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Christianity and Korean Higher Education in the Late Choson Period

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Abstract

This article examines particular aspects of higher education during the late Korean Choson period. The context of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism between the early 18th and the late 19th centuries is presented. Also examined is Christian higher education during these two centuries. The impact of Christianity on Korean higher education concludes the discussion.

Historically, the first contact that Koreans experienced with Christianity was in the Korean Peninsula during the late sixteenth century (Clark, 1981; Grayson, 1985; Janelli et al., 1989; Kim, 1995). The introduction of Roman Catholicism to Korea was traced back to the time (1592) of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Korea invasion. One of the Japanese generals of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's armies, Konishi Yukinaga, was a Roman Catholic. According to Konishi's request in early 1594, a Jesuit priest, Father Gregorio de Cespedes, arrived within two months, accompanied by a Japanese brother. Although they performed their missionary duties amongst the Japanese soldiers, there is no evidence to indicate that their stay had any influence on Korean religion (Clark, 1981; Grayson, 1985; Kim, 1995).

Historic Synopsis of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in Korea

Roman Catholicism

Catholic mission activities were practiced among Koreans as early as the 17th century, and the religion drew its first Korean convert, Seung-hun Lee, who with his friends established the first Korean Catholic church in 1784 (Choi, 1996; Kang, 1995; Suh, 1996). Roman Catholic mission activity began to have an effect on Korea in the early 17th century during the early stages of the transmission of Western culture. Copies of Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci's works, such as Catholic doctrines, a world atlas, a calendar system, and texts on mathematics, geometry, surveying, and astronomy, translated into Chinese were brought back by the *Silhak* (Practical or Concrete Learning) Confucian scholars through the Chinese Ching dynasty (1644-1912) (KOIS, 1993; Lee, 1984).

With the introduction of Catholic doctrine, Western scientific and technical knowledge were welcomed by some reform-minded Confucian literati, the *Silhak* scholars, who wanted to reform the monopolized sociopolitical order, caused by a few powerful *Yangban* families, through the acceptance of the new religious and scientific knowledge. In addition, the *Silhak* thinkers sought to devise practical ways to improve the dismal national economic situation by locating an ideal model for their society in the national history and culture as well as in the ancient Chinese classics (Lee. 1984, p. 236).

However, the *Silhak* scholars did not accomplish their goal of improving the sociopolitical situation in the Confucian country because they, several out-of-power scholars, did not succeed in topping the power of the oligarchic *Yangban*

families, who held fast to the intellectually narrow-minded Neo-Confucian orthodoxy. Moreover, Catholicism threatened the existing Confucian sociopolitical order, challenging not only the Three Bonds (*Samkang*) and Five Relationships (*O-Ryun*) as the basic paradigms for the individual, family, society, and state, but also reevaluated some social and ethical principles.

According to the Confucian Analects, Confucius asked, "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?" (tr. by James Legge (1971), p. 241) These words do not coincide with the Catholic doctrine of the immortality of the soul. On the other hand, according to the Bible, "[Y]ou must not call anyone here on earth 'Father' because you have only the one Father in heaven" (Good News Bible, 1976, the New Testament, p. 34), that is, God is the true and original father (Mattew 23:9). In Neo-Confucianism, filial piety is demanded by the human father, living parents and deceased predecessors, whereas Catholicism emphasizes the Divine Father.

In addition, any challenge to ancestral rites, which were based on the basic Confucian concept of filial piety, brought serious social and political incrimination. In 1742, the Catholic church regarded ancestor worship (*chesa*) to be an act of idolatry, prohibited by God in the First Commandment of the Old Testament. In accordance with the above Papal ruling, Korean Catholics denied the act of participating in *chesa*. As a result, this refusal of ancestral rites resulted in imprisonment or death, punishments imposed by the Choson royal government (Kim, 1995, p. 36; Lee, 1984, p. 240).

Therefore, Catholics were officially persecuted several times by the Confucian Choson rulers and bureaucrats from 1785 until 1886. Two instances of harsh persecutions were the Shinyu (1801) and the Eulhae (1815). There was a political motive behind the two persecutions. The former was to take the lives of at least three hundred Catholic martyrs leading to more than a thousand arrests

(Grayson, 1985; Kim, 1995, p. 36; Lee, 1984, p. 240; Min, 1982, pp. 68-71). The latter was mostly confined to the southern Kyungsang province where hundreds of Catholics were massacred (Grayson, 1985, pp. 77-78; Kim, 1995, p. 36). In addition, under Taewongun's reign, Korean Catholics met severe persecution again from 1866 to 1871. Fortunately, a treaty of France in 1886 was a turning point in the history of Korean Catholicism because it brought religious freedom for Korean Catholics and foreign missionaries, although limitations on religious activities were imposed.

