

# *A BIOGRAPHY OF JAMES SCARTH GALE*

By Richard Rutt

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i Scottish Canadian boy 1863 - 1884

Korean writers count James Scarth Gale as an Englishman, though his father was a Scot and his mother came of an American Dutch family. He regarded himself as a Canadian. The colophons of the books published under his name in Korea always describe him as English because Canadians were British subjects and the Korean and Japanese languages do not distinguish the English from the British. He died in England and his second wife was English; but his first wife was American and he worked most of his life for an American mission. The final touch to his cosmopolitanism was given by his student days in Paris, so that his fellow-missionary, William M. Baird, was to describe him in an early letter as 'half Scotch, half Dutch, half French, yet completely English, and somewhat "bohemian"'.

His ancestry was solidly Scots and Presbyterian. His father, John George Gale, was born in 1819 at the Mill of Logie, by the foot of Mount Morven on Deeside. James's grandfather, oppressed by money worries, died soon after John's birth, leaving his wife, Jane Esson, in severe poverty. So in 1823 John's elder brother Alexander, having graduated from Marischal College, Aberdeen, went to Canada to join his uncle, Henry Esson, who was then a presbyterian minister in Montreal. Alexander also became a minister and was living near Montreal at Lachine when thirteen-year-old John and his mother and sisters joined him in 1832. James Gale was later to recall with pleasure that his father had crossed the ocean to live at a place called 'China', for Lachine was the name wistfully given to the place by the sixteenth-century Breton voyager Jacques Cartier when he was looking for a water route to the Orient and had his hopes finally dashed by the turbulent rapids of Hochelaga.

The Gales and the Essons were part of the mass migration from the British Isles to North America during the post-Napoleonic depression and unrest of 1815-1850. They were also among the founding families of Canadian presbyterianism. They were conservative, they favoured established religion, and were passionately devoted to education. Both Alexander Gale and Henry Esson were among those who struggled to achieve the foundation of Knox College, after the families had moved from Montreal to Ontario in 1833, a year after John's arrival. John started work in an office of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Canada was a land of promise for the Scots immigrants, who were prepared to work hard. They had little sense of political grievance. In the summer of 1837 there was a crop failure in Ontario, and William Lyon Mackenzie, the radical mayor of Toronto, seized the opportunity to lead a rebellion, but it failed because

the majority of the settlers feared Mackenzie's extremism. Many of them were discontented with the way in which the government and wealth of Canada were concentrated in too few hands, but he favoured independence of Britain and the joining of Canada to the United States. Even the more liberal settlers had an essential conservatism which made them volunteer against the rebels. Although John Gale was only eighteen, he found himself for a short while wearing a volunteer's uniform. Loyatism was part of the Gales' way of life, and John and his kind had no interest in struggling for radical solutions to Canada's development problems.

In 1848 John became a farmer, and took a hundred acres of land in Wellington County. A year or two later he married Miami Bradt, who was ten years younger than he was. She came of a Dutch family who had arrived in Ontario from New York State as United Empire Loyalists. In the autumn of 1829, when she was only six months old, the whole family had set out to visit relatives still living on the American side of the Niagara river, and found the ferry at the Burlington Canal was unmanned. Miami's father tried to get the horse and buggy over by himself, and they were nearing the further side when the horse shied, and all aboard the ferry were flung into the water. Death by drowning in river water took enormous toll of Canadian life at that time. On this occasion only the baby was rescued. She was sent to live with her uncle by marriage, Alexander Maclaren, and so in the course of church and family life came to meet John Gale and joined him on his new farm.

The Gale farm was registered as 'Pilkington Township, Second Concession, Lot 4'. The 'Pilkington Tract', about eighty miles north-west of Toronto, had been acquired in 1799 by Major-General Robert Pilkington of the British Royal Engineers, who was then serving in Ontario. It was a wooded area with nothing but an Iroquois trail running through it from the Grand River valley (where some Iroquois had settled after the American revolution) to the shores of Lake Huron. Pilkington took no measures for settling it till about 1820. The first settlers were loyalists from the United States; Scots began arriving before 1830. John Gale was a latecomer to Pilkington, but he still had virgin forest growing on his hundred-acre strip rolling over the hills. Most of the land he cleared to make pasture, leaving a screen of woods in the marshy hollow at the far end. At the end nearest the road he built his house of red brick with neatly-painted white woodwork, adding to it as the years went by and the family increased. He put up rail fences of split logs round the pastures. There was a building bee in which local men came to help him raise the great barn which is the sole outbuilding and indispensable heart of an Ontario farm, where the animals live on the ground floor and fodder is stored in the enormous loft.

