faith, should be prevented from receiving education in foreign institutions. Ottoman subjects already enrolled in foreign schools could continue their studies until appropriate measures could be implemented to tackle this complex predicament.[149] These measures included prohibiting the employment of Greek, Serbian, and Romanian teachers in non-Muslim minority schools, forbidding the establishment of foreign institutions, and teaching Ottoman language to non-Muslims to promote unity. The report also highlighted the state's educational management challenges, such as limited school resources and inadequate educational opportunities. Zühdü and Şakir Pashas both stressed the pressing need for significantly increasing the education budget to address these problems. [150]

[147] Başaran, "*Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)"*, 58.
[148] Başaran, "*Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908*)", 58-60.
[149] Başaran, "*Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)",* 61.
[150] Akyüz, "*Abdülhamit Devrinde Protestan Okulları ile İlgili Orijinal İki Belge"*, 121-130.

Due to a lack of adequate inspections in the foreign missionary schools, Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1909), had to examine the alternative of successfully updating the educational system to save his subjects from the influence of outsiders.[151] During his rule, the Ottoman government was aware of the precarious position created by its citizens' increased participation in American missionary schools. So, the only alternative left to the Ministry of Education was discouraging interest in foreign institutions by effectively improving public schools.[152]

In the late 1800s, American missionaries offered assistance and encouragement to disadvantaged communities in the Ottoman Empire. Unfortunately, due to their perceived connection to the Armenian crisis of the 1890s, the Ottoman government and local authorities often doubted their intentions. Consequently, missionary organizations and individual missionaries were held in low regard by Ottoman officials and the public at large. They were seen as untrustworthy and potentially detrimental to the empire's sovereignty. Despite these obstacles, American missionaries persevered in their efforts to improve conditions in the Ottoman Empire.[153] Cyrus Hamlin even advised American missionaries to refrain from aiding the revolutionary committees. In 1893, two Armenian instructors were jailed for displaying images depicting the sultan's deposition in various places.[154] These posters were printed in Anatolia College by these Armenian teachers. Later that month, the college's building was burned down, and the head of the institution

[151] İncidelen, "*Diplomacy, Evangelism And Reform: Abdülhamid II and American Protestant Missionaries, 1876 -1890"*, 62.
[152] BOA. MV. 35-49. 25-12-1887.
[153] Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains* , 112.
[154] Başaran, *Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)",* 82.

implicated the local governor. [155] After being found guilty of their revolutionary acts, Armenian instructors were condemned by the college as a result of this occurrence.

The Ottoman Empire's strained relationship with American missionaries was not just limited to the Armenian problem. American missionaries were also believed to be linked to other nationalist movements in the Ottoman Empire, which caused tension between the two parties. This episode had a significant impact on the relationship between the American missionaries and the Ottoman Empire, as it resulted in a considerable strain. William W. Peet, who was the treasurer of ABCFM in Istanbul, publicly claimed that Istanbul's command carried out the disturbances, adding to the already strained relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the American missionaries.[156] His thoughts on the matter were published in the London newspapers Daily News and Telegraph, which brought the issue to the attention of a wider audience. This publication further added to the tensions between the Ottoman Empire and the American missionaries.[157] Cyrus Hamlin then stated that the American missionaries were being ridiculed and mobbed, and their property was being taken.[158] According to Governor Sabvar Bey, the missionaries were continuously fueling "the flames of turbulence," which were already visible among the Armenian, Greek, and Muslim communities[159]. So the American missionaries' ties with the government deteriorated throughout their stay in the Ottoman Empire. As an outcome, public perceptions about missionaries became more negative. As the relationships deteriorated, American missionaries criticized how their properties were harmed. The U.S. government even sought $100,000 from the Ottoman

[155] BOA. Y. PRK. A. 30. 12. 1892. (Concerning the destruction of the American missionary school in Merzifon)
[156] Liu, "*The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks during the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)"*, 67.
[157] Daniel, *American Philanthropy in the Near East, 1820-1960,* 116.
[158] Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, 69.
[159] Sahin, *Faithful Encounters: Authorities and American Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire*, 34.

government as compensation[160] Even a battleship was dispatched to Istanbul, and the situation was finally resolved in June 1901.[161] In the year 1914, the yearly reports of the ABCFM and Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions disclosed a remarkable fact. American missionaries who were working in the Ottoman Empire had taken charge of a staggering 473 elementary, 54 secondary, four theological, and 11 college-level institutions, educating a total of 32,252 students.[162] In contrast, the Ottoman Empire had only 69 middle and high schools, with a student population of fewer than 7,000. This stark contrast underscores the notable discrepancy between the number of schools established by foreign entities and the government. [163] As a result of various causes, American missionaries and missionary schools gradually lost faith in the eyes of the government and various segments of society, leading to a loss of trust in the eyes of the general public.

[160] Erhan, *"Ottoman Official Attitudes Towards American Missionaries"*, 207.
[161] Çetin, "*Maarif Nâzırı Ahmed Zühdü Paşa'nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Yabancı Okullar Hakkında Raporu",* 189-201.
[162] Doğan, "*Missionary Schools"*, 387.
[163] Sezer, "*Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e; Misyonerlerin Türkiye'deki Eğitim ve Öğretim Faaliyetleri",* 177.

CHAPTER 3

THE ACTIVITIES OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN KOREA

The activities of American missionaries in the Korean Peninsula began with their arrival in 1884-85. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and the Methodist Episcopal Church were the first Protestant missionary organizations to undertake evangelistic operations in Korea. Diplomatic developments followed the Presbyterians' foreign mission effort in Korea. The United States and Korea exchanged ambassadors in 1883, following the signing of their first treaty in May 1882.[164] The treaty's first article stated, "There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the President of the United States and the Kingdom of Joseon, and the citizens and subjects of their respective governments."[165] The flood of American missionaries to the Korean Peninsula was one of the immediate consequences of the Joseon–United States Treaty of 1882. This treaty greatly impacted the Protestant missionary effort. With the signing of this treaty, American missionaries began their work in the Korean Peninsula by establishing institutions.[166]

The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (USA) relocated Dr. Horace N. Allen, a physician operating in China, to Korea in 1884, where he established a medical center in Hanyang, present-day Seoul.[167] Dr. Horace Newton Allen traveled

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[164] *"A New Mission Field: The First Generation of Presbyterian Missionaries in Korea."*, 24.
[165] Lee, *"The American Missionary Movement in Korea, 1882–1945: Its Contributions and American Diplomacy"*, 389.
[166] Lee, *"The American Missionary Movement in Korea, 1882–1945: Its Contributions and American Diplomacy"*, 389.
[167] Haga, "*An Overlooked Dimension of the Korean War: the Role of Christianity and American Missionaries in rhe Rise of Korean Nationalism, Anti -Colonialism, and Eventual Civil War, 1884-1953",* 50.

to Korea as a medical doctor for American diplomats, not as a missionary.[168] His diplomatic standing and contacts gave him legitimacy and influence in Seoul, protecting him from religious persecution. Most foreign residents in this historic city welcomed him enthusiastically as he was the only Western doctor available during periodic outbreaks of odd ailments.[169]

Dr. Allen also earned a name for himself and Western medicine among many Korean officials for how he treated and saved the queens nephew, Min Yong-ik after being critically injured during an attempted Gapsin coup[170] by pro-Japanese reformers in December 1884.[171] In April 14 1885, Allen was granted consent to open the Chejungwon (The House of Universal Helpfulness), the first royal hospital. In his book *Things Korean*, Allen said: "The medical successes in this instance prepared the way for the opening of missionary work proper."[172]

Several American Christian missionary organizations began sending members of the clergy and medical personnel to Seoul a year after Dr. Horace Newton Allen's arrival. Dr. Horace Newton Allen set the ground for the Korean missionary movement as a diplomat and missionary. He presented Dr. William Scranton and Dr. John W. Heron as royal hospital workers and nurse Annie Ellers, a Presbyterian

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[168] Lee, "*The American Missionary Movement in Korea, 1882-1945: Its Contributions and American Diplomacy"*, 389; Kim, "*An Antiseptic Religion: Discovering A Hybridity on the Flux of Hygiene and Christianity*", 254.

[169] Kim, *Protestants and the Formation of Modern Korean Nationalism, 1885-1920*, 18; Haga, "*An Overlooked Dimension of the Korean War: the Role of Christianity and American Missionaries in the Rise of Korean Nationalism, Anti -Colonialism, and Eventual Civil War, 1884-1953"*, 50.

[170] In 1884, there was a three-days of coup attempt in Korea known as the Gapsin Coup. The Enlightenment Party, which consisted of Korean reformers, aimed to bring about rapid changes in the country, such as the revocation of the legal rights of the elite class to eliminate social divisions. The coup was supported by the Japanese army. On December 4, 1884, the attempted coup began with the capture of the royal palace in Seoul and the assassination of members belonging to the conservative pro-Chinese group. However, the Chinese military stationed in the country ultimately put an end to the revolt.

[171] Allen, *Things Korea: A Collection of Sketches and Anecdotes, Missionary and Diplomatic,* 70.

[172] Allen, *Things Korea: A Collection of Sketches and Anecdotes, Missionary and Diplomatic,* 188.

woman missionary, as the queen's physician.[173] Furthermore, he supported Rev. Horace G. Underwood and Rev. Henry G. Appenzeller in obtaining governmental status in terms of educational capacities[174]. The American boards of foreign missions sent Horace G. Underwood,[175] Dr. Horace Herod, Henry G. Appenzeller, Dr. William Benton Scranton, and Mary F. Scranton[176].

In the missionary discourse on modern femininity in Korea, the gendered form of Christian modernity was vividly presented. According to female missionaries who believed that Christianity was a crucial reason in women's "advanced" status in the West, "heathen" Korean women's lives were dreadful.[177] One harsh indictment after another came at the miserable and "backward" lives of women in Korea, concentrating on their rejection of educational possibilities and the lack of respect from males and society in general.[178] Their goal was to establish a Christian church community on the Korean Peninsula, and the American missionary venture was a complete success. Many factors contributed to the success of American missionaries, including the missionaries' finances, Korea's sociopolitical situation at the time, and the Korean people's deep religious faith.[179] Another reason was the failure of the Korean government to take concrete steps to limit missionary activites in the country.

When the missionaries first arrived in Korea, it took a long time for them to gain the trust of Koreans. Mary Scranton reminds us that when missionaries were on

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[173] Lee, "*The American Missionary Movement in Korea, 1882-1945: Its Contributions and American Diplomacy"*, 389

[174] Stucke, "*The Direct and Indirect Contributions of Western Missionaries to Korean Nationalism during the Late Choson and Early Japanese Annexation Periods 1884-1920"*, 59.

[175] He was the first to publish Korean-English and English-Korean dictionaries. In March 1915 Chosen Christian College, the predecessor of Yonsei University was established by Horace G. Underwood.

[176] Kwon, "*The Legacy of Mary Scranton",* 162; Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945*, 45.

[177] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 12.

[178] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 12.

[179] Ryu, "*Religion Meets Politics: The Korean Royal Family and American Protestant Missionaries in Late Joseon Korea"*, 113.

the streets, "women closed their doors," and "children ran" away.[180] Once they arrived in the Korean Peninsula, they began to build churches, schools, and hospitals after they gained the trust of the Korean royal family. The missionaries' educational efforts aided the positive impacts of medical work. Evangelization of Korean society was banned by law, and while missionaries were allowed to practice their faith, the government continued prohibiting Korean citizens from converting to Christianity.[181] Even though the society and the royal family were hesitant towards the American missionaries, missionaries continued their activities. So, how could the American missionaries explore the nation and create new stations and institutions in the Korean Peninsula?

3.1 American missionaries and their royal ties

Following the Kanghwa Treaty (강화도 조약), which is also known as the Treaty of Ganghwa Island of 1876, new knowledge and technology gradually entered the Korean Peninsula. As a result, the court attempted to devise a plan that would satisfy foreign demands for economic openness and the introduction of Western ideals.[182] Young, liberal-minded intellectuals persuaded King Gojong Korea to end its isolation and begin on a path of enlightenment and self-strengthening. The court first established expeditions to Japan and China. Kim Hong-jip, the deputy minister of rituals, led the first trip to Japan in 1880. The mission's primary purpose was to explore girl schools, vocational schools, military schools, and universities. Following this journey, twelve officials were dispatched to Japan by King Gojong in 1881 to

[180] Scranton, "*Women's Work in Korea,"*, 2-3.
[181] Cha, *"Establishing the Rules of Engagement: American Protestant Missionaries, the U.S. Legation, and the Chosŏn State, 1884-1900"*, 68.
[182] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945*, 40

inspect governmental institutions.[183] The number of schools for both girls and boys astounded Korean officials. After visiting the missions, several believed that reforming the role of women in the household and educating women were crucial for society. Yi Su-jong was one of the officials who realized the importance of females' education. He additionally wrote to American missions pleading with them to send women missionaries to Korea. In this letter, he said, "I think a girls' school is very important. Wherefore I desire that a lady missionary be sent to my country, and I, although an ignorant man, will do everything in my power to introduce and aid her in my work."[184]

After the treaty between Korea and the United States, Lucius Foote became the first American minister to arrive in Korea in 1883. On the advice of King Gojong, eight men were dispatched to the United States to collect information about the American education system. During their visit, they visited various educational institutions to gather as much information as possible.[185] When Hong Young-sik, the mission's vice minister, returned to Korea, he encouraged King Gojong to embrace the American educational system. He said, "Definitely, we should adopt the American educational system to train people and use their skills in many different ways."[186] So, after the mission came back to Korea, urged by the mission members, King Gojong decided to open an English language school.

In light of this decision in 1884, King Gojong requested several times for American teachers to establish this school. The State Department received a request from King Gojong for three American professors. The request was submitted to John Eaton, the education commissioner. Eaton believed that building a school in Korea

[183] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945*, 40.
[184] Choi, "*Women's Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Choson Korea.",* 93.
[185] Yuh, "*The Royal English Academy: Korea's First Instance of American-Style Education and the Making of Modern Korean Officials, 1886-1894",* 111.
[186] Kim, "*American Influence on Korean Education. Educational Perspectives", 28.*

staffed by American teachers was a great opportunity to promote the American school system and educational ideology.[187]

Following the events, Eaton hired three teachers: Dalzell Bunker, Homer Hulbert, and George Gilmore.[188] They landed in Korea on July 4, 1886, and immediately began working on designing the academic curriculum for the school. As a result of the charge to establish an American-style education at the Royal Academy, modern courses such as English, geography, and history were provided.[189] Homer Hulbert explained the goal of the Royal Academy curriculum, stating, "ignorance of Korean officials about everything foreign suggested to the Naval Attache the need for instruction."[190] So, the Americans believed that the Koreans needed a contemporary educational system since they were ignorant of anything abroad.

Students who could study rapidly were recruited from the households of officials by royal edict. The school was divided into two parts: the left section and the right section. The left class consisted of pupils who were low-level officials, whereas the right class consisted of clever youths aged fifteen to twenty, largely elites. American educators claimed that the students were uninterested in Western education in the early years.[191] As a result of the absence of enthusiasm, American instructors encountered difficulties when educating their students. For the first time, Koreans observed the American educational system through this school.

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[187] Yuh, "*The Royal English Academy: Korea's First Instance of American-Style Education and the Making of Modern Korean officials, 1886-1894"*, 112.
[188] Yuh, "*The Royal English Academy: Korea's First Instance of American-Style Education and the Making of Modern Korean officials, 1886-1894"*, 115.
[189] Yuh, "*The Royal English Academy: Korea's First Instance of American-Style Education and the Making of Modern Korean officials, 1886-1894"*, 119
[190] Yuh, "*The Royal English Academy: Korea's First Instance of American-Style Education and the Making of Modern Korean Officials, 1886-1894",* 120.
[191] Yuh, "Guns, *Farms, and Foreign Languages: the Introduction of Western Learning and the First Government Schools in Late Nineteenth-century Korea"*, 588.

Soon after their arrival, American missionaries began establishing schools to preach Christianity. According to George Paik, the early missionaries aimed to focus on women and the working class, emphasize primary education, and promote indigenous evangelical work.[192] Paejae Academy, the first missionary school, was founded in 1886 by Methodist missionary educator Henry G. Appenzeller.[193] The four pupils who went to Paejae were so poor that they needed to get paid for their attendance at school. 130,000 students, thus accounting for almost 93 percent of all foreign schools. It is worth noting that American missionaries were able to construct educational institutions more rapidly than churches.[194] While missionaries established around 1046 churches and chapels, they established approximately 1623 schools by 1910.[195] The number of schools established by American missionaries demonstrates the importantance they attached to education.

Missionaries were involved in educational activities, and they developed their curriculum for the schools they constructed. Their primary goal was to increase Koreans' literacy so they could read the Bible in Hangul. The curriculum of American missionary schools first concentrated on studying the Bible and Christian subjects, but the schools gradually included secular courses. In contrast, during that time, teachers were considered as individuals who could only read, as that was the only criterion for being a teacher. The Bible study groups established by the missionaries were an effective means of education that spread throughout the country. These groups were particularly remarkable as they catered to impoverished

[192]Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910,* 191.
[193] Haga, ""*An Overlooked Dimension of the Korean War: the Role of Christianity and American Missionaries in rhe Rise of Korean Nationalism, Anti -Colonialism, and Eventual Civil War, 1884-1953",* 53
[194] Haga, "*An Overlooked Dimension of the Korean War: the Role of Christianity and American Missionaries in the Rise of Korean Nationalism, Anti -Colonialism, and Eventual Civil War, 1884-1953",* 53.
[195] Haga, "*An Overlooked Dimension of the Korean War: the Role of Christianity and American Missionaries in the Rise of Korean Nationalism, Anti -Colonialism, and Eventual Civil War, 1884-1953",* 53.

and uneducated people. Most of the attendees were unable to read or write.[196]Since missionaries taught Hangul, those who joined Bible study groups wanted to learn how to write and read. The Presbyterian Church's Sunday School enrolment surged from a little over a thousand in 1894 to about two hundred thousand in 1934.[197] By 1910, missionaries managed at least one-third of the schools, from primary schools to universities.

