

From Manchuria to the Korean Peninsula: The Scottish Impact in Late Nineteenth Century Korea

David W. Kim

The imperialism of the Western world was transmitted into the region of Asia with the initial Christian works in the modern era.¹ This historical fact often confuses contemporary readers about the relationship of both political and religious movements. How did they relate to each other? Was the Christian mission a social tool for colonial imperialism? Did the Christian mission have the concept of non-imperialism? Another possibility to consider is that the imperialistic drive may have subsumed whatever legitimate Christian works were done in the colonial process in Asian countries. While there is no certain clue for whether the activities of Christianity were political or purely religious, the nineteenth century witnessed the global activities of Scottish men and women as part of the extension of British colonialism. The countries in the region of East Asia were no exception as examples of the socio-political influence of the Victorian Empire. The religious mission likewise reached out its vision and dreams into the remote areas of those countries including India, China, Japan, and Korea (= Corea).² The mission policy of the Scottish organisations supported the projects of translating the scripture and relevant

1 See Stephen Neil, *Colonialism and Christian Missions* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1966). Simon C. Smith, *British Imperialism, 1750–1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 9–18.

2 The name of the nation, 'Korea' was called as 'Corea' in the 1870–80s. The term, 'Corea' was transformed to 'Korea' by North American missionaries in 1890s. This article applies the old term of 'Corea', for Ross himself mainly used the term, 'Corea' instead of 'Korea'. John Ross, along with the pre-1860s French Catholic missionaries, always mentioned the word 'Corea' in his mission letters. James H. Grayson, "The Legacy of John Ross," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (Oct., 1999): 167–168. Sung Deuk Oak, and Mahn Yol Yi (Tran.), *Document of the History of Korean Bible Society (Vol. 1): Correspondence of John Ross and Correspondence of Henry Loomis* (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 2004), 15–297. John Ross, "To the Corea Gate," *United Presbyterian Missionary Record* (Jan., 1877): 355–357.

literature, establishing educational training sites, providing modern medical technology, and building religious institutes for the native communities.³

The Presbyterian missionaries of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church Missions delivered their religious contributions in harmony with the meanings and terms of the local religions in Asia. For instance, Alexander Duff (1807–1878; work period, 1830–1863) of the Church of Scotland interacted with Hindu religious thoughts in the early nineteenth-century western India.⁴ The attitude of Duff, along with that of William Miller and Thomas E. Slater, was that “all religions contained some degree of spiritual truth and that Christianity (ultimately) *fulfilled* the spiritual deficiencies of other religions.”⁵ The innovative attitude of the Scots challenged the purpose and direction of the mission organization, by adopting the strategy that education and preaching are to diffuse Christian moral principles in a long-term process of Christian fulfilment instead of focusing on immediate and outright conversions.⁶ Based on such an ideology of *fulfilment*, Duff led the mass conversion of low-caste Hindus. The interaction of the Scottish Presbyterian belief with Hinduism was developed in relation to the elite Sanskrit Hinduism of the high-caste educated Hindu strata.⁷ Constable argues that the early nineteenth-century evangelical enthusiasm eventually “came to be tempered in the late nineteenth-century by a perceived need to identify a religious susceptibility and preparedness among Hindus to allow and validate Protestant Christian proselytisation.”⁸

3 Kio-Sung Ann, “the Relationship of Imperialism and Mission from the Perspective of 1910 Edinburgh World Mission Conference,” in *the 1910 Korean Church and the tendency of the World Church, Proceedings of Korean Church History and Korean Christian History* (Dec., 2010): 9–18.

4 T.G. Gehani (1878–1914), J.M. Orr, M.A. Laird, John N. Farquhar (1861–1929) of the London Missionary Society and Y.M.C.A were similar people and organisations to Duff. See Alexander Duff, *A Vindication of the Church of Scotland's India Missions* (Edinburgh, 1837), *Ibid.*, *India and India Missions* (Edinburgh, 1940), R. Hunter, *History of the Mission of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa* (London, 1873), and R.G. Balfour, *Presbyterianism in the Colonies* (Edinburgh, 1899).

5 Philip Constable, “Scottish Missionaries, Protestant Hinduism and the Scottish Sense of Empire in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century India,” *The Scottish Historical Review* LXXXVI, 2 (no. 222) (October, 2007): 289.

6 William Miller, *Indian Missions and How to View Them* (Edinburgh, 1878), and William Miller, *Some Elementary Principles of Christianity: Lectures to Educated Hindus* (Madras, 1880).

7 Constable (2007), 290.

8 For example, missionaries, in the interpretation of *bhakti* Hinduism, began to recreate *bhakti* (Bengali Krishna: a form of monotheistic Hindu devotionism) in a Protestant Christian image. Robert A. Yelle, “The Hindu Moses: Christian Polemics Against Jewish Ritual and the Secularization of Hindu Law Under Colonialism,” *History of Religions* (2008): 141–170. Constable (2007), 291.

The orientalist engagement of the Scottish man with popular Hinduism was spread as a common strategy among the Scots of Northeast Asia. The mission strategy was adopted for the nation of China.⁹ The initial pioneers (the Catholics) focused on the teachings of the decrees and its beliefs. The project of translating the scripture was not the major concern until around 1822. The Britishers Joshua C. Marshman, Robert Morrison, and William Charles Milne were involved in the Bible translation project and created their own versions in the early nineteenth century.¹⁰ Those versions became the sources for the “Delegate Version” of the Chinese scripture (1853), even though there were post-Delegate Versions for various regions and tribes of China.¹¹ During the process of the scripture translation there was a term use controversy.¹² The North Americans insisted on the term, ‘Sine’ (a generic term for God), for they believed that there is no term for the only God of Christianity in the polytheistic nation. Meantime, the British workers were persuaded the term, *Sang Je*, the god of primitive Confusion was the right term for the Christian God.¹³ The tendency of the British mission showed a consistent notion that had been established from the previous experiences (including the *ukumensha* custom) of missions in Africa.¹⁴ The issue of ancestor worship or ancestor ritual was

9 China experienced various conflicts of the Opium War (1839–1942), the Taiping Rebellion, the three conflagrations of the Sino-Japanese War (1853), the Boxer Rebellion, and the Russo-Japanese War (1890s to 1905). Sung-Il Chio, “the Conviction of Peter and the Cultural Understanding of John Ross,” *Theological Studies* 36 (2002): 169–170. Grayson, (1999), 170.

10 Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (1929), 189–190.

11 Such as the Union version, Mandarin (Peking: 1872), the High Wenli version, and the Easy Wenli version (1880). James Grayson, *the First Missionary to Korea, John Ross* (Taegu: Kyung Myoung University Press, 2006), 364–365.