In the history of Korean Christianity, Korean Catholicism demonstrated some peculiar characteristics: (1) introduction to Catholicism was a result of intellectual pursuit rather than religious belief; (2) the primary Korean Catholic church was set up by Korean laymen; (3) Catholicism initially attracted upper class intellectuals, mainly *Namin* (Southerners) and was later propagated to all levels of Korean society; and (4) Korean Catholicism suffered harsh oppression by the Choson government for over 100 years. The Choson dynasty (1392-1910) announced the practicing Catholicism as heresy and persecuted believers in 1785 (Choi, 1996, p. 238; Lee, 1984, p. 240). Despite severe hardship and persecution by the Choson royal government, Korean Catholicism continued to flourish throughout the 19th century, largely through the efforts of Korean Catholics and French and Chinese missionaries.

During King Cheolchong's reign (1849-1863), which witnessed the introduction of a number of Western priests, the number of Catholics reached about 20,000, and thus, many Catholic books were published in Korean letters (Lee, 1984, p. 257). Despite such advancement, compared with Protestantism, in the late 19th century the growth of Catholicism in Korea was not a remarkable one because of doctrine-centered evangelism, external sociopolitical motive of the Choson government, and success of Protestant missionaries. Korean missionaries

contradicted the Choson governmental policies and social values, and emphasized God-centered doctrine or catechism.

Protestantism

The first foreign Protestant who stepped onto the Korean peninsula was a Japanese Christian, Nagasaka, who acted as an agent for the National Bible Society of Scotland in Tokyo (Grayson, 1985, p. 104; Kim, 1995, p. 39). In 1883, he went to the southern port city, Busan, to distribute Gospels and tracts in Korean as well as to sell complete Holy Scriptures in both Chinese and Japanese (Grayson, 1985, p. 104; Kim, 1995, p. 39).

The first Protestant efforts were by a few foreign missionaries during the first third of the 19th century (Grayson, 1985, p. 101). The first Protestant missionary was Karl F. A. Gutzlaff (1803-1851), who, despite his Prussian descent, originally served with the Netherlands Missionary Society until 1828. Then, in 1832, he visited the west coast of Korea, with many copies of the Scriptures translated into Chinese (Clark, 1981, p. 242; Grayson, 1989, p. 194; Underwood, 1926, pp. 8-9). The next missionary who had contact with Korea was Robert J. Thomas (1839-1866), a graduate of New College, University of London. He arrived on the Korean coast with several Korean Catholics on September 13, 1865, with the intent of distributing copies of the Bible, then stayed for two and a half months (Grayson, 1985, pp. 101-02).

Other important Protestant missionaries were John Ross (1841-1915), a missionary of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and his colleague John MacIntyre (1837-1905). Ross concentrated most of his missionary efforts in Manchuria and was largely responsible for sparking interest in missions in the Korean peninsula (Grayson, 1985, p. 102). He made two trips to Korea in 1874

and 1876. In 1877, Ross published the first Korean grammar text in English, as well as the first history of Korea to be written in a Western language in 1879 (Ibid). He and MacIntyre completed the translation of the New Testament into Korean and published it with the aid of funds from the National Bible Society of Scotland (Grayson, 1985, pp. 102-03). However, the Protestant church in Korea was already established before there were any foreign missionaries, including Ross and MacIntyre, actually present in the country (Grayson, 1985, p. 103). Grayson (1985) describes Korean evangelization in 1884 as the following:

[In] the winter of 1884, Ross accompanied by a young missionary... was surprised at what he found. He baptized seventy-five persons on this trip. On the eve of the commencement of Protestant missions in Korea, we find that, 1) Koreans had already been converted to Protestant Christianity, 2) they were engaged in its propagation in several area,

- 3) that the Bible was beginning to be circulated in quantity, and
- 4) Christianity was established amongst the Korean [D]iaspora in Manchuria. (p. 103)