So even if the country's conservatives fought new ideas and developments, changing views among intellectuals impacted decisions on importing Western education. There were several reasons for the unspoken acceptance of missionary efforts. One important aspect was that American missionaries possessed extraterritorial rights as citizens of Western nations, and the Korean government had no practical methods of preventing missionary activity.[198] One factor for the royal family's cordial relationship with the American missionaries was their personal connection[199]. As the country was facing the threat of Japanese annexation, the last royal family found American missionaries as friendly and dependable foreigners. After King Gojong reversed his previous stance and allowed American missionaries to preach in Korea, missionary operations entered a new era. During this era of political turmoil, many Koreans resorted to Christianity for salvation and sanctuary.[200]

The threat of Japanese annexation provided a political obstacle for missionaries as they established the groundwork for evangelical efforts. Korean

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[196] Lee, "*The American Missionary Movement in Korea, 1882–1945: Its Contributions and American Diplomacy",* 393.
[197] Lee, "*The American Missionary Movement in Korea, 1882–1945: Its Contributions and American Diplomacy".,* 393.
[198] Ryu, *"Treaties, Extraterritorial Rights, and American Protestant Missions in Late Joseon Korea.*, 174.
[199] Ryu, "*Religion Meets Politics: The Korean Royal Family and American Protestant Missionaries in Late Joseon Korea",* 113.
[200] Young, *"Treaties, Extraterritorial Rights, and American Protestant Missions in Late Joseon Korea.",* 180.

people viewed American Protestant missionaries favorably due to their lack of affiliation with colonial authorities and their role in promoting modernization through medicine and education. Once American missionaries showed their usefulness via medical treatment, they became trustworthy friends of the royal family, which helped all American missionaries in Seoul. When American medical missionaries were engaged as physicians at the Royal Court, they were given the status of Korean noblemen, allowing them to enter the palace and meet the king or queen anytime they wanted to.[201] So, the royal family was particularly fond of medical and educational missionaries. For example, the first Western physician of the king was Presbyterian Horace N. Allen. Allen even wrote King Gojong depended on him "literally like a child on his father."[202] After Horace Allen rescued Queen Min's nephew, Min Young Ik secured the royal family's favor. He was granted permission to build Chejungwon, Korea's first hospital which adopted Western medical therapies.[203]

The hospital's name was House of Succouring People, but Allen translated it as His Majesty's Hospital.[204] Even how he translated the name reflects his efforts to obtain the royal family's favor. Ultimately, he opened the way for medical missionaries to travel to Korea, and more medical missionaries followed in his footsteps. King Gojong was not the only royal who had strong ties with missionaries. Queen Min did have close relationships with American missionaries, yet this was part of her diplomacy. As per the account provided by Lillias Stirling Horton

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[201] Haga, *"An Overlooked Dimension of the Korean War: The Role of Christianity and American Missionaries in the Rise of Korean Nationalism, anti-colonialism, and Eventual Civil War, 1884-1953."*, 52.
[202] Ryu, *"Religion Meets Politics: The Korean Royal Family and American Protestant Missionaries in Late Joseon Korea."*, 116.
[203] Yoon and Yeo, *"Allen (Horace N. Allen, 安連, 1858–1932)", 685:* Kim*, "Missionaries and "A Better Baby Movement" in Colonial Korea",* 57.
[204] Kim*, "Missionaries and 'A Better Baby Movement' in Colonial Korea."*, 60.

Underwood, Queen Min had scarce interactions with Westerners during her reign. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that female missionaries from Western society were among the few who succeeded in establishing contact with her. [205] Queen Min recognized them as ladies of great rank, brought their children to the palace, and was kind to the missionaries. Those who gained most from the royals were missionary ladies from the Presbyterian Church, to which Queen Min's physician, Lillias Underwood, belonged.[206]

Queen Min's physician, Lillias Underwood, sought to communicate the gospel to the queen. At the same time, Underwood knew evangelizing the queen would provoke opposition from Korean conservatives. Even though Queen Min was considered a devout Buddhist, her strong contacts with American missionaries fueled speculation about her conversion to Christianity.[207] One event exemplifies the closeness of her relationships with American missionaries. Following the reform of the administration in 1895, the government created a new educational system to offer the people with greater and more universal access to education.[208]

In 1895, the Queen of Korea requested Park Yeong-hyo, a renowned reformer, to invite Horace Underwood, a pioneering American missionary and Lillias Underwood's husband, to design a school for the noble (양반) yangban[209] families' sons. This was in line with the educational system's progress in the country at that

[205] Underwood, *Fifteen Years among the Top-Knots*, 24
[206] Ryu, *"Religion Meets Politics: The Korean Royal Family and American Protestant Missionaries in Late Joseon Korea."*, 116.
[207] Ryu, "*Religion Meets Politics: The Korean Royal Family and American Protestant Missionaries in Late Joseon Korea."*, 117.
[208] Chang, "*Growth of Education in Korea 1910-1945"*, 40
[209] During the Joseon Dynasty in Korea, the "yangban" were known as the noble class and held significant influence in society. This term originated in the Koryŏ dynasty and referred to those who boasted impressive educational backgrounds, substantial wealth, and political connections. The yangban were expected to adhere to strict Confucian principles and were frequently involved in government service and military affairs. The name "yangban" translates to "two classes," underscoring the division between civil and military officials within this esteemed group.

time.[210] Park Yeong-hyo, who had ties with American missionaries, approached the queen with a proposal to have the school run by them. Following Yeong-hyo's recommendation, Queen Min advocated for the construction of housing facilities for teachers. The responsibility of recruiting teachers from America was entrusted to Horace Underwood.[211] Queen Min was allegedly willing to fund the school's operational expenditures with her own money. When Queen Min visited Ewha High School in 1885, she gave imperial approval to Korean women's yearning for education. This visit improved the school's public image and recognized female education as a viable pursuit. Barely two months later, Queen Min was assassinated by the Japanese on October 8, 1895. The loss of Queen Min was heartbreaking for American missionaries, who were devastated by the news. As per Ryu's account, the comprehension of the queen's death by Lillias Underwood took a considerable amount of time. Additionally, the reaction of the missionaries to the news, as reported by Henry Appenzeller, was characterized by grief, shock, and indignation.[212] Following the demise of Queen Min, the Japanese assumed full authority over the Korean court, effectively confining King Gojong to his chambers as if he were a captive.[213] This created a favorable environment for the missionaries to gain the trust of the royal family and Korean society, allowing them to carry out their activities and convert people to Christianity. The increase in women's education was a result of Korean efforts to strengthen the nation by encouraging education for women.

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[210] Ryu, "Religion Meets Politics: The Korean Royal Family and American Protestant Missionaries in Late Joseon Korea", 117.
[211] Underwood, *Fifteen Years Among the Top-Knots: Life in Korea*, 119.
[212] to Henry Appenzeller, the missionaries reacted to the news "with grief, shock, and indignation." See Ryu, *"Religion Meets Politics: The Korean Royal Family and American Protestant Missionaries in Late Joseon Korea"*, 118.
[213] Ryu, *"Religion Meets Politics: The Korean Royal Family and American Protestant Missionaries in Late Joseon Korea",* 119.

After visiting and reading about education for women in Japan and the United States, a group of Korean national leaders realized that one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the developed nations was equal education for both men and women in society. As a result, they supported women's education to strengthen their country.[214] Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, reformers exploited the concept of the importance of women's education and equal rights for all citizens to spread enlightenment, and education was the key to the creation of contemporary nationhood.

When the national crisis of losing sovereignty to Japan was nearing, the National Women's Education Institute was established for the first time in Korea to provide the framework for formal modern women's education. Educational content was different for boys and girls. The concept was grounded in the societal roles assigned to each gender. Women also had their efforts to develop education for themselves.[215] They actively demanded the right to education. As a result, the number of Korean schools increased following the Japanese annexation in 1910. Koreans created twenty private schools and one state school for girls between 1905 and 1910, while missionaries established thirteen new mission schools.[216] Following the queen's assassination, the Japanese took charge of the Korean court and held King Gojong as a prisoner.[217] After the assassination of Queen Min, King Gojong was greatly concerned for his own life, and he attempted to grasp any conceivable protection, including American missionaries. So, King Gojong requested that American missionaries stay near the royal chamber because he believed that

[214] Choi, "*Examination of Korean Feminism from the Intersections of Colonialism, Modernity, and Nationalism in Colonial Korea (1910-1945)",* 20.
[215] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 4.
[216] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 94.
[217] Ryu, "*Religion Meets Politics: The Korean Royal Family and American Protestant Missionaries in Late Joseon Korea",* 119.

calling foreigners as witnesses would be beneficial. As claimed by Lillias Underwood, King Gojong openly admitted to being "brothers" with Horace Underwood.[218] As a result of the political circumstances in Korea and the royal family, American missionaries had the opportunity to get close to the center of the government and establish ties to further their cause in the Korean Peninsula. As the Korean independence movement was destroyed by Japanese imperialism, American missionaries embraced Japan's control of the country.[219]

3.2 American missionaries and education during Japanese annexation

Following the Korea-Japan Treaty 1876, Joseon became a battleground for foreign powers, causing a domestic crisis. New means to solve the general problem were developed during the late Joseon Dynasty period, and as a consequence, educational activities to inspire people with enlightened ideas. As a result of the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905[220], which established Korea as a Japanese Protectorate and established the Japanese Residency-General of Korea, these activities were turned into the national liberation movement via education for the goal of sovereignty restoration. The American legation had departed from Korea before the missionary movement became self-sufficient.[221]

On August 22, 1910, Japan seized the Korean Empire under the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty.[222] Following the United States' backing for Japan's annexation of the Korean Peninsula, the majority of American missionaries supported the presence of the Japanese government during the early days of Japanese rule. So, with Japan's

[218] Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, 117.
[219] Haga, "*An Overlooked Dimension of the Korean War: the Role of Christianity and American Missionaries in rhe Rise of Korean Nationalism, Anti -Colonialism, and Eventual Civil War, 1884-1953",* 519.
[220] Iyenaga, "*Japan's Annexation of Korea",* 216
[221] Lee, "*The American Missionary Movement in Korea, 1882–1945: Its Contributions and American Diplomacy"*, 390.
[222] Iyenaga, "*Japan's Annexation of Korea",* 216.

conquest of Korea, missionaries altered their stance and embraced the Japanese. The missionaries also attempted to encourage Korean converts to support the Japanese government. One of the main characteristics of missionaries was their commitment to avoiding conflict, maintaining balance, and carrying out their work effectively.[223] Following Japan's acquisition of Korea, U.S. Secretary of State Huntington Wilson sent Thomas J. O'Brien to inquire with the Japanese government regarding the Japanese government's position toward American missionary schools in Korea.[224] In response, Japan's Foreign Minister stated that the protection of American missionaries would not alter. As a result of the circumstances, American missionaries in Korea became unintentionally entangled in the conflict.[225]

Following the Japanese Foreign Minister's reaction, an incident involving American missionaries occurred. Even though the Japanese acknowledged Protestant missionaries, with the assassination attempt of Governor-General Terauchi in 1910, things changed. American missionaries started to provide support to Koreans, particularly as the Japanese colonial regime's oppressive policies towards the Christians increased.[226] The missionaries faced brutal treatment from the Japanese government and military, which further fueled the anti-Japanese sentiment among Koreans. In response to the increasing injustice of Japan's colonial authority, Koreans began to organize protests against the oppressive regime. These protests played a significant role in the larger movement towards Korean independence.[227]

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[223] Ryu,*"The Origin and Characteristics of Evangelical Protestantism in Korea at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,"*, 397.
[224] Nagata, *"American Missionaries in Korea and U.S.-Japan Relations 1910–1920"*, 160-161.
[225] Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity: Protestant Encounters with Korean Religions, 1876-1915*, 34
[226] Kim, "*Review Essay: Moving Beyond Global Encounters Toward Global Reciprocity: Christian Education in East Asian Perspectives*", 188.
[227] Lee, "*A Political Factor in the Rise of Protestantism in Korea: Protestantism and the 1919 March First Movement"*, 138.

Their mission was more successful because they formed an alliance with the Koreans to fight against Japanese domination.

The Japanese and American missionaries disputed two topics. One incident was the Conspiracy Case of 1911-15, in which the government accused a group of Koreans, primarily Christians, of inciting a rebellion. Masatake Terauchi, Governor General of Korea, faced the danger of assassination multiple times by Koreans.[228] This scheme purportedly revolved around Hugh O'Neill Academy in Sonchon, where George S. McCune was principal. Six persons were imprisoned for the purported killing of Terauchi, including Yun Ch'i-ho, who became Governor-General of Korea and detained numerous Christian Koreans.[229] In a particular incident, the Japanese authorities levied an accusation against a Korean individual, alleging possession of a weapon that was claimed to belong to one of the missionaries. Although the accusation was eventually dismissed, it had a significant impact on the perception of the relationship between American missionaries and detained Koreans, with Japanese officials in Korea growing increasingly suspicious.[230] So, the Korean Conspiracy case of 1912 revealed Japan's anti-Christian policies. Due to the conspiracy case, 105 Koreans were arrested and imprisoned.[231]

The other controversy was the missionaries' reaction to the Government-Educational General's Ordinance of 1911-1912 and the regulations of 1915, which were the fundamental legislation governing education and curriculum. In an effort to improve education, a new law was put into effect that introduced a reformed education system. Under the new system, boys were mandated to complete four

[228] Kim, *"The Politics of Officially Recognizing Religions and the Expansion of Urban "Social Work" in Colonial Korea."*, 74.
[229] Kim, *"The Politics of Officially Recognizing Religions and the Expansion of Urban "Social Work" in Colonial Korea."*, 74.
[230] Kim, "*The Politics of Officially Recognizing Religions and the Expansion of Urban "Social Work" in Colonial Korea."*, 74.
[231] Lee, "A Political Factor in the Rise of Protestantism in Korea: Protestantism and the 1919 March First Movement", 128.

years of elementary school followed by four years of secondary education. Conversely, girls were obligated to attend only three years of secondary school.[232] However, after the March First Movement[233], the government recognized the importance of education for both genders and consequently increased the mandatory elementary school period to six years for boys and girls alike. Moreover, the compulsory secondary education period was extended to five years for boys and four years for girls, thereby providing opportunities for both genders to attain an education that would aid them in their future endeavors.[234] The textbooks for girls and boys were different. For example, the chemistry textbook for girls was less advanced than for boys.[235]

From 1905 to 1908, numerous private schools dedicated to national education emerged across the Korean Peninsula.[236] During the period between 1895 and the annexation in 1910, the Korean community experienced a gradual expansion of public elementary school education. This was a significant development for the community as it provided an opportunity for the younger generation to receive a formal education and gain knowledge. By 1909, 101 primary schools and 20 vocational schools were established. These schools were crucial in providing practical skills to the students and preparing students for the workforce. To meet the more advanced educational requirements of the community, various educational institutions were established, "in 1909, there were 101 elementary and 20 vocational schools. In addition there were established: two boys' high schools, a girls' high

[232] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945*, 61.
[233] Also known as Independence Movement of 1919 or Sam-il Movement.
[234] Oh and Kim, "*Expansion of Elementary Schooling under Colonialism: Top Down or Bottom Up?"*, 115.
[235] Koh, "*Korean Women and Education"*, 11.
[236] Hahn and Jeon. *"Private Girls' Schools in Modern Korea (1876-1945): Cho Dong-Sik, "Women's Education and Changing Conceptions of the 'Wise Mother, Good Wife."*, 9.

school, a law school, a normal school and a foreign language school".[237] The establishment of these schools was a remarkable achievement, and it demonstrated the Korean community's dedication to providing quality education to its residents. The boys' and girls' high schools were particularly crucial in providing advanced education to the students, and the law school was important in training the next generation of legal professionals. The normal school, on the other hand, was instrumental in training teachers to work in the various primary and vocational schools. Finally, the foreign language school was important in providing the students with exposure to different cultures and languages, which was an essential part of their education.

The Korean government had previously planned modern education throughout the era after the Gabo (갑오) reforms.[238] Gabo reforms marked the beginning of modernization and nation-building in Korean history. Educational reform played a significant role in the Reforms during King Gojong's administration. The government issued new textbooks with the aim of modifying the substance and goals of education. The reformation process involved publishing new textbooks, training instructors, and establishing a comprehensive system for elementary, secondary, and university education.[239]However, due to instabilities such as the assassination of Queen Min, cabinet members, and exile of King Gojong to the

[237] Chang, *"Growth Of Education in Korea 1910-1945"*, 41.
[238] Gabo Reforms further information: Following the Japanese invasion of the Joseon Kingdom in July 1894, the cabinet formed a pro-Japanese administration and established the Deliberative Council (군국기무처), a special reform organization with legislative powers. During its five-month tenure, the council enacted 208 reform laws. The Gabo reforms were implemented from the founding of the Deliberative Council until February 1896, when Gojong fled to the Russian legation. The extensive changes in Korea included a complete overhaul of politics, economics, education, and social reforms, leading to the eradication of the class system and a redesign of the administrative structure. The most significant far-reaching consequences of the Reforms were seen in education.
[239] Yuh, "*Moral Education, Modernization Imperatives, and the People's Elementary Reader (1895): Accomodation in the Early History of Modern Education in Korea"*, 329.

Russian legation, the educational reform did not yield positive outcomes in a short period.[240]

Notwithstanding these obstacles, over a thousand private schools were created by Koreans, and private schools were established by missionaries. The most noticeable shift was women's educational liberation and their growing involvement in elementary and secondary school. Missionaries thought that converting women and preparing girls to be mothers had a tremendous influence on future generations. After American missionaries arrived in the Korean Peninsula, Christian missionaries pioneered providing formal education to women. In fact, there were just three women's colleges during the Japanese annexed era, one managed by missionaries. Japanese focused on supervising and expanding education. Public education was not meant for colonial development but for colonial control and had severe consequences for the structure and progress of education following the independence of Korea. Even before the Japanese annexation, Japanese colonial officials attempted to limit the number of missionary schools by passing private school legislation in 1908.[241] As per this law, all private schools were mandated to conform to the new regulations set by the government. Moreover, every principal of missionary schools needed to submit an annual report on the status of their respective schools to the Bureau of Education. The schools were required to impart education in Japanese language to make Korean students loyal subjects of the Japanese Emperor.[242]

Also, the standardization of texts, equipment, and even buildings became a budgetary burden for missionary institutions. The Bureau of Education's new regulations attempted to reduce the number of hours spent in Bible classes to secularize the curriculum, and these laws resulted in a decline in the number of

[240] Chang, "*Growth Of Education in Korea 1910-1945*.", 40.
[241] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945*, 62.
[242] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945*, 61.

private schools. Just 39 missionary schools were recognized by the government. Despite having ten years to make modifications, many schools failed to meet the criteria. Prior to 1908, the number of private schools fluctuated between 4,000 and 5,000.[243] In the year of July 1910, there were about 10,000 schools, but over the course of that same year, the number of schools had plummeted to around 2,000. Fast forward to 1930, and there were 422 primary schools that were run by missionaries. Out of these schools, almost half of them were one-room schools, indicating that they were likely located in rural and remote areas. However, it's worth noting that 190 of these schools were not standardized according to Japanese educational legislation. This could mean that their curriculum, facilities or teaching methods were not in line with the legal requirements set by Japan's education system.[244]

As a result, Japanese educational legislation mandated that the government would not issue diplomas to students from schools that did not meet official criteria for teacher training and content. Christian schools were immediately disqualified as a result of this. Following this, some schools improved their facilities and eliminated religious sessions from their regular schedules. Those who insisted on keeping religious education in their everyday schedule were compelled to shut down. Several schools were forced to close due to the education system's standardization and the curriculum's revamping to maintain religious liberty. Private schools increased their tuition and fees as a result of these laws[245].

As women's education in American missionary schools gained acceleration, new laws and norms began to apply in the Japanese-occupied country, putting the missionaries' position in jeopardy since the Japanese had their ideals about education. American missionary schools encountered several difficulties during the Japanese

[243] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945*, 221.
[244] Kim, *"American Influence on Korean Education"*, 28.
[245] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945*, 64.

annexation from 1910 to 1945. The Japanese colonial government's continuous educational strategy during the colonial period was the assimilation of society through education.[246] The Japanese colonial authority stressed the importance of women's education for the second generation to assimilate Koreans. Regarding women's education, the Japanese colonialists' ideal image of women was that they should obey colonial rule and build a home that honored control over the region.[247] The schooling was designed to produce submissive women with the qualities of a good wife and wise mother. In addition, girls education was intended to incorporate Korean women into Japanese society.

