

# The Invisibility of Korean Translators in Missionary Translation: The Case of the *Peep of Day* (1833)

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## Abstract

This study attempts to shed light on how missionaries marginalized the role played by local Koreans engaged in the translation of an evangelical tract, *The Peep of Day* (1833), into Korean by comparing the English source text with its Chinese and Korean translations. The subjects of comparison for this exercise were the translators' choice of words from the source text for adaptation, addition and omission. This analysis revealed: 1) That the Chinese translation was the source text for Korean version; 2) Chinese translators were more active in acculturating the tract by adapting, omitting or adding to the source text; and 3) Korean translators were for the most part faithful to the Chinese version. In addition to this comparative analysis, research on the translators themselves has been included in this paper to trace how Protestant Christianity was transmitted to Korea and the dynamics of early missionary work.

Key words: *Peep of Day*, *Xunerzhenyan* 訓兒真言, *Hunajinŏn*, missionary translation, evangelistic tracts

## Introduction

Studying translation is a fascinating yet serious activity, because tracing the intellectual flows as well as the fusion of differing thoughts and languages enables us to understand the dynamics of cultural exchange in a more tangible way. For this reason, the spread of Christianity and the role played by missionaries in it as translators and cultural mediators is an interesting topic. Protestants are acutely concerned with translation due to their emphasis on the primacy of the Bible and their focus on translating its text into local and vernacular languages, a legacy of the Reformation. Thus Susan Bassnett has suggested that “the history of Bible translation is accordingly a history of western culture in microcosm.”<sup>1</sup> However, limiting the scope of this suggestion purely to western culture seems reductive when we consider the impact of missionary translation in East Asia especially in China during the late Qing period of the nineteenth century.

Publications by missionaries in China carried significant weight as Christianity influenced existing religions in East Asia and vice versa. A good example can be traced back to the *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* 天主實義 and also *Good Words to Admonish the Age* 勸世良言, texts that influenced Hong Xiuquan’s Taiping movement. Besides this influence, Protestant missionaries’ mass publication activities aimed for the public to disseminate Christian knowledge, a development which was made possible by the means of movable cast types and lithographic plates. The advent of new texts and the means to rapidly propagate them was revolutionary in both China and Korea. The idea of knowledge circulation among and to the public was truly a modern phenomenon that had not previously existed in China and Korea.

Similar missionary publications in China had a significant impact on Korean society in late nineteenth century due to the interconnectedness of missionary networks between China and Korea. It was a team of Scottish missionaries residing in Manchuria and Koreans from the north-west who first translated the Bible into vernacular Korean.<sup>2</sup> At that time, they used the Chinese *Wenli* New Testament 新約全書文理譯 (1852) along with Westcott-Hort’s New Testament (1881). Following these pioneers, Protestant missionaries who were sent to Korea formed the Committee for Translating the Bible into Korean Language in 1887. While the translation of both the Old and New Testament was in the process of revision and yet to be completed in 1911, evangelistic tracts which were mostly secondhand translations of Chinese texts played a significant role in proselytizing Protestant Christianity to Korean. In this sense, the early protestant missionaries in Korea enjoyed the advantage of precedents in China because they were able to select from a collection of tracts that had already

been proven effective to Chinese audiences.<sup>3</sup> Some of the tracts were translated into Korean for women and commoners while others were distributed without translation to the literati.<sup>4</sup> These tracts filtered out the one-sided introduction of western theology because they were translated through the eastern cultural and literary background which was possible due to precedents in China.<sup>5</sup>

At this point, we need to raise a simple question: who were the translators? How did they filter out western interpretation of Christianity and acculturate it to the local context? When missionaries sought to translate or write tracts in local languages, either Chinese or Korean, they definitely needed local assistants possessed of literary skills, just as Matteo Ricci worked with Xu Guangqi徐光啟 and Li Zhizao李之藻, Robert Morrison with Liang Fa梁發, and James Legge with Wang Tao王韜.<sup>6</sup> In other words, Chinese evangelistic tracts were usually produced by a process of collaboration between a missionary and one or more locals. When a missionary orally transmitted the message, a Chinese assistant who had competent writing skills would write it down, polish the Chinese style and add final touches.<sup>7</sup>

The Korean case must have been slightly different from the Chinese because such collaboration was hardly possible during the pioneering period of evangelism between the late 1880s and 1890s when Chinese tracts were brought and retranslated into Korean. As was so often pointed out in the writings of pioneer missionaries, there were not many people who were able to communicate with missionaries either in English or in Korean; likewise, there were few missionaries who were able to speak in Korean due to the lack of proper textbooks or teachers for language acquisition. To illustrate, the first bilingual dictionary between English and Korean was written and published by Underwood in 1890, and he had to print it in Yokohama Japan since Korea did not have a suitable printing house for such matter.<sup>8</sup> Considering all these circumstances, Korean translations of Chinese tracts should have relied upon Korean translators literal translation of the Chinese version rather than on collaborative efforts from China.

Nonetheless, the existence of these local translators was usually omitted in missionaries' documents and the locals themselves were unwilling to disclose their names in fear of criticism from family members or neighbors who would view them as betrayers. We should be mindful of the xenophobic atmosphere at that time. For these reasons, locals who participated in translation activities with missionaries were rarely regarded as equal 'translators.' Such a tendency is common across Korea as most of the local Christian publications between 1882 and 1900 have only missionary names on their cover as translators.<sup>9</sup> The invisibility of translators is a phenomenon not uncommon in the publication industry

in general, due to the translator's tendency to translate fluently into the target language and readers' consequent experience of that translation as the 'original.' Besides, the tendency to regard translation as secondary to the original makes the translator transparent.<sup>10</sup> However, what is peculiar in missionary translation is that only the local translators disappear. As the hidden yet decisive roles of local translators must not be overlooked, this paper aims to unveil their influence by analyzing the original English text and each version of translation.

This issue of the invisibility of Korean translators in early Protestant publication practice was previously pointed out by several Korean church historians. For example, Kim Yangsŏn first raised the question saying, "Although evangelistic tracts published in early periods of Korean Christianity were translated by both missionaries and Koreans, only missionaries' names were labelled as translators."<sup>11</sup> According to Kim, the only tract that labelled both missionary and Korean as co-translators was *Kuseron* 救世論 [Discourse on Salvation].<sup>12</sup> Yi Mahnyŏl also argued that Yi Sujŏng's gospel of Mark was revised mostly by Koreans since Underwood and Appenzeller's language capabilities had not yet developed enough even for preaching purposes.<sup>13</sup> According to Yi, Song Tŏkjo was particularly important in translating Underwood's collection of tracts as he had earlier translated Catholic publications.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Yi Tŏkju regarded the first Korean Christians from Uiju (current Hamgyŏng Province in North Korea)<sup>15</sup> who participated in the translation of the Bible with Rev. John Ross as well as those who cooperated with the Bible Translation Committee in Seoul as the "pioneers indigenizing Korean Christianity."<sup>16</sup> They not only taught Korean language to foreign missionaries but also transplanted Christianity into Korean language and culture.<sup>17</sup>

## Research Topic and Method

In order to support my suggestion and to reveal the hidden role of local translators, a comparative analysis of an original text and its translation is useful in order to fully understand the translator's engagement with the texts: the choice of words, addition or omission of the original text. When a translator bridges two different cultures, he or she regularly faces the 'untranslatable.' This occurs due to the linguistic or cultural differences that make establishing equivalence impossible. The translator's role then becomes more apparent as they utilize diverse strategies in order to reconstruct the original message. This is the 'science of translation,' a term suggested by Eugene Nida.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, comparing an original text and its translation is important to understand the translators' influence in bridging these distinctions.