12 For the controversial details of the ‘God’ terminology, see the PhD thesis of Sung Ho Ahn, *Term Question in Korea 1882–1911, and Its Chinese Roots: A Study in Continuity and Divergence* (A PhD submitted to the University of Edinburgh, 2011).

13 Ibid., Korean Christianity and History, Volume 30 (March, 2009) 213–246. Hu-Chun Lee, “Korean Bible Translation Theories from a Missiological Perspective,” *Theological Studies of Korean Christianity* 77 (Aug., 2011): 215–236.

14 The Scottish mission in Africa struggled with the local culture and religion. One of the examples was the interpretation of *ukumensha* between Xhosa and the Scottish Presbyterian missionaries in South African in 1840s. The term *ukumensha* for the Xhosa society means “the accepted practice of non-penetrative sexual activity among youth”. The Xhosa custom of “wife choosing” was a hot sexual concern among the Scottish missionaries, even though it was eventually modified into the Christian marriage. See Natasha Erlank, “Sexual Misconduct and Church Power on Scottish Mission Stations in Xhosaland, South Africa, in the 1840s,” *Gender & History* 15, Issue 1 (April, 2003): 69–84. Ibid., “Civilizing the African: the Scottish Mission to the Xhosa, 1821–1864,” in *Christian*

also socio-religiously serious among the westerners of China, but Alexander Williamson of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland (UPCS) warned that the prohibition of the cultural ritual would result in Christian persecution in the near future.¹⁵ The Scottish mission policy originated from the principle that the revelations of Christianity are contained in the belief of the traditional Chinese religions and that the common points could be idealized through the process of *'fulfilment theology'*.¹⁶

The Scottish Mission and Modern Korea

Then, what about the history of Korean Christianity? How did the Protestant movement begin in Korea? Did the British world mission likewise affect the Korean people of Northeast Asia? The contemporary people in faith communities often describe Korean Christianity with references to the 1907 revival and remember the efforts of Horace G. Underwood, Henry G. Appenzeller, John W. Heron, William B. Scranton, and James S. Gale. Is it then true that the stories of those Christian workers completely represent the origin of Korean Christianity? In this regard, there is an undeniable fact that the beginning of the Protestant movement was motivated by the vision of a Scottish man in the land of *Manchuria* in early 1870s.¹⁷ The geographical field of the Scottish missionary was not located in Korea, but his influence on the Christianisation of the Han peninsula was more than exceptional as it offered the foundational

Mission and Enlightenment (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Richmond: English: Curzon Press, 2001), 141–168. John M., MacKenzie and Nigel R. Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, Identity, Gender and Race, 1772–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012). Markku Hokkanen, *Scottish Missionaries and African Healers: Perceptions and Relations in the Livingston Mission, 1875–1930* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2004).

15 Ross would have known the book written by Williamson. Alexander Williamson, *Journey in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia; with Some Account of Corea* (London, Smith, Elder & Co. 2 vols. 1870). Chio (2002), 161–166.

16 Mark A. Noll, *Between Faith and Criticism* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1991) 62–90. Paul Hedges, *Preparation and Fulfilment* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2001) 225–226. Also see Ann (2009), 226.

17 The region of Manchuria was the last part of China to have a Protestant mission activated by the British people. A Scot, William Charles Burns of the English Presbyterian Church (EPC) came to Young-Gu in 1867. After that, the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI) (1869) and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland (UPCS) (1872) launched their field mission in Manchuria. Hyung-Shin Park, "The Manchuria Missionary John Ross's Understanding of the Boxer Uprising," *Manchuria Studies* 11 (2009): 251–253. Sung-woo Baek, "Lost but humble life: John Ross," *Church Education* (Oct., 2008): 64–69.

literary sources to the post-1885s Christian workers. John Ross, under the supervision of Alexander Williamson, who was the Manchurian representative for the National Bible Society of Scotland (NBSS) and United Presbyterian Church of Scotland (UPCS) and who had been at the Corea Gate (customs station) between Ch'ing (China) and Choson (Corea) in 1860s, embraced the people of Corea.¹⁸

The Scottish man, born at the Balintore north of Inverness in Scotland in 1842, grew up in a bilingual environment of English and Gaelic languages.¹⁹ His dual linguistic background, along with his experience of the rural ministries (Lismore, Glasgow, Inverness, Stornoway in the Outer Hebrides, and Portree on the Isle of Sky), challenged the young Scot to commit to the China mission in 1872.²⁰ Even though he lost his wife (M.A. Stewart) in the foreign land, Ross' passion for the people of Northeast Asia did not weaken, but became stronger through learning local cultures and languages. During the initial period, the visitation of Ross to the Corea Gate, with Williamson, ignited him to have a new religious vision for Corea. Even if Ross had previously learned the basic Korean spellings from his Korean servant,²¹ one of the internal reasons the UPCS missionary also visited the Corea Gate was to find the right person as his Korean teacher.²² Thus, the people of the unopened nation between China and Japan became Ross' mission target in the middle of 1870s, which was 10 years earlier than the American workers' arrival in Corea.

The Scottish commitment is seen in the effort of publishing the first Korean grammar book (so called *Corean Primer*) for outsiders.²³ The *Corean Primer*

18 Korea was the last of the East Asian states to resist Western influence. James E. Hoare, "The Century of Korean-British Relations: the British Diplomatic Presence in Korea," *Korea Observer* XIV, no. 2 (Summer, 1983): 131–133.

19 Key S. Ryang, "John Ross, Homer B. Hulbert and James G. Gale's Contribution to the Modern Korean History: A Bio-Bibliographical Study," *Korea Observer* XIV, no. 2 (Summer, 1983): 172–176.

20 Grayson (2002), 161–166.

21 In 1875.

22 Ross failed at his first visit (Oct., 1874), but succeeded at his second visit (April–May, 1878) due to enlisting a medical trade man, Ung-ch'an Yi, as his Korean instructor. More about the narrative is given later in this paper. Ross (1877), 355–357. John Ross, "The Christian Dawn in Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World* 4 (April, 1890): 241–248. It is also written in "The Christian Dawn in Korea," *The Korea Mission Field* 33 (Jul., 1937): 134–139. John Ross, "Visit to the Corean Gate," *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 5 (1874): 345–354.