Japan enacted new educational legislation based on the Japanese educational model throughout the Japanese sphere of influence. The education aimed to assimilate Korean citizens, and they emphasized women's education because they believed, as Hyun argues, the "fastest way for Koreans to be assimilated to the Japanese rule was through the development of women's education."[248] Several schools were compelled to shut down or operate under heavy government supervision, and instructors and students were mistreated because of their religious and political convictions[249].

As a result of the ordinances, accessible education for all suddenly required payments, resulting in a decrease in the number of students attending these institutions. These kinds of occurrences provided context for missionaries' reactions to the March First Movement in 1919.[250] As time passed, the feelings of anger and bitterness towards Japan's colonial rule over Korea intensified. After the Japanese

[246] Yuh, *"Contradictions in Korean Colonial Education"*, 122.
[247] Kim, "*A Study on the History of Women's Education in Korea"*, 4.
[248] Hyun, *"Life Since Then: Reconstructing Korean Women's Educational Experiences and their Lives"*, 3.
[249] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945*, 63.
[250] Clark, *"Surely God Will Work Out Their Salvation:" Protestant Missionaries in the March First Movement."*, 49.

protectorate was established in 1905, many Koreans sought a method to show their anguish. Consequently, some formed secret organizations, others joined righteous armies, and others became Christians. According to American missionaries, Korean church members climbed from 311 in 1894 to 50,760 in 1910.[251]

American missionaries were significant social players, especially during the pro-independece March First Movement[252]. So when missionaries played a role in the March First Movement, the missionaries were accused once more of inciting and assisting Koreans to demonstrate against Japanese authority. The March First Movement began due to the Korean Independence Movement in Korea. Since then, missionaries have argued that Japanese cruelty violated human rights.[253] Missionaries became active actors when the Japanese began to employ violence, concealing student demonstrations and documenting Japanese atrocities. All of these causes forced Korean missionaries to get involved in the development of the March First Movement. A group of Korean elders arrived at the door of Robert Grierson, a Canadian medical doctor, a Presbyterian missionary, and an educator who had been in Korea for 36 years and asked to speak with him about a confidential subject. This hidden thing turned out to be a cryptic notice regarding the migration from the capital. [254] Because the elders could not figure out the message, they sent a delegation to Seoul. Two days later, protests erupted in Songjin, and Robert Grierson learned his residence had been utilized as a staging area for political conspiracies.

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[251] Ryu, *"Religion Meets Politics: The Korean Royal Family and American Protestant Missionaries in Late Joseon Korea."*, 132.

[252] March 1, 1919 marked a pivotal moment in Korean history when a series of nationwide demonstrations were organized to demand national independence from Japan. These protests were a response to the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea, which had been ongoing since 1910. Despite the harsh measures employed by the Japanese authorities, the demonstrations persisted for several weeks and became known as the March 1st Movement. This movement was a significant turning point in the Korean independence struggle and ultimately paved the way for Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945.

[253] Clark, *"Surely God Will Work Out Their Salvation:" Protestant Missionaries in the March First Movement."*, 67.

[254] *New York Times* April 11, 1919, 4.

Missionaries were stunned by the March First Movement, and their compassion for Koreans deepened. As a result, their initial reaction was to safeguard their students by prohibiting their involvement. For example, Lulu Frey, principal of Ewha Girls School, stood at the gate with her arms spread, ensuring that no one passed through.[255] The second reaction was to figure out how to assist injured protestors or trying to avoid arrest. Helen Kim, for example, disguised herself as a sewing lady and hid at a missionary's home. Many others were also believed to be hiding fugitives. Some, like Eli Mowry, were jailed for harboring fugitives. The most prominent tragedy of the March First Movement was exposed by a group of Americans led by Horace H. Underwood of Chosen Christian College and Consul Raymond S. Curtice, among others. Furthermore, the missionaries used foreign media to spread propaganda and invited reporters to visit.[256]

Missionary stories from Korea contributed to the anti-Japanese sentiment that swept East Asia. Many American missionaries were detained during the demonstrations for participating in or assisting Koreans. Police were convinced that rumors about missionaries assisting the organization were real. The Chosen Shimbun, a Japanese newspaper published in Chemulpo, stated in its March 12 edition (1919) that:

> The stirring of the minds of the Koreans is the sin of the American missionaries. This uprising is their work. In investigating the cause of the uprising, two or three missionaries have been arrested and examined. There are many shadow-minded people among the missionaries, and they make the minds of the Korean people bad, and they planted the seeds of democracy.[257]

The only true trial occurred when Eli Mowry of the Presbyterian Mission in Pyongyang was charged with harboring protestors in his house. He was ultimately

[255] Pahk, *September Monkey*, 45.
[256] Clark, *"Surely God Will Work Out Their Salvation:" Protestant Missionaries in the March First Movement."* . 57.
[257] Lee, *"The American Missionary Movement in Korea, 1882–1945: Its Contributions and American Diplomacy"*, 397.

found guilty and sentenced to six months of hard labor. As a result, the Japanese assaulted all these Westerners in Korea.[258] Even though these events harmed some of the missionaries, the way they assisted and helped Koreans on their journey to independence increased faith in the missionaries and accelerated the achievement of their aims.

During the period 1885-1920, missionaries made significant contributions to evangelism, education, and diplomacy. Missionaries acquired society's trust after arriving in Korea through their links with the royal family and the institutions they founded. The missionaries eventually become so immersed in Korean culture and people that the Koreans embraced them, which tremendously aided the American missionaries in achieving their aim. They also advocated for public education and hoped to establish primary schools in rural areas, as this would prepare pupils to become future school instructors. It was believed by American missionaries that Koreans would be more receptive to Christianity if they were converted by fellow Koreans.[259] This was attributed to the fact that Koreans are more inclined to trust and relate to individuals who share their cultural and linguistic heritage. In order to gain the favor of Koreans, the missionaries coached and empowered Korean converts to propagate the gospel among their own people. This approach was deemed more efficacious than directly evangelizing Koreans through foreign missionaries.

American missionaries were more interested in converting the lower classes than the upper classes. Protestant missionaries established Korea's first modern school for girls and boys and made these available to all classes.[260] The establishment of missionary schools signaled the start of secondary school

[258] Clark, "Surely God Will Work Out Their Salvation:" Protestant Missionaries in the March First Movement."63.
[259] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 65
[260] Stucke, "*The Direct and Indirect Contributions of Western Missionaries to Korean Nationalism during the Late Choson and Early Japanese Annexation Periods 1884-1920"*, 54.

instruction using Western educational principles. Although the main emphasis was on spreading the Christian faith and providing primary education to Koreans, secondary schools were also established to educate them. These initiatives played a significant role in transforming a populace that was primarily illiterate and uninformed, with the upper classes emulating Chinese culture. Koreans learned their own language, which they took great pride in, and their unique alphabet, hangul.

Missionaries also pioneered higher education. Missionaries worked hard to construct many prominent institutions of higher learning. Established on March 29, 1886, Chejungwon (House of Universal Helpfulness) was a pioneering medical education institute that focused on educating students. Dr. Allen, Dr. John William Heron, and Dr. Horace Grant Underwood were the esteemed teachers who imparted knowledge to the students.[261] The academic program commenced with lessons in the English language, and subsequently, students were instructed in the basic subjects of mathematics, physics, and chemistry. Upon finishing these classes, the students received education in anatomy, physiology, and other sciences related to medicine, all of which were delivered in English.[262] Union Christian institution, established in 1905, was Korea's first four-year institution. Non-Christian students were not permitted to attend Union Christian College when it first started. Horace Underwood created Choson Christian College, which is now Yonsei University.[263] Ewha College for Women, the fourth institution, was established in 1910.[264]

American missionaries successfully influenced and evangelized Korea throughout their stay in Korea by establishing various institutions and educating the Korean people in these institutions. Despite difficulties caused by political events,

[261] Yeo, *"Severance Hospital: Bringing Modern Medicine to Korea",* 594.
[262] Yeo, "*Severance Hospital: Bringing Modern Medicine to Korea",* 594.
[263] Philips, "*Underwood, Horace Grant,"* 689.
[264] Park*, "Trailblazers in a Traditional World: Korea's First Women College Graduates, 1910-45",* 89.

they continued providing education to achieve their aims, improving missionary educational institutions' success. They have not only enhanced education in Korea but also reached out to many parts of the population, such as people with low incomes and women who previously needed access to educational institutions.

CHAPTER 4

WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND KOREA

4.1 Women's education in the Ottoman Empire and Korea before American missionaries

American missionaries valued education highly to achieve their goals, and their educational ventures were quite successful. The inability of the Ottoman State and Korea to offer education for women and men was the most essential cause for this accomplishment. In other words, the Ottoman State's and Korea's lack of educational institutions and the flaws in the standard of education presented a wide range of possibilities for missionaries in the field of education.

Three missionary organizations were formed to work in the areas: The Woman's Board of Missions, The Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior, and The Woman's Board of Missions for the Pacific. Female missionary employees were educated through these boards to operate among ladies in distant areas.[265] These female missionary organizations collaborated and worked with the American Board. For example, the Woman's Board of Missions established Mardin Protestant Girls High School. Agnes Fenenga, the school's director, was a Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior member.[266] The mission offered women many professional opportunities, such as medical doctors, teachers, and translators.

In Islamic history, women were not prohibited from receiving education, similar to Confucianism in Korea. Despite progress in both societies, women's education lags behind men's due to traditional educational practices. This was a

[265] Alan and Bolat, *"The American Board And The Ottoman Women's Education",* 112.
[266] David, *What Next in Turkey, Glimpses of the American Board's Work In the Near East*, 162.

result of deep-seated societal beliefs that prioritized men's education over women's education. In the Ottoman Empire, women's education was limited to elementary schools, and the only opportunity for these women to enhance their education was to attend religious institutions or through exceptional tutors. Indeed, the statement that mothers' education is the most significant notion regarding women's education holds great importance. During the late Ottoman period, the government recognized promoting girls' education as essential for cultivating desired societal values. Their objective was to train young girls to become future mothers with the skills and cultural capital to raise children with religious and moral principles while instilling a sense of patriotism, as motherhood plays a significant role for women in the family, requiring them to possess strong moral values and education to raise children who can contribute to the advancement of modern society.[267] After primary school, classes included writing, history, geography, science, religious education, and sewing. It was agreed that only female instructors would be employed in girls' schools, but when the first schools opened, there were insufficient female teachers; thus, elderly male teachers also taught in the schools. Although meticulously developed, some courses could not be delivered due to a teacher shortage.[268]

In the Ottoman Empire, the earliest step taken for women's education was during the Tanzimat period.[269] All this began with the opening of the midwife school in 1842. Two European instructors taught females two days a week at this institution, and the first graduates included 10 Muslim and 26 non-Muslim girls. During the Tanzimat period, there was a greater emphasis on girls' education. Women had mainly attended only primary education until the Tanzimat period. Until the

[267] Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908) İslamlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin*, 234.
[268] Gelişli, "*The Development of Teacher Training in the Ottoman Empire from 1848 to 1918.",* 135.
[269] Under the reigns of sultans Abdulmecid and Abdülaziz, the Ottoman Empire underwent a series of reforms from 1839 to 1876. The aim of these changes, which were heavily influenced by European ideas, was to modernize the Empire's traditional theocratic-based system into a modern state.

Tanzimat, most female students attended only primary schools under the guise of competing religious views connected to the predominantly male-dominated social structure. During this time, freedom of expression fostered the growth of new ideas, particularly permitting women to acquire formal education. The Tanzimat period, which was a period of reform in the Ottoman Empire, witnessed a significant shift in the attitudes of intellectuals towards women's education. This period, which spanned from 1839 to 1876, was characterized by a renewed interest in education, modernization, and social reform. During this period, intellectuals began to show a keen interest in women's education, recognizing its critical role in promoting the nation's growth and progress. Some of the most prominent figures who championed this cause were Münif Pasha and Ziya Pasha, who believed that educating women was essential for the development of a modern, enlightened society.[270] Back in 1858, the Ministry of Education suggested the establishment of intermediate and upper elementary schools for women. Prior to this, well-to-do families would enlist private tutors to educate their daughters on subjects like literature, theology, and ethics. A similar situation was present in Korea where privileged young ladies were taught by private tutors in the areas of literature, religion, and ethics. But with the rise of progressive movements, it became evident that females required more structured education beyond elementary school.The modern education system, which originated with the Tanzimat movement, was a revamped version of the Western educational system, heavily influenced by the French schooling system.[271]

For centuries, the Ottoman Empire had primary schools that taught students Islamic knowledge, reading, and writing. Both boys and girls between the ages of 5 and 6 attended these schools together. In the majority of primary schools, co-

[270] Şanal, "*Women's Teacher Training in the Ottoman Empire during the Westernization Period, c.1839-1920",* 328.
[271] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom Islam, The State, And Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 15.

education was the norm for both male and female pupils. Nevertheless, a significant change was brought about in 1858, when the Ministry of Education issued a directive mandating that 28 co-educational schools separate their students by gender.[272] Although women's secondary education began in the same year, it was not until 1870 that a teaching school for females was established. According to statistics released in 1877, there were nine secondary schools in Istanbul, each with three instructors. There were 309 pupils in total among 9 schools.[273] In the neighborhood of Ayasofya, a teacher training college was established in 1870 with two teachers to prepare women for teaching roles in elementary and middle schools for women. Only 207 students were enrolled in Istanbul's eight teacher training colleges during this time. In his statement at the College's launch, Saffet Pasha, the Minister of Education, emphasized the absence of educational progress for women. He also emphasized the importance of women's education in Islam and discussed the significance of the College's founding.[274] In 1896, Article 27 underlined the importance of establishing a middle school for young women, both Muslims and non-Muslims. Article 29 also included the middle school curriculum. Ottoman Turkish, Persian, and Arabic grammar, needlework, sketching, geography, Ottoman history, and history were all part of the curriculum.[275] The first secondary schools for women were established in 1859, with the founding of Cevri Kalfa Mektebi. Following this, the number of secondary schools for females increased significantly. In 1880, the first female high school was established. This school had only three female students and was closed three years later.[276]

[272] Gelişli, "*The Development of Teacher Training in the Ottoman Empire from 1848 to 1918*, 123.
[273] Somel, *Osmanlı Modernleşme Döneminde Kız Eğitimi"*, 3.
[274] Gelişli, "*Education of Women from the Ottoman Empire To Modern Turkey"*, 12.
[275] Gelişli, "*Education of Women from the Ottoman Empire To Modern Turkey*", 124.
[276] Gelişli, "*Education Of Women From The Ottoman Empire To Modern Turkey"*, 27.

Women in Ottoman society were educated in a variety of subjects, including manners, Islamic studies, writing, and reading. In the Ottoman Empire, the family was a conservative institution and played a significant role similar to that in the Korean Peninsula.[277] According to Judith Tucker, society in the Ottoman Empire had a firmly gendered relationship in which the male and female were clearly distinguished, not just physiologically but also socially, politically, and economically. Within the households, a clear division of male and female roles legitimized the husband's authority, emphasized wifely obedience, and favored male power.[278] However, because of differences between men and women, their roles in maintaining domestic order were not as autonomous as men's. The most essential responsibility of a woman was to care for her children. In addition to domestic duties, women's primary responsibilities included caring for their children and spouses. A woman was considered especially competent for reproduction and emotional and physical care of children. Women's education began to gain prominence after a particular period owing to the obligations put on women, as evidenced by Ottoman sources such as moral books and literature on this subject.[279]The Ottoman authorities recognized the necessity for a better educational structure, and it became unavoidable that modern schools would coexist with traditional educational institutions and systems. Especially during the rule of Abdulhamid II, significant efforts were made to enhance the number of qualified schools.[280] In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire faced a severe shortage of educational institutions. This problem was exacerbated by the presence of foreign schools, particularly American missionary institutions, which

[277] Ágoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 212-213.
[278] Tucker, *In the House of the Law Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine,* 180.
[279] Tucker, *In the House of the Law Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine,* 40.
[280] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom Islam, The State, And Education In The Late Ottoman Empire*, 9.

were seen as a threat to the identity of Ottoman subjects by the government. In response to this issue, the Sublime Porte took action to improve the quality of public schools and existing schools.[281] The papers provided by Zühdü Pasha revealed the severity of the issue of foreign schools and the solutions being implemented to address the situation, as the Ottoman Empire was in a particularly vulnerable position with regards to the West.[282] The growth in foreign educational institutions functioning within the Empire's boundaries was an intriguing facet of this age of educational modernity. Based on official records, towards the end of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire hosted a diverse array of educational institutions, including 465 American, 83 English, 72 French, 44 Russian, 24 Italian, 7 Austrian, and 7 German schools. These establishments represented a multifaceted approach to education within the empire. [283]

In 1911, a new female high school was established, following the closure of the previous one in 1882. The new high school was modeled after the European system.[284] The school's curriculum included language instruction, music, domestic work training, and handicrafts. In 1914, the İnâs Darülfünun, the first women's university, opened its doors to students who had completed an entrance test.[285] The university provided three-year education programs, and students who passed the entrance test were the only ones who could attend the school; the university provided courses in natural sciences, literature, and mathematics.[286] Women were first permitted to attend medical, pharmacy, and chemical departments in 1917. However,

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[281] Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908) İslamlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin*, 256.
[282] Başaran, "*Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)"*, 62.
[283] Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika - Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, 25.; Tekeli and İlkin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Eğitim ye Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü*, 112.
[284] Gelişli, "*Education of Women from the Ottoman Empire to Modern Turkey*", 124.
[285] Gelişli, "*Education of Women from the Ottoman Empire to Modern Turkey",* 125..
[286] Uyar and Ertuğrul. *"Türkiye'de Kadınların Yükseköğrenim Hakkını Elde Etmesi: Darülfünun'da Kadın ve İnas Darülfünunu"*, 84.

when female students boycotted lectures and attended male classes, the university closed in 1921.Following the closure of İnâs Darülfünun in 1921, the Department of Darülfünun extended its admissions to female students commencing September 16 of the same year, marking a shift towards mixed-gender education. .[287]

Different from what we find about female education in the Ottoman Empire in the primary and secondary sources, several accounts indicate that there was no formal schooling for women in traditional Korea. In Joseon dynasty, women were not encouraged to develop their literary abilities and were even looked down upon if they showed interest in it. This was due to the prevailing cultural and traditional biases against literate women. In Korea, women were excluded from formal education until the late 1800s because it was believed that women lacked the intellectual capacity to pursue it. As a result, women were deprived of numerous opportunities to learn and grow, which could have otherwise helped them contribute to society and achieve their full potential.[288] Yi-lk, a Confucian scholar from 18th-century Korea, stated, "Reading and learning are the domains of men. For a woman, it is enough if she knows the Confucian virtues of diligence, frugality, and chastity."[289]

Although there were attempts to control women's lives through Confucian governing philosophy, Confucian ideology did not permeate thoroughly into the lives of the public. The Neo-Confucian ideology of the Joseon dynasty, prevalent during the time, held women who possessed learning and education with disrespect. Yi Ik (1681-1763), a intellectual of his era who had progressive ideas stated: "Reading and learning are the domain of men. For a woman it is enough if she knows the

[287] Uyar and Ertuğrul. *"Türkiye'de Kadınların Yükseköğrenim Hakkını Elde Etmesi: Darülfünun'da Kadın ve İnas Darülfününu*, 84.
[288]Choi, "*Women's Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Choson Korea"*, 90.
[289]Choi, "*Women's Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Choson Korea"*, 90.