For this aim, I chose the *Peep of Day*, one of the early evangelistic tracts that were translated in both China and Korea in the late 19th century, and compared its Chinese translation *Xunerzhenyan* 訓兒真言 and Korean translation *Hunajinŏn* (훈오진언, The true sayings that train children). The *Peep of Day* was originally written by Mrs. Favell Lee Mortimer (1802–1878) as a Sunday school textbook aiming at four to six-year-old children. With fifty-three chapters, this tract covers a wide variety of topics including one's body, parents, souls, angels and devils all in a style suitable for children. It was first published in London (1833) and became the most popular and widely circulated tract for children in nineteenth-century Britain and America with more than 804,000 copies distributed prior to 1891. Its popularity extended overseas through translation into at least thirty-seven languages and dialects.<sup>19</sup> In China alone, it was rendered into *wenyan*, Mandarin, Cantonese, Fuzhou, Ningbo, Shanghai, Suzhou dialects, and even Braille for the blind.<sup>20</sup>

There were several reasons for choosing the *Peep of Day*, but the most decisive factor was that I was able to get the original text and both Chinese and Korean translations of it. These texts also seemed valuable as they reveal the transmission channel of Protestant Christianity into China and Korea during the late nineteenth century. In addition, at a first glance, the Korean version was very much closer to the Chinese than to the English original text when I compared the list of contents. If it was really translated by a missionary, it must have been natural for the missionary to translate from his or her mother tongue, English; yet *Hunajinŏn* reveals the fact that its source text was *Xunerzhenyan*. Last but not least, the *Peep of Day* would highlight the translators' attempt for indigenization since it was written for children. Compared to strictly literal Bible translation, the translation of evangelistic tracts has much larger room for adaptation, particularly those whose audience is children. All these factors considered, the *Peep of Day* seemed perfectly suited to the paper's research purpose.

## Research Scope and Outline

The scope of the research for this paper was limited to chapter two (Of a Mother's Care) and three (Of a Father's Care) from the *Peep of Day* (1833) because 'parenting' seemed to be the most controversial spot revealing the differences between Western and East Asian tradition, or, Christian and Confucian tradition. Thus, these chapters would be a place where the translators role is highlighted in bridging (or leaving) the gap by adaptation, annotation and even the omission of the source text.

In outline this paper consists of two parts. In part one, the author of the *Peep of Day* and its Chinese and Korean translators are introduced. This introduction is particular concerned with the Korean translator who was more marginalized than the Chinese counterpart, Missionary reports, correspondence and the history of Korean Methodist Church were also examined to give a better sense of who was really involved in the translation process. Part two is a comparative analysis of the *Peep of Day* and its translations undertaken to evaluate the translators' strategy such as adaptation, addition and omission of the original text.

When conducting this research, I aimed never to divide missionaries and local assistants into an 'us' and 'them.' As Said mentioned in *Culture and Imperialism*, what we need is a reference to the connections between both sides, overcoming the confrontational view of imperialism and colonialism.<sup>21</sup> Whether the missionaries had an orientalist or racist perception of the locals or not, no one can deny the fact that there was cooperation between the two sides in the transmission of the new religion. There must have been countless disagreements, negotiations and adaptations within this relational dynamic. Nonetheless, the role of local assistants were marginalized, intentionally or unintentionally, in missionary documents and their interactions remain unknown. It is hoped that this paper might contribute to the resolution of the imbalance.

Table 1 Comparison of bibliographic data

Year of Publication	Peep of Day 1833	Xunerzhenyan 訓兒真言 1865	Hunajinŏn 훈오진언 1891
Author/Translator	Favell Lee Mortimer (1802-1878)	Huasachi 花撒勒 (Mrs. Sally Holmes, 1841-unknown) / Zhou Wenyuan 周文源 (unknown)	Mary F. Scranton (1832-1909)
Place of Print	London	Shanghai: 上海美華書館	Seoul: 三文出版社 [The Trilingual Press]
Size/Pages	223 pages (including Appendix)	240mm x 140mm, 59 pages <sup>1</sup>	249mm x 142mm, 46 pages
Target Readers	Infants, Children, Sunday School	Mission school students	Girls' mission schools, women, local preachers
Illustration	3rd edition does not have any illustration	O	X

1 While English books were printed on both sides of a sheet of paper having page numbers on each sides, Chinese and Korean books were printed on the front page. This long sheet of paper would be half folded and be bound with thread with a single page number. Therefore, the number of pages is half reduced in Xunerzhenyan and Hunajinŏn.

## Introduction of the Author and Translators

### *The Author: Favell Lee Mortimer (1802–1878)*

Born in England, Ms. Favell Lee Bevan was a successful author of educational books for children whose father, David Bevan (1780–1841), was one of the co-founders of Barclays Bank. Ms. Bevan was married to Thomas Mortimer in 1841 when she was 39. She oversaw the religious education of children on her father's estates, in Wiltshire and East Barnet and it was from such experience that her interest in educational writings grew. She developed her own method of teaching children to read based on an early kind of 'flash cards' rather than the traditional hornbook. Her teaching notes were collected and appeared as such works as *Peep of Day* and its series was immensely popular: over 500,000 copies of the original edition were issued; it went through numerous English editions; and it was published by the Religious Tract Society in 37 different dialects and languages.<sup>22</sup> She published a number of Sunday school textbooks, world history and geography for children and many of them were translated into Chinese.<sup>23</sup> This paper used the 7th edition reprinted in the U.S. in 1845.

### *Chinese Translators: Mrs. Sally Holmes 花撒勅 and Zhou Wenyan 周文源*

The *Xunerzhenyan* (1882) used in this paper was donated by Rev. Ch'oi Byŏnghŏn to Yonsei University. On its first page is written, “美國花撒勅口譯 蓬萊周文源筆述”, meaning an American Huasachi 花撒勅 verbally translated [from the original] and her Chinese counterpart Zhou Wenyan from Penglai 蓬萊 周文源 dictated in Chinese. This American name Huasachi is a transliteration of Mrs. Sally Holmes, who was born in West Virginia in the U.S. and sent to China by the Southern Baptist Church. According to the Baptist Encyclopedia, Rev. J. L. Holmes and his wife Mrs. Sally Holmes were dispatched to China in 1858 and arrived at Shanghai in 1859.<sup>24</sup> They were pioneers to northern China and expanded the mission board to Shantung in 1860. In the following year, however, Rev. J. L. Holmes was murdered by a Chinese rebel. In 1862, the widowed Mrs. Holmes left Yantai to come to Penglai and did extensive work issuing several editions of *Peep of Day*.<sup>25</sup>

The Chinese translator Zhou Wenyan 周文源 was a respected scholar in the Shantung area. He exerted a crucial influence in determining the final outcome of the tract, especially the stylistic choices.<sup>26</sup> Zhou was a temporary Christian convert employed by Dengzhou mission school to teach classical Chinese. Nonetheless, his faith seemed to have faded away since he succeeded in passing

the *shengyuan* 生員 examination in 1866. He was laid off from mission school for often indulging in Confucian rites and teaching ‘heresy’ to students. Perhaps such behavior was the reason that only Holmes was listed as the translator in all catalogues of Christian literature, although his name appears as the translator in the text.<sup>27</sup>

### *Korean Translators: Mary Fletcher Scranton (1832–1909) with Anonymous Local Assistant*

Mrs. Mary F. Scranton is a well-known figure in Korean Church history, being the first female missionary sent to Korea as well as the founder of Ewha girls’ school. She was born into a Methodist family in 1832 as a daughter of Rev. Erastus Benton, a pastor in Massachusetts.<sup>28</sup> She was married to Dr. William T. Scranton in 1855, had the son and only child, Dr. William B. Scranton, and was widowed in 1872. After Dr. W. B. Scranton completed his college course at Yale, mother and son moved to NY where Dr. Scranton completed the medical school. Mrs. Scranton actively devoted her time to missionary work serving as Conference Secretary of the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society. In 1884, Dr. W. B. Scranton became the first appointee of the Methodist Board to Korea, and his mother, Mrs. Scranton, accompanied him. Thus the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society urged her to be their first representative there.<sup>29</sup>

The first party of Methodist missionaries sent to Korea included Mrs. Scranton, her son Dr. W. B. Scranton, his wife and eldest daughter, and Rev. H. G. Appenzeller and wife.<sup>30</sup> Due to period of agitated politics generated by the Kapsin Coup, launched by progressive politicians in December 1884, Korean society was politically unsettled when these missionaries firstly arrived in Japan on their way to Korea. Therefore, only Dr. Scranton departed to reach Korea on the 3rd of May in 1885 while others waited for a better time.<sup>31</sup> Eventually, Mrs. Scranton landed in Chemulpo (present day Inch’ŏn) on June 6th, 1885.