There were many Scots in the area. Place-names like Bon Accord (the motto of Aberdeen) and Aboyne Oatmeal Mill were typical. About a mile from the Gale farm, at the edge of the township, a Scot named Alexander McCrea settled in the same year that John Gale started clearing his land. McCrea built a farm, a store and a post-office, around which grew the village of McCrea's Corner. Five years later McCrea's holding was taken over by another Scot, John Isaacs of Aberdeen, and soon afterwards the victory of Alma in the Crimean War pro-

vided an excuse for changing the name of the village to Alma, in November 1854. Alma was the social focus of the Gales' life. Three inns there catered for teamsters from Lake Huron on their way to and from Guelph and Elora. A schoolhouse was built and a Scottish schoolmaster installed. Eventually three churches, presbyterian, Wesleyan methodist and anglican, were organized. Life was rugged but friendly. Neighbours gathered in working parties, called bees, for building, quilting, rug-hooking, or peeling apples to make apple butter. Household necessities such as cider vinegar, tallow candles and hop yeast were all homemade. There was plenty of trout in the local streams, there was still game in the woods. Alma had a tailor, a shoemaker, a carpenter, a grist-mill and a sawmill. The pedlar's wagon came to trade tinware for hardwood ashes to be used in making soap.

John Gale became a prominent citizen. He was an elder of Knox Church in the town of Elora, five miles to the south, and became one of the first trustees of Alma Presbyterian Church. His farming was mixed. He kept pigs, but his chief business was grazing cattle and raising them for export. In Canadian political terms he was a liberal, which meant no more than that he was a Scottish individualist, chary of the anglican establishment, and suspicious of the French in Lower Canada. His household seems to have been less solemn than that of his brother Alexander. This may have been because Miami brought gaiety with her, but John Gale himself loved books and read to his family by the fireside on winter evenings; and in summer they played croquet on the front lawn. By the time the children were growing up they hardly thought of themselves as pioneers. James Scarth Gale was born on 19 February 1863, the fifth of six children: Alexander, who in later life continued the family farm; Sophia Jane, called Jenny, who became Mrs Cleghorn, of Kitchener, Ontario, and had one daughter who was named Coreia; Hugh, who studied medicine at McGill University, Montreal, and became a general practitioner in Bay City, Michigan; John, who went to work on railways in the western USA; James Scarth; and Robert, who became a presbyterian minister and finished his days as pastor of the United Church at Bayfield, Ontario.

When James was living in retirement, about 1933, he wrote an explanation of his christian names:

My name of Scarth links up with my uncle Alex in a very interesting way. It happened that while he was a student at college he became acquainted with a young lady from the Orkneys, Margaret Scarth, also studying in Aberdeen. Their mutual esteem increased as their acquaintance grew, till suddenly, just after he had taken ship for Canada, all communication was cut off. A letter of inquiry found no answer, and a silent ten years went on.

One day, quite unexpectedly, a letter arrived in Canada from Margaret Scarth with this explanation: 'My aunt has passed away. In looking over her effects, I find she intercepted letters you sent me, and so you never received an answer. This is simply to make explanation. Please accept my sincere regrets.'

This put a new light on this dull world, and my uncle wrote asking if her heart was free and she would come to him in Canada. Her answer was: 'Delighted!' She came, and they were married in Boston. A year later a son was born to them, named James Scarth Gale. He grew up to be a fine young man, but fell under the fatal blight of tuberculosis just when all high hopes were centred on him. I was born shortly after, and was called in memory of this beloved son and nephew, James Scarth Gale.