Nevertheless, the major stimulus for Protestant missionary work in Korea began from American agencies. The first foreign evangelistic agency to initiate missionary work in Korea was the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in 1884 (Allen, 1908; Grayson, 1985; Underwood, 1926). The Board of Foreign Missions of the Northern Presbyterian Church and the Foreign Missionary Society of the Northern Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America simultaneously planned to initiate mission work for Koreans in 1884 (Grayson, 1985). As the reader will recall, the first American Presbyterian mission work was opened by Dr. and Mrs. H. N. Allen, and the first clerical missionary from the Northern Presbyterian Board of Missions was Rev. Horace G. Underwood, who arrived in Seoul on April 5, 1885 (Grayson, 1985, p. 105).

the Rev. and Mrs. Henry Appenzeller of the Foreign Missionary Society of the Northern Methodist Episcopal Church arrived. After both the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches were introduced, several foreign missionary bodies continued to arrive on the Korean Peninsula: Canadian Baptists in 1889; Australian Presbyterian in 1889; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Church of England) in 1890; Southern Presbyterian in 1892; Canadian Presbyterian, in 1893; Southern Methodist in 1896 (Rev. C. F. Reed, arriving in 1894); Seventh Day Adventists in 1905; Oriental Missionary Society (the Holiness Church of Korea) in 1907; Salvation Army in 1908; and Jehovah's Witnesses in 1912 (Dayton, 1985, p. 80; Grayson, 1985, pp. 103-115; Kim, 1995, p. 39; Mckenzie, 1920, p. 205).

In the late 19th century, when the Western missionaries arrived in Korea, the Choson Kingdom faced difficult internal and external problems. Internally, political and social reform movements for modernization were promoted by the progressive reform forces, but unfortunately, failed by internal conservative forces and external foreign power. Moreover, the *Donghak* (Eastern Learning) Movement under the peasant army resisted sociopolitical aggressions carried out by the feudalistic domestic government and the foreign imperialistic power, but the Movement was frustrated by harsh suppression of the Choson government and of the Japanese army (Lee, 1984; Radio Korea International [RKI], 1995). The *Donghak* solidified its stand against *Seohak* (Western Learning or Christanity). The *Donghak* combined three thoughts of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. "The basic ideas of [D]onghak were that human minds are heavenly minds; that is, heaven exists in the minds of humans. Donghak propagated the ideas of human salvation and equality among promised blessings on earth, and proposed the ideas of national peace, salvation of humanity, and eternal youth" (RKI, 1995, p. 141).

Externally, foreign power threatened the Choson royal government for getting their sociopolitical interests. Consequently, the powerless Choson dynasty was compelled to sign the first modern treaty of amity with Japan in 1876. The Choson government also contracted unfair treaties of amity and commerce with the United States in 1882, Great Britain in 1883, Germany in 1883, Italy, 1884, Russia in 1884, France in 1886, as well as other nations (Son, 1985, p. 35). As a result, the Korean people were politically and economically exploited by these nations. Additionally, the Korean peninsula became an arena for power struggle among foreign countries, particularly Japan, China, and Russia (Lee, 1984; RKI, 1995).

Furthermore, the majority of Confucian bureaucrats still showed hostility toward foreigners and their religions, especially Catholicism. Accordingly, the Protestant missionaries recognized that direct evangelical work for the Korean people was difficult or impossible. Therefore, they turned to medical and educational work instead of religious mission. Fortunately, the Choson royal house looked favorably upon Protestant mission work and granted medical and educational activities to Protestant missionaries.

In medical activities, Dr. Allen healed Prince Yongik Min who was at the point of death. Allen's meticulous care of the young prince prompted the members of the Choson royal house to regard Western medicine with great confidence. Thus, when Dr. Allen petitioned the royal court for the establishment of a hospital using Western medicine, his request was easily approved. This hospital (*Kwanghye-won*) opened on April 10, 1885 (Grayson, 1985, p. 105). In the late 1880s, the Methodist Episcopal Mission set up a hospital for the poorest strata of society (Grayson, 1985, p. 106).

In educational activities, Rev. Appenzeller opened *Baejae-hakdang*, the first missionary higher common school or collegiate normal school for men in

Korea, June 8, 1886. On May 31, 1886, Mrs. M. F. Scranton opened *Ewhahakdang*, as the first girls' or women's school in Korea (Bishop, 1897, pp. 388-89; Grayson, 1985, p. 106; Underwood, 1926, p. 18). The Choson royal house named both of these schools: Baejae-hakdang (the institute for rearing talented men) was named by King Kojong, and Ewha-hakdang (the pear-blossom institute) was named by the Queen.