23 John Ross, *Corean Primer; Being Lessons in Corean on All Ordinary Subjects, Transliterated on the Principles of Mandarin Primer* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press,

included the linguistic method Ross used for studying the Korean language. Grayson assumes that Ross adopted the method that was applied in the process of making the *Mandarin Primer* (1876).²⁴ The publication of *Korean Speech, with Grammar and Vocabulary* (1882) amplified his personal passion towards the unknown people.²⁵ Ross knew the people of the “Hermit Kingdom” more than any other foreigners in the era even though he was not physically present in the land.²⁶ One of his corresponding letters expresses well his knowledge of Korea:

The Corean alphabet is *phonetic*, and so beautifully simple that all men, women, and children of years of understanding can read it; for being phonetic it is necessary only to learn the alphabet to be able to read any book printed in that alphabet. The importance of the Bible translation into such a language of from 12 to 15 million of people cannot be over-estimated. While the Corean language, being Turanian, is as simple as the Anglo-Saxon to us, and is therefore different in perspicuity *toto caelo* from Chinese (1880).²⁷

This linguistic achievement was not the only evidence by which the contemporary readers learned about his knowledge of Korea. Ross, through the 404 pages of *The History of Corea* (1879), introduced the life style of the Korean family, business, climate and seasons, agriculture, Korean interrelationships, internal expressions, science, religion, and philosophy.²⁸ There were many English, French, and Dutch books before Ross, such as *Nouvel atlas de*

1877). Shi-Jian Guo, and Sung-Min Woo, “the Observation of Choson by the Nineteen Century Western Missionaries,” *Eastern Political Thought Studies*, 11 (March, 2013): 99–116.

24 The basic method was for Ross to write down the necessary words and sentences in Chinese language and then the Korean teacher(s) translated those into Korean (1877). John Ross, *Mandarin Primer, Being Easy Lessons for Beginners, Transliterated According to the European Mode of Using Roman Letters* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1876).

25 John Ross, *Korean Speech, with Grammar and Vocabulary* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1882).

26 Many contemporary readers often criticize and exclude John Ross and his historical achievement from the history of early Korean Christianity because his mission activities were not mainly performed in the land of Korea.

27 John Ross, A Missionary Letter Written to W. Wright on 23rd June, 1880, from Oak and Yi (2004), 23. Also see, John Ross, *History of Corea, Ancient and Modern, with Description of Manners and Customs, Language and Geography* (Paisley: J. and R. Parlane, 1880), 374–389.

28 Ibid. Young-Mi Lee, “Westerners’ Description of Korean History Before the Joseon-US Treaty,” *Korean History Studies* 148 (Feb., 2010): 182–185.

la Chine, de la Tartarie chinoise et du Thibet: Contenant les cartes générales & Particulieres de ces pays, ainsi que la carte du royaume de Corée (1737), *Three Severall Testimonies Concerning the Mighty Kingdom of Coray* (1811), and *Translation of a Comparative Vocabulary of the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Languages* (1835).²⁹ However, there was no other history of Northeast Asia in any European language, except Ross' book of *the History of Corea*.³⁰ The informative book offered the precious sources about the Korean people of the Han peninsula as well as those living around the Manchurian hinterland.³¹ The inclusion of the Korean map in *the History of Corea* indicates Ross' visual awareness of Korean geography:³² "the two maps, given in the beginning of

29 Williamson (1870). Basil Hall, *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island* (London: J. Murray; Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1818). Ibid., *Voyage to Loo-choo, and Other Places in the Eastern seas, in the Year 1816, including an Account of Captain Maxwell's Attack on the Batteries at Canton; and Notes of an Interview with Buonaparte at St. Helena, in August 1817* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1826). Claude Charles Dallet, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Corée* (Paris: Librairie Victor Palmé, 1874). F. Porter Smith, *A Vocabulary of Proper Names, in Chinese and English: of Places, Persons, Tribes, and Sects, in China, Japan, Corea, Annam, Siam, Burmah, the Straits and Adjacent Countries* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1870). Frederick William Jarrad, *The China Sea Directory, vol. iv. Comprising the Coasts of Korea, Russian Tartary, the Japan Islands, Gulfs of Tartary and Amúr, and the Sea of Okhotsk* (London, 1873). Karl Gützlaff and Friedrich August, *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832 and 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo Islands* (London: Frederick Westley and A.H. Davis, 1834). J.B. Du Halde, *The General History of China. Containing a Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political and Physical Description of the Empire of China, Chinese-Tartary, Corea, and Thibet. Including an Exact and Particular Account of their Customs, Manners, Ceremonies, Religion, Arts and Science* (London: J. Watts. 1736). Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d' Anville, *Nouvel atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie chinoise et du Thibet: Contenant les cartes générales & Particulieres de ces pays, ainsi que la carte du royaume de Corée* (La Haye: H. Scheurleer, 1737). John M'Leod, *Narrative of a Voyage in His Majesty's late Ship Alceste, to the Yellow Sea, along the Coast of Corea, and through its Numerous Hitherto Undiscovered Islands, to the Island of Lewchew: with an Account of her Shipwreck in the Straits of Gaspar* (London: J. Murray, 1817). Nicholas Patrick Wiseman, *The New Glories of the Catholic Church* (London: Richardson, 1859). Richard Hakluyt, *Three Severall Testimonies concerning the Mighty Kingdom of Coray* (London: British Library, 1811). Walter Henry Medhurst, *Translation of a Comparative Vocabulary of the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Languages* (Batavia: Printed at the Parapattan Press, 1835).

30 With the book of *the Manchus; or, the Reigning Dynasty of China: Their Rise and Process* (1880). John Ross, *the Manchus; or, the Reigning Dynasty of China: Their Rise and Process* (Pailey, Scotland: J. & R. Parlane, 1880).

31 Grayson (1999), 169–170.

32 Baek (2008), 68.

this volume, are intended to show the relative positions of states, provinces, and cities in Korea.”³³ Ross’ personal knowledge became the primary source for the socio-political activities of foreign nations. Thus, the publications of the Korean language and history depict the Scottish Christian worker as the initial pioneer of Korean modernization in the pre-*Kapshin coup* period of the nineteenth century.³⁴

Further, the Scottish impact can be demonstrated in the complete version of the first Korean scripture. Ross dedicated his 30s and 40s to the translation project, during which time he lost four children in the mission field.³⁵ The commitment of the Scottish man to Korea was often negatively criticized. For example, one day the secretary of the Bible Society of Scotland, Hamilton M. MacGill grumbled about Ross’ behaviour regarding the translation of Korean Bible as being “not direct mission work.”³⁶ Nevertheless, this dissatisfaction did not diminish the passion of the missionary. He, rather, managed a team of Korean translators between January 1877 and March 1879 in Manchuria. As a result, the canonical texts were completed in 1879 before Ross first visited Scotland in a Sabbatical year. The synoptic Gospels, John,³⁷ and Acts were officially published in 1882.³⁸ The texts of First and Second Corinthians and Galatians were translated in 1883. The Epistle to Ephesians was translated in 1884. The rest of the New Testament was completed soon after that (1887).³⁹ The financial generosity of the Christian philanthropist, Robert Arthington,

33 Ross (1880), viii and 391–404.

34 In 1882.

35 Baek (2008), 68. Horare once mentioned that the British missionary Thomas ‘had begun to attempt the translation of the Bible into Korean.’ Hoare (1983), 131.