By the time James was old enough to take notice, life in Alma was changing. He was only seven years old when the Wellington, Grey and Bruce Railway was opened and put an end to the passage of the teamsters up and down the gravel road through the village. A year later Alma had its own railway station and the city of Toronto was within easy reach. Upper Canada was developing fast. The whole country had recently been disturbed by the Red River Rebellion in Manitoba, when the catholic Metis, Louis Riel, struck at the Ottawa government. The rebellion was put down, and the strongly protestant ambience of western Ontario was reinforced, but the building of the railways was opening the west in the last great pioneer efforts. The excitement of national expansion was felt even in the established farmlands of Alma.

Young James grew up in a peaceful but demanding atmosphere. As soon as he could, he helped his father and brothers with the pigs and horses. He attended the public school of No. 1 Section, Pilkington, a log-house in Alma where boys and girls were taught together. In winter they burned cordwood sticks in the stove. In the corner was a tin pail full of water, with a dipper for drinking. The schoolmaster was a Scot with a baroque nose and three quaint tufts of hair on his otherwise bald head. His name was Sanderson, and he ruled his charges with a wooden paddle called Solomon, because it was used 'for imparting wisdom'. Solomon came into action when Jim was caught drawing on his slate a well-practised caricature of Mr. Sanderson's nose and three tufts; but Sanderson's corrective punishments were varied. He had a religious reverence for bread, and when he caught another boy flicking bread pellets, he made him gather up and eat the grimy little balls. When Jim was drowsy in school one day, Sanderson's cure for sleepiness was to make him lie down to sleep on a bench in front of the class. The children remembered these sardonic tricks, but they represented only one side of Sanderson's character. He taught them the elements of responsible farming by such means as giving a penny to any child who brought him a hundred thistles complete with roots; and he nourished their minds with readings from *Gulliver's Travels* and *Sindbad*, from Burns, Campbell, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Longfellow and others. They studied the Ontario Public School Books produced by the energetic Methodist educator Egerton Ryerson on lines similar to the more famous *Eclectic Readers* edited in the USA at about the same time by William Holmes McGuffey. McGuffey's blend of Hamiltonian democracy and calvinistic ethic, which did so much to form the mentality of the Middle West, differed from the pabulum of the Scots children in Ontario only in so far as the later had a distinctly British tinge. James Gale kept some of his school-

books till he died, and they had a profound effect on his adult literary taste and intellectual predilections.

He was probably frequently in trouble with Sanderson, because he was the scamp of the family, bright and mischievous, full of pranks that were often blamed on his younger brother Robert, who looked very much like him. In due time he went on to High School at Elora, a charming little tree-filled town set on the Grand River where it runs through beautiful gorges. The school stood a little way above the grey cliffs at the riverside, next to the elegant new pinnacled building of Knox Presbyterian Church, dedicated when Jim was ten years old. Again his teacher was a Scot, David Boyle. Boyle collected birds and animals, and accumulated historical and Indian relics. He contributed humorous articles to the *Elora Express*, writing in Scottish dialect under the name of Sandy McTocher. A Canadian critic has noted that the belles-lettres published in Canadian newspapers at the time were probably the worst ever published anywhere, and Sandy McTocher is probably responsible for the archness of some of James Gale's own writing for periodicals in later years.

Jim enjoyed his schooling, but he did not enjoy going to church. Every Sunday, the family would leave home at seven in the morning and drive in the buggy down the straight road over the undulating hills to Elora. During the service the horse was tied under the cedar-shingled roof of the long shed behind the church. The singing of the Scottish psalm tunes was so bad and doleful that if the preacher broke down the children enjoyed the relief from solemn monotony. Mr Duff's sermons were intolerably long, with their 'firstly ... secondly . . . thirdly ... and lastly ... ', after which young Jim waited anxiously for the blessed announcement: 'And in conclusion ... 'Then there was the return home in either very hot or very cold weather, and at about twenty to two they passed the croquet lawn in front of the farm with stomachs aching for the first food since early morning.