Dr. Scranton next established a hospital in Chŏngdong while his mother Mrs. Scranton devoted herself to evangelical and educational works establishing a girls’ school, which was bestowed its name ‘Ewha [이화, Pear Blossom]’ by the king.<sup>32</sup> She also took the lead in establishing Boguyeogwan 保救女館 (The Office for Protecting and Saving Women, the first woman’s hospital in Korea. In this way, she was dedicated not only to medical work and evangelism, but also to a crusade against illiteracy among women.

Mrs. Scranton was nicknamed as “Great Lady [대부인]” because she adopted many girls and educated them. In order for her to train Korean girls and to raise them to become Korean female leaders, she desperately needed materials



written in Korean vernacular language. This language, being called *õnmun* 言文 [verbal language] or *amk'le* 암클 [female language], had been treated with contempt by the dominant male literati class during the Chosõn period.<sup>33</sup> Nonetheless, missionaries took advantage of this language by producing Christian literature in it and aiming for a female audience in Korea. In her article in the annual report of 1889, Mrs. Scranton highlighted the need for publishing Christian literature in Korea and desperately called for a Chinese translator.

I have asked for a Chinese translator and copyist. In this country your missionaries work at great disadvantage. They were obliged to begin without a Bible, without dictionaries or grammars, without even a leaflet which could be put into the hands of the people. We can get now and then something in Chinese which can be read by a few of the highly educated only. Of course this makes it clear that books must be made or translated. This work has been begun; one member of the Parent Board is devoting all the time which can be spared from his other duties to this branch of work. We are trying in our society also to do the little which we can to help along this line. You, who so thoroughly appreciate the value of the little leaflets you scatter in America, cannot wonder that I am intensely desirous that the women and girls of Korea shall have something to read. A book or a tract can go where we cannot.<sup>34</sup>

It was in this background that *Hunajinõn* was translated into Korean. The purpose of printing such tracts were to use them as educational materials at Ewha School and to distribute them at hospitals and churches, a job conducted by local Bible women.

Her great service and consequent fame was such that Koreans including scholars believed she was the translator of the *Peep of Day*. However, is it plausible that Mrs. Scranton herself translated this tract? One of her fellow missionaries, Ms. Rothweiler left a clue saying, "Evangelistic work of a slightly different nature has been undertaken also. Mrs. Scranton had it ready for the press, and it is now being printed, *Peep of Day*, from which we look for good results."<sup>35</sup> Here, "having it ready for the press" seems ambiguous, but it does not necessarily mean that Mrs. Scranton was the translator. Concerning this issue, Yi Tõkju suggested that Mrs. Scranton translated *Hunajinõn* with the aid from her language teacher.<sup>36</sup> Yet he did not provide any proof to support his suggestion.

After conducting a comparison of the original text and translations of the *Peep of Day*, I concluded that *Hunajinõn* was translated by local(s) since it was revealed that its source text was not the *Peep of Day* but *Xunerzhenyan*. Therefore, it is difficult to believe that Mrs. Scranton was the translator as it has been previously assumed. It was only three to four years after her arrival at Korea when the Korean version was first printed, and she still lacked the Korean language skills to deliver a sermon or a lecture. She was hiring a local language

teacher to act as her deputy in these matters.<sup>37</sup> According to her memoir written in 1896, it was very difficult for her to learn Korean language due to the people's xenophobic reaction to her. Besides, there was neither a proper book nor a teacher for language acquisition, and the so-called interpreters would barely understand a few words.<sup>38</sup> Considering these hardships that Mrs. Scranton went through, learning Chinese as well as Korean would have been impossible. Therefore, it is reasonable enough to conclude that Mrs. Scranton could not have translated *Hunajinŏn* from *Xunerzhenyan*.

In addition, Mrs. Scranton and the family of Dr. Scranton went on a furlough back home from the beginning of 1891, the year when *Hunajinŏn* was first published.<sup>39</sup> According to Dr. Scranton's letter to the director of mission board in the U.S., Mrs. Scranton was recovering from an almost fatal attack of 'La Grippe' (influenza) in November 1890 (*Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Correspondence 1846-1949*, 937).<sup>40</sup> For this reason, Dr. Scranton requested a furlough back home for his recovering mother. It seems impossible for her to have undertaken the translation of *Hunajinŏn* overcoming these circumstances.

Who, then, translated *Hunajinŏn* from *Xunerzhenyan*? Mrs. Scranton's language teacher might be the most possible candidate, or a Chinese teacher at Paichai School another. Yet there is very little evidence to support this assumption. Given the few sources on local translators, missionaries seem to have had a low estimation of Korean translators even though they played a significant role in translating the Bible or tracts. In addition, both in China and Korea the local collaborators themselves were unwilling to disclose their names as the author or translator fearing that they might be criticized by neighbors or family members who held negative views on westerners.<sup>41</sup> Nonetheless, I was able to gather pieces of information on the following figures who are currently assumed to be the Korean translator.

#### PARK SŪNGMYŎN 박승면 (DATES UNKNOWN): THE LANGUAGE TEACHER OF THE SCRANTONS

Compared to other missionaries, what is peculiar about the Scrantons was that they hardly mentioned their language teacher in their documents. Very little information was available including that the Scrantons learned the Korean language in Japan on their way to Korea from Park Yŏnghyo, a politician of the enlightenment party who had participated in the Kapsin Coup and therefore was in exile in Japan at the time (*Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Correspondence 1846-1949*).<sup>42</sup> Another clue was discovered in Appenzeller's diary which recorded that Park Sŭngmyŏn, the private language tutor of Dr. Scranton, was baptized on January 13, 1888 at a congregation

led by Appenzeller.<sup>43</sup> It is probable that Dr. Scranton and his mother Mrs. M. F. Scranton shared a language tutor as they had in Japan, given the lack of language tutors available at that time. The introduction of Drusilla Yi to Mrs. M. F. Scranton, which will be explained below, also reveals the fact that Mrs. Scranton's language tutor was a man, who happened to be the husband of Yi's friend and introduced her to Mrs. Scranton.<sup>44</sup> As it was a usual practice of missionaries to work with their language tutors in translation, Park could have been the translator.

YU CH'IGYŎM 유치겸 (DATES UNKNOWN): A CHINESE TEACHER AT PAICHAİ SCHOOL

Yu Ch'igyŏm worked at Paichai school as a Chinese teacher. At the same time, he was one of the two local preachers licensed on November 25, 1888 in the pioneering congregation of the Methodist church which was unable to draw any salary to him. Therefore Yu taught Chinese in the school and preached every other Sunday, alternating with Appenzeller.<sup>45</sup> This characteristic nominates Yu as another candidate for the local translator.