Confucian virtues; she will bring disgrace to the family if she knows more."[290] The Naehun, a written text that provided instructions for women, was authored by the esteemed Queen Sohye in 1475. Its intended audience was elite women, who were offered guidance on matters of decorum within the household. According to the Naehun, wives were expected to stay indoors and prepare every meal. Women were restricted to domestic duties, including wine brewing, cooking, and cloth making, and were discouraged from engaging in political affairs. Irrespective of a wife's talent or wisdom, any interference in political matters was considered unacceptable, though she could counsel her husband.[291] The Joseon authorities used the neo-Confucian vision of a logical, well-ordered society as a framework for reforming and strengthening control over the family. An ordered household became connected with the kingdom's stability. The strict family structure gave the males additional privileges while ensuring women's obedience via the samjongjido (three obediences): to be submissive to their fathers, spouses, and sons.[292] In general, women's lives in society were built on gender segregation, and as such, they were restricted to the household, primarily separated from the domain of decision-making in society.

As a result of such perceptions of women, women's education in society was confined to developing housework skills and virtues to perpetuate the patriarchal family. Even though there have been many private women's schools since the late 1800s, there has been a delay at the government level. According to some scholars, this was due to Neo-Confucianism and cultural norms that barred and limited women from participating in social life.[293] The Korean Confucian tradition established a social hierarchy that mandated women to be always subordinate to men. This was

[290] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945.* 39.
[291] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945,* 39.
[292] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945*. 19-20.
[293] See Deuchler, "*The Confucian Transformation of Korea*", 91; Choi, *"Women's Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Choson Korea"*, 90.

primarily due to their social position and age, which further disadvantaged them through the interpretation of these relationships.[294] Although there was no official education system under the Joseon Dynasty, specialized institutions trained women in specific fields. Several women were taught medicine, for example, and an institution called Chesaengwon was founded in 1406 to provide medical instruction to women.[295] Other institutes taught women music and dance. Aside from this, women's education in Korea remained confined to the boundaries of the home. Formal schooling excluded women and barred them from official civil service exams.[296] Yet, new gender concepts impacted the latter part of the nineteenth century. According to Hong Soon-Sook, the history of education for women in Korea can be divided into three distinct time periods. The first phase, spanning from 1880 to 1895, marked the initiation of formal educational institutions for girls by American missionaries and the introduction of initial educational regulations. The second phase, covering the period from 1896 to 1905, witnessed the establishment of private girls' schools by Koreans. Lastly, the third phase, from 1906 to 1910, witnessed the widespread establishment of girls' schools across the nation.[297]

In Korea, modern women's education can also be separated into three phases. The development of missionary girl's schools marked the early phase of modern women's education in Korea. When American missionaries arrived on the Korean Peninsula, they pioneered the development of formal schools for women. In these institutions, girls from low-income households could receive free education.

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[294] Cawley, "*Reinforced Hetero-Normativity: Gender Constructs in Chosŏn (朝鮮) Korea", Irish Journal of Asian Studies", 46.*
[295] Hahn and Jeon*. "Private Girls' Schools in Modern Korea (1876-1945): Cho Dong-Sik, "Women's Education and Changing Conceptions of the 'Wise Mother, Good Wife.",* 2.
[296] Hahn and Jeon*. "Private Girls' Schools in Modern Korea (1876-1945): Cho Dong-Sik, Women's Education and Changing Conceptions of the 'Wise Mother, Good Wife"*, 3.
[297] Hahn and Jeon, *"Private Girls' Schools in Modern Korea (1876-1945): Cho Dong-Sik, Women's Education and Changing Conceptions of the 'Wise Mother, Good Wife.'"*, 3.

Gabo Reforms[298] established an entity to manage educational administration. Under Japanese guidance, reformers in Korea implemented these changes. Many reformers were keen to carry out comparable reforms in Korea since they had visited Japan frequently and had become familiar with its modernisation. One crucial component of Korean efforts was education. The Civil Service were eliminated in 1894, along with the aristocratic privilege of higher education and government jobs. Additionally, the Gabo Reforms suggested the establishment of more middle schools, which were established and rose to prominence. A regular school was established to train teachers for the elementary grades.[299] The goal of the Basic Education Act, promulgated by royal authority in 1895, was to eradicate class prejudices from society. Hahn and Jeon states that "the bill was drawn up for the school system, which was equally open to male and female students."[300] Only four schools were established due to this law, and no female students were enrolled in these newly opened schools. The second stage saw the establishment of private girls' schools by Koreans. A manifesto was submitted to the government at the request of a women's organization, in which women advocated the construction of institutions for formal women's education. As a result of the efforts, Sunsong, the first girl school, was created by non-missionaries in this era in 1899. However, missionary girls schools outnumbered other types of private or state-run educational institutions. Lastly, the third period was from 1906 to 1910, when girls schools proliferated throughout the country. There were around 200 girls schools founded.[301] These schools were founded by administrators, soldiers, missionary school graduates, students who

[298] The Gabo Reforms (1894–1896), implemented by King Kojong (r. 1863–1907), marked the beginning of modernization and nation-building in Korean history.
[299] Dittrich, "*The Beginnings of Modern Education in Korea, 1883–1910"*, 271.
[300] Hahn and Jeon, *"Private Girls' Schools in Modern Korea (1876-1945): Cho Dong-Sik, Women's Education and Changing Conceptions of the 'Wise Mother, Good Wife"*, 3.
[301] Hahn and Jeon, *Private Girls' Schools in Modern Korea (1876-1945): Cho Dong-Sik, Women's Education and Changing Conceptions of the 'Wise Mother, Good Wife*, 4.

studied abroad, community leaders, and so on. Koreans who had studied abroad in the United States became influential agents in indirectly bringing the Korean educational system under the sway of the American educational system. In 1908, substantial strides were made in women's education through the introduction of the Regulation of Girls' High School (Ministry of Education Ordinance No. 9) and the Girls' High School Act. These developments were significant in shaping the Korean educational landscape and are a testament to the growing influence of global educational trends.[302]

In both cases, there is evidence that some women were able to receive education. Nevertheless, the education the women received needed to be more systematic and widespread. Only the daughters of noble class (yangban) in Korea and the Ottoman Empire could obtain education in their homes from private tutors. Also, the Ottoman Empire had elementary schools that taught religious topics to girls. However, in both cases, education for girls was uncommon, and there was a education gap between for noble women and education for women from the commoner population.

4.2 Views of Ottoman and Korean intellectuals on women's education and American missionary education

In both the Ottoman Empire and the Joseon Dynasty, there was a belief that family played a crucial role in development. As women were primarily responsible for raising children, education was highly valued.[303] As the Ottoman education reform initiatives progressed, both the Christian and Muslim middle classes showed a

[302] Hahn and Jeon, Private Girls' Schools in Modern Korea (1876-1945): Cho Dong-Sik, Women's Education and Changing Conceptions of the 'Wise Mother, Good Wife, 4.
[303] Şanal, *"Women's Teacher Training in the Ottoman Empire during the Westernization Period, c.1839-1920"*, 328.

growing interest in providing modern education for their daughters. The school personnel adjusted their approaches to align with local requirements.[304] The main lines of the state system were established in 1869 with the Ottoman Education Regulation. The system established during the Tanzimat Reforms era (1839-1876) underwent amendments during Sultan Abdulhamid II's rule (1876-1909). During the Second Constitutional period, also known as the "Young Turk" period, the reformers made further alterations to these policies. The education system underwent multiple transformations during the post-Ottoman era, resulting in significant changes.[305]

During this period, elites were dissatisfied with women's lower status in society because they considered it as a source of backwardness. Articles in *Terakkî-i Muhadderat*[306] particularly focused on the role of women's education for progress. One article stated, "one of the reasons and instruments of material and moral progress of humanity is the issue of timely education of girls."[307] It argued that as women made up "half of humanity," the progress of men, who formed the other half, would be insufficient to take the "path to civilization."[308] These perspectives on girls' education demonstrate how certain intellectual thinkers thought about women's education.

Also, the ultimate goal of girls' education, as stated in all periodicals, was to raise decent future moms since women serve as the teachers of human beings.

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[304] Frierson, *Unimagined Communities: Women and Education In The Late-Ottoman Empire, Critical Matrix,* 61; Reeves-Ellington, "*Constantinople Woman's College: Constructing Gendered, Religious, and Political Identities in an American Institution in the Late Ottoman Empire"*, 58.
[305] Fortna, *"Education and Change in the Late Ottoman Empire and Turkey: Space, Time, and Text."*, 49.
[306] *Terakki-i Muhadderat* was the first women's periodical in the Ottoman Empire, appearing before the release of the Regulation of Public Education on October 1, 1869. See; Davulcu and Temel, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Yayınlanan İlk Kadın İlavesi Terakki-iMuhadderat'taki Kadın Mektuplarının Tahlili,* 228.
[307] Aydınlık and Kenan, "*Between Men, Time and the State: Education of Girls during the Late Ottoman Empire (1859–1908),* 7.
[308] Aydınlık and Kenan. *"Between Men, Time And The State: Education of Girls During the Late Ottoman Empire (1859–1908*, 7.

Society would implode if children did not receive moral education.[309] For Ottoman intellectuals like Namık Kemal, Ziya Paşa, Münif Paşa, and Saffet Paşa, women's education was crucial for the Empire's progress.[310] Faik Sabri wrote in 1903 that American education for girls was superior to French education. Based on his analysis, girls were trained in higher sciences in American schools. Missionary institutions also taught women how to be academically appealing while preparing girls for womanhood. According to Florence A. Fensham, the Dean of the American College for Girls, a pasha once said, "When a girl comes back from an American school, say not a girl, but a school has come, for through her the influence of the school is quadrupled."[311]

Like Korea's "wise mothers, good wives"[312] policy, the Ottoman government prioritized women's education because they believed that educating women was critical for future generations. Serious steps in females' education were taken during Abdulhamid II's reign. During the Second Constitutional Era,[313]there was a growing recognition of the importance of educating girls. The importance of women's education was reflected in various publications of the time.[314] Particularly during the Second Constitutional era, women's education was primarily focused on the fact that women were happy and contented at home, and it was stated that this situation was proportional to the upbringing and education that women received. The perception that education for women was a major concern during this period influenced state measures as well. During this time, leading intellectuals started making contributions

[309]Aydınlık and Kenan. "Between Men, Time and the State: Education of Girls During the Late Ottoman Empire (1859–1908, 7.
[310] Gelişli, "*Education of Women from the Ottoman Empire to Modern Turkey",* 123.
[311] Fensham, Lyman, Humphrey. *A Modern Crusade in the Turkish Empire. Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior,* 48.
[312] Yuh, *"Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910",* 287.
[313] Between the 1908 Young Turk Revolution and the dissolution of the General Assembly in 1920, the Ottoman Empire restored parliamentary governance throughout the Second Constitutional Era.
[314] Karagöz and Şanal, *"The Second Constitutional Era: Women's Education Period Through The Eyes of Women*", 680.

to the notion that education for women was required to keep up with the Empire's transformations. Many women's ideas and proposals on this issue have been published in publications. It was also underlined that, like in Korea, the happiness and progress of the people depended on a learned and well-behaved woman. The first women's schools were established in 1859 in an environment like this. However, the girls' families were hesitant to send their daughters to educational institutions with male instructors. However, as time passed, the number of female students attending these educational institutions climbed.

Like in the Ottoman Empire, demand for the development of girls' schools surged during the reform period, which took place in 1894-1896. Gabo reforms[315], like the Tanzimat reforms, were considered the first step of modernization.[316] The movement for education for women began after delegations were sent abroad to observe structure and developments in foreign countries. During their foreign visits, the delegations dispatched by the Korean government were notably impressed by the large number of educational institutions for both males and females. A few members of the delegation concluded that for Korea to achieve true modernization, it must undertake significant economic reforms and re-evaluate the roles of women in households and society at large.[317] Most importantly, they recognized women's education's social and political importance. Yu Kil-Chun was the first Korean to enroll at an American educational institution. In 1881, he was part of the first Korean delegation sent to the United States to observe education and government, stated in his book *Travels in the West (서유견문)* that developed cultures cherished women

[315] The Gabo Reforms were a crucial step towards modernization and nation-building in Korean history.
[316] Yuh, *"In Defense of the State: The Kabo Reforms, Education, and Legitimacy."*, 1.
[317] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945*, 41.

by educating and treating them properly.[318] Not just people who were sent to other countries as part of the delegation, other thinkers and activists like Seo Jae-Pil believed that:

> There should be no distinction between the sexes when teaching the children of our people. It is proper to establish one school for girls whenever one school for boys is established. However, the government does not educate girls, which means that half of our national population is abandoned in the state [of ignorance] and left uneducated. We are determined to fight men for [the rights of] women at the same time.[319]

Overall, the government's emphasis on male education was criticized in some circles. Delegates who observed the education system and developments in these other countries formed the Independence Club, and its newspaper, *Tongnip Sinmun*[320]. Tongnip Sinmun and other publications, such as Hwangseong Sinmun, indicated enthusiasm for women's education. For example, Tongnip Sinmun (The Independent) condemned the lack of schooling for females as a form of discrimination against girls.[321] Also, those who attended missionary schools were among those who criticized the absence of education for females. Kim Hwak-sil, a twelve-year-old missionary school student, wrote that the development and fall of the nation would be determined by the education women receive and that the country would be more developed if women had access to educational institutions like men do.[322]

Intellectuals in this group desired societal transformation.[323] They emphasized women's education and the role of women in society. Yi Su-jong[324], a young

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[318] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 12.
[319] Yuh, *"Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910"*, 288.
[320] On April 7th, 1896, Jae-pil founded the Tongnip Sinmun, the first privately owned newspaper in Korea. The paper was sustained by subscriptions and advertisements, and managed by private citizens. It gained support from the government and enlightenment circles and engaged in a range of activities aimed at promoting social progress within Korea. See: Suh and Fulton, "*Enlightenment Period Newspapers and Fiction",* 17.
[321] Yuh, *"Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910",* 288.
[322] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 93.
[323] Choi, *"Women's Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Choson Korea."*, 91.

yangban[325] aristocrat, intellectual, and a Christian convert, wrote to the American Bible Society in August 1884, pleading with them to send women missionaries to Korea. He said:

> The Korean customs are quite unlike either the Chinese or Japanese, the power of the sex being about equal. If wives are ever so bad, they cannot be divorced, so if an unhappy match is made, it must extend through life. On the other hand, though the husband is ever so ill-mannered if he has a good wife, he will become a better man. Though he be ever so bad and dislikes his wife's good character, he cannot divorce her, and she must ever exert a correcting influence on his life. Therefore, women's missions are to elevate and reform a people, educate children, and lead their husbands to virtue. On this account, a girls' school is very important. Wherefore I desire that a lady missionary be sent to my country.[326]

Two main groups contributed to the growth of women's education. The first group consisted of Korean intellectuals who thought that women were critical to developing a new modern state and American missionaries whose purpose was to civilize and convert people.[327] American missionaries established a public and higher education system that differed from the public style of the Korean government. They created schools to improve them to junior colleges and made every effort to construct Western four-year colleges. American missionary schools were critical in restoring Korea's educational system. A number of these schools were integrated into the Korean education system. Like it was in the Ottoman Empire, these schools focused on Christian principles and education for girls and women. According to historical literature and other women-related resources, women's education in traditional Korean culture was viewed as a preparation for a life confined to the house under patriarchal control, characterized by isolation from societal decision-making processes. This type of education encouraged women to acquire homemaking

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[324] At the request of the American Bible Society, Yi Su-jong worked on translating the Bible into Korean. When Henry Appenzeller and Horace Underwood first arrived in Korea in 1885, they carried Yi's translation of the Bible with them.

[326] Choi, *"The Visual Embodiment of Women in the Korea Mission Field."*, 94.
[327] Choi, "*Women's Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Choson Korea",* 88.

abilities while discouraging them from developing intellectual capabilities related to theoretical knowledge.

The other group consisted of Korean intellectuals and those who supported education for women. Several Korean intellectuals advocated for women's education and literacy. Park Yung-hyo was one of them, emphasizing the importance of women's education. Park even proposed to the king, outlining his views on the need for equal education for men and women.[328] Hyaeweol Choi reminds us how Yun Ch'i-ho, a Christian Korean intellectual, believed that Confucianism "contained the seeds of corruption in its doctrine of inferiority of women, of the absolute submission to kings, of its everlasting 'go back."[329] Yun Ch'i-ho also stated, "if the Christian missionaries had done nothing else in Korea, the introduction of female education alone deserves our eternal appreciation."[330]

4.3 Missionary girls' schools in the Ottoman Empire

Between 1830 and 1931, Harrison Gray, Otis Dwight, and Eli Smith traveled to Anatolia, indicating that education for women was insufficient in Anatolia and drawing attention to women's literacy. The first female school in Anatolia was established in 1830 at the home of William Goodell, thanks to the efforts of his wife, Abigail Goodell.[331] But this school lasted only a short time; it only educated girls for four months, and no other girl schools established by American missionaries were established until 1845.[332] Attempts to increase women's education were first greeted with resistance by the entrenched elites of the Eastern Christian community. Yet, as

[328] Choi,"*Women's Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Choson Korea."*, 92.
[329] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 37.
[330] Choi, *"Women's Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Choson Korea."*, 92.
[331] Lindner, *"Negotiating The Field: American Protestant Missionaries in Ottoman Syria, 1823 To 1860*", 107.
[332] Alan and Bolat, *"The American Board And The Ottoman Women's Education*", 109.

the reputation of these educational institutions grew, the perception of missionary girl schools began to change.

With time, there was a recognition of the need for female missionaries to reintroduce women's activities to the agenda. Women missionaries began to be sent to the Empire because schools were considered a method to reach children and their families. Even though men were more active before the nineteenth century, things turned around, and women outnumbered men as missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. As a result of the introduction of girls' schools, missionary activity among women started to rise.

In 1871-1872, Nathaniel G. Clarke, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the American Missionary Board, supported this notion and, along with his wife, visited the missionary stations located in the Ottoman lands. During his visit, he observed that while there were a number of schools available for boys, there were limited educational opportunities for girls.[333] When they returned to the United States, they worked hard and successfully to draw interest in the cause of educating women in the Ottoman Empire.[334] According to Mary Mills Patrick, Mrs. Albert Bowker, the first president of the Woman's Board of Missions, was the first to consider establishing a female school in Istanbul.[335]

[333] Kaçmaz, "*Missionary Activities in The Lands Of Ottoman Turkey: The Emergence of Robert College and the American College For Girls",* 391.
[334] Jenkins, *An Educational Ambassador to The Near East: The Story of Mary Mills Patrick and an American College in the Orient*, 25.
[335] Patrick, *A Bosporus Adventure Istanbul (Constantinople) Woman's College 1871-1924,* 29.