There were also sermons to be memorized. Jim did not enjoy religion; it worried and depressed him. Sometimes on Sunday evenings he was allowed by his parents to go to the red-brick Wesleyan chapel which opened in Alma village when he was twelve. Cheerful candles burned in tin sconces round the walls, and a choir which included pretty girls sat behind the minister, facing the congregation. The singing was in four parts; the sermons were inspirational rather than dogmatic. This sort of religion was more to Jim's taste, and he enjoyed seeing the girls.

His nature was essentially sunny. The radiance of the methodists appealed to a boy who liked to go chasing chipmunks and squirrels in the woods with his dog Rover. In the pine-woods and willow-meadows, along the trout-streams and by the swamps, he played among the trees: sugar-maple, birch, hemlock and tamarack, with hazel, honeysuckle and skunk-currant growing between. They met foxes, raccoons, and marmots. There was an unpleasant encounter with a skunk, and sometimes they saw a bear lumbering through the thicket. Jim loved to watch the beavers as they worked on their lodges and dams in the swamp, or slapped their tails on the mud to give warning of the approach of boy or dog. But even in the woods he was not entirely carefree. Mr. Duff's brand of

Christianity made Jim live in terror of judgment, and produced nightmares. With the onset of adolescence a deep gloom took over his mind and he was unable to unburden himself even to his mother. He would go into the woods and brood there in misery. The problem was a genuinely religious one, for it had a religious solution. One Sunday afternoon when he was fourteen, his eldest brother Alexander suggested, most unusually, that the two of them drive to Elora church for evening service. They went, and a Mr. Macdonald preached the sermon. His text and subject were soon forgotten, but in the course of the sermon he told of a boy worried about the horrors of divine judgment, unable to unburden his heart, brooding alone in the woods. Jim recognized himself in this story, and suddenly experienced for the first time in his life a sensation of flooding light, a 'sight of that heaven to come' that was several times repeated in later years, and gave him a comfort which never deserted him. He was at peace.

At that time the family was subject to the risk of typhoid. Jim's mother had enteric fever in 1876, and her son Hugh, then a twenty-year-old medical student, nursed her and prescribed her medicines. She was strictly teetotal (though her husband was not) and Hugh and the impish Jim took great delight in making her drink whisky in her medicine without telling her what the active ingredient was. She recovered. Then Jim fell sick with typhoid, and a lugubrious pastor visited the farm to prepare the boy for impending doom. Jim was quite ready to die, because his experience during Mr. Macdonald's sermon had given him unshakable peace. The minister was impressed, and suggested that if he recovered he should make his public profession of faith and become a fully-fledged member of the church. In those days this was a severe ordeal for a fifteen-year-old, and meant much teasing from his schoolfellows, but after his recovery he went through with it. He was now slightly precocious in religion, and the experience of light confirmed the romantic bent of his soul.

When he was eighteen he went for three years to St Catharines Institute in the town of St Catharines on the coast of Lake Ontario. This was milder, peach-growing country, far south of Toronto. In the quiet hours the students thought they could hear the boom of Niagara Falls only a dozen miles away. In Ontario a collegiate institute is a senior high school, and Jim was there to prepare for matriculation to the university. Once again his headmaster was a Scot, John Seath, who declaimed Shakespeare with unforgettable verve. James was deeply impressed and continued to enjoy his studies. Not surprisingly, however, he made a poor showing in examinations: he did not always bother about details. His ebullient character grew in charm. A photograph of him in his last year at St Catharines shows him at his most handsome, in the bloom of youth, with luxuriant dark hair and the high cheekbones, sloping jaw and large grey eyes that characterized him for the rest of his life.

At St Catharines Institute he first met Robert Harkness, another Canadian-born Scot, four years older than himself and much more serious. They became friends, though Harkness did not hide his opinion that Gale was frivolous; they had no idea how far they were to travel together.

## ii Missionary volunteer 1884 - 1888

Gale and Harkness matriculated in 1884. Gale went to University College, Toronto. During his first year he served in the militia; and was deeply impressed by a preaching visit from Dwight L. Moody, the famous evangelist. His religious and literary orientations were stabilizing: his classmates included Jonathan Goforth, the future missionary leader in China, and J. A. MacDonald, who was to become editor of the *Toronto Globe*. By special permission of the university senate, Gale spent several months of his second year in France, where he was supposed to study French at the College de France and work in a protestant mission.