36 Grayson (1999), 169.

37 Soon-Ae Kang, “A Bibliographic Study on the Newly Discovered Korean Translation (1882–1883) of Yesuseongkyo Yoannaebokeumjeonseo,” *Bibliography Research* 44 (Dec., 2009): 161–192.

38 The first Korean books of the Bible were Luke and John. The Gospel of Luke was written in 52 pages, 23.5 cm high, 14.5 cm wide, 3000 copies. The Gospel of John was written in 39 pages, 23.5 cm high, 14 cm wide, 3000 copies. See Young-Hee Won, “the Transformation of the Translation of the Korean Scripture from an Equivalence Perspective,” *Translation Studies* 1, Num., 2 (Autumn, 2000): 89–109.

39 Such as Romans and 1, 2 Timothy (1885); Philippians, Hebrews, Colossians and Revelation (1886); 1, 2 Peter, 1, 2, 3 John, and Jude (1887). As a result, it is generally known for contemporary readers that the Gospel of Luke was initially out in 1882 and the New Testament in 1887. Sung-Il Chio, “John Ross and Korean Christianity: the First Korean Bible and its Relationship to the Origin of Korean Christianity,” *Thoughts of Christianity* (Jan.–Feb., 1992): 3–4. The size of the New Testament was 22.5 cm high, 15 cm wide, 621 pages. Won (2000), 89–109. Chung Ho Chung, “The Protestant Missions for Translation and Modernization

practically covered the cost of printing, while the involvement of the Bible Society of Scotland cannot be denied in its leadership and authority over the Korean New Testament project.⁴⁰

The contemporary readers frequently criticized the literal weakness of the first Korean scripture (so called, '*Yesu Sŏnggyo Chŏnsŏ*') by the following views: the '*Yesu Sŏnggyo Chŏnsŏ*' was not written with the usage of regular spacing between words or sentences except for the words of 'God,' 'Jesus,' 'Christ,' and 'the Lord';⁴¹ the west-north dialect of Korea that was adopted for the translation was not the standard of Korea language in the era; the translation was premature; the Korean grammar was not properly applied in the scripture.⁴² On the other hand, Sung-Il Chio positively argued for the five principles the Scot applied in the process of the scripture translation. The first one is that Ross, with John Macintyre,⁴³ considered the generalization of the Korean language which most of Koreans used in their daily life. This meant that the women and children who were the marginalized groups of the society were able to access the scripture. The second one was the originality of the Korean language without Chinese characters. There was a strong influence of Chinese culture and language in the Korean literature of the era, but Ross acknowledged the excellence of the Korean language. The transmission of meaning was the third principle Ross was concerned about, for the scripture often was carried on non-Korean customs and perspectives. The characteristics of simplicity and clearness support the intention of the Scottish translator. The fourth one was to keep the original rules of Korean language usage in terms of respecting the local concepts and their implications (like cultural names and geography). Lastly, the biblical names or words were transliterated from the original Greek

of Korean Language and Literature during the Modernization Period," *Translation Studies* 8, no. 2 (Dec., 2007): 141–158.

40 Grayson (1999), 169.

41 It could be a personal rule of following the style of the ancient Korean literature that if there is any word or sentences for King of Chosŏn the next space is empty. It was called, *Gan-ja* (a space between words). Kang (2009), 161–192.

42 Chung (2007), 141–158.

43 Mu-young Jun from the Korea Bible Society argues that the Korean knowledge of John MacIntyre was similar to that of John Ross. The Gospel of Luke was translated by both the Scottish men. Mu-young Jun, *Bible Translation: the Beginning of New Korean Civilization* (Church Education, Presbyterian Theological University, 2011), 1–6. Ibid., "the Description of Korean Grammar from the 1880 Paper of John MacIntyre," *Creation Literature Monthly*, 1–10.

and Hebrew languages.⁴⁴ The fundamental motivations of Ross were similar with the literal characters of the King James Version which was translated from the Latin scripture, in considering (1) universality of interest, (2) the concreteness and picturesqueness of its language, (3) the simplicity of its structure, and (4) a rhythm largely independent.⁴⁵

Baek additionally presumed the reasons the Scottish missionary thought the translation work was so important in two ways concerning localism: 1) instead of disregarding the culture and custom of the mission field, the Christian worker understood the life of the local people; 2) Ross believed that the church of the non-Christian regions will eventually grow by the evangelism of the indigenous Christians.⁴⁶ The mission policy of Ross was quite renovative for the traditional Korean society, because the nineteenth century books of Korea mainly used the Chinese characters either in writing or meaning. Any text written in the full Korean characters was, needless to say, not accepted by the middle and high classes of the Korean society. The social view depicts the fact that the *Hangul* language that was created by King Se-Jong the Great in 1443–6, was not quite generalized in Korean literature until the 1880s.⁴⁷

In light of the previous discussion, why did Ross do his work in such an indigenously centred way? What was the missiological policy of the Scottish man? Many examples of his actions or teachings imply that, like the cases of India and China, the view of fulfilment theology was applied for the Korean mission.⁴⁸ Ross, regarding the worship of ancestors, knew that ancestor worship was the biggest obstacle for the upper class people of Korea.⁴⁹ The issue of polygamy was not only part of the culture of China, but it was also part of the customs of Korea in the middle of nineteenth century. The Scottish man did not disrespect the local lifestyle, but suggested a generous perspective in

44 Sung-Il Choi, *John Ross (1842–1915) and the Korean Protestant Church: The First Korean Bible and Its Relation to the Protestant Origins in Korea* (PhD Thesis submitted to the University of Edinburgh, 1992), 157–521.

45 The first Korean scripture was also translated by these principles. Won (2000), 95–96. Chung (2007), 141–158.

46 Baek (2008), 68–69.

47 Therefore, the project of writing the first Korean scripture (1887) brought a great impact not only to the post-Ross Christian workers of Korea, but also to the development of the modern Korean Literature.