4.4 The American College for Girls

The American College for Girls in Istanbul, founded in 1871, was one of the most renowned American missionary schools for females in the Ottoman Empire.[336] Dr. Cyrus Hamlin proposed a ladies' College in Istanbul to Christopher R. Robert in August 1867. Hamlin believed that this was required for the Robert College to be complete. In addition to the missionary schools, it is worth noting the presence of educational establishments catering to male students in the Empire. . In 1871, Mrs. Bowker proposed the idea of creating a school for young girls in Istanbul.[337] Despite encountering some initial obstacles, her perseverance and enthusiasm for teaching eventually triumphed. The school commenced operations officially in October of that year, with only three students studying in a leased residence in Gedikpaşa. The youngest member of the trio was a mere six years of age.[338] Miss Julia A. Rappleye was appointed as the first headmistress of the school. She began the schooling of three girls after renting a house. [339] There were existing primary schools for females during this period that taught domestic chores, reading, writing, etiquette, and religious instruction. The school educated Ottoman Muslim Turkish and Ottoman Christian Armenian girls with a Western-style education, including literature, history, mathematics, and science classes. So, the American College for Girls was also one of the Ottoman Empire's earliest schools to offer higher education to women.[340]

Reeves-Ellington has provided valuable insights into the origins of the American College for Girls, an esteemed educational institution. As per Reeves-

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[336] *Robert College Records, 1858-1986,* 3.
[337] Erdoğdu, "*Üsküdar Amerikan Kız Koleji'nin Kısa Tarihi*" 303.
[338] Kaçmaz, "*Turkish Women, Education and Missionary Practices in the Works Of Hester Donaldson Jenkins",* 75.
[339] Patrick, *A Bosporus Adventure Istanbul (Constantinople) Woman's College 1871-1924*, 30.
[340] Kaçmaz, "*Missionary Activities in The Lands Of Ottoman Turkey: The Emergence of Robert College and the American College For Girls",* 392.

Ellington's research, the college traces its roots back to the Constantinople Home School, founded during significant reforms in the Ottoman Empire. The Constantinople Home School, which later evolved into the American College for Girls, was crucial in educating women in a rapidly changing social and political landscape.[341] Following major curriculum adjustments in accordance with community demand and faculty goals, the school was authorized as the American College for Girls in Constantinople in 1873.[342] Founded in 1873, the College initially catered exclusively to Armenian female students. Following its relocation to Uskudar, the institution expanded its reach to students of all ethnicities, becoming an autonomous entity in 1908. While the language of instruction remained English, the students were taught in Armenian, reflecting the institution's Armenian roots.[343]

Later on, English became the primary language at this school. Those who could have spoken English better were required to take English classes. Mary Mills Patrick, the institution's president, thought that the American College they established might aid in resolving political and social issues in the Ottoman Empire. She also thought that the institution had a significant uniting effect on society. Missionary schools admitted only a small number of Muslim girls. However, non-Muslims were the majority of students at these schools. Non-Muslims developed a new identity due to their education in missionary institutions.

There were over 200 American educational institutions in the Empire, according to a Council of Ministers report from October 18, 1903, and

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[341] Reeves-Ellington, "*Constantinople Woman's College: constructing gendered, religious, and political identities in an American institution in the Late Ottoman Empire",* 56; Liu, "*The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks during the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period in Turkey (1878-1929)",* 265.
[342] Kaçmaz, "*Missionary Activities in The Lands Of Ottoman Turkey: The Emergence of Robert College And The American College For Girls"*, 392.
[343] Reeves-Ellington, "*Constantinople Woman's College: Constructing Gendered, Religious, and Political Identities in an American Institution in the Late Ottoman Empire"*, 56.

Constantinople Woman's College was one of the most significant and popular.[344] Melike Tokay reports us the records of ABCFM as follows: "Istanbul Girls' College had 51 Armenian, 29 Bulgarian, 22 Greek, 14 English, 10 American, 6 Jewish, 4 Turkish, and 1 French students during the academic year 1891–1892."[345] By 1909, thirty Muslim female students were enrolled at the College, which was stated in Woman's Work as being nearly four times as many as were ever at the College at one time.[346] This demonstrates how missionaries and girl missionary schools effectively attracted Muslim students and their families to the institutions they built.

Unlike many other American missionaries who depicted Muslim women in the Ottoman Empire as illiterate and backward, Mary Mills Patrick portrayed them positively as educated. Patrick expressed positive views on Muslim women and stating that they could have their lands, and there were professional women in medicine, archaeology, education, and trade. This positive view was however not shared by many. For instance, Halide Edip Advar, a graduate of American College for Girls, thought that educated women were in the minority and that the Ottoman administration was oppressive to women. [347]

During Abdulhamid II's reign, Muslim girls were banned from attending foreign schools.[348] Nonetheless, some girls entered and graduated unofficially without the government's consent.[349] During Abdulhamid II's rule, the American College for Girls therefore had few Turkish girls. Once, two pupils from noble families were sent to preparatory school, but when the Sultan learned of this, he sent

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[344] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*, 131.
[345] Tokay, *"American Women's Foreign Mission Movement: "Cooperatıon Of Eve Wıth The Redeemer" In Evangelical Missions."*, 70.
[346] "Editorial Notes," *Woman's Work*, 265-266.
[347] Reeves-Ellington, *"Constantinople Woman's College: Constructing gendered, religious, and political identities in an American institution in the Late Ottoman Empire", 61*.
[348] Childress, "*Creating the 'New Woman' in Early Republican Turkey: The Contributions of the American Collegiate Institute and the American College for Girls."*, 555.
[349] Gelişli, "*Education of Women from the Ottoman Empire to Modern Turkey"*, 128.

word to the girls' fathers that it was not acceptable for their daughters to attend non-Muslim institutions. Numerous Muslim women of note have completed their studies at these institutions. Among them was Halide Edip, a Turkish author and political leader who played a significant role in the country's women's rights movement. Gülistan İsmet, another prominent activist for women's rights, sent her daughter Nurnisa to an American missionary school where she also completed her education. In addition to these two figures, many other Muslim women, such as poet Nigar Hanım, who was celebrated for her works on love and nature, and Nazlı Halid, also graduated from these schools. According to Mary Mills Patrick, these aspirant girls had exceptional intelligence. So, Gülistan İsmet,[350] Halide Edip Adıvar, Nurnisa, and Nazlı Halid were Muslim female students who graduated from missionary institutions.[351] Gülistan İsmet was the first Muslim Turkish girl to graduate from middle school at American Girls' College.[352]

In contrast, the government withdrew Nazlı Halid from school during the spring of 1908. As a result, she was required to take her exams at home with the hope of being able to return to school. Fortunately, in 1910, she successfully completed her degree.[353] Halide Edip, the daughter of Ottoman treasurer Mehmet Edip, attended the American College for Girls, Robert College's parallel institution in Üsküdar. She graduated as the College's first Turkish Muslim alumna in 1901 and had a spectacular career as a political activist and author.[354] The Sultan ordered her expulsion from the College at the end of her first year there. Halide Edip also recalled how Ahmet Aga, who was residing at their home at the time, destroyed the

[350] Her mother was a Circassian concubine who grew up in Sultan Abdulaziz's palace, and her father, Major Mehmet Tevfik Bey, was the son of a Baghdad sheikh.
[351] Kırkpınar and Sarıdemir, "*II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Amerikan Basınında Türk Kadını Algısı"*, 587.
[352] Jenkins, *An Educational Ambassador to the Near East: The Story of Mary Mills Patrick and an American College in the Orient*, 142.
[353] Jenkins, *An Educational Ambassador to the Near East: The Story of Mary Mills Patrick and an American College in the Orient*, 160.
[354] Şahin, *Faithful Encounters: Authorities and American Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire*, 88.

wording and photos in the school's book by saying these were inappropriate and how her aunt reacted when she saw a Bible in her hands. These comments from two different persons demonstrate that Muslims did not receive the missionaries and missionary education materials well.[355] Uygur Kocabaşoğlu states that in 1892, the ethnic distribution of students at the school included 51 Armenians,29 Bulgarians,22 Greeks, 14 British, 10 American,6 Jewish, 4 Turkish and 1 French.[356]

With the end of Abdulhamid's reign in 1909, the Committee of Union and Progress took control, which was a revolutionary organization and political party that was operational in the Ottoman Empire from 1889 to 1918. As a result of their control, American schools started to receive greater tolerance. Over time, American schools have achieved a greater level of tolerance and autonomy as they have gained control over their educational and administrative activities. Muslim children were allowed to attend American schools with the government's authorization during the Union and Progress period. In reality, the government granted the required financial help for Turkish girls to attend Üsküdar American Girls' College during the 1909-10 academic year. Halide Edib, an American College for Girls graduate, was tasked with selecting five Daru'l-muallimat graduating girls.[357] The number of females attending the American College for Females rose over time following the declaration of the Second Constitutional Era. In 1913, for example, 16 female students graduated. After July 24, 1908, the constitutional guarantee of education for women cleared the ground for women in the Ottoman Empire to achieve significant advances

[355] Adıvar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev*, 84.
[356] Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika-Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları,* 204.
[357] Erdoğdu, "*Üsküdar Amerikan Kız Koleji'nin Kısa Tarihi*", 306.

in higher education. In a report written to the United States on December 14, 1913, Patrick stated that 58 Muslim Turkish females were in school.[358]

4.5 Pera theological school seminary

William Goodell founded Pera Girls' Boarding School in 1845.[359] With the assistance of Mrs. Everett, an Armenian Girls School was established in 1845 under the direction of Harriet Martha Lovell. This institution educated the wives of Bebek Theological School graduates.[360] The school was relocated to Merzifon in 1865 because the location was deemed safer and there was a greater demand for qualified female instructors in Anatolia. In 1845, five years after the establishment of Bebek Theological School, a Female Seminary was established in Pera under the control of Seraphine Everett to prepare Armenian females as teachers for girls' schools in the following years. Five more students entered the Girls Teacher's School in February 1846, which had begun with eight pupils in October 1845, increasing the total number of students to thirteen. [361]These students came from religious households and were literate and had a basic comprehension of the Bible. This institution graduated the first female instructors of the Protestant community elementary schools in the Ottoman Empire, which would be founded in the future. They maintained their professions as instructors at schools established in Bursa, Rhodes, Adapazarı, Izmit, Tokat, and other parts of Anatolia, assisting students and serving as excellent pious wives to their married husbands.

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[358] Çetin, "*İstanbul Amerikan Kız Koleji ve Kolej'in Müslüman Kadın Algısı (1908-1918)*", 386.
[359] Aksu, *"Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Osmanlı Anadolusu'ndaki Eğitim Faaliyetleri (1820-1900) Ve Bunun Osmanlı Toplum Yapısına Etkileri",* 170.
[360] Alan and Bolat, *The American Board and the Ottoman Women's Education*, 110.
[361] Aksu, *"Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Osmanlı Anadolusu'ndaki Eğitim Faaliyetleri (1820-1900) Ve Bunun Osmanlı Toplum Yapısına Etkileri*", 147.

4.6 Missionary girl schools in Anatolia

Many girl schools, including Central Turkey College for Girls, Urfa Girls' School, Adana Girls' Seminary, Bitlis Girls' High School-Mount Holyoke Seminary, Erzurum Girls' American School, Bursa American Girls' College, and Marsovan The Girls' Boarding School, were established throughout the Empire. American female schools in Anatolia provided students various options, including vocational training based on their talents. Additionally, they provided opportunities for students facing financial challenges to work and continue their education. The missionaries were compelled to devise alternative ways of providing financial assistance to their students, which was a crucial factor in their educational progress. This included offering scholarships, grants, and other financial aid to ensure students could pursue their studies and attain their educational objectives. For example, missionaries recognized the weaving industry at Merzifon and built looms to help widows and orphans.[362] The missionaries distributed looms to graduates and residents in the area to provide a means of livelihood through weaving and other related activities, supporting the local community and allowing students to continue their education while earning a living.

There were several missionary schools for girls in Anatolia, including the Aintab Girls' Seminary. It was founded in Antep in 1859 to educate Armenian girls and operated until 1917, when it was closed down.[363] Azariah Smith took immediate action when he became aware of the low female literacy rate in Antep during prayer sessions. To address the issue, he hired two local Armenian instructors, Kevork and

[362] Alan and Bolat, *The American Board And The Ottoman Women's Education*, 114.
[363] Taşkın, "*American Board's Evangelization Project: Antep American Girls' School (1859-1917)", 880.*

Varteni, to provide education to women in sewing and reading.[364] Muslim and Armenian students received education in Antep. Myra Allen Proctor founded the Antep American Girls' School in 1859 after witnessing the positive impact of education on females.[365] The school, which operated without a license until 1892, received its license this year on the condition that Muslim females not be admitted to the school.[366] According to school statistics from 1899, there were 100 pupils, 35 of whom were boarding students. According to Ottoman documents dated May 15, 1907, the pupils were all Protestant Armenians, with no Muslim students.[367] In 1913, the school had 206 pupils, 60 of whom were residential students.[368] Women were influenced by school graduates, common school instructors, and Sunday school teachers. Additional alumni groups at the institution staged conferences, concerts, and book reading days. The First World War impacted the American Girls School, as it did on other missionary schools throughout the Empire. The school's operations were suspended during the time of war. During the school's 57-year educational history, 527 female students graduated from Antep American Girls School.[369]

Following the choosing of Antep as the location for the Central Turkey College, it was planned to create a ladies' college in Maraş. This girls' school aimed to give more advanced education options for girls from secondary schools in places like Adana, Antep, Maraş, and Haçin while also satisfying the teaching needs of the schools in those towns. Central Turkey Girls' College first opened its doors in 1882. The school had a six-year education cycle, two of which were spent in preparation classes. The last two years of school, however, were above secondary schooling. It

[364] Taşkın, "*American Board's Evangelization Project: Antep American Girls' School (1859-1917)"*. 880.
[365] Alan, *"Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Amerikan Protestan Okulları"*, 264.
[366] Alan, "*Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Amerikan Protestan Okulları"*, 264.
[367] *The Missionary Herald 1899-03*: Vol 95, 3.
[368] Taşkın, "*Amerikan Board'un Protestanlaştırma Projesi: Antep Amerikan Kız Okulu (1859-1917)"*, 883.
[369] Sarafian , *A Briefer History of Aintab, 1958*, 52.

should be mentioned that the Ottoman Ministry of Education recognized the school's certificates, and students who graduated from this institution were eligible to teach elsewhere in the Empire.[370] The Central Turkey Females' College had 29 pupils in the academic year 1893-1894; two were Muslim-Turkish females. There were six in preparatory classes and 23 in college classes.[371]

Ursula C. Clarke established Bursa American Girls School as a small girls' school in 1869. However, a high school had to be established in this region to prepare girls for theological schools. Julia A. Rappleye, who had previously worked at American Girls' College, arrived here in 1876 and established Bursa Girls' American College. The school's primary goal was to raise Greek females. There was also a teacher training school. In 1912, 169 students were enrolled in all departments. In 1912, when 61 girls were boarding, there were Armenian, Greek, and Turkish students. In 1913, the religious distribution of 179 girls was as follows: 174 Armenians, 18 Turks, 12 Greeks, 3 Jews. While the school gave its first non-Muslim graduates in 1891, the first Muslim students graduated in 1914.[372] Although the Turkish government shut down the institution in 1919, it reopened in 1921. However, following the Tanassur Incident, in which three Muslim girls converted to Protestantism, government officials fully closed it in 1928.[373] The Izmir Greek Girls' Schools were established in 1830, with Antonio Daleggi, a local Greek, in charge of administration. By 1831, girls were receiving instruction in reading, numeracy, and religious topics at this institution, which had 120 students. Two additional girls'

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[370] Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika-Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları,* 199-200.
[371] Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika-Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu.'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, 200
[372] Aksu, *"Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Osmanlı Anadolusu'ndaki Eğitim Faaliyetleri (1820-1900) ve Bunun Osmanlı Toplum Yapısına Etkileri",* 268-269.
[373] Aksu, *"Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Osmanlı Anadolusu'ndaki Eğitim Faaliyetleri (1820-1900) ve Bunun Osmanlı Toplum Yapısına Etkileri"*, 270.

schools were established in Izmir, and there was a strong focus on girls' education at these institutions.[374]

The missionaries' goal in establishing this institution was to call society's attention to women's education and to train educators, people who would serve as pastors, preachers, and teachers' wives. Some of the school's pupils were mothers with children, and their grandmother attended the Euphrates College. There was an admission exam for the school. Missionaries also thought it was their responsibility to counsel students regarding their marriages.[375] After the new building was completed, female instructors from America were brought to this institution. Although the aim of training for newly arrived teachers and women was the same, training has been conducted more professionally. The inception of Euphrates College was accompanied by the establishment of a specialized department that catered to the educational needs of female students.[376]

After the new building was completed, female instructors from America were brought to this institution. Although the aim of training for newly arrived teachers and women was the same, the girls' training was delivered more professionally. American missionaries prioritized women's educational activities over men's. From the 13111 dollars allotted for schools in Harput between 1855 and 1867, 3501 dollars were spent in twelve years for schools other than the Theology School affiliated with the Harput mission, while 2140 dollars was spent for the Girls Preparatory School in four years demonstrating the importance given by the missionaries to women's education.[377]

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[374] Aksu, *"Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Osmanlı Anadolusu'ndaki Eğitim Faaliyetleri (1820-1900) ve Bunun Osmanlı Toplum Yapısına Etkileri",* 141.
[375] Wheeler, *Ten years on the Euphrates*, 190.
[376] Wheeler, *Ten Years on the Euphrates*, 191.
[377] Wheeler, *Ten Years on the Euphrates*, 10.