YI KYŎNGSUK 이경숙 (1851-1930): A TEACHER AT EWHA GIRLS' SCHOOL

Yi was born into a poor family of the literati class in South Ch'ungch'ŏng province and got married early but unfortunately, her marriage turned out to be a failure as her husband abandoned her. She had to come to Seoul (then Hanyang) and barely made a living by doing chores. Seeing such a misery in her life, Yi's friend, whose husband was a language teacher to Mrs. Scranton, introduced her to this "Great Lady" Scranton. Later, Yi converted to Christianity, was bestowed the name 'Drusilla Yi' upon her baptism.<sup>46</sup> At the age of thirty nine, she became a foster daughter to Mrs. Scranton serving as her private assistant and a teacher at Ewha Girls' School to teach Korean vernacular language since April 1890.<sup>47</sup> When Mrs. Scranton returned from her sabbatical leave and established Sangdong Church in 1897, Yi left Ewha School and accompanied Mrs. Scranton on her evangelical trips to the countryside selling Christian tracts. Considering the fact that *Hunajinŏn* was written for women and children, that Drusilla Yi had devoted herself to Mrs. Scranton's evangelical mission, it is plausible that Yi participated in the translation of *Hunajinŏn*. Given the condition of women at that time, however, she seems the least plausible.

Among these figures, Yu Ch'igyŏm seems most likely to have been the translator because he was capable of reading classical Chinese and most widely engaged in missionary enterprises including the Methodist church and Paichai school, and possibly the Trilingual Press. In order to support this suggestion, the network of the early Korean Methodist church should be elaborated. The first

edition of *Hunajinŏn* was printed by the Trilingual Press located in Chŏngdong where the pioneering missionary compound was along with mission schools and embassies. The First Methodist Church, Paichai School and Ewha Girls' School stood next to Töksu Palace, which would become the palace of the Taehan Empire (1897–1910). Appenzeller was the chief director of Paichai School as an educator and of the First Methodist Church as a pastor. In the yard of this church was Dr. Scranton's small hospital, and Mrs. Scranton was operating Ewha Girls' School next to these buildings. The Trilingual Press was initially set up in the basement of Paichai School in 1888 in order to provide teaching materials to the schools and to produce evangelistic publications for the churches in Korea.<sup>48</sup> Considering this dense network among the First Methodist church, Trilingual Press and Paichai school, as well as the fact that he was the only person involved in all these three missionary enterprises, it is very likely that Yu translated *Hunajinŏn*.

## A Comparison of the Original Text and its Translations (Chinese and Korean)

As it has been previously noted, a translator bridges cultural gaps between a source text and a target text by utilizing proper strategies to give equivalent effect. When the translator comes across a strange idea or expression that does not exist in the target language, he or she must create a new expression or borrow the most appropriate one from the target language. A translator's addition or omission to the original text serves as another key to understanding the translation process. Omission occurs when the original text seems inappropriate to the target culture; addition happens when the readers are unfamiliar to the original contents and need further explanation. These strategies in the translation process are particularly important to understand the cultural (knowledge) transfer of Christianity to East Asia and its impact upon China and Korea. In this regard, we can assess the translator's influence in adaptation or indigenization. In the case of *Peep of Day*, the translators in China and Korea must have experienced a considerable gap while linking the two different cultures.

### *Adaptation: Choice of Words and Expressions*

As a result of the comparison between the different translations, it was discovered that Chinese translators' attempt to acculturate *Peep of Day* was much stronger than Korean counterpart. The text's Korean translator was

mostly reliant on the Chinese translation and many vocabularies were transliterated. Examples are ch'ōndang 天堂 (Heaven), ch'ōnsa 天使 (angel), magwi 魔鬼 (devil) and Yaso 耶穌 (Jesus). This is a reminder of the fact that important Christian vocabularies in the Korean Bible, such as bogŭm 福音 (the Gospel), serye 洗禮 (baptism) and toksaengja 獨生子 (the only Son) were also adopted from The Chinese Delegates' Version Bible. Nonetheless, when it comes to the title of God, the two translations varied.

#### THE TITLE OF GOD

As the Christian monolithic understanding of “God” was very different from East Asian notions of deity, the locals had difficulty in accepting missionaries assertions that God was superior to their existing spiritual, political and family authorities.<sup>49</sup> “People are incognizant of their Heavenly Father who takes care of themselves while they are grateful to their parents or the king.” Such remarks are easily found not only in *Xunerzhenyan* but also in the preceding Roman Catholic writings such as *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* 天主實義. The problem was that the Christian concept of a supernatural God that precedes one's parents and even the king was a serious threat to the existing Confucian social order. It was due to this hazard in the nature of Christianity that previous Catholic converts in East Asia faced fierce persecutions.

Not only that, but there was a risk of syncretism in deciding the title of God. It is well known that Matteo Ricci interpreted ‘Tian 天’ as ‘Shangdi 上帝’ in Chinese tradition and attempted to link this deity to the Christian God insisting that *Tian 天* referred to “One Greatness [一 + 大].”<sup>50</sup> Protestant missionaries had to make a decision whether to adopt Ricci's syncretic interpretation or to create their own. As a result, missionaries in China and Korea had much discussion on deciding the term to refer to the biblical God.

The debate focused on the title of God in China had been growing since late 1840s, as found in the articles of *Chinese Repository*. The issue finally broke out among protestant missionaries during preparation for the publication of *the Delegates' Version Bible* [New Testament translation completed in 1850] and owing to a division among the members, the committee concerned with it separated into two. While British Bible Society and British missionaries advocated ‘上帝’ as the corresponding word for God, American Bible Society and American missionaries insisted using ‘神.’ As a result of this conflict, the Committee for Bible Translation was divided and the Bible was published with two editions: 神版 (*Shén* edition) by the American Bible Society and 上帝版 (*Shàngdì* edition) by the British Bible Society, respectively.<sup>51</sup> This explains why *Shén 神* appears as the title of God in *Xunerzhenyan*, a tract translated by an

American missionary and published by the American Presbyterian Mission Press.

Similar questions surrounding the title of God were also posed by missionaries in Korea<sup>52</sup> and this issue also went through a long discussion and experiments during 1894–1903; as a result of missionaries' efforts for indigenization as well as Korean church leaders' acceptance of the imagined primitive monotheism in ancient China and Korea the issue was settled with the invention of *Hananim* as the monotheistic God.<sup>53</sup> Therefore evangelistic tracts published before that period varied in their terms for God. As for *Hunajinŏn*, God is mainly described as *Hananim* [하느님] with variants such as *Hanül abanim* [하늘아바님, Heavenly Father], *Hanüle kyesin abanim* [하늘에게신아바님, Father in heaven], *Ilwibuch'in* [일위부친], *Hanüle kyesin Ilwibuch'in* [하늘에게신일위부친]. Among these, *Ilwibuch'in* was the only transliteration from Chinese. *Xunerzhenyan* mainly describes the God as “Shen神” with variants including 天上那位眞神, 天父, 一位父親在天堂, and 一位父親在天上. Although their meaning is all similar, it is important that Korean translators did not just transliterate the term as ‘*Ch'ŏnbu*' but translated it into Korean vernacular language ‘하느님’.

One peculiarity appearing in Korean translation was that translators did not use *taedu* writing.<sup>54</sup> According to Yi, early Korean evangelistic tracts such as *Yesu syŏnggyo yoryŏng* (예수성교요령) and *Yesu syŏnggyo mundap* (예수성교문답) were written with *taedu* style and this fact revealed the influence of Korean translators upon the translation.<sup>55</sup> In this regards, the case of *Hunajinŏn* (1891) and *Xunerzhenyan* (1882) are exceptional.