48 Chio (2002), 175–176.

49 John Ross, “Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China,” 657.

that true believers may be baptised regardless of their previous cultural background. The view of Ross was based on his comprehension that there was a social system of polygamy even in the transitional stage of ancient Christian communities.⁵⁰ The political situation of Korea was not steady with the events of *Bungsin-yangeu* (1866)⁵¹ and *Sinmi-yangeu* (1871),⁵² but Ross' linguistic strategies for the translation work of the Korean scripture were based on the principle of fulfilment theology. In detail, the term, *God* is one of the words for which Ross considered the local usage of language. There were many possible terms, including *Shang de*, *Chun ju*, *Sine*, and *Hannonim*,⁵³ but the Korean term of *Hannonim* (Heaven or sky, + Lord) was chosen, because Ross perceived that *Hannonim* contains the meanings of "the Supreme Being," "the Almighty," and "the all-present, but invisible One."⁵⁴ He said:

The Koreans have one native name, and one borrowed from the Chinese, for the Supreme Being. The former is *Hannonim*, from *hanul*, heaven; the latter *Shangde*. The name *Hannonim* is so distinctive and so universally used, that there will be no fear, in future translations and preachings, of the unseemly squabbles which occurred long ago among Chinese missionaries on this subject;—even though the Romanists have introduced the name which they employ in China. The idea conveyed by the term *Hannonim* is much like—that of 'Tien Laoye', the popular Chinese name for the Almighty, the all-present, but invisible one.⁵⁵

Ross, according to one of his reports to the National Bible Society of Scotland (NBSS), believed that the word, *Hannonim* (Heaven, or sky, + Lord) contains the

50 Chio (2002), 174–175.

51 As the Korean government of the Chosŏn Dynasty persecuted Korean proselytises of Catholicism, the French Navy under the leadership of Admiral Pierre Roze invaded Ganghwa Island (1866) which eventually caused a military conflict between the two nations.

52 While Korea was keeping a national isolation policy, American military ship unofficially entered into the River Han. After military resists the Chosŏn dynasty ultimately defeated them at Ganghwa Island in 1871. After these events of foreign affairs, there was a political riot (so called, *Kapshin coup*) in 1882 between the conservatives and the liberal party in Korea. The main issue for the event was about the openness of the nation to Western nations.

53 See John Ross, *Original Religion of China* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1909), 105–138.

54 See Ahn (2011), 176–202.

55 Ross (1880), 355.

Greek meaning of θεός.⁵⁶ The decision was made based on the perspective that Koreans would understand the God of the scripture by the medium of Korean culture.⁵⁷ The *nomina sacra* (words and names) of the scripture were also written according to Korean sounds instead of following Chinese sounds. Some of the *nomina sacra* are not familiar to the concepts of the native culture, but the Scottish man did not adopt the Chinese sounds but rather adopted the original Greek sounds into Korean, believing that the local language admits to a very near approximation as *Yesoo Kerisdo*, *Yeroosalem*, *Kapenam*, and *Ab-ra-ham*.⁵⁸ The post-Ross Christian workers disliked Ross' terms of *Na-eun*, *Sa-sa-ro-hi*, *hilmoun*, *Ha-ta-ka*, *A-hai-keu-um-am*, *Po-pai-reul-yel-e*, and *A-hai-koa*,⁵⁹ but the contemporary Korean versions of the Bible still adopt Ross' terms of the *Gospel of Luke* (1882): "God" (*Ha-nno-nim*), "angel" (*Chun-sa*), "Holy Spirit" (*Sung-lung*), "Revelation" (*Muck-si-luck*),⁶⁰ "Theophilus" (*Te-o-pi-su*), "Elizabeth" (*Eni-sa-pak*), "Gabriel" (*Ga-pal-yal*), "Galilee" (*Ga-ni-na*), "Nazareth" (*Na-sal-zel*), "David" (*Ta-pil*), and "Joseph" (*Ya-sep*).⁶¹ The usage of a west-north dialect of Korea (like the cases of *Ga-ouck* as "river", *chung-mil* as "honey") was an

56 Ross knew the issue of the term for God happened in China. He did not want to repeat the debate for Koreans. John Ross, "The Gods of Korea," *The Gospels in All Lands* (August, 1888): 370. W.B. Scranton, "A Letter to W. Wright," in *The Editorial Correspondence Books of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1880-1897* (24th Oct., 1894). Kang (2009), 177-178. Guo and Woo (2013), 112-115.

57 John Ross, "Corean New Treatment," *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Nov., 1887): 491-497. Ibid., *History of Corea, Ancient and Modern* (London: Elliot Stock, 1880), 355. Ann (2009), 227-229. Chio (2002), 179-180.

58 The terms of Greek and Aramaic were described by Korean sound (*Eli, Eli, lama, cabach hani*). John Ross, "A Letter to W. Wright," in *The Editorial Correspondence Books of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1880-1897* (9th Oct., 1882).

59 James Gale was one of the leading Korean experts after the time of Ross. He was originally a Canadian, but was involved as part of American mission in Korea. W.B. Scranton, "A Letter to Kenmure," in *The Editorial Correspondence Books of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1880-1897* (17th May, 1893).

60 It means sacred names in the religious canons. The Korea scripture has been transformed many times from 1882 to 1998 (1882, 1883, 1887, 1891, 1893, 1900, 1904, 1912, 1925, 1938, 1952, 1961, 1994, and 1998). Won (2000), 94-95. Jung-Hyun Kim, "Na-Yak-Han and the Process of Bible Translation," *Theology and the World* 11 (Oct., 1985): 380-381. Num-Sook Kim, "the Transformational Tendency of the Foreign Words in the Korean-Japanese Scripture," *Translation Studies* 8, Num., 2 (Autumn, 2007): 9-31.

61 There may be a slight change or development of the Korean language. J.M. Yong, "The Role of Stylists in Korean Bible Translation," *The Bible Translator* 59, number 4 (2008): 202-205. H. Loomis, "A Letter to E.W. Gilman," in *The Editorial Correspondence of Japan Agency, the American Bible Society, 1883-1909* (7th Sept., 1883).

additional criticism,⁶² but it was not his original intention. Rather, it was the result of the influence of his Korean helpers who originally came from the region of the Han peninsula.⁶³

The indigenous centred attitudes can be seen in Ross' statements of *Mission Methods in Manchuria* (1908). The book was written for the case of Manchuria, but a personal instruction indirectly reflects the heart of Ross over the Korean people.

The missionary most suitable for China should be well informed, so as to be able to measure and to appreciate at its proper value whatever product of the mind has been bequeathed . . . He should be of a generous liberality of mind, ready to acknowledge the good and the true wherever found, and ready to commend it heartily, even though clothed in language different from that to which he has been accustomed . . . he should be a man of kindly and sympathetic nature that he may win the goodwill of the people by giving evidence of a common humanity, without which other gifts are of comparatively little value.⁶⁴

While the conservative missionaries perceived the local religious decrees as the anti-Christian obstacles, the Scot accepted Confucianism, the ancient religion of Northeast Asia (China and Korea) as "a schoolmaster to drive them to Christ".⁶⁵ "Christianity sheds a new light on the deeper teachings of Confucianism, which become easily intelligible to the Christian who knows of God."⁶⁶ The Scottish fulfilment theology of the modern Northeast Asian mission was originally motivated by James Legge who previously translated the Confucian canon (*Sa-su-oh-kyoung*). The former missionary and Oxford scholar for Chinese Studies had believed that the decree of Confucianism

62 Jung-Hyun Kim (1985), 362–382.

63 J.H. Jones, "A Letter to Kenmure," in *The Editorial Correspondence Books of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1880–1897* (17th May, 1893).