According to records released in 1912, there were 16 American missionary girls' schools in Anatolia, with 3960 pupils enrolled. The achievement of American missionary schools was instilled in the field of education and lasted until 1916. There were 675 American schools on the eve of the First World War.[378] However, with the onset of the First World War, the activities came to a halt.[379] As a result of the war, the institutions that had been established by the missionaries were confiscated for military purposes. Despite these circumstances, some of the missionaries expressed their desire to stay in the region and continue their work.[380]

4.7 Missionary girl schools in Korea

Mary Fletcher Scranton was the first female American missionary to arrive in Korea.[381] Upon their arrival in Korea, missionary women engaged in educational, medical, and evangelistic activities. During this period, there was a decline in men's interest in mission work, leading to an increase in the number of women participating in overseas missionary activities.[382] During a period when missionary work was no longer considered a prestigious profession, similar to what happened in the Ottoman Empire, men began to seek more promising career options. As a result, the number of male missionaries declined while the number of female missionaries increased, ultimately surpassing that of their male counterparts. This shift in gender representation within the missionary field highlights the changing attitudes towards this profession and the role of women in society. During the period between 1884 and 1910, a total of 419 American Protestant missionaries belonging to different

[378] Kentli, *"Historical Background of Foreign Schools in Turkey and Occupational Tendency of Their Graduates",* 1316.
[379] Alan and Bolat, "*The American Board And The Ottoman Women's Education"*, 111.
[380] Alan and Bolat, "*The American Board And The Ottoman Women's Education"*, 115.
[381] Yuh, "*Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910",* 283.
[382] Choi, "*Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*", 58.

denominations made their way to Korea, as per the records from the Korean mission field. These missionaries played a significant role in shaping the religious topography of Korea during that time period. As Hyaeweol Choi demonstrates, women missionaries outnumbered men by 59 percent to 41. Of the 419, 247 were women and 172 were men, while the number of unmarried women exceeded that of married.[383]

When female missionaries came to Korea, they noticed that women belonging to the upper class were confined to their homes and only left the house on special occasions. While many Western women perceived this as a form of confinement or subordination, Korean elite women regarded their isolation as a means of safeguard and advantage.[384] With royal permission, Mary Fletcher Scranton founded the first girl's school, the Ewha, soon after her arrival. The school was given the formal name Ewha by King Gojong, which means "pear flower."[385] As a mark of national honor, the King granted names solely to unique private academies in the Korean tradition.[386] Ewha's opening day was described as a milestone in Korean history when women were officially granted access to education, breaking free from a life of servitude and ignorance.[387] Although Mary Scranton was granted royal permission to create the Ewha School, King Gojong refused Scranton's desire to recruit elite ladies.[388] Because King Gojong refused Scranton's request to recruit girls from all backgrounds, girls were chosen from the orphans and poor.

But why women from lower classes and disadvantaged girls were selected for education? There were multiple factors that contributed to this situation. Firstly, King

[383] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea*, 247.
[384] Yuh, "Korean *Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910"*, 284.
[385] According to Mary Scranton, "The Koreans call Women (when they wish to be especially sweet and poetic) pear-flowers; so our school is the Pear-Flower School.", Choi, Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways, 89.
[386] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea*, 89.
[387] Yuh, "*Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910"*, 298.
[388] Yuh, "*Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910",* 286.

Gojong declined Mary Scranton's proposal to enlist exceptional women. This suggests that the king aimed to preserve social hierarchy in a society where there was a marked distinction between the upper and lower echelons. Women from the lower classes enjoyed greater liberty in public domains and were more inclined to interact with foreign visitors, making them prime candidates for missionary education. [389] These women primarily required monetary assistance, and the educational programs provided by the missionaries granted them avenues to earn a livelihood. [390] During earlier times, there were certain expectations on how women should behave and dress when they left their homes. Women belonging to the upper classes of society were expected to display modesty and propriety by wearing a loose veil and riding in closed carriers. These women were often seen as the epitome of grace and elegance, and their attire and movements reflected their social status. In contrast, women from lower classes had more freedom in their clothing choices and mobility when they left their homes.[391] This was mainly due to their social class, which often required them to move around frequently, either outside or near their homes as domestic workers or in marketplaces. Elite women might argue that they were treasured and shielded from the deprivations in the public space and were treated with respect because the female position was essential to preserving the family's status. So, it can be speculated that lower-class women were less constrained by Confucian norms, while elite women had to adhere to them completely. American missionaries were aware of the gender segregation and social norms that held women inside of their homes. As a result, they tried everything they could to attract women to educational institutions.

Rosella Cram was a dedicated missionary teacher who established the Mary Helm School. While there, she noticed many young women who had lost their

[389] Choi, "*Women's Literacy and New Womanhood in the Late Choson Korea"*, 96.
[390] Yuh, *"Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910"*, 285.
[391] Yuh, "*Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910",* 285.

husbands enrolled in the classes. Also, missionaries opened classes for women who belonged to the upper class and preferred to avoid being seen on the streets during the day. To address their unique needs, the school introduced nighttime lessons, which enabled these young widows to pursue their education without compromising their dignity or social standing.[392] Also, the girl's schools were required to follow the doctrine of sex segregation. Korean students, in particular, were so constrained by this belief that when male teachers taught them, they dropped out or the male teachers taught from behind the screen. Several examples, such as these two situations, demonstrate how missionaries worked hard to guarantee that women could get an education while they felt comfortable.

However, the government did not establish girls' schools across the Empire. As a result, private and Christian girls' schools took the lead in women's education. During the national crisis, while Korea was under Japanese occupation, the National Women's Education Institute was formed for the first time in Korea to provide structure for official women's education. What affected women's education and led to an increase in demands?. In 1889, the yangban (elite) founded educational institutions for women in Korea to establish and enhance women's education beyond the purview of missionary organizations. These educational institutions in Korea attempted to offer a more comprehensive curriculum than the traditional missionary establishments by presenting a diverse range of subjects, including foreign languages, geography, history, mathematics, moral education, and Confucian-based topics such as calligraphy and literary Chinese. Their primary goal was to provide women with improved educational opportunities and prepare them for various personal and professional pursuits.[393] These subjects were specifically chosen for

[392] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 95.
[393] Yuh, "*Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910"*, 295.

elite women who were expected to marry ambassadors, officials, and intellectuals. The Korean schools aimed to prepare the women for societal roles in high-ranking positions. In 1905, the Japan-Korea Treaty was signed, and this event had a significant impact on the Koreans. They were convinced that their country could only be restored through a combination of education and self-sufficiency in the economy. Women's education, in particular, had a compelling purpose: to contribute to the nation's development slowly but surely. Women's education played a crucial role in empowering women and enabling them to participate in the country's progress.[394]

With the Protectorate Treaty of 1905, education became even more closely related to nationalist goals.[395] Girls' education was mainly provided through mission schools before the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905. Between 1886 and 1905, approximately seventeen girls' schools were founded. Out of seventeen schools, only two of them were established by the government since the government concentrated solely on contemporary education for males. [396] However, the perspective on women's education changed after 1905, when all Korean women were asked to assume obligations as excellent spouses and intelligent mothers to strengthen the country. On the other hand, female missionary schools taught students from low-income homes. Educators only called on all Korean women to contribute to the nation's strengthening by educating themselves and their children once social status constraints were lifted.[397]

In the early stages of Christianity's emergence in Korea, mostly women from less privileged social backgrounds adopted Christianity. Because of the scarcity of

[394] Hahn and Jeon, "*Private Girls' Schools in Modern Korea (1876-1945): Cho Dong-Sik, Women's Education and Changing Conceptions of the 'Wise Mother, Good Wife"*, 5.
[395] Hahn and Jeon, *"Private Girls' Schools in Modern Korea (1876-1945): Cho Dong-Sik, Women's Education and Changing Conceptions of the 'Wise Mother, Good Wife.'*, 2.
[396] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 82.
[397] Yuh, *"Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910"*, 279.

Korean women who had converted to Christianity, American missionaries had to seek out underprivileged and uneducated women to assist them in their mission. These initial interactions between American missionaries and Korean women focused primarily on impoverished, illiterate, and marginalized women. Historically, women's education has been considered an indicator of modernity, with advanced and enlightened countries supporting women's education while less developed nations do not.[398] Was this, however, the case in Korea? During the 19th century, several Korean intellectuals expressed dissent towards the dominant Confucian ideology as it was perceived to perpetuate the subjugation of women. To what extent did the American missionaries contribute to the promotion of women's education?American female missionaries and missionary girl schools in Korea are depicted in literature as a path to modernity and a liberating experience for Korean women suffering from oppression. However, these studies disregard the education acquired by women before the entrance of missionaries, as well as the curriculums and backgrounds of the female pupils. During the Joseon dynasty, aristocratic status was built on education, which utilized Confucian literature to teach domestic management, ethical behavior, and ancestral traditions. The Confucian tradition, has been criticized for its impact on gender relations. Its emphasis on family, morality, and patriarchal values has been shown to diminish women's lives, leading to gender segregation, limited mobility, and strict regulation of elite women's movements and communication. As a result, the Confucian social order engendered a hierarchical and restrictive environment that enforced strict norms and boundaries on women's lives.[399]

[398] Yuh, "*Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910*", 273.
[399] Yuh, *"Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910"*, 280.

Prior to the 20th century, upper-class women were expected to maintain a certain level of exclusivity and avoid mingling with those of lower social status. It was widely accepted that a household's affluence was contingent upon the mother's capability to groom her daughter for marriage into other elite families and to ensure her son's triumph in the civil service examination, thus preserving their status and influence in society. Recognizing the paramount importance of a mother's role in child-rearing, the elite class took the initiative to establish female schools as early as 1890.[400] However, education for women was only suited for some women. These institutions founded by the elites were mostly for elite women, and schools required criteria such as entrance examinations and tuition. Most elite women were educated in their households to run their houses and obtain women's skills, as well as Confucian readings and Classical Chinese. Even after marriage, women continued to receive education to maintain order in elite houses. The informal education, based on the *Four Books* and *Five Classics and Lesser Learning*, taught women how to treat their in-laws, husbands, and servants and to educate children in the home. Therefore, the materials they were taught were created for royalty or elite households. Since elite women traditionally received their education at home, they did not interact with women from low-income families. In addition, it was the perception of these affluent women that education played an essential role in equipping them with the necessary skills and knowledge to fulfill their duties as wives and mothers in the future.

Girl's missionary schools and local girl schools had students from different backgrounds. These elite institutions sometimes required placement examinations and basic literacy. Because of their social rank, aristocratic women and lower-status women received distinct schooling. The first missionary school for girls recruited

[400] Yuh, "*Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910"*, 282.

students from low-income families and provided an education based on the Bible and evangelizing to help the church. Although there was a pre-established or individual education in Korea, particularly through male-dominated Confucian traditions, it was unavailable to many people. Mary Scranton's book reveals an insightful account of the humble beginnings of Ewha University. The first-ever student to enroll in this prestigious institution was a destitute orphan who was compelled to join because of financial constraints. Ewha's early days were marked by the arrival of two distinct students. The first was Mrs. Kim, a concubine of an official who had to leave Ewha soon after due to her health issues.[401] The second student, who became the first permanent student of Ewha, belonged to a poor family. Her parents sent her to the school primarily to ensure that she received proper nourishment.This fact underscores the university's commitment to providing educational opportunities for all, irrespective of their social or economic background.[402] During those times, there were frightening stories of outsiders using food and clothing to tempt young girls and take them to the United States, or worse, fatten them up to drain their blood.[403] So, missionaries were frequently put in situations where they were required to incorporate Korean culture into their mission operations due to the suspicions of Koreans, who saw mission schools as a means for Koreans to mimic American methods and threats. They aimed to convert Koreans to Christianity by embedding Korean values in them. They particularly said that instruction in missionary schools should not conflict with Korean norms and customs. It was essential for them to educate Korean girls according to Korean culture.

Instructors at missionary schools regarded teaching Christian virtues to girls as a means of saving the students. As quoted in Choi, The Woman's Foreign

[401] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways,* 90
[402] Yuh, "*Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910",* 286.
[403] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways,* 90.

Missionary Society believed that "no nation rises higher than its mothers, and no nation can become Christian without Christian mothers."[404]. During a specific era, there was a significant emphasis on educating women and providing schools with adequate funding. Korean society had set a standard that expected women to excel as wives and mothers, contributing to the progress of the country. Missionary schools shared the same ideology, aiming to groom young women as good mothers and wives. Ha Nan-sa, a secondary wife of a government official, was a testament to the importance of educating mothers, and how some Korean women were eager to receive an education. Despite being rejected for admission to Ewha due to her marital status and the school's full quota, Ha managed to persuade Lulu Frey, an Ewha instructor, to grant her admission.[405]

Annie J. Ellers founded Chungshin Girls School in 1887, following Ewha. Chungsin Girls' School had nine students in 1890 and taught cooking, sewing, Chinese, Korean, and Bible courses.[406] Josephine Eaton Peel Campbell founded Paiwha Girls' High School in 1898, following these two girl schools. Paiwha, unlike Ewha and Chungshin, began its educational journey with two girls and three boys. Three boys were later moved to Paejae Academy. Margaret Bengal Jones[407] started Younghwa Girls' School in 1896. As a result, women's mission schools sprung up throughout the peninsula, not just in large cities like Seoul but also in small cities such as Incheon, Mokpo-si, and Gwangju. As Huntley states, "of the 25 schools founded by Protestant missions from 1886 to 1908, half were girl's schools."[408]

[404] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 86; Moss, *"What We May Be To-Morrow,"*, 126.
[405] *Ewha Old and New: 110 Years of History (1886-1996),* 60.
[406] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 95.
[407] She was a member of the Northern Methodist Mission in Chemulpo (now known as Incheon)
[408] Huntley, *Caring, Growing, Changing: A History of the Protestant Mission in Korea*, 81.

Louisa C. Rothweiler, an early Korean missionary, emphasized the purpose of educating Korean females. The female missionaries aimed to "rescue girls from a life of vice and ignorance."[409] According to W. J. Stucke, İt was hoped that once a female had obtained an education, she would "be a factor in lessening ignorance among other girls."[410] In other words, the missionaries were to train Korean women to train other Korean women. The female students were educated to be school instructors, assistants in boarding schools, nurses, or medical assistants; in short, to be fit to aid others in Korea.[411] As well expressed in an issue of *The Gospel in All Lands*, the illustrated missions periodical, their concept, as a result, centered on Koreans "being proud of Korean things."[412] Through dedicated efforts and sincere interactions, the missionaries made significant strides in establishing trust with Korean families. As a result of their commitment, the doors to missionary schools were opened wide, and a large number of new students were able to benefit from quality education.

Esther Park, one of the first permanent students of Ewha Girls' School, went on to become the first female physician trained in the United States. Her father's relationship with Henry Appenzeller facilitated her admission and reduced the financial strain on her family.[413] So, the first class of the Ewha was mostly made up of children from low-income families and daughters of Koreans who worked for the missionaries.[414] Initially, Ewha High School was established to provide students with food and housing facilities. However, it lacked a structured curriculum, and the

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[409] Rothweiler, *"What Shall We Teach in Our Girls' Schools?" The Korean Repository, 1892, vol. 1, 90;* Park, *Esther Park, Obedient Rebel: Subjectivity,Submissiveness, and Korean Christian Women in Korea's Early Modern Period,* 168.
[410] Stucke, *The Direct and Indirect Contributions of Western Missionaries to Korean Nationalism during the Late Choson and Early Japanese Annexation Periods 1884-1920*, 66.
[411] Cha, *Victorian and Confucian Womanhood Viewed by Western Women Missionaries Annie Baird, Ellasue Wagner, Jean Perry, and Lillias Underwood*, 119.
[412] Feudge, *The Country and People of Korea. In E. R. Smith (Ed.), The Gospel in All Lands,* 373.
[413] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 148.
[414] *Ewha Old and New: 110 Years of History (1886-1996),* 39.

students spent their time playing games, studying songs, and praying. Later, Louisa C. Rothweiler, a missionary teacher, and Mary Scranton collaborated to develop a curriculum for the school. Following implementation of new regulations, kids began to get instruction in mathematics, English, grammar, geography, and science.[415]

Although the families were concerned about sending their girls to missionary schools, they ended up trusting the schools after seeing how well-treated and happy the students were. After winning the people's trust, Ewha got so congested that they dismantled the Korean-style building to make way for a larger Western-style one. Several students were willing to pay their accommodation fees if admitted to Ewha for education.[416] Ewha High School underwent a significant transition from being a means of financial support for families to a center of education for young girls. The student body, which included pupils between the ages of 8 to 17, had an average age of 12.[417] It's worth mentioning that while American missionaries played a role, this transformation was not solely attributed to their efforts.The shift in attitude toward women's education coincided with Korea's efforts to modernize the peninsula. Ewha High School teacher Josephine Paine observed that Koreans recognized the importance of education, and it was now time to promote Christian education into Korean culture in a way never before.[418] Ewha's humble beginnings as an orphanage, where it provided its residents with basic needs such as food, clothing, and shelter, quickly gave way to a remarkable transformation. In a short period, Ewha rose to become the most prestigious school for women's education in Korea, offering an exceptional learning experience to its students.[419]

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[415] *Ewha Old and New: 110 Years of History (1886-1996),* 40.
[416] *Ewha Old and New: 110 Years of History (1886-1996*), 58-59.
[417] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 91.
[418]. Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*. 91.
[419] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways.* 92.

Other than Ewha, other missionary female schools in Seoul also had students from low-income families. Mrs. Campbell's Baewha School and Ms. Ellers' Chungshin School recruited orphan girls from missionary hospitals. The number of students enrolling in girl missionary schools grew over time. For example, Ewha School began with only three students, but by the autumn semester of 1899, the number of female students climbed to 47. Over time, these numbers increased gradually, and there were so many students that they had to enlarge the school buildings. According to Korean mission educational data from 1907 to 1908, there were 3258 female students in missionary schools.[420] By 1910, enrolment had risen to 177, allowing Ewha or other girl missionary schools to transition from free to paid education.[421] This does not imply that only girls from low-income households attended missionary girl schools. There were exceptions, such as Baek Yeong-hyo, the daughter of an elite who attended Ewha School. Even though they were from elite families, they were from lower-income elite households. So, in general girl students who have connections to girl missionary schools often hail from financially struggling elite families or are widows who lack the means to support themselves. This trend may be attributed to the opportunities provided by missionary schools for girls to escape poverty or acquire an education that would improve their life prospects.[422] Despite the challenges these girls may have faced, their tenacity enabled them to overcome these difficulties and reap the benefits of their education.

Missionaries also paved the way for women to pursue higher education. Notwithstanding the criticism of other missionaries, Lulu Frey was the one who pioneered the opening of higher education for women. However, she hired teachers

[420] Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity: Protestant Encounters with Korean Religions, 1876-1915*, 330.
[421] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 92.
[422] Yuh, "*Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910",* 276.

to teach college-level courses. A high school department was created in 1904, and Ewha College was founded in 1910. With the help of Lulu Frey, Louisa C. Rothweiler, and other women missionaries, the first college classes at Ewha began in 1911 with only three pupils. Ewha College graduated its first three students in 1914, making them the first women to graduate from a Korean higher education for girls. [423]

As a result of Lulu Frey's efforts, the groundwork for women's higher education was laid. Lulu Frey predicted that graduates would be interested in continuing further education because of increased enrolment in girl missionary schools. Because no college education was available for girls in Korea, those who wished to pursue higher education had to travel to the United States or other countries. Ewha was Korea's sole institution of higher study for women for decades. Hence, the necessity hasbecome unavoidable with the requirement of female students who could not continue higher education. Some Ewha alumni who traveled to the United States for higher study received advanced degrees. When they returned to Korea, they became the first group of professional women in the Korean Peninsula.[424]

4.8 Curriculum of the schools

Upon arriving in the Ottoman Empire, American missionaries faced a challenge in teaching women how to read the Bible due to a lack of literacy among the female population. In response, the missionaries established girls' schools to promote education for girls, resulting in substantial improvements in women's literary skills and career opportunities. The schools they created across Anatolia drew female

[423] Kim, *"For God and Home: Women's Education in Early Korean Protestantism*", 12.
[424] Choi, *"Women's Work for "Heathen Sisters": American Women Missionaries and their Educational Work in Korea."*, 5.

students from all over the country, and the girls who attended these institutions affected their surroundings with the education they acquired. After graduating from the missionary schools, the girls were assigned to give education in the missionary schools or churches to teach the girls in the surrounding areas. So, these organizations attempted to spread their culture, religion, and language through educational activities. Even though classes were held in Turkish, Armenian, and Greek, the girls were taught in English.