#### THE USE OF INDIGENOUS EXPRESSIONS

When the English original text was compared with Chinese and Korean translations, the author was able to discover adoptions of local terms. For example, ‘heaven’ was translated as *ch'ŏndang* 天堂 which carries a Taoist meaning; a ‘house’ as *bang*房 [room, Ch.房 *fang*, meaning both a house and a room], a ‘bed’ as *yo* 요 [mattress, Ch.炕 *kàng*] and *ibul* 이불 [blanket, Ch.被 *bèi*, Chinese bed with a heating facility]. Another case is the term ‘bread’ being translated as *mantou* 饅頭 (steamed bun) in the Chinese translation, a term common in northern China and peculiar to Chinese culture.<sup>56</sup> Besides, while the original text urged its readers “to count [the blessings that God has given us] over,” Chinese and Korean translations translated it as “it is proper for you to write [those blessings] down in detail and not forget.” This might be a reflection of the Chinese and Korean emphasis on literature rather than verbal communication. Interestingly, Chinese and Korean translators interpreted “love” as “*eunjeong* 恩情 or *eunhye*

恩惠” to refer to the love offered by both God and parents, instead of its literal equivalence *ai* 愛. Below is the example:

天父待你有這樣大恩情.

하늘아바님이너를위하사이곳치큰은혜를주시니

(translation: Your Heavenly Father has this great love for you)

你應該仔細想一想. 不要忘記了.

너-맛당히즈세히기록하야짓말지니라

(translation: You must write it down in detail, think it over and not forget.)

### *Translators' Addition to the Original Text*

As a result of comparing chapters two and three in both translations, the author discovered several additions to the original text including: a mother's discipline for her children; how fathers make living in China and Korea; and an emphasis on disasters and illnesses. This adjustment point to the cultural and environmental differences between western and eastern parenting, including women's social status and domain. In order to have a more holistic understanding of this, a brief explanation of practices and structures of Chinese and Korean family life and particularly the condition of women at this time might be.

Women in an East Asia dominated by Confucian value systems were placed in a subordinate position under men whichever socio-economic class they belonged to. They were mistreated, unwelcome from birth and in many cases no more than slaves. Missionaries in China and Korea from the period provide ample observations of these tendencies. The condition of woman in China had always been inferior to that of man, even before considering customs such as foot binding. In addition, infanticide was observed in most parts of China not because of disregard or neglect but because of poverty, and the victims were almost invariably girls.<sup>57</sup> Early Protestant missionaries' observations in Korea also support this view. A Korean woman was not allowed to see the face of any man other than their husband.<sup>58</sup> She was a prisoner within the four walls of the court of the women's quarters.<sup>59</sup> Aside from this Chinese and Korean women traditionally married at an early age, between 12 to 16 and had to move to the house of her family-in-law under the control of her mother-in-law.

To understand parenting in China and Korea, the social stratum should not be forgotten because parents' treatment of their children varied depending on their class. While most parents were very indulgent to their children, those who were essentially slaves had took little care of them because they knew they would be removed from the family.<sup>60</sup> Ladies from higher social class would hire a female servant to take care of her baby who would carry the baby on her

back.<sup>61</sup> Considering all these facts, it is understandable that translators adjusted the original contents to the target readers by adding or omitting, to suit their cultural background and social customs.

#### OF MOTHERS' DISCIPLINE

Chapter two of the original *Peep of Day* described a mother as loving and caring for her children and there was no sign of discipline. Contrary to this, both Chinese and Korean translations surprisingly added mothers' discipline as her loving action, therefore her children must be thankful for her getting angry or physically punishing them. Besides this, God in heaven is presented as the subject of filial piety superior to one's mother. The following is an example:

你曉得你母親待你好, 有時他生氣, 或者要打你,  
 너-복히너의모친이너를잘디접흐는줄아느니때로혹너를노히시며너를씨리시니  
 (Translation: You know that your mother treats you well. Sometimes she gets angry and beats you.)<sup>62</sup>

是不是待你好, 也是待你好, 是恐怕你不能學個好人啊,  
 이너를잘디접흐이아니냐이네가능히도흔사람을비호지못홀가념려히심이니  
 (Translation: Isn't this for your benefit? She does so, worrying that you might be unable to learn good examples.)

你應該想念你母親, 這許多恩情, 常常孝敬他  
 너-맛당히너의모친의이허다흔은정을심각하히여홍상효도하고공경홀거시오  
 (Translation: You must bear in mind her immeasurable loving grace for you, and always be filial to her and respect her.)

但是天上那位真神, 不論你在甚麼地方. 甚麼時候. 他都保護你。  
 또하늘에계신하느님은너잇는어느디방과어느때던지모도너를보호하시느니  
 (Your God in heaven always protects you wherever you are and whenever the time is.)

他待你的恩情. 實在比你母親更大.  
 이너를디접흐시는은혜가너의모친보다더욱크시니  
 (This is His loving grace for you. This love is greater than that of your mother.)

所以你應該跪下, 謝謝天父的恩情. 求天父可憐你。  
 이러므로너-맛당히하늘아바님의은혜를감사하며또너를불쌍히녁이심을구하라  
 (Therefore, you must be thankful for the loving grace of your Heavenly Father. Ask your Heavenly Father to take pity on you.)

This change seems to imply two possibilities: either that Chinese and Korean mothers were too indulgent to their children and the missionary wanted to emphasize a need for discipline, or that discipline and physical punishment was an ordinary custom in China and Korea. Among these two probabilities, the former seems more reasonable because Mrs. Noble, a missionary to Korea,



described in her journal that she felt the need for a Korean mother she had met to train her tyrant boy, thus she talked to them on the government of children, and she was pleased to see the result, a mother punishing her child.<sup>63</sup> Besides this, another missionary also mentioned that Korean children were not trained to obey very well although they show a great outward respect to their parents.<sup>64</sup> Thus it is conjectured that missionaries inserted such a sentence to instruct Chinese and Korean readers on the need for discipline.

#### OF FATHERS' WAY OF MAKING LIVING

In chapter three of both translations, a father's way of making living is illustrated differently from the original text. The father in the original text is basically a farmer earning money by sowing, threshing corn and shepherding in the field. Unlike the original, the father depicted in Chinese and Korean translations is not only a farmer but also a craftsman and merchant earning money by the dexterity of his hands, going through hardships here and there, doing business across the sea and the river. The following is such description of a father from both Chinese and Korean translations:

你父親那裏來的這些錢呢,  
 너의부친은어디서돈을가져왔노  
 (Translation: Where did your father get his money from?)<sup>65</sup>

是他種庄稼，風裏雨裏，熱汗直流掙的，  
 甸장에곡식을심어바람이불때나비올때나더운땀을흘니고엿은바-오  
 (Translation: He got money from sowing seed into the field, whether it is rainy or windy, sweating heavily.)

是他要手藝，這裏那裏，千辛萬苦掙的，  
 손직조를써여기더기천신만고하야엇은바-오  
 (He got money by his deftness of hands, visiting here and there, with indescribable hardships.)

是他做買賣，南邊北邊，漂江過海掙的，  
 장스틀하여남편북편에강에쓰고바다를지나엇은바-니라  
 (He got money by buying and selling, wandering south and north directions and crossing the sea and the river.)

他掙的錢，拿來交給你母親說，要給小孩兒置衣服穿，買東西喫  
 그엇은바돈을가지고와너의모친을주며끓으디으히를위하야옷술지어넉히고음식을  
 사먹이라하느니라  
 (With these hardships, he got his money to give your mother, to give you clothes and food.)

## EMPHASIS ON DISASTER AND ILLNESS

It was observed that Chinese and Korean translators often put an emphasis on disasters and illnesses in their prayers, which does not exist in the original text. For example:

(original) You can pray to God to keep him alive.