64 John Ross, "Ch. xvi. Testing the Church," in *Mission Methods in Manchuria* (Edinburgh & London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferries, 1908), 272–273.

65 John Ross, "Obstacles to the Gospel in China," *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian* (Jan., 1877), 409–411.

66 There is another expression of the need for Confucian education. "The need can be inferred from the following list of subjects: Old Testament Exegesis, Apologetics, Systematic and Pastoral Theology; New Testament Exegesis and Church History; *Comparative Religion: (a) Confucianism, (b) Buddhism, (c) Taoism.*" John Ross, *Mission Methods in Manchuria* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1903), 43 & 141.

contains the-only-one-God-revelation of Christianity.⁶⁷ Such a British and Scottish Christian concept of fulfilment theology brought a great result in the history of early Korean Christianity.⁶⁸

During the thirty-eight years when the land of Manchuria was influenced by the Ross' mission policy, three universities, two hospitals, seven churches, and eighteen mission headquarters were established in the region.⁶⁹ Sung-il Chio maintains that even if there is no certain source, some Koreans would be trained at Ross' Bible College (1883) which eventually was known as the East-Western Bible College in Manchuria in 1889.⁷⁰ No one could also deny that there would be some Korean immigrants living in the region, if one is aware of the historical fact that during the pre-Boxer Uprising time (1897–1898),⁷¹ Ross had the chance to baptise over a hundred people of Tong-Hwa who were all of the Korean diaspora in Manchuria.⁷²

Korean Diasporas and the New Religion⁷³

How then was the Scottish mission able to have such an impact on Korean Christian history so early era during which the nation did not even have a

67 Ann (2009), 231–235. James Legge, *The Chinese Classics Vol 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), 98–99. Ibid. *Confucianism in Relation to Christianity: a Paper Read Before the Missionary Conference in Shanghai on May nth 1877* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1877), 11.

68 Ann (2009), 239–241.

69 United Free Church of Scotland, "Tenth Report on Foreign Missions," *Foreign Mission Reports of the United Free Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: United Free Church of Scotland Offices, 1910), 56–62.

70 Ross confessed that there were "27,000 persons on the rolls of the church either as baptised members or as accepted applications for baptism in 1900 in Manchuria." The Free Church of Scotland, *the Free Church of Scotland Monthly*, January 1, 1900, 4. Ross (1903), 5. United Free Church of Scotland (1910), 58–58. Chio (2002), 166–167.

71 Lawrence S. Little, "AME Responses to Events and Issues in Asia in the Age of Imperialism, 1880–1916," *Japan Association of Asian Studies XXXIII*, 4 (Oct., 1998): 317–330. Kyoung-Shine Park, "The Manchuria Missionary John Ross' Understanding of the Boxer Uprising," *Manchuria Studies* 11 (June, 2011): 234–256.

72 Ross (1903), 141–145.

73 According to the ancient history of Korea, the Korean people living in the Manchurian region in the middle-end of the nineteenth century do not *culturally* and *traditionally* count as 'diasporas,' but this paper will *politically* see those across the rivers of Du-Man and Ap-rock as Korean diasporas in the region of Manchuria during the Chung dynasty of China. Jong-Min Su mentions that Ross' mission method was so called 'Suck-In-Ju-Aie.' It means that Ross' worked with those Koreans who are outside of Korea. See Jong-Min

friendly relationship with the West? In answer to this question, those Koreans who lived in the region of Manchuria, and also temporary visitors from Korea, assisted John Ross in his work of translating the scripture and then delivered the Korean Bible into their land.⁷⁴ To work with the Korean diaspora was not against the religious philosophy of the Scottish mission. It was rather part of following the fulfilment theology: “in every case the experience was the same (that) evangelists (of the indigenous believers) were sent first, so as not needlessly to alarm the inhabitants by the presence of foreigners.”⁷⁵ The cross-cultural cooperation of John Ross with Christians of the Korean diaspora led to the initial development of Korean Christianity in 1870–80s. The publications of the *Corea Primer*, the *History of Corea*, the first Korean New Testament (as well as an introduction to the New Testament and a catechism),⁷⁶ and the beginning of the Korean Protestant Church were the ultimate results of the Korean diaspora’s involvement in Manchuria and the *Han* peninsula of Northeast Asia.⁷⁷

Enlisting Korean partners was a key part of Ross’ mission strategy. He hardly mentioned any Korean name, but there is sufficient evidence in his missionary letters.⁷⁸ Firstly, Ross met Ung-ch’an Yi during his second visit to the border between China and Korea. With the help of Yi (in modern name, Lee), Ross not only learnt the basic Korean language, but also published *Corean Primer*,

Su, “the Process of the Settlement of the Korean Protestantism,” <http://terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?cid=100&docId=1387522&mobile&categoryId=1128>, accessed on 04/04/2013.

74 “Another young man, Li, was sent to the capital of Corea, where he encountered a young scholar, Hsu, who became so interested that he went to Moukden, where he was baptized and instructed, and whence he was sent to the Korean capital. He made an immediate impression on his friends in the capital and in the neighbouring two provinces.” John Ross, *The Marvellous Story of the Revival in Manchuria* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Andrew & Ferrier, 1908), 9.

75 The Free Church of Scotland, *the Free Church of Scotland Monthly*, (1st January, 1900), 3.

76 The catechism was used by Rosetta S. Hall and Miss Lewis, when women’s evangelism was spreading over Seoul, the capital of Korea. Rosetta S. Hall, “Women’s Medical Missionary Work,” *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Sep., 1893): 167 & 406.

77 Ross once reported news to W. Wight that there were 600 male people in Korean valleys of Manchuria: “Besides those already baptised there are over 600 men applicants for baptism in the Korean valleys, of whom you shall hear more after my visit to them.” John Ross, “A Letter to W. Wright,” in *The Editorial Correspondence Books of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1880–1897* Vol 20 (8th March, 1885). Grayson (1999), 169.