His family persuaded him to keep a diary of this adventure. He set off from Toronto in good spirits on 22 May 1885 by train to Montreal. The sight of the St Lawrence River made him think of Addison's *Vision of Mirza*, a piece of literature from the Ontario Public School Books that haunted him for the rest of his life. Two days later he boarded the *Circassian* at Rimouski, travelling steerage in great discomfort with uncongenial companions through the cold Atlantic fogs.

On 2 June he disembarked at Liverpool, where he saw prostitutes for the first time, and was deeply shocked, because such people had not come into his ken before. Late the same night he boarded the train for London. The English countryside looked lovely in the moonlight, and the sight of the sun rising over Bedford made him rejoice to be travelling through John Bunyan's native land. St Albans thrilled him with thoughts of the Wars of the Roses. England was the romantic land of the history he had learnt.

He arrived in London at five o'clock in the morning. The sense of romance soon evaporated, but he found cheap lodgings at 3 Wallgrave Terrace, Kensington, and started off on a full week of sightseeing in the world's greatest capital. He was excited to think that he was in Paul Dombey's town (Paul Dombey was always a favourite character of his: the fey boy was a mirror to part of his own soul). He went to weekday evensong in Westminster Abbey and was more overcome by the emotion of sitting near Poets' Corner than he was impressed by the old dean's reading of Hebrews x; but he was feeling lonely when he saw Mr. Gladstone's carriage standing outside 10 Downing Street, and shortage of money added to his depression.

He called at the office of the *Toronto Globe* in Fleet Street to assuage his homesickness, visited Kew Gardens and the Zoo, and saw the South Kensington museums on a rainy Saturday morning. Seeing the prostitutes, and the down-and-outs sleeping in the open on the Thames Embankment, made him more melancholy. He felt miserable and provincial as he tramped the hard streets alone. Wishing that his sister Jenny were with him, he went to hear the Strauss orchestra in the Albert Hall, but found that music 'too high-falutin', and went out to listen to the band of the Coldstream Guards playing *Scots wha hae* in Kensington Gardens. This was Scottish and wholehearted, much more to his taste. As he sat alone on a park bench, an old cannon-maker from Woolwich

Arsenal, out for the afternoon with his wife, chatted with him, praised his courage and solaced his loneliness.

On Sunday morning he went to Kensington Presbyterian Church. It was utterly unlike his Canadian churches, and he was not pleased. 'High-church presbyterianism needs another Reformation, it seems to me,' he wrote in his diary. He was much happier in the evening among the great crowd that heard Spurgeon preach on John iii 16 at the Metropolitan Tabernacle. This was the sort of religion he had acquired a taste for in the methodist church at Alma; but the dandy in him noted that Spurgeon 'dresses very plain. I notice he wears a black tie.'

The social inequality of London—'lordism', he called it—distressed him greatly. He felt hungry on tuppenny breakfasts, and was torn between depression and the excitements of historical sightseeing. On Wednesday 10 June, he was due to leave Victoria Station by the evening train, and, having stowed his luggage at the station, he went in the afternoon to attend evensong in St Paul's Cathedral. Sitting at the back of the church he confided to his diary: 'There is something grand about it, I must confess, but can God be honoured by such mummerly ... ? The flickering candlelight and white-robed boys remind me of the dark days of Rome. Heart service from the poorest hovel, it seems to me, is worth more than all the unintelligible groanings of St Paul's Cathedral.' He was very much out of his element.

He caught the night train and left Newhaven by boat at eleven o'clock next morning. A lad from Birmingham and a Turk had become his travelling companions: The English Channel did what the Atlantic could not, and made him seasick. He disembarked at Dieppe, which looked ruinous, and took the train to Paris. At eleven o'clock at night they pulled into the Gare St Lazare, where Gale and the Turk were bilked by a guide before they found hotel-room together.