Even though missionaries instructed the students in various sciences in both cases, their major purpose was for students to study the Bible and other religious materials. Although the Korean government prohibited religious teachings in missionary schools during their early years, students still learned to read the Bible and pray. Until the 1890s, the Bible was the only text used in these schools. Christianity and Bible studies were the main components of the curriculum.[425] Students were initially uninterested in religious instruction, but their curiosity for Christianity grew thanks to missionaries' attempts to utilize scripture as textbooks. As a result, they started attending church services. Their purpose was to convert the Koreans to Christianity.[426] As L. J. G. Paik reminds us that the instructors and founders of girl missionary schools placed a particular focus on Korean culture and way of life, believing that it would be a "mistake to render them unsuited for Korean society." [427] According to Mary Scranton, the primary objective of the educational program in question was to instill Christian values in Korean women, rather than promoting the adoption of American cultural norms.[428]

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[425] Huntley, *Caring, Growing, Changing: A History of the Protestant Mission in Korea*, 96.
[426] Choi, "*Women's Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Choson Korea",* 107.
[427] Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea*" 132. (Lillias Underwood made these statements.)
[428] Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea* 132.

American missionaries viewed non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire and Koreans under Japanese annexation under the threat of colonialism. Their policy of teaching native language to give them a feeling of belonging did not alter. The missionaries were concerned about Greeks and Armenians abandoning their native tongues and speaking Turkish in religious rituals and everyday life. In their literature, missionaries frequently highlight how the Greeks and Armenians lost their native tongues. [429] Turkish with Greek letters were also employed by the Greeks. It is worth noting that Turkish was the language of instruction in several girls' missionary schools, such as Euphrates College, Bursa American Girl College, Anatolia Girl School, Üsküdar American Girls, and Hadjin Home School.[430] According to missionary reports, Armenians in that region could not even read Armenian novels. The missionaries, upset by the situation, incorporated Armenian, Greek, and Bulgarian into their school curricula.[431]

When we look at high school and college curricula, especially in the 1870s, we can see that they were constructing their own identities in the framework of nationalism through courses and publications such as history, geography, archeology, and sociology for Greek and Armenian students.[432] Within this context, the regional tongues of the native Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian, Arabic, and Albanian were taught, as well as their alphabets, dictionaries, and literature. When Antep American Girls' College opened, the requirements for entry included mandatory reading, writing, and knowledge of four arithmetic principles. Lessons such as Armenian, English, Turkish, arithmetic, algebra, Bible lessons spanning four years, psychology, political and physical geography, general history, eloquence, composition, music,

[429] *The Missionary Herald*, 1839-05.Vol 35, 175-178.
[430] *The Missionary Herald*, 1835-02. Vol. 31, 53, The Missionary Herald, 1836-05, Vol. 32, 167.
[431] *The Missionary Herald*, 1839-05, Vol. 35, 175-178.
[432] Aksu, "*Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Osmanlı Anadolusu'ndaki Eğitim Faaliyetleri (1820-1900) ve Bunun Osmanlı Toplum Yapısına Etkileri"*, 198-199.

ceramics, gymnastics, tennis, applied cleaning, astronomy, home economics, theology, practical dress sewing, ironing, and pedagogy were given during the education process.[433]

As in the case of the Ottoman Empire, American missionaries constructed identities of their female students in the framework of nationalism and they promoted the national language in the Korean Peninsula as well. For missionaries, communicating their message in Korean was far more straightforward than in classical Chinese since it needed more mastery. While the Bible was available in Chinese, most people could not read it. Korean script, in particular, was an excellent choice for conveying messages to the lower classes and women. As a result, missionaries hoped that the Korean alphabet, Hangul, would help to educate people. As a result, missionaries began to publish their writings in the Korean alphabet. Margaret Bengal Jones wrote a Korean primer, while Lulu Frey wrote a physiology book in Korean. They emphasized the significance of Hangul in educating women. In the 1890s, the Hangul movement among missionaries coincided with a societal trend that favored hangul over other scripts.[434] A sense of language nationalism evolved among Koreans due to the social movement and American missionaries' efforts. Upon its introduction, the Korean alphabet was designed with two key aims in mind. Firstly, it sought to eradicate social class and gender segregation, while secondly, it aimed to establish Korean as a powerful symbol. By adopting this alphabet, individuals gained access to a wealth of new information and knowledge, as well as all publications written in Korean. This led to a significant improvement in the reading ability of women and girls.[435]

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[433] Taşkın, "*Amerikan Board'un Protestanlaştırma Projesi: Antep Amerikan Kız Okulu (1859-1917)",* 885.
[434] Choi, "*Women's Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Choson Korea"*, 100.
[435] Choi, "*Women's Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Choson Korea*. 100.

Like it was in the Ottoman Empire, American missionary schools also trained their female students in Korea to be model housewives. George Gilmore, a Korean missionary, suggested that girls' schools should prepare female students to become "model housewives under the conditions in which they must pass their lives and to make them missionaries of the Cross among their relatives and associates."[436] The missionaries were conscious that if they taught the girls in ways unsuitable for Korean culture, the Korean people would regard them as Westernized, making the public unwilling to send their daughters to the girl's missionary schools. Throughout the history of the mission schools for girls, the focus has been essentially consistent. Even when Ewha began offering college courses in 1910, the institution emphasized that preparing girls for their future lives and homes would be one of their priorities.[437] In Korea, missionary education trained girls to help others based on Christian principles and to become a "good wife and wise mother" for the well-being of themselves, their families, and their environment. Throughout the era, the focus on domestic life was consistent with American society and Confucian norms. So, like it was in the case of the Ottoman Empire, domestic life was at the center of the life of both Korean and American women.[438] As a result, lessons that prepared females for marriage and domestic life, such as child-rearing, sewing, and cooking, remained part of the core curriculum. Women learned effective methods of housekeeping, children's education, dress codes, cleaning, time, and financial management via their instruction at missionary schools. Also, gospel stories were read while girls were taught to be model housewives in classes like sewing and cooking.[439] So they could learn and engage with Christianity. American missionary schools for girls and young

[436] Gilmore, *Korea from Its Capital*, 300.
[437] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 100.
[438] Choi, "*Women's Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Choson Korea*", 90.
[439] Appenzeller, *Woman's Work in Korea, Gospel in All Lands*, 424. (While women of all ranks and conditions engaged in the needle, the gospel story is read to them and explained.)

women were allowed to learn literacy in classical Chinese, Korean, and English. Although training good wifes and mothers was central to the missionary education, there were also courses which had prepared the girls to professional careers. These included geography, mathematics, and physiology. This unique education system paved the way for the first generation of professional women, who excelled in various fields, including education, art, literature, medicine, and science. The impact of these American missionary schools for girls was immense, as they provided a platform for women to break free from traditional gender roles and pursue previously unavailable careers.[440] For example, Yoo notes that, in Ewha High School,

> Primary education consisted of national language, Chinese, composition, arithmetic, drawing, geography, elementary gymnastics, and English. Middle School education: Bible, Chinese language, moral training, geography, Korean history, arithmetic, English, physiology, hygiene, zoology, botany, drawing, cooking, bookkeeping, elementary gymnastics, and lastly, high school education: Bible, Chinese language, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, astronomy, physiology, psychology, educational studies, biology, chemistry, English, world geography, advanced physiology, economy, world history.[441]

In the American College for Girls in the Ottoman Empire, Jenkin notes, the curriculum of the school was as follows during its first year:

> Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Chemistry, Botany, Physiology, Geography, Knowledge of Health, Philosophy, Bible Reading, Vocal Music, Art and Sewing-Embroidery, Instrumental Music, French (optional). The curriculum was expanded in 1882 to include ancient and contemporary history, moral philosophy, art, astronomy, zoology, botany, and gymnastics.[442]

In the Korean Peninsula, proficiency in the Chinese language was predominantly reserved for the privileged male echelons of society, serving as a hallmark of social stature. Its inclusion in the curriculum, particularly in exclusively boys' schools, was deemed indispensable. Yet, Chinese lessons for girls differed. Even the missionaries were divided on whether Chinese was required for girls. A Korean Repository report

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[440] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 214.
[441] Yoo, "*The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910–1945*, 50.
[442] Jenkins, *An Educational Ambassador to the Near East: the Story of Mary Mills Patrick and an American College in the Orient"*, 219.

indicates, some, such as Louise Rothweiler, a teacher at Ewha High School, believed that studying Chinese would help the girls to "understand the numerous Chinese phrases encountered in all books and correspondence and even in conversation to know even by hearing."[443] For example, Ewha High School introduced Chinese to their curriculum when they realized it might benefit the girls. Chinese language teachers were male since it was hard to locate female Chinese language teachers. Because the professors were male, some female students eventually dropped the Chinese class.

Back in 1893, Chinese language instruction at Ewha encountered some practical issues which resulted in its suspension. However, four years later in 1897, the students' demand for it led to its reintroduction into the curriculum. This highlights the girls' unwavering resolve to pursue education and their realization of their impact in their schools.[444] Students at Ewha showed public exam attendees that they could study Chinese just like boys. According to Mary Knowles, an esteemed educator at Ewha, the remarkable proficiency of the girls in reading Chinese was an impressive feat that garnered the admiration of the general public. She stated that

> During the public exams visitors seemed delighted with the progress the children made. The men opened their eyes wide with astonishment at the way the girls recited Chinese. It was a revelation to many that Korean girls had minds capable of learning along with the boys if only taught.[445]

Despite the best efforts of American missionaries to promote the Korean language and Hangul, it remained the case that students and their parents persisted in their desire to learn Chinese. This suggests that Chinese continued to represent a mark of distinction and prestige, particularly for young women who aspired to join the ranks of the educated elite, where proficiency in Chinese was highly valued.

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[443] *The Korean Repository*, March 1892: 91-92.
[444] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 109.
[445] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 110.

English was also taught at missionary schools. Because of increased interaction with foreigners, competence in English became increasingly crucial for social rank, particularly in the late nineteenth century. This requirement also resulted in a personnel requirement that required English to deal with international matters. In response to this demand, the Korean government established the *Royal English Academy (Yugyong Kongwon)* in 1886.[446] There were three American teachers appointed to educate in Yugyong Kongwon. Nonetheless, this school did not enroll female students. Nevertheless, American missionary schools were already incorporating English into their curricula to engage with Korean students and teach them the Bible. The first English-studying student in Ewha, for example, was a concubine of a government official who intended to serve as a translator for the Queen.[447]

While government-run girl's schools like Hangsong Girls School had more basic curricula, American girl missionary schools provided their students with more advanced subjects. In addition, several Korean government-sponsored institutions proclaimed that their primary goal would be to educate women to be intelligent mothers and good wives. The missionaries who came to Korea were keenly interested in the country's traditions and domestic practices. Their approach aligned with the conservative viewpoints of many Koreans who believed that educated women could contribute to the nation's strength. In addition, the missionaries emphasized modern subjects in girls' schools and provided education in various scientific fields such as biology, mathematics, astrology, zoology, and botany. Attending American missionary schools allowed girls to learn about numerous sciences unavailable through the government's educational institutions due to

[446] Yuh, "*The Royal English Academy: Korea's First Instance of American-Style Education and the Making of Modern Korean Officials 1886-1894",* 109.
[447] Scranton, *"Woman's Work in Korea,"*, 2-9.

resource constraints. However, it is worth noting that the missionaries' primary objective was to spread the Christian message and establish a Christian church in Korea. They achieved this by educating Korean women in English, basic literacy, and religious materials, enabling them to participate in bible courses, care for the sick, and translate for the missionaries.

4.9 The impact of American missionaries on female education in the Ottoman Empire and Korean Peninsula

Except for the administrator, girls' schools were structured similarly to boys' schools. While girls' schools were under the management of the WBM and the WBMI since these two boards were funding the schools' expenses, boys' schools were under the supervision of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). As a result, the Woman's Board of Missions for the Pacific (WBM) or Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior (WBMI) served as the institution's principal. As a result, the WBM or WBMI served as the institution's principal.[448] The female seminaries and schools established in the Ottoman Empire by representatives of the American Board and Woman's Board were designed after Mount Holyoke Institution, which Mary Lyon founded in South Hadley, Massachusetts.[449] Graduates of Mount Holyoke formed the first wave of female seminaries and the idea of female education. Over twenty percent of the female missionaries associated with the American Board in the 1880s were Mount Holyoke graduates.[450] This indicates that women educated at Mount Holyoke served in both Korea and the Ottoman Empire. Between 1837 and 1940, 388 Mount Holyoke

[448] Tokay, "*American Women's Foreign Mission Movement: "Cooperation of Eve With The Redeemer" in Evangelical Missions"*, 70.
[449] Stone, *"Academies For Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program, and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey: 1830-1980"*, 7.
[450] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 55.

alumni served as missionaries, and 60 of them went to the Ottoman Empire.[451] The educational model and curricula of Mount Holyoke were adopted by the Ottoman Empire's female seminaries and other missionary girl schools worldwide.

Missionaries' most essential instrument was the educational institutions they established. In this respect, missionaries utilized schools to spread their mentality, traditions, and practices through these institutions. Because American missionaries believed that women in the Ottoman Empire and Korea required assistance and education, they concentrated their efforts even more on women's education. When they arrived, they discovered that the literacy rate among women was low, prompting them to aggressively accelerate their education. Aside from the missionaries' wish to produce good mothers and spouses, there was also the goal of developing good Protestant servants in the background of this notion. Neighborhood schools, primary schools, high schools, colleges, and theological seminaries are examples of schools established by missionaries throughout the Ottoman Empire and Korea. At community schools, children were taught to read and write, as well as the Bible and basic catechism.

In both the Ottoman Empire and Korea, theological schools were instituted with the purpose of equipping the native populace with the necessary skills to serve as preachers, church authorities, and bible instructors. These schools emerged as a response to the dearth of well-trained missionaries and their consequent inability to efficiently disseminate religious knowledge. Educating local teachers for missionary schools and seminaries, or at the very least educating local wives for the male missionaries, were the two principal goals of the girl's colleges and seminaries established by American missionaries. While founding these boarding schools,

[451] Stone, "*Academies For Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program, and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey: 1830-1980",* 7.

American missionaries had a specific goal. By allowing girls from various communities to attend, they would expand the geographical scope of the American mission movement. After the students were taught to read and write at the newly established missionary schools, their families agreed to send them to other towns, even abroad, for further education. Missionaries and missionary schools had a significant influence on family structure as well. Young adults educated in these schools married women with similar education to themselves. Using young family models as an example could encourage the second generation to pursue higher education.

So, how did these missionary girl schools and missionaries transform girls' education? In both cases, formal education for women was frowned upon due to social order and customs. The American missionaries proposed an education method that would raise future mothers to achieve the societal change they intended by using a different curriculum from the education curriculum they established for male students. The missionaries planned to educate girls from various regions to become devout housewives and teachers, hoping to expand their mission territory by sending them back to their homes.

Girls' schools played a significant role in the development of local women. Following graduation from girls' schools, some non-Muslim graduates in the Ottoman Empire married local pastors and preachers, while others worked as teachers in various schools. Boarding schools enabled students from various regions that do not have schools to receive an education. The missionaries offered education to females from far-flung places through boarding schools, and they operated in accordance with the mission's aim by returning these girls to their home regions following their education. In his book, Editorial Secretary of the ABCFM William E.

Strong said, "In the cities, notably Constantinople and Smyrna, there were many educated women, some indeed among the Moslems, so that the offering of educational privileges to women was undertaken by the missionaries almost from the first."[452] However, this was not the case for girls who were in remote locations of the Empire. Non-Muslim girls, in particular, who had been unable to obtain an education before the arrival of American missionaries on the Empire's frontier, now had the opportunity to attend schools even in the most distant corner of Anatolia.

Ms. Richardson attach the degraded state of Christian Armenian women, to a notion of "darkness and ignorance" and explains the possible reasons for it."[453] The first was that once females married between 11 and 14, they would move to their husband's family home, where ladies could not talk. Second, in Armenian schools, mostly men learned to read. She said, "It may be doubted whether there is a single woman, a native of Arabkir, who can read a verse in the New Testament aside from few Protestant women." [454] Girls could not even learn to read because there was not a single girls' school. Third, women were prohibited from reading the Bible or eating with their families. Fourth, most males left home after adolescence. So, in Armenian society, it was customary to restrict women to the confines of their homes while men enjoyed the freedom to explore and seek education. This gender inequality had a profound effect on women's prospects as they were denied equal access to the same opportunities and advantages as men. By being confined to domestic life, women were deprived of the chance to participate in public affairs, pursue meaningful careers, and receive an education that could support their personal and professional development. As per American missionary literature, the Eastern Christian

[452] Strong, *"The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions",* 221.
[453] *The Missionary Herald* 1857-07: Vol 53, 216.
[454] *The Missionary Herald*, 1857-07: Vol 53, 216.

perspective postulates that ignorance may serve as a conduit to contentment. In this particular worldview, a lack of knowledge regarding certain aspects of life is deemed as advantageous for one's inner peace and overall well-being.

In the region, even Protestants believed that reading only the New Testament was sufficient for young women, supporting the idea that ignorance can lead to contentment.[455] An article in *The Missionary Herald* comments on how people reacted when the missionaries spoke to the public about the benefits of reading. The populace would ask questions like "What will this do for women?", "What will the woman discover and do?"[456] The way the people answered indicated that the prevailing belief was that women could not learn or that there was no need to educate women. One article stated:

> Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true that the greatest obstacle to our work is the opposition made by the women. Degraded and ignorant, mere tools in the hands of the priests, they are easily excited to oppose us, and they resist their husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers if they find them at all inclined to visit us or listen to the gospel. They give themselves up entirely to their priests, believe them rather than their husbands, and obey their word as the voice of God. They are unconcerned about their souls since their priests say, "Come to the confession, keep the fasts, hate the Protestants, and we will save you." And all this they most fully believe. The priest's throne is erected upon the degradation and ignorance of woman.[457]

Over time, many women, including Armenians, gained literacy owing to the efforts of American missionaries. In one report, a letter from William Gooddell demonstrates how women's education progressed, especially among Armenian women.

> True religion also excites thought and intelligence. You can hardly conceive of the waking up of the female mind in our little community. Every female church member can now read, and this ability has been acquired, in most instances, from the impulse that piety in the heart has given to the intellect. This spirit is now extending from the church through the whole community,

[455] *The Missionary Herald*, 1857-05, Vol. 53, 141.
[456] *The Missionary Herald*, 1864-07: Vol. 60, 215
[457] *The Missionary Herald*, 1856-04: Vol 52, 116-117.