Indeed, King Kojong welcomed Western Protestant missionaries for their roles as political advisors and pioneers of modernization. Hendricks (1985) points out, "Korea, at that time, entering into the dangerous waters of international politics, and caught in the designs of Japan, China, and Russia, was anxious to establish good relations with the United States, which the king considered a disinterested party" (p. 68). The Protestant missionaries penetrated the Korean people's minds; that is, Koreans regarded Christianity as the means to modernization which would enable to solve their country's political and economical problems. Almost all Koreans were disgraced and broken-down by Japanese political aggression and economic exploitation. In the late 19th century, the economic situation was miserable. Hungry and angry masses rose in revolt against the royal magistrates and officials who extorted heavy taxes and abused severe hardships. The History of Korea (RKI, 1995) writes:

The peasants' army had demanded: the punishment of corrupt officials, tyrannical men of wealth and Yangbans; abolition of the social status structure; waiver of public and private debts; equal redistribution of farmland; and expulsion of Japanese forces...While the peasant movement was beginning to take the first steps toward a resolution of the problems with the peace agreement between Chon Pong-chun [the commander of the peasant army] and the government, China and Japan dispatched troops into Choson and the Sino-Japanese War erupted. (pp. 150-51)

Protestantism attempted to avoid conflicting with Confucian sociopolitical ideologies and values, but sought to harmonize with Neo-Confucianism and Korean religious culture. Suh (1996) asserts that "[t]he Protestant church attempted to harmonize with Confucian philosophies and ethics, asserting that Protestant ethical teachings were no different from Confucian precepts aimed at advancing humanity through the promotion of charity and virtues" (p. 248). Lee (1971) indicates that Christianity has adopted many of its superstitious and secular elements (p. 77). In addition, Chung (1996) asserts:

The most important factors in Christianity's relative success have been the similarities between Christian theology and the Christian concept of God and the structures of Korea's traditional religions. Koreans' belief in a supreme being together with the presence of shamans acting as spiritual mediators, helped overcome cultural differences inherent in Christian teachings....Christianity introduced a god that native religions had failed to define sufficiently. Christianity provided the theos [god] missing from traditional religious thought. (pp. 225-26)

Furthermore, Christian egalitarianism and humanism embraced the lower class people, or commoners. The equality of sexes and the dignity of labor based on Christian humanity appealed especially to masses whose human rights and freedom were violated by the Yangbans and the royal families. In addition, Western ideas and knowledge were attractive not only to the masses but also to a part of the upper class people and some royal family members who had progressive ideas for Korean modernization and radical thoughts regarding foreign countries' political and economic aggressions.

In summary, Hendricks (1985) indicates four reasons: (1) King Kojong's favorable attitude toward the United States; (2) the nature of the Korean people's religious life, (3) the attitudes and actions of the missionaries; and (4) God's power (pp. 68-70). Some important factors which contributed to Protestant

success in the late Choson period are as follows: (1) the Choson royal court felt good will toward the Western Protestant missionaries, especially Americans; (2) the state adopted an open-door policy to foreign countries rather than a policy of seclusion by foreigners' repressive measures; (3) the Protestants sought to harmonize with Neo-Confucianism and Korean's religious culture; (4) Christian ethics, such as egalitarianism and humanism, appealed to the Korean populace familiar with Confucianism, particularly Christian humanism based on human-centered doctrines--love/benevolence (*in* Chinese *ren* or *jen*), worship God/worship ancestors, and God's will /Heaven's Way--; (5) Western scientific knowledge and institutional work were viewed as the means of Korean modernization and self-reliance by the Korean people who had reformative and patriotic ideas; and (6) with devotional efforts of Korean Christians, the final factor was the missionaries' faithful attitudes and the Nevius methods which stressed self-support, self-propagation, self-government, and independence of the church (Clark, 1930; Grayson, 1985; Hendricks, 1985; Kim, 1995; Rutt, 1900).

As Kim (1995) suggests, the Protestant missionaries began performing institutional work (medical and educational work) as a tool of evangelism (p. 40). They recognized that the Korean populace suffered from poverty and that they had a strong zeal for education. During the Choson period, education had been monopolized by the Yangban in practice. Unlike the Catholics' method, which depended mostly on the leadership of the Pope, Protestant missionaries adopted the Nevius method to practice evangelical work for the Korean people.