The following day the Turk departed, and Gale went to present his letter of introduction to the Reverend William Newell, a minister from New York and a director of the McAll Mission, who recommended him to Lorado Taft, a 25-year-old American sculptor from Chicago who lived on the left bank of the Seine near Montparnasse. Taft, who later had a distinguished career in America, found him a hotel room in the Rue Denfert for thirty francs a month, and he planned to get his meals at a nearby *cremerie*. That evening Taft took him to the McAll Mission at Belleville.

Belleville had been the first preaching-place of the McAll Mission, a protestant mission to France founded in 1872 by the enthusiasm of Robert Whitaker McAll, an English congregationalist minister. It is now known as the *Mission Populaire Evangélique de France*, and has several centres in Paris as well as a dozen or more in provincial cities. The emphasis of the Mission was on preaching the gospel to the unchurched urban poor, by means of dispensaries and rural vacation plans for children as well as conventional preaching-halls, usually located in shops, which the bands of workers visited in turn. The work was carried on in fraternal co-operation with the French protestant churches. 22-year-old James Gale could not preach in French, but he frequently worked as a pavement advertiser for the services, encouraging passers-by to come in. He revelled



in a christianity that was little interested in sectarian dogmatism, and his idealism was kindled by the practical approach of the McAll Mission. He conceived the idea of a vocation to work as a missionary in France.

However, he was not really happy in Paris. He toured the sights of the city. Moonlight on the Seine impressed him most; the heat of June was oppressive, and he was surprised to find himself longing for the Canadian winter. He had long talks with a free-thinking Dane, which only increased his misery. Most of his friends were American artists, whom he found boring because they talked of nothing but art. He visited the Morgue, but was far more shocked at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, where he saw a model strip herself naked for a life class: nude art passed his understanding. There were bed-bugs, the food was poor, he slept badly. Everywhere there were down-and-outs and prostitutes. At the end of July the weather turned suddenly cold, and he grew nostalgic for the Ontario harvest, but at the same time was dogged by memories of the typhoid he had had four years before. He was shocked again when he saw the can-can. Faith was his anchor.

There were some bright intervals. He received his examination results by post on 16 June, and they were as good as a tonic. A picnic party at Fontainebleau left a vivid impression, and the fete in the Champ de Mars on 14 July was exhilarating. He often had tea with the Moores, American ladies living in the Rue de Lille. Miss Moore liked his good looks and pitied his poverty, so, to the astonishment of the passing soldiers, she had him dress as a goatherd and stand on a balcony while she painted pictures of him.

His depression was made worse by a bad conscience about his studies. At the end of June he ventured to write two pages of his diary in French. It was fluent, but incorrect. Several times he went to hear French spoken at the Palais de Justice, but only twice did he attend the College de France. The first time he happened on an algebra lecture and was not interested enough to stay to the end. He tried reading: Balzac's *Eugénie Grandet*, Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris*, and Ponsard's tragedy *Charlotte Corday*; then listlessly turned to Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, in German. The French he wrote at the end of July shows little improvement.

French catholicism both attracted and repelled him. He found nothing but 'the customary catholic gloom' in the Pere Lachaise cemetery, yet a painting of the crucifixion in St Sulpice held him spellbound, and he was drawn back to that church in spite of himself. At an evening service—it was probably benediction of the Blessed Sacrament—he was 'almost struck breathless' by the blaze of lighted candles, but insisted that the clergy were comic and the laity pathetic. For the protestant from Upper Canada, the French and their religion were a dangerous combination whose charms were to be resisted as much as possible. Early in August he moved to Taft's studio, for companionship and for economy's sake. Within four days Taft was ill with mumps, and Gale nursed him. On the feast of the Assumption Gale attended the solemn mass at Notre Dame and was moved by it. A fortnight later he was in bed with mumps himself, unable to sleep because of the many visitors to the studio. By mid-September he had recovered, but soon after this point the diary peters out. There was

'nothing in France but unbelief and monks'. He ached to be back in Ontario, scarcely realizing how much he had benefited by his experience in Paris. He was disappointed with his progress in spoken French, but his confident presbyterianism had assumed a new dimension.