所以你應該籲下求神, 保佑你父親無災無病

하느님의 너의 부친을 위하야 직앙과 병이 업슴을 구하라

Reasons for losing one's life are of course varied throughout history but in China and Korea at that time the main cause of death appeared to have been disaster and illness. Considering the volatile political situation and social instability in both China and Korea in latter half of the 19th century, such as the disastrous famine in 1850 Shanghai and 1870s northern China which greatly distressed the land and people, the historical context seems to have influenced the Chinese translation. In addition, the treatment of illness at that time was impractical. According to missionaries' observation in the early 20th century, Korean mothers would blame 'evil spirit' as a cause for illness and sought after the practices of a shaman or cure-all-folk remedies.<sup>66</sup> One observer records, "it is rather surprising that many people maintain their lives until they reach adulthood; I'm not surprised to see too many people dying here." Such a desperate need to overcome illness or disaster must have influenced both translators to put an emphasis on this type of hardship.

*Translators' Omission of the Original Text*

## LOVING AND CARING BEHAVIOR BETWEEN PARENTS AND CHILDREN

In the original text of *Peep of Day*, a mother's tender and loving behavior was depicted as follows:

Your kind mother dressed your poor little body in neat clothes, and laid you in a cradle. When you cried, she gave you food, and hushed you to sleep in her arms. She showed you pretty things to make you smile. She held you up, and showed you how to move your feet. She taught you to speak, and she often kissed you, and called you sweet names.<sup>67</sup>

Compared to the original text, such descriptions were omitted in Chinese and Korean translations which do not describe a mother in such tender manner. As I have mentioned before, the social context, the position of women in the social stratum and diverse manners of childrearing seem to have influenced this translation. Such contraindicative parent-child relationship was also

highlighted in fathers' behaviors. The father in the original text is depicted as loving and caring toward his child as follows:

While he is ploughing, he often thinks of you, and hopes that he shall find you a good child when he comes home. You are glad to see him, I know. Sometimes you run to meet him, you set a chair by the fire, and then you climb upon his knee. Sometimes he is too tired to speak to you. Then you wait till he has had his supper ..... He lets you sit upon one of his chairs, or upon a little stool by his nice warm fire; and he gives you some of his breakfast, dinner, and supper.<sup>68</sup>

Contrary to the British and American family, Chinese and Korean family structures and practices the hierarchical order based on the Confucian Three Bonds and Five Relationships 三綱五倫 and children were required to show submissive attitude to their parents. Thus the relationship between father and children in China and Korea was (and still is to some degree) defined by filial piety in which a child (mostly a son) manifests the utmost reverence to the parents, endeavors to give them the utmost pleasure, and feels the greatest anxiety when they become ill.<sup>69</sup> This would have hindered the amiable relationship between parents and children depicted in the original text. Furthermore in Korea, especially among the higher social class, family members would sit at different tables according to age or gender. A missionary who worked in Korea in the 1890s left the following observation:

Unlike a family circle in the West, Korean families ... do not gather around one table to have meals. The head of a family quietly eats his own dishes in his room and all male members above seven-year-old eat separately in each of their room. Daughters have their meals in the inner house along with women ... what they eat is men's leftover.<sup>70</sup>

In this sense, a father sharing his meal with his children depicted in the original text would have been unacceptable in Korea: this might have been the reason that such descriptions were omitted in Chinese and Korean translations.

#### SENTENCES WRITTEN WITH 'GOD' AS THE SUBJECT

The original *Peep of Day* illustrates God as if he were a human being with an emphasis on his sovereignty over mankind as the Creator of the world. However, Chinese and Korean translators omitted such sentences. The reason might have been that such description of an omnipotent deity was unfamiliar to Chinese and Korean readers. In chapters two and three of the *Peep of Day*, there were in total seven sentences written with 'God' as the subject; nonetheless, they were all omitted in Chinese and Korean translations. Table 2 shows those omissions.

Table 2 Omitted sentences written with 'God' as the subject

Ch.2	God sent you to a person who took great care of you when you were a baby.
	Then God made your little body, and he sent you to your mother, who loved you as soon as she saw you.
	It was God who made your mother love you so much, and made her so kind to you.
	God sent you to a dear mother, instead of putting you in the fields, where no one would have seen you, or taken care of you.
	God thinks of you every moment. If he were to forget you, your breath would stop.
	Would God hear your little thanks?—Yes, God would hear and be pleased.
Ch.3	Perhaps your father may die, but God can keep him alive.

## SENTENCES WRITTEN IN QUESTION AND ANSWER STYLE

Evangelical tracts published in the 1880s were commonly written in Q&A style. The best example of this might be *Zhang Yuan liangyou xianglun* 張袁兩友相論 [Two Friends]. This style of writing had a significant impact on Korean newspapers and novels in the early modern period.<sup>71</sup> *Hunajinŏn* was not an

Table 3 Omitted sentences written with question and answer

Ch.2	Was your body always as big as it is now?—No.
	What were you called when your body was very small?—A baby.
	Can babies talk, or talk, or feed themselves, or dress themselves?—No.
	But God sent you to a person who took great care of you when you were a baby. Who was it? Your dear mother ...
	Is your mother kind to you still?—Yes, she is.
	Can your mother keep you alive?—No.
	Do you ever thank your mother for her kindness?—Yes.
	Will you not thank God who gave you a mother, and keeps you alive?
Ch.3	Why does he bear all this (ploughing in the cold rain and heat)?—That you may have plenty of food, and be fat and rosy.
	Who made your father love you at first?—It was God.
	If your father were to die, what should you do? You would then be a fatherless child.
	Could your father die?—O yes; many little children have no father.
	But if God were to let your father die, you would still have one father left. Whom do I mean? what do you say in your prayer?—"Our Father who art in heaven."

exception, since every chapter begins with a question. However, the text did not include all the question and answer the style material from the original text: some elements were translated but some were not (cf. Tables 3 and 4).

Then why did the translators selectively choose among the sentences from the question and answer section? The reason might have been the purpose of the book and the way it was to be read. As the *Peep of Day* was written for Sunday schools, it had a pedagogical purpose. This was the same in China and Korea because the two missionaries, Mrs. Holmes and Mrs. Scranton, both engaged in education for children and they also used their translation as a textbook at school. For this purpose, Mrs. Holmes and Zhou retained all the direct addresses to a group of little children [小孩兒啊], and it was the same in the Korean version [오 히들아].<sup>72</sup> The book was also intended to be read aloud by a teacher in a classroom. It is therefore understandable that some sentences were preferred or omitted, to better suit the listener. However, what is important is that such selection and omission of Chinese and Korean versions were exactly the same, as this proves that Korean version was translated from the Chinese one.