Christian Missionary Higher Education

Along with medical work, missionary education was one of the most important contributing factors to the success of Christianity. Education promoted by Christian missionaries opened the way to the evangelization of Christianity and to the understanding of Western thought. Roman Catholic missionaries were educational pioneers who taught Korean letters, namely *Hangeul*, to native women and men of humble birth. This process enabled Koreans to understand Catholic doctrines before Protestant missionaries landed on the Korean peninsula in the late 19th century (The Korean National Commission for UNESCO [KNCU], 1960, p. 13). Education for Koreans entering the priesthood was reactivated in 1877 (Grayson, 1985, p, 87). In the first half of the 19th century, French missionaries sent several young Korean Catholics abroad to receive education. As a result, in 1845, Dae-keon Kim was the first Korean priest to be ordained into the priesthood (Choi, 1996, p. 240). In 1881, many Korean Catholic students were sent to Nagasaki in Japan and later to the seminary in Penang. (Grayson, 1985, p. 87).

In 1885, a Catholic seminary was opened in Korea and moved to the capital in 1887 (Ibid). Choi (1996) notes that a seminary was set up to educate priests in Korea in 1855 (p. 240). Underwood (1926) states that a seminary was founded in 1891, becoming the oldest school for higher religious training in Korea (p. 147). Underwood (1926) describes the seminary as follows:

The full course for the seminary is divided into three parts, preparatory, Latin school and seminary. Apparently the preparatory course of four to six years aims to fill out the deficiencies in general education of the lower school; this is followed by a six-year Latin course in which, while further secondary education is given, the greatest emphasis is laid on Latin as a tool-subject for the later theological work. The Latin course is capped by another six years in the seminary proper, of which two years are devoted to philosophy as a ground work and four years to theology. It is obvious that the candidate who finishes this arduous course, ...in fact a far better servant of the church, than is the Korean Protestant pastor. (p. 147)

The Catholic seminary was only Christian higher educational institute for Korean Catholic priests in the 1880s. Ewha-hakdang, the basis for both Ewha Girls' High School and Ewha Women's University, was established on May 31, 1886 (Grayson, 1985, p. 106; Lim, 1985, p. 17; Yu, 1992). Despite the fact that Catholicism was set up in Korea nearly 100 years before Protestantism, Catholic missionaries did not make efficient use of education as an evangelical tool, at that time.

Unlike Catholic missionaries, Protestant missionaries regarded education as the means to firmly establish Christianity in Korea. Arriving in Korea, they opened institutional missions, that is, medical and educational work. As the author briefly mentioned in Chapter Two of this study, the Protestant missionaries opened collegiate schools as well as preparatory, or secondary schools. In 1885, Dr. Allen established the first Western modern hospital, Kwanghye-won, as a Mecca of medical education in Korea. The Kwanghye-won was further developed thereby serving as a cornerstone for Severance Union Medical College, which was founded by Dr. O. R. Avison in 1905. He modeled this school on American medical colleges and taught Western medicine to Korean students. The first class of doctors graduated in 1908 (Son, 1985, p. 70; Underwood, 1926, p. 121). Just as the first doctors recognized a need to train assistants and potential doctors, so they found it essential to train nurses (Underwood, 1926, p. 121). Accordingly, in 1906, Hospital Severance Union Nurses' Training School was established. In 1906, enrolled among the first class of doctors who graduated were seven young women (Underwood, 1926, pp. 125-26).

In the late 1890s, although some reformative Korean intellectuals insisted on the equality of the sexes and the need for women's public education, the Choson Confucian society adhered to traditional Confucian concepts, such as sex

discrimination based on man's predominance over woman. Thus, recruitment of women students was not easy. As Underwood (1926) indicates, at one period the hospital hired dancing girls from the palace when it was under the Choson royal government control (p. 125).

With the opening of a medical college, many other Protestant missionaries established other Christian colleges and seminaries. Protestant missionaries began collegiate education at the following institutes: Presbyterian Theological Seminary in 1902; Severance Medical School (U.S. Northern Methodist) in 1905; Hospital Severance Union Nurses' Training School in 1906; Union Christian College (U.S. N. Presbyterian, U.S. N. Methodist, and Australian Presbyterian cooperated) in 1906; Choson Christian College or Yon Hee College (U.S. N. Presbyterian) in 1906; Ewha College for Women (U.S. N. Methodist) in 1910; Union Methodist Seminary in 1910 (Lee, 1989; Son 1985; Underwood, 1926).