Later that autumn he was back in Toronto, living among the grey towers and busy black squirrels of the university quarter. He studied at University College, but lived at Knox-not the present Knox College, but the spired and towered building in Spadina Avenue which has become the Connaught Medical Research Laboratories. He read arts for his BA, and kept alive the spirit of his hours with the McAll Mission by taking charge for two years of the Elizabeth Street Mission, in one of the poorer parts of the city, then largely Jewish, but now part of Toronto's Chinatown. It was expected that presbyterian city churches would maintain missions run by students in underprivileged neighbourhoods, and Gale's work at 180 Elizabeth Street was a mission of Central Presbyterian Church, which stood on St Vincent Street at the corner of Grosvenor. No record remains of his work at the mission beyond the fact that he was there.

He was due to graduate in 1888, and had registered to enter Knox College as a theological student, but in 1887 Robert Parmelee Wilder and John N. Forman came to preach in Toronto. Although Wilder was only twenty-five years old, he had been present, as a delegate from Princeton, at the great Mount Hermon Conference of 1886, which was the beginning of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. A hundred volunteers were recruited at the conference, whose most famous member was John R. Mott, then a student delegate. Wilder was chosen to visit the colleges and seminaries of Canada and the United States to arouse missionary vocations. He was joined by Forman, another Princeton man, and they usually worked together. They were impressive speakers, for in the course of a year's preaching they persuaded 2,100 more students to volunteer as missionaries. Toronto was already in the throes of a great wave of missionary volunteer enthusiasm, and the mission boards were financially hard-pressed. The two young preachers fired the students with enthusiasm for a mission to Korea, the enigmatic Hermit Kingdom, which had been opened to christian missionaries only four years before.

University College Young Men's Christian Association wanted to send its own missionaries. There was a large group of presbyterian students in the college who would have preferred to co-operate with Knox College in supporting a missionary to China, but they were won over to the idea of University College having its own missionary. It seemed obvious to many, though not at first to James Gale himself, that he was the man who should go. Before accepting the call, he went up the tower of the Varsity building and spent the night there in prayer. Then, reluctantly, he consented. There were those who questioned the wisdom of sending a man who was neither an ordained minister nor theologically trained; and there were many who questioned the rightness of sending missionaries to the far east at a time when the Canadian west was just opening up. It says a great deal for James Gale that the objections to his appointment were overcome. He was guaranteed a salary of \$500 a year for eight years, by annual subscription of students and graduates of the college, and appointed, not

to establish an independent mission, but to co-operate with other evangelical denominations.

When the Easter vacation came, he went home to the farm at Alma and found his brother Alexander blasting a big stone. He immediately told him the great decision. The Gales were astounded. This was the last thing they had expected of Jim.

He took his BA degree on 12 June 1888. That year Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission, was in Ontario. Gale met him and was greatly encouraged when Taylor prayed with him. Robert Harkness graduated at the same time and was also to go to Korea, sent out by the Toronto city YMCA. Early in October he married. On 18 October both men were given rousing farewell meetings, attended largely by presbyterians. The mission, however, was elaborately non-sectarian. Gale's standard of christian doctrine was the *Doctrinal Basis* of the Evangelical Alliance, which had been formed in London in 1846 with vigorous anglican participation by anti-Puseyite churchmen. This *Doctrinal Basis* defined evangelical doctrine as:

- (1) The divine inspiration, authority and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures;
- (2) The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures;
- (3) The unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of Persons therein;
- (4) The utter depravity of human nature, in consequence of the Fall;
- (5) The Incarnation of the Son of God, his work of atonement for sinners of mankind, and his mediatorial intercession and reign;
- (6) The justification of the sinner by faith alone;
- (7) The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner;
- (8) The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous and the eternal punishment of the wicked;
- (9) The divine institution of the christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Riders to this statement made it clear that it was not intended as a definitive creed. It satisfied the Toronto YMCA committees, and it satisfied young Gale, who later described himself in *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (1912) as belonging to the presbyterian church but being 'in entire sympathy with all other denominations'. Since some of the denominations were violently opposed to each other, he was indicating his ideal rather than his achievement, but in the context of Korean missions that ideal was not entirely quixotic. Most of the early protestant missionaries to Korea had minimal interest in denominational loyalties, and it is ironic that the churches they founded have turned out to be so notoriously fissiparous. Even