Table 4 Remaining sentences written with question and answer

Ch.2	Do you love your mother?—Yes. 我曉得你親他, 也應該親他 지금너-너의모친을스랑흐는뇨스랑흐는니
	But who gave you a mother?—It was God who sent you to a kind mother. 是誰給你這位母親, 教他這樣掛念你的冷熱, 掛念你的飢飽呢, 是神啊 누-네게너의모친을주어하여꿈이긋지너의차고더움을싱각하며너의주리고비부름을싱각하게하엿 는뇨하는님이시니
Ch.3	Who is it that dresses you and feeds you?—Your dear mother. 小孩兒啊, 誰做衣服給你穿, 做飯給你喫呢, 是你母親, 오 히들아누- 가의복을지어너를넙히며밥을지어너를먹이는뇨이너의모친이니
	But how does your mother get money to buy the clothes, and the food?—Father brings it home. 你母親那裏來的這布疋, 這種食呢, 是你父親給他的. 너의모친은어디서돈과량식을가져왔는뇨너의부친이주신바-니라
	How does your father get money?—He works in the field. 你父親那裏來的這些錢呢, 是他種庄稼, 風裏雨裏, 熱汗直流掙的.... 너의부친은어디서돈을가져왔는뇨년장에곡식을심어바람불때나비올때나더운몸을흘니고엇은바- 오....
	Can your heavenly Father die?—No, never. 你的天父能死不能, 不能死.[也不會死] 너의하늘아바님은능히죽으시는뇨죽지아니하시느니라
	Does he love you?—Yes. 他愛不愛你, 愛你. 너를스랑흐시는뇨스랑흐시는니라

## Conclusion

In this paper, I proposed an alternative view on missionary translations that are often misunderstood as products of missionary authorship. Translation is notorious as a relatively neglected practice and translators are in a marginal position in the publishing industry, but why did only the locals become invisible in missionary translation? Without their understanding of local tradition and customs, not to mention the literary skills, how would it have been possible to transmit the new systems of belief into readable texts? With this question in mind, I decided to counter existing consensus by unveiling the hidden role played by local translators who still remain anonymous. For this purpose, the *Peep of Day*, an English evangelistic tract that was translated and published in both China and Korea, was chosen to be comparatively analyzed focusing on word choice for adaptation, addition and omission of the original text. The scope of this comparison was limited to the two chapters on parenting as it was expected they would reveal cultural differences and such untranslatable aspects would magnify the translators' engagement to the original text. The paper has other limitations. First, its research scope did not incorporate the whole range of the tract. Second, I was unable to clarify the Korean translator. Third, further research should be conducted to analyze the usage and influence of this tract among the local Christians in China and Korea. Last but not least, the connection of this tract with the Chinese Delegates' Bible (Wenli) and the Korean Bible translated by John Ross group in their vocabulary choice might be studied in the future.

As a result of this research and comparison, the previous assumption that Mrs. Mary F. Scranton translated this evangelistic tract into Korean is disputed by the paper as it was revealed that Chinese version was the source text for the Korean one. The author's research on Mrs. M. F. Scranton also supports this demonstrating that she struggled a lot to acquire Korean language with scarce materials. Another discovery was that Chinese and Korean translators adopted slightly different translation strategies. The Chinese translators, Mrs. Holmes and Zhōu Wényuán, were more open and active in acculturating the original text for the benefit of Chinese readers. They actively sought after dynamic equivalences for new vocabularies that did not exist in Chinese language, omitted some sentences that were inappropriate to Chinese culture, and added some explanations or emphasis when necessary. Unlike this, Korean translators' translation strategy was literal, not making significant changes from the Chinese version and transliterating many vocabularies, except the title of God. The reason for this passive attitude might have been Koreans' conservative stance towards Chinese literature, which is described as *suribujak* 述而不作 (Copy without

creating); or, it can be said that Korean(s) were more conservative because they had not yet developed a mature understanding on Christianity.

This paper is significant because it has contributed to a more just understanding of the dynamics of early missionary work and the transmission of Protestant Christianity to Korea. It has highlighted not only the existence of local translators but also the process of acculturation of Protestant Christianity which involved selecting new vocabularies, adding or omitting the original text.

## Notes

1. Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), 56.
2. In Manchuria, John Ross and a group of Koreans (Yi ūngchan, Paek Hongjun and Sō Sangryun) translated the Gospel of Luke and John into Korean and published in Shenyang in 1882. Their translation was based on *The Delegates' Version* (1854), also called as Wenli Bible (文理譯聖書). These were *Yesusyōnggyo nugabogūm chyōnsō* (예수성교누가복음전서) and *Yesusyōnggyo yoannabogūm chyōnsō* (예수성교요안나복음전서). In Japan, a Korean literati Yi Sujōng translated the gospel of Mark, *Sinyak magajyōn bogūmsō ōnhae* (1885) and annotated the Chinese Bible with Korean transliteration, *Hyōntohanhan sinyakjōnsō* 懸吐漢韓新約聖書 (1884).
3. Sungdeuk Oak, "The Indigenization of Christianity in Korea: North American Missionaries' Attitudes Towards Korean Religions, 1884-1910." Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 2002.
4. A list of Chinese tracts translated into Korean as well as those used in Korea without translation can be found In Oak (2013), 322-325.
5. Sungdeuk Oak, "Ch'ogi hanguk bukkamrigyo ui sōn'gyo sinhakgwa chōngch'aek (초기 국복감리교의 신학과 정책)." *Hangukgidokkyowa yōksa* (한국기독교와 역사), 11 (1999): 7-40, 25.
6. John Lai, *Negotiating Religious Gaps: The Enterprise of Translating Christian Tracts by Protestant Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century China* (Sankt Augustin: Institute Monumenta Serica, 2012), 82,100.
7. John Lai, *Negotiating Religious Gaps: The Enterprise of Translating Christian Tracts by Protestant Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century China* (Sankt Augustin: Institute Monumenta Serica, 2012): Sunbang Oh, *Sipgusegi dongasia ui bōnyōkkwa gidokkyo munsō sōngyo* (19세기동아시아번역과 기독교 문서선교) (Seoul: Sungsil University Press 2015): Sungdeuk Oak, "Ch'ogi hanguk bukkamrigyo ui sōn'gyo sinhakgwa chōngch'aek (국복감리교의 정책)." *Hangukgidokkyowa yōksa* (한국기독교와 역사), 11 (1999): 7-40.
8. Here is the list of Korean-English (or vice versa) dictionaries published by missionaries: H. G. Underwood, "韓英字典한영자전 (Korean-English Dictionary)"1890, J. Scott, *English-Corean Dictionary* (1891), J. S. Gale, *한영이중어사전 (Korean-English Bilingual Dictionary)*, 1897, 1911, 1931, G. H. Jonson, "英韓字典영한자전 (English-Korean Dictionary)," 1914, H. H. Underwood, "英鮮字典영선자전 (English-Korean Dictionary),"1925.
9. Hyoūn Ch'oe, 'Kūndae kidokkyoch'ulpanbōnyōksa yōngu (근대 기독교출판번역사 구): *Bōnyōkhak yōngu* (번역학 연구), 17, 2 (2016): 191-212.
10. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 2008), 1, 31.
11. Yangson Kim quoted in Enok Cho, 'Ch'ogi hangūl jōndomunsō e natanan gidokkyo ihae (초기 한글 전도 서에 나타난 기독교 이해).' MA diss., Methodist Theological University, 2016.