In 1886, Mrs. M. F. Scranton opened the first girls' or women's school in Korea, which later became Ewha Women's College in 1910. Ewha Women's College opened with fifteen enrolled students (Lee, 1989, p. 89; Lim, 1985, p. 19; Underwood, 1926, p. 113). Although the school began with only one female student of humble birth, it was remarkable not only for emancipating Korean women whose human rights and dignities were trampled on by males who conformed to Confucian norms and values, but also for giving females a valuable chance to recognize sexual equality and human freedom through modern education.

In the Choson Kingdom period, the usual task of women was limited to housekeeping and to the delivery of children, especially sons, in order to preserve the family blood lineage (Lee, 1996, p. 68; Lim, 1985, p. 16). Women were handled like livestock, except while performing these two duties (Lee, 1996, pp. 68-69). Accordingly, during the Choson period, Korean women did not receive

opportunities to enjoy their personal rights or to receive public education. Other Protestant missionaries also advocated Christian humanism and scientific knowledge through Christian institutes. In particular, missionary educators of Ewha Women's College believed that higher education should be offered to women in order that they might be enabled to equally compete with men (Son, 1985, p. 143). Christian missionary educators, including those of Ewha, emphasized both religious and liberal attitudes. Thus, they taught not only the Bible and English but also humanistic (both traditional and modern) science, natural science, and other practical subjects (Son, 1985, p. 168). Bishop (1897), a famous British writer and traveler, describes the Baejae-hakdang and its curricula as the following:

Undoubtedly the establishment which has exercised and is exercising the most powerful educational, moral, and intellectual influence in Korea is the PaiChai College [Baejae College]... It has a Chinese-En-mun [Korean letters] department, for the teaching of the Chinese classics, Sheffield's Universal History, etc., a small theological department, and an English department, in which reading, grammar, composition, spelling, history, geography, arithmetic, and the elements of chemistry and natural philosophy are taught. (pp. 388-89)

Above all, however, Christian higher educational institutes emphasized the evangelical ministry. The top and central agency of Christian collegiate schools was the denominational headquarters. Although they were responsible for discharging the foreign evangelical mission, Christian collegiate schools did not come under the direct supervision of the central agency because they were allowed autonomous administration to propagate Christianity by their denominational central agencies.

In the early stage, most students of missionary collegiate schools including women, originated from the lower classes, but in the late 1890s some *Yangban*

class people who had progressive and reformative thoughts entered the Christian collegiate schools. Within two decades, after Protestant missionaries began their institutional work, they contributed much to the emancipation of women as well as to the recognition of human rights and freedom through sowing the seeds of Christianity and Western thought to the Korean people. Christian higher education in Korea has steadily expanded since liberation from the Japanese colonial rule. In 1999, approximately 22 percent of all colleges and universities (354 schools) in Korea belonged to Christian-founded institutions (The Ministry of Culture & Tourism, 1999). Among 76 Christian-founded institutions, 64 schools were Protestant-founded, and 12 schools were Roman Catholic-founded (The Ministry of Culture & Tourism, 1999, p. 91).

Conclusions

Christian missionary work in Korea had a great effect on the development of Korean higher education in the following ways: planting of Christianity; recognition of the importance of Western practical and scientific knowledge; opening of democratic and female education; introducing Western institutional administrative systems as well as Western curriculum and instruction; teaching the spirit of independence and self-reliance; beginning of native language education; and presenting Western thoughts such as Christian humanism, Puritanism, egalitarianism, democratism, utilitarianism, and pragmatism.

Christianity has played a significant role not only in the development of religious schools but also in the building of organizational culture in contemporary Korean higher education. Since the traditional Confucian ethics and values which stressed ethical obligations were essentially the main factors of social organizational culture, Christian missionary educators did not eliminate

Confucian norms and traditions at their institutes. They attempted to harmonize the values of Christianity and Confucianism. Confucianism has not established Confucian higher education institutions, and therefore Christianity as a representative religion has led the private colleges and universities in current Korean higher education. Therefore, the author concludes that the characteristics of organizational culture in Christian higher education were formal authoritarianism and traditional collectivism based on Confucian moral norms, as well as open democratism and Western individualism based on Christian paradigms. These two paradigms have become the most significant factors that dominate organizational culture in current Korean higher education.

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