78 See Oak and Yi (2004), 5–126.

the first Korean *Gospel of Luke*⁷⁹ and *johani buckum* (John), before 1879.⁸⁰ A personal testimony from the *Corean Version of the New Testament: How I Came to Make It. Part II*, indirectly reflects his eagerness toward Ung-ch'an Yi; "now a success covered my effort. There is a person who is able to dwell for a couple of months. I employed him (Yi) ... He helped to translate the *Gospel of John* and the *Gospel of Mark* on the top of various useful texts."⁸¹ The personal trust of the linguistic skills of Yi is testified in the letter of 24 March 1882 written to the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Bible Society*: "I have two Korean literary men as translators ... I go over every word most carefully with the second translator (Ung-ch'an Yi), who is a convert, thoroughly acquainted with the Christian truth."⁸² Yi was the principal Korean writer to Ross, but unfortunately he died from the dire disease of Cholera before 29 September 1883.⁸³

The Scottish man, in the *Marvellous Story of the Revival in Manchuria*, demonstrated the involvement of other Koreans:

In the autumn of 1873 a Korean Customs official took home from the Korean Gate a number of Christian books to his house in *Wiju* or *Yichow*, a town east of the *Yalu*, ... the son of this official, a young doctor, *Bai* or *Beck*, after considerable study of these books, became a believer. With other three Koreans, who were converted through translation work in Newchwang, he (*Beck*) was baptized in Newchwang by the late Rev John Macintyre in 1879. He was soon employed as a colporteur, and made a decided impression on the minds of his fellow-countrymen from *Yichow* to *Pingyang*.⁸⁴

79 With Hong-Jun Baek, Sung-Han Lee, Jin-Gi Kim, Sang-Enu Su, and Yang-Sun Kim. The method of the translating process took three stages: (1) the Wen-li version of Chinese scripture was initially translated into Korean by Koreans, 2) Ross then compared the words and phrases with the Greek Bible and concordances, and (3) they went through several processes of proofreading. Won (2000), 89–109. John Ross, *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, n. s. 1 (1880): 278–279.

80 Kang (2009), 168–169.

81 John Ross, "Corean Version of the New Testament: How I Came to Make It. Part II," *United Presbyterian Magazine* (May, 1883): 206–209.

82 John Ross, "A Letter to W. Wright," *The Editorial Correspondence Books of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1880–1897* 17 (24th March, 1882).

83 Yi was one of the cleverest men around Ross. John Ross, "A Letter to W. Wright," in *The Editorial Correspondence Books of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1880–1897*, 17 (29th Sept., 1883).

84 Ross (1908), 8–9.

The brother-in-law of Ross (John Macintyre) baptised the first Koreans including Hong-Jun Baek in Manchuria in 1879, which conversion was a result of Ross' field work in *Golumoon* where he had distributed the copies of scripture in 1876. Baek initially tried to bring the scripture into the land of Korea. While the national policy of the Hermit Kingdom was against the western religion, literature and culture, Baek carried on his mission work in the Yaloo region (the river of Ab-lock) of Yichow. This became the initial motivation of the Yichow Christian community. Baek, with Sung-Hwa Lee, came to the region of Hy-Ju in 1882. The Scottish man in the letter of R. Arthington to W. Wright shared details about Baek's ministry in Korea: "we have one Korean already converted by reading, who is now engaged in preaching to his countrymen after he served his Christian apprenticeship in suffering for Christ's name's sake in prison and by 'stripes many.'" ⁸⁵ Baek led classes for a catechism which was prepared by Ross as an initial (Korean) literature of the scripture. There were eighteen believers when the Christian community began in 1885. ⁸⁶ Ross was not yet present in the Northwest region of Korea, but no one can deny the Scottish influence being delivered by the commitment of Ross' co-worker, Baek.

If one reads a letter of Ross to W. Right in 1881, Chung-song Kim was another Korean man seriously involved in the translation and printing project of the *johani buckum* (the *Gospel of John*) in Mukden (modern Shenyang) of Manchuria: "I have a type setter (Korean), two printers, and a translator (a Korean scholar)... We have four Koreans baptised, but only one—the typesetter (Chung-song Kim)—with us (Oct., 1881)." ⁸⁷ Kim was not fully interested in learning about the Christian faith in the beginning, but as he worked together with Ross he was convinced and was baptised. Ross eventually sent him away as an evangelist and colporteur to the Korean villages of Ju-San Hyun in the region of the Western Gan-Do in 1882. Kim introduced the Gospel of the Western religion in the capital city of Gokolu, so called *Kuknei Sung* in 1884. ⁸⁸ The efforts of the Korean diaspora not only bore religious fruit for Ross and his

85 R. Arthington, "A Letter to W. Wright," in *The Editorial Correspondence Books of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1880–1897* (21th Sept., 1882).

86 The Research Committee for Korean Christianity History, *History of Korean Christianity I* (Seoul: Christianity Literature Press, 1992), 155.

87 Kang (2009) 169–171. John Ross, "A Letter to W. Wright," in *The Editorial Correspondence Books of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1880–1897*, 16 (11th Oct., 1881).

88 Regarding the transmission of the Korean scripture, Kang once demonstrated the geographical approach of the Korean Diasporas (meaning, non-domestic Koreans in the nation). Kang (2009), 168–171. John Ross, a letter to W.J. Slowan, written on (10th Dec., 1882).

partner, James Webster, as they were able to baptise a hundred members of the Corean diaspora, but also became a foundation to establish a Corean Diaspora church (Yang-Ja Lee's Church) in the area of Ju-San Hyun:⁸⁹ "Accompanied by James Webster, I went in the year 1884 to the *Corean valleys* in the far east of Manchuria (the modern Kil-lim). There we baptized a number of *Coreans*, laying the foundation of the Church in the north-west of Corea."⁹⁰ Additionally, Sang-Il Chio visited in Mukden (modern Shenyang) around 1890–91 and committed to be baptised.⁹¹ Chio afterward took the copies of scripture into the various regions of Kang-ke, Ja-sung, Hu-chang in the province of Pang-An Buk-Do (Northeast of Corea). As the result, the representative of Ho-Hang of Kang-ke visited Ross and required the baptism rite for the local followers of the new religion (Christianity). So, thirty-two Corean people were baptised among the three hundred and forty followers.⁹²

Sangyun Seo was originally in Manchuria for a business trip with Sung-Han Lee, Jin-Ke Kim, and Hong-Jun Baek.⁹³ He then visited Ross and became the first Korean convert and helped Ross' translation project: "I have a young scholarly Corean, a native of the Capital, recently baptised. He is revising all the work done and changing it into the speech of the Capital."⁹⁴ Since Seo impressed Ross well with the translation project and then became a follower of the Western religion, Ross sent him away to the capital city of Corea, Seoul, in 1883. Seo used to stay in the Kyoung-Gi province, but regularly visited and introduced concepts about the scripture to the Seoul people.⁹⁵ The Christian texts were extensively spread at the place of So-Lei which eventually composed the So-Lei Christian community (Hwang-Hae-Do) in around 1884.⁹⁶ Ross, through Paul G. von Mollendorf, contributed more Gospels to Seo afterwards (6000 copies in 1884; 1150 copies in 1885; and 1250 copies in 1886).⁹⁷ Ross' version of the scripture was then all over the land of Corea. The readership was

89 Kang (2009), 169–170.

90 Ross (1908), 262. Oak and Yi (2004), 678.

91 Jung-Hyun Kim, (1985), 376–772.

92 Ibid.

93 Ryang (1983), 172–174. See Sung-Jin Jung, "the Mission Direction of Korean Church," http://www.godpeople.com/?GO=news2_sub&ncode=200908065598, accessed on 7th March, 2012.