12. The following was written on its copyright page: This book was co-translated by S. A. Moffet and Ch'oe Myŏng-o.
13. Taehan sŏngsŏgonghoi (대한성서공회), ed. *Taehan sŏngsŏ gonghoesa (I)* (대한성서 사) (Seoul: Taehansŏngsŏ gonghoe, 1994).
14. Ibid.
15. Korean members of the so-called John Ross team include the following: Yi Ūngchan, Ch'oe Sŏnggyun, Paek Hongjun, Sŏ Sangryun, Kim Jin'gi and Yi Sŏngha.
16. Koreans assistants for the committee included: Hong Jun, Chŏng Tongmyŏng, Cho Sŏnggyu, Kim Chŏngsam, Kim Myŏngjun, Mun Gŏngho, Song Tŏkjo, Song Sunyong, Yi Ch'angjik and Yi Sŭngdu.
17. Tŏkju Yi, *Ch'ogi han'guk kidokkyosa yŏngu* (초기 한국기독교사 연구) (Seoul: Hanguk kidokkyosa yŏnguso, 1995).
18. Eugene Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964).
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20. Ibid.
21. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1993).
22. John Lai, *Negotiating Religious Gaps: The Enterprise of Translating Christian Tracts by Protestant Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century China* (Sankt Augustin: Institute Monumenta Serica, 2012).
23. A list of Mrs. Mortimer's books published in China can be found in John P. Lai's book (2012), 291–293.
24. William Cathcart, ed. *The Baptist Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia: Everts, 1881).
25. Ibid.
26. John Lai, *Negotiating Religious Gaps: The Enterprise of Translating Christian Tracts by Protestant Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century China* (Sankt Augustin: Institute Monumenta Serica, 2012).
27. Ibid.
28. Kidokkyodaehangamrihoe yŏksawiwŏnhoe (기독교대한감리회 역사위원회) ed. *Hanguk kamrigyo immulsajŏn* (한국 감리교 인물사전). Seoul: Kidokkyodaehangamrihoe, 2002.
29. Hillman, Mary, "Mrs. M. F. Scranton," *Korea Mission Field*, 6, 1, 1910, 12.
30. Ibid.
31. *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, NY: Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church), 235–236.
32. Yi, Kyŏngsuk, Tŏkju Yi, Ellen Swanson. *Hanguk ūl saranghan Mary Scranton* (한국을 사랑한 메리 스 랜턴) (Seoul: Ewha yeojadaehakgyo chulpanbu, 2010).
33. Ibid, 94.
34. *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Seoul: Hangukidokkyo yŏksayŏnguso, 1889), 66.
35. *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Seoul: Hangukidokkyo yŏksayŏnguso, 1891), 66.
36. Tŏkju Yi, *Skŭraentŏn: Ōmŏniwa adŭl ui sŏn'gyo iyagi* (스크랜턴: 어머니와 아들의 선교 이야기) (Seoul: Gongok, 2014).
37. Ibid, 21, 22.
38. Taehan sŏngsŏgonghoi (대한성서공회), ed. *Taehan sŏngsŏ gonghoesa (I)* (대한성서공 사) (Seoul: Taehan sŏngsŏ gonghoe, 1994), 192.
39. William B. Scranton's report: "We arrived in Seoul on our return from the United States, Saturday, May 21, of this year (1892)... When I left Korea a year and a half ago, I assure you truly, with a sad and not a glad heart ...." *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Korea Mission*, 1892, p. 560.



40. *Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Correspondence 1846–1949* (Korea). vol. 3 (Seoul: Hangukgidokkyo yöksayönguso, 2010), 937.
41. John Lai, *Negotiating Religious Gaps: The Enterprise of Translating Christian Tracts by Protestant Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century China* (Sankt Augustin: Institute Monumenta Serica, 2012), 100.
42. *Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Correspondence 1846–1949* (Korea). vol. 3 (Seoul: Hangukgidokkyo yöksayönguso, 2010).
43. Manyöl Yi ed, *Apenjellö: Han'guge on ch'öt sön'gyosa* (아펜젤러: 한국에 온 첫 선 사) (Seoul: Yeonse daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1985), 317.
44. Kidokkyodaehangamrihoe yöksawiwönhoe (기독교대한감리회 역사위원회) ed. *Hanguk kamrigyo inmulsajön* (한국 감리교 인물사전) (Seoul: Kidokkyodaehangamrihoe, 2002), 330.
45. *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Korea Mission, 1884–1943* (Seoul: Hangukgidokkyo yöksayönguso, 1993), 291.
46. Kidokkyodaehangamrihoe yöksawiwönhoe (기독교대한감리회 역사위원회) ed. *Hanguk kamrigyo inmulsajön* (한국 감리교 인물사전) (Seoul: Kidokkyodaehangamrihoe, 2002), 330–331.
47. Mattie Noble, *Victorious lives of Early Christians in Korea* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1927), 16.
48. Hangukgidokkyo yöksahakhoe (한국기독교 역사학회) ed. *Hangukgidokkyo ui yöksa (I)* (한국기독교의 사) (Seoul: Kidokkyomunsa, 2009), 160–161.
49. Sungdeuk Oak, “The Indigenization of Christianity in Korea: North American Missionaries’ Attitudes Towards Korean Religions, 1884–1910.” Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 2002.
50. “更思之，如以天解上帝，得之矣。天者一大耳。”《天主實義》上卷 第2篇：解釋世人錯認天主。 “If one thinks more deeply on the matter and explains the Sovereign on High in terms of Heaven, then you may do as you suggest, because Heaven basically means “one great.” From Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven [T'ienchu Shih]*, translated by Douglas Lancashire and Peter Ku Kuo-chen, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985, 127.
51. Kangho Song, *Chunggugö sönggyöng gwa bönyögui yöksa* (중국어 성경과 번역의 사) (Seoul: Morison, 2007), 153.
52. Pioneer Protestant missionaries in Korea would use Hananim, Sangje上帝 and Tianju天主 interchangeably from 1877 to 1893, influenced by John Ross's translation of the Bible. Being aware of the Chinese term question, Ross intentionally avoided using Shen神 and preferred Sangje but he emphasized the importance of local dialect. Therefore he wanted to translate Sangje into Hananim, a superior shamanistic deity commonly understood by the locals. However, his position also possessed the risk of syncretism so there was much debate on using this term among the missionaries in Korea. For a detailed information, see Oak (2013), pp. 50–62.
53. Sungdeuk Oak, “The Indigenization of Christianity in Korea: North American Missionaries’ Attitudes Towards Korean Religions, 1884–1910.” Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 2002.
54. *Taedu* 擡頭 literally means ‘raising one’s head’. This is an honorific way of writing in Chinese and Korean traditional literature to enlarge some words (similar to drop capping) or to leave a blank space before the title of a king or a deity.
55. Tökju Yi, *Ch’ogi han’guk kidokkyosa yöngu* (초기 한국기독교사 연구), Seoul: Hanguk kidokkyosa yönguso, 1995).
56. John Lai, *Negotiating Religious Gaps: The Enterprise of Translating Christian Tracts by Protestant Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century China* (Sankt Augustin: Institute Monumenta Serica, 2012), 169.
57. James Legge, *The Religions of China: Confucianism and Taoism Described and Compared with Christianity* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880), 111.

58. *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1885* (New York, NY: Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1885), 236.
59. Gifford 2017, 61.
60. *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1886* (New York, NY: Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1886), 6.
61. The Institute of the History of Christianity in Korea ed, *The Journals of Mattie Wilcox Noble, 1892–1934* (Seoul: Hangukgidokkyo yöksayönguso, 2003), 63.
62. English translation by the author.
63. The Institute of the History of Christianity in Korea ed, *The Journals of Mattie Wilcox Noble, 1892–1934* (Seoul: Hangukgidokkyo yöksayönguso, 2003), 63.
64. Daniel Gifford, *Everyday Life in Korea; A Collection of Studies and Stories* (Victoria: Trieste, 2017), 65.
65. English translation by the author.
66. Ellose Wagner, *Hanguk ui adongsaenghwal* (한국의 아동생활), trans. Shin Pokryong (Seoul: Chipmundang, 1999), 45.
67. Favell Mortimer, *The Peep of Day* (New York: John S. Taylor & Co., 1845), 20–21.
68. Ibid, 25.
69. James Legge, *The Religions of China: Confucianism and Taoism Described and Compared with Christianity* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1880), 72.
70. Ellose Wagner, *Hanguk ui adongsaenghwal* (한국의 아동생활), trans. Shin Pokryong (Seoul: Chipmundang, 1999), 35.
71. Enok Cho, ‘Ch’ögi hangül jöndomunsö e natanan gidokkyo ihae (초기 한글 전도문서에 나타난 기독교 이해).’ MA diss., Methodist Theological University, 2016, 515.
72. John Lai, *Negotiating Religious Gaps: The Enterprise of Translating Christian Tracts by Protestant Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century China* (Sankt Augustin: Institute Monumenta Serica, 2012), 163.

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