> and even mothers and grandmothers are learning to read so that they may peruse the Holy Scriptures for themselves.[458]

So, the influence of American girls' missionary schools on various Ottoman Empire territories was varied. While Armenian girls were able to attend missionary schools without problem, Muslim females were unable to do so because the government and Muslim population did not think missionary schools were appropriate for Muslim females. Despite the availability of Muslim schools, some Muslim families opted to enroll their daughters in missionary schools due to the superior quality of education offered by these institutions.[459] Although Muslim girls were officially prohibited from attending the school some managed to unofficially attend and graduate without government consent.

Recognizing the surge in students choosing the institutions over the excellent education offered by American missionary schools, the Ottoman authorities fastened the building of girls' schools throughout the Empire. However, instructors in these schools were insufficient. Because of teacher scarcity, schools established by the Ottoman Empire had to rely on missionary schools and graduates in certain circumstances. Schools established by the government confronted a deficiency of teachers, leading to a dependence on missionary schools and their alumni in certain cases. Nonetheless, the lack of female teachers necessitated the government to seek assistance from missionaries. Mary Mills Patrick, the head of Constantinople American College, offered her services to educate young women with the right to access educational resources. As per her report from 1911-12, she disclosed that the

[458] *The Missionary Herald,* 1847-08: Vol 43. 272.
[459] Maze, "*Foucault and Violence: A Genealogy of National Belonging and Representative Power in Turkey",* 184.

Minister of Public Instruction was trying to seek the college's help in supplying teachers for schools established by the Ottoman government.[460]

The establishment of formal schools for girls in Korea can be attributed to the efforts of outsiders and missionaries. In 1886, the latter founded girl schools in the region, while the Korean government, in contrast, delayed their initiative until 1899.[461] In the evolution of Korean society, three critical groups played indispensable roles in shaping the status and roles of women. These were American missionaries, Korean intellectuals, who advocated for women's education and discussed their societal roles, and Korean women themselves. Choi notes that:

> The arrival of American Protestant missionaries coincided with the Korean Enlightenment period, and connections between missionaries and Enlightenment-oriented Korean intellectuals were critical in shaping a certain mode of discourse on modern womanhood and introducing institutional reforms for women in the areas of education, work, and the family.[462]

According to historians and intellectuals of Korea, American missionaries played a crucial role in educating and empowering Korean women during the Joseon dynasty. The missionaries helped women to challenge traditional hierarchy and acquire skills and learning reserved only for men in the previous periods. Additionally, the missionary women who arrived to spread Christianity and educate Koreans became role models for many young girls, demonstrating that there was more to life than just their homes. Western-style education quickly became a driving force that could not be easily contained or controlled by traditional expectations of domesticity.

Overall, missionary education institutes significantly contributed to women's social position in Korea. When American missionaries arrived on the Korean Peninsula, Korean women started to gain a new viewpoint about women. Women

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[460] Reeves-Ellington, "*Constantinople Woman's College: Constructing Gendered, Religious, and Political Identities in an American Institution in the Late Ottoman Empire"*, 63.
[461] Yuh, *"Korean Female Education, Social Status, and Early Transitions, 1898 to 1910*", 286.
[462] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 9.

educated in missionary institutions and others who interacted with them began to rethink the perception of women rooted in their culture and history. The way women from lower classes began to get an education and have a voice in their lives, in particular, illustrates how a class-segregated society began to evolve. So, women missionaries' activities in Korea resulted from a combination of events that led to improvements in women's education and perceptions of womanhood.

With the coming of American missionaries, education for women and girls has advanced beyond the classroom. Children and volunteers trained in missionary schools would visit men and women who wanted to learn and teach them how to read. For instance, in 1861,the Ottoman case in Harput, the Missionoary Herald reveals the following account:

> Some hundreds of adults, of both sexes, have also been instructed, chiefly by children who go from house to house. The more advanced adults in this city have been taught in the same way by members of the theological school, who receive a small sum for these services. About 6,500 lessons, twenty minutes each, were given in this city.[463]

This resulted in women learning to read, particularly those who could not leave their homes. In both cases, girls' education expanded in tandem with the development of American girls' missionary schools, the growth in society's attention to missionary institutions, and the Ottoman Empire's education reforms. However, because the American missionaries were organized and equipped for education, these schools provided more systematic instruction. Furthermore, the establishment and expansion of Ottoman girls' schools coincided with the growth of female teacher shortages during this period. After graduating from American missionary schools, women contributed to girl's schools by becoming teachers in the government-established institutions. With over 1000 schools and 25,000 students, missionary

[463] *The Missionary Herald*, 1861-10: Vol 57, 302.

educators entrenched in Ottoman countries nearly encompassed the Anatolian lands. After the First World War, missionaries who had left Ottoman territory for fear of their lives returned partly.[464]

[464] Açıkses, *Amerikalıların Harput'taki Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri*, 313-314.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The primary goal of this research was to determine the impact of American missionaries on women's education in the Ottoman Empire and Joseon Dynasty in Korea; to discuss the similarities and differences between the American missionary female schools established in Korea and the Ottoman Empire; and to see how American missionaries affected local women and how the government and society reacted to American missionaries' establishment of missionary female schools.

During the 1820s, a group belonging to the ABCFM undertook a series of religious and evangelical activities within the Ottoman Empire.[465] The American missionaries who ventured into the Ottoman Empire employed various approaches to counter the erroneous teachings propagated by the Eastern churches and foster the holistic growth of the local Christian community. The group's efforts were extended over a prolonged period, and they aimed to introduce the Ottoman population to the principles and beliefs of Protestantism. Their activities included conducting religious services, distributing religious literature and engaging in personal interactions with the Ottoman population to promote their cause. The influence of American missionaries on women's education in two separate places over two different parallel times has been highlighted in this research. While the first American missionary arrived in the Ottoman Empire in 1820, the first American missionary in Korea came in 1884. The methodical establishment of educational institutions in the Ottoman

[465] Shelton, "*Faith, Freedom, and Flag: The Influence of American Missionaries in Turkey on Foreign Affairs, 1830-1880"*, 61; Gümüş, *American Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire*, 22; Liu, "*The Work of the American Protestant Missionaries on Muslim Evangelization and Their Perceptions and Interactions with Muslim Turks during the Late Ottoman and Early"*, 32.

Empire by American missionaries and the extensive instruction of women prepared the way for Korea and many other areas.

During the late 19th and early 20th century, a group of dedicated Christian women missionaries journeyed to the Ottoman Empire and the Korean Peninsula. Their mission was to spread the word of Christianity and provide education to young girls and women. This was when women's access to education was limited or even prohibited in certain parts of the world. The female missionaries were determined to empower these young women by imparting valuable skills and knowledge to them to become excellent wives and mothers. Teaching them how to read, write, and speak in different languages opened up new opportunities for girls and women, serving as inspiring role models and demonstrating that there was more to life beyond the walls of their homes. In his book, David Brewer Eddy used statistical information about the contributions made by single missionary women to local schools to illustrate the effectiveness of Women's Boards in Turkey.[466] WBM and WBMI missionaries constructed 378 village schools in various Turkish communities. This demonstrates how American missionaries, particularly women missionaries, were dedicated to educating and assisting women in foreign lands, regardless of their religion or culture.

Numerous factors influenced the success of American missionaries who sought to leverage Christian principles to shape colonial policies and safeguard minority and indigenous communities. The depiction of non-Christian women as the principal sufferers of calamities motivated numerous Western Christian women to engage in missionary activities on a global scale, endeavoring to rescue their distressed counterparts and introduce them to the advantages of Christian customs.[467]

[466] David, *What Next in Turkey, Glimpses of the American Board's Work In the Near East*, 162.
[467] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways,* 21.

In both contexts, American missionaries upheld a profound sense of obligation towards safeguarding the well-being of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, as well as those who faced the harsh realities of annexation in the Korean Peninsula under Japanese rule. American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire feared that non-Muslims were under threat. Therefore, the missionaries concentrated on teaching the girls and women their language and attempting to contribute to their identities.

As a result, American missionaries had the upper hand in their educational missionary efforts in Korea. Because the diffusion of literacy within Korean culture was essential to the American missionaries' ambitions, they placed a high value on education. Prior to the arrival of American missionaries, there was no official education system for girls in Korea. However, it would be inaccurate to assert that female education did not exist in Korea before their arrival. While the missionaries did not introduce female education in Korea, they certainly played a vital role in its progression and spread.

The first schools were established in 1886 by missionaries who began their educational endeavors as soon as they landed on the Korean Peninsula. This period corresponds to the 1880s and 1890s when Korean reformers campaigned for women's education. Due to the political turmoil, the National Women's Education Institute was formed in Korea for the first time to offer the structure for official contemporary women's education. Boys and females received separate educational content. It was based on both genders' societal roles. As a result of the Japanese takeover in 1905, the number of Korean schools increased. Between 1905 and 1910, Koreans founded twenty private schools and one state school for girls, while missionaries founded thirteen mission schools.[468]

[468] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways, 94.*

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society placed significant emphasis on the role of women in shaping the future of nations. They held a firm conviction that the progress of women's education is indispensable for societal development, asserting that a nation cannot authentically embrace Christianity without the influence of Christian mothers.[469] The society's ideology underlines the importance of nurturing and educating women, as they are the primary caretakers of children and, therefore, have a significant influence on the formation of their character and beliefs.[470] American missionaries believed that women in the Ottoman Empire and the Korean Peninsula needed aid and instruction, and they put their efforts into women's education. When they arrived in these regions, they realized that women's literacy levels were low, pushing them to expedite their education rapidly. Missionaries made Women's education possible for girls of all socioeconomic backgrounds. In both societies, lower-class women were less likely to be educated. As a result, the missionaries' focus shifted to lower-class women and girls, increasing the number of lower-class females receiving education. Missionary wives, moms, married missionaries, and solo missionaries served as role models for women in other countries.

How did the society react to American missionaries' founding of missionary female schools? People hesitated to send their children to American missionary schools when they first arrived in the Ottoman Empire, but as time passed, the missionaries gained society's trust. Parents wanted to send their children to American missionary schools because they realized the education was good. A comparable pattern occurred in Korea. When the first missionaries came to the peninsula,

[469] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 86.
[470] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 86.

"women closed their doors" and "children ran." [471] However, as time passed, missionaries developed strong links with royals and society, leading to people gaining trust in the missionaries. Also, the way missionary schools, especially accepted students from lower social levels, provided education to girls from diverse backgrounds, the demand for American missionary girl schools increased.

In both cases, American missionaries encountered difficulties. The state attempted to restrict missionary education in the Ottoman Empire, while the Japanese protectorate in 1905 attempted to curtail missionary education in Korea. The Ottoman Empire's first serious attempt to standardize education was the Regulation on Public Education in 1869. These regulations divided schools into public and private, with foreign schools falling into the latter. Article 129 regulates private schools, requiring teachers to hold a diploma from the Ministry of Education and educational directorates. Those with a diploma must also obtain approval from these organizations.

In addition, the state required that all private schools' materials and curriculum be evaluated, and schools had to obtain an official license. Obtaining a license was a time-consuming process, especially when bureaucracy was slow and there were disputes between missionary organizations and the empire's administration. In Korea, even before Japanese annexation in 1910, Japanese colonial officials attempted to limit the number of missionary schools by passing private school legislation in 1908. According to this law, all private schools were required to adapt to the new government requirements, and each principal of missionary schools was required to provide a yearly report on the status of the schools to the Bureau of Education. Schools were obligated to educate in Japanese to turn Korean pupils into

[471] Scranton, *"Women's Work in Korea,",* 2-3

obedient subjects of the Japanese Emperor. Furthermore, uniformity of texts, equipment, and even structures became a financial burden for missionary organizations. The Bureau of Education's new regulations tried to minimize the number of hours spent in Bible studies to secularize the curriculum, and the number of private schools decreased due to this legislation. The government only recognized 39 missionary schools.

In Korea, the Japanese rule's private school legislation of 1908 can be compared to the Ottoman Empire's Regulation on Public Education of 1869. Due to these limitations, missionary school operations were restricted for some time in both situations, resulting in several missionary schools continuing their education without a government license. In accordance with regulations, it was mandatory for all educators to obtain a diploma from the Ministry of Education and educational directorates, even if they possessed prior credentials. Moreover, private schools were subject to evaluation by the state and required an official license. However, the process of obtaining such licenses was often prolonged due to bureaucratic delays and conflicts between missionary institutions and the empire's administration.

American missionary schools for girls provided education in different scientific fields. In the Ottoman Empire, Greek, Albanian, English, Armenian, English, Turkish, arithmetic, algebra, Bible lessons spanning four years, psychology, political and physical geography, general history, eloquence, composition, music, ceramics, gymnastics, tennis, applied cleaning, astronomy, home economics, theology, practical dress sewing, ironing, and pedagogy were given during the education process. In Korea, arithmetic, drawing, geography, elementary gymnastics, Mandarin Chinese and English were taught in primary education. As T. J. Yoo informs us, in middle school, students received a comprehensive education that

included “Bible studies, instruction in Mandarin Chinese, moral training, geography, Korean history, arithmetic, English, physiology, hygiene, zoology, botany, drawing, cooking, bookkeeping, and elementary gymnastics”.[472] As a result, these females who attended American missionary schools obtained instruction in numerous sciences that they would not have received through their own governments' educational institutions owing to technical inadequacies.

While Korean government schools had more basic curricula, American missionary institutions offered pupils more advanced courses. On the other hand, except for religious education in the Ottoman Empire, it is possible to say that American missionary girl schools and government-run girl schools had similar curricula. However, Koreans and Ottomans needed more expertise in women's education; they faced obstacles such as a paucity of female teachers and an ineffective education system. When this occurred, American missionaries assisted in both situations, which promoted the development of women's education. So, missionary schools played a significant role in encouraging the Ottoman Empire to modernize its education system. The influence of foreign schools motivated the Sublime Porte to improve the quality of existing schools and establish public schools.[473] Missionary schools also provided female teachers, which helped the Ottoman government.When American missionary schools were in operation, students and volunteers were trained to teach both men and women who were interested in learning how to read. This indicates that the education received by women taught in these schools significantly contributed to the overall increase in literacy rates in society.

[472] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910–1945*, 50
[473] Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908) İslamlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin*, 256.

American missionary schools played a significant role in instilling nationalism among their students by teaching them their native language and valuing their customs. These schools emphasized the importance of Hangul in Korea and non-Muslim languages in the Ottoman Empire, especially while educating women in girls' schools. The way American missionaries taught Armenians, Bulgarians Greeks, Arabs, and Albanians in their language made these ladies conscious of their language and culture. This is similar to how they started teaching Korean Alphabet to the females they were schooling instead of Chinese. As a result of the social movement and the efforts of American missionaries, a sense of linguistic nationalism developed among Koreans and non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. The spread of the Korean script and non-Muslim languages such as Armenian, Greek, Arabic, and Albanian served two primary purposes. The initial benefit of this practice was to instill a sense of national identity among students, while the second advantage was to safeguard the cultural legacy of their respective communities.

There were only elementary schools for females in the Ottoman Empire until 1859, and before that, only the wealthy who could afford private tutors could continue their education. Secondary education for women began in 1858, as the government recognized the need for morally educated women for future generations. The first female school in Anatolia by missionaries was established in 1830, but it lasted only a short time. This school began in the home of a missionary and had only three students. American missionaries did not establish any more women's schools until 1845. Missionaries launched the first girl school for girls in the Korean Peninsula in 1886; however, the school did not offer an advanced curriculum then. Instead, they concentrated on religious instruction and educating children to read and write. However, when these institutions acquired society's trust and showed that the

education they provided was of high quality, the number of female students swiftly expanded. Regarding Korea, historical literature on women's education implied that there was no access to formal education for women. However, there were specialized institutes that offered education to women in fields such as dance, music, and medicine. Despite this, opportunities for women to receive education were scarce and typically limited to the homes of the wealthy. Although the Education Act of 1895 did not forbid women from attending school, cultural conventions prevented girls from pursuing an education.The first Korean girl school opened in 1899, and by 1910, the number of schools for girls built by the government, missionaries, students studying abroad, and community leaders had climbed to 200.[474]

With the entrance of American missionaries and the establishment of missionary female schools, women's presence in the public sphere was encouraged. Missionary women's schools provided new career opportunities and a new arena for women's education. During the era of the women's missionary movement and the establishment of the Woman's Board, the Victorian idea of distinct spheres held that a woman's responsibilities consisted of being a good wife and a wise mother. Many Americans remained committed to this idea.[475] The missionaries' desire to generate acceptable wives and mothers also aimed to establish excellent Protestant servants in the background. Missionaries founded neighborhood schools, primary schools, high schools, universities, and theological seminaries across the Ottoman Empire. At community schools, children were taught to read and write, as well as the Bible and rudimentary catechism. Women missionaries were more conservative than educated liberal women at the time. Gender equality was promoted with the arrival of

[474] Hahn and Jeon, *"Private Girls' Schools in Modern Korea (1876-1945): Cho Dong-Sik, Women's Education and Changing Conceptions of the 'Wise Mother, Good Wife.'",* 4.
[475] Tokay, *"American Women's Foreign Mission Movement: "Cooperation of Eve with the Redeemer" in Evangelical Missions."*, 192.

American missionaries and the founding of missionary girl schools, encouraging women's participation in the public sphere.

Nonetheless, women's position was firmly established in the domestic arena, where women were expected to use their qualities for the family and nation. Koreans seeking alternatives outside religion and domesticity conflicted with the ideal portrait of women based on Christianity. Women missionaries were more conservative than liberal women who were well-educated then. So, missionary women's gender ideology blended Victorian women's ideas with those of the newly educated single women who would later come to represent new women in later decades. However, the advancement of women's education in the late nineteenth century gave vital impetus for shifting beliefs about women's roles and standing in Korean and Ottoman society.

The efforts of missionaries in promoting women's education led to many women from diverse backgrounds receiving education. These women, educated in American missionary schools, helped increase the society's literacy rates by teaching others how to read and write. For instance, by the 1870s, it was reported that 85% of Ottoman Protestants, primarily those who had converted from Armenian Orthodoxy in Anatolia and from Greek or Syrian Orthodoxy in the Levant, were able to read and write due to the education they received from the missionary schools.[476] Overall, missionary schools played a significant role in the early stages of modern education in the Ottoman Empire and Joseon Dynasty. These schools provided high-quality education with "modern curricula and innovations such as science laboratories, programs for girls, co-education, kindergartens, and demonstrated farm schools."[477]

[476] Doğan, "*Missionary Schools" Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire.",* 386
[477] Amasyalı, "*The Fight for Eden: A Mixed-Methods Analysis of Historical Educational Competition and its Legacies",* 96.

As a result, they had a positive impact on the overall enrollment in elementary schools. Moreover, the influence of missionaries and their competition with other Christian schools had a significant effect on the educational systems of Korea and the Ottoman Empire. This resulted in the formalization of education as an institution, which helped to improve access to education for groups that were previously marginalized, including women and individuals from lower social classes.[478] As a consequence, the education sector of both nations underwent a major transformation that had significant implications for their societies. Also, a new generation of intellectual women was raised thanks to the American missionary schools. In both cases, American missionary schools for women and their graduates became critical components of the contemporary education system and contributed significantly to women's education.

[478] Amasyalı, "*The Fight for Eden: A Mixed-Methods Analysis of Historical Educational Competition and its Legacies*", 145.

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