94 S. Dyer, "A Letter to W. Wright," in *The Editorial Correspondence Books of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1880–1897* (25th Sept., 1882).

95 Jung-Hyun Kim (1985), 362–382.

96 By Sangyun Su and his younger brother (Kyoung-Cho Su).

97 See Oak and Yi (2004), 678.

not limited to a certain group of the Korean society, but children and women of the Confucian society were also included: “the remarkable result already produced, not in the Korean valleys only (the region of Manchuria), but in Central and Southern Korea translators already affirmed, that the translation would be understood by all, including women and children.”⁹⁸ As a result of such impact, Ross was invited to attend the opening service of Sae-Moon-San church in Seoul in 1887.

After Seo, Ross sent Chun-Tien Lieu to Pingyang of Korea from 1883 to 1888.⁹⁹ The Scottish missionary did not just send him away, but he was fully aware of the history and geography of the place: “I sent away . . . my former compositor, . . . His destination is the city of Pingyang . . . the city is a very ancient one . . . contains over 200,000 people and lies Southeast from Yichow on the Yaloo.”¹⁰⁰ For the mission of Pingyang, the Korean man who used to be an official follower of the Korean diplomatic group to China, returned home with a thousand copies of the first scriptures (such as the *Gospels of Luke* and *John*). The Christian canons were sold at the houses and in public accommodation. Kang presumes that this event became a motivation for the foundation of the Pingyang church.¹⁰¹ Meantime, Na-ga-sa-ke of the Bible Society of Scotland (BSS) in Japan distributed Ross’ *Gospels* in the region of Bu-san (the South of Korea) in 1883 (2000 copies in 1883; 1150 copies in 1885; and 1250 copies in 1886). This was even before the appearance of Soo-Jung Lee’s version of the *Gospel of Mark* in 1885.¹⁰² The historical record of Ross proves that the contribution of scriptures to the regions of Southern and Western Korea had been launched even earlier in 1882.¹⁰³ The activities of these Korean diaspora

98 John Ross, “A Letter to W. Wright,” in *The Editorial Correspondence Books of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1880–1897* Vol. 20 (8th March, 1885).

99 John Ross. *A Letter to Dr Wright, BFBS Annual Report for 1884*, 250. John Ross, “An Open Door in Korea,” *Bible Society Monthly Reporter* (Jul., 1884): 127.

100 John Ross, “A Letter to W. Wright,” in *The Editorial Correspondence Books of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1880–1897* (11th June, 1883).

101 Kang (2009), 170.

102 “The plates of the Korean Kuntun (Korean-Chinese) New Testament are completed as far as Acts inclusive. They are now being altered by the [] of such changes as Rijutei considers necessary before printing. Type for the Korean Mark is being [] and [].” H. Loomis, “A Mission Letter Written from H. Loomis to E.W. Gilman” on 13th Sept., 1884, quoted from Oak and Yi (2004), 359.

103 “I promised to send 1000 copies of Luke and 1000 copies of John to their agent in Japan to introduce into Southern Korea . . . the remaining 2000 copies of each we shall introduce into Western Korea . . . where it will be warmly welcomed.” Soo-Jung Chio’s version of the Scripture would be contributed in Seoul with Ross’ version. Arthington (1882).

partners were operated under the leadership of John Ross who was not able to relocate himself in Korea. The cooperation with the Korean diasporas was the perfect method for the *Han* Peninsula, while Ross still kept the Scottish mission strategy of the *fulfilment* theology.¹⁰⁴ The scripture of the new religion was introduced to the local people of Korea before the nation changed their foreign policy in the late nineteenth century.

Conclusion

Ultimately, it was true that there were political conflicts between the nations of Asia and the Western powers in the process of modernization. Nineteenth century Korea was not exceptional, but struggled with the imperial colonization that brought the advanced skills of science, industry, medicine, and education. The western religion of Christianity was often interpreted as part of the colonial policies. Even though the Catholics experienced domestic persecutions in the pre-1870s, the Scottish missionary John Ross perceived opportunities for advancing the Christian mission during the politically unsteady period. He practised fulfilment theology in which the cooperation with the Korean diaspora (Coreans dwelling outside of Korea, especially those in China) was the perfect method. The successful strategy was initiated by enlisting Korean teacher(s). Instead of distributing Chinese Bibles to Coreans, the publications of the *Corean Primer* and *History of Korea* became the primary sources for Ross himself as well as for Christian workers who succeeded him. In particular, the completion of the *Gospel of Luke* (1882) and *Yesu Sŏnggyo Chŏnsŏ* (1887) directly transformed the religious dimensions of Korean culture.

The Scottish impact is frequently underestimated by those who count the history of early Korean Christianity from 1884. However, if one follows Chio's view that the first five Korean Christian congregations were not established by foreign missionaries but by the native ones who were imbued by Ross,¹⁰⁵ readers should not disrespect the efforts of Ross and his diasporic partners for the Christianization and modernization of Korea. The political and diplomatic relations of Great Britain with Korea did not go smoothly because of

104 The United Free Church of Scotland had 15 mission fields in late nineteenth century: India, South Arabia, Madras Christian College and collegiate school, China (including Moukden of Manchuria), New Hebrides Islands, Old Calabar, Lebanon, Manchuria, Kafraria, Jamaica, etc. United Free Church of Scotland (1910), 20–120.

105 Grayson (1999), 170.

anti-Western protests of *Bungsin-yangeu* (1866) and *Sinmi-yangeu* (1871),¹⁰⁶ but the Scottish mission was the first protestant organisation from the West to bring the new religion of Christianity to the Hermit Kingdom—the last uncolonized nation of Northeast Asia.¹⁰⁷

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106 The first political treaty was made between the Great Britain and Korean Empire in 1882. See “About the Relationship with the Great Britain,” <http://terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?cid=200000000&docId=1184152&mobile&categoryId=200000234>, accessed on 01/04/2013.

107 Hoare (Summer, 1983), 131–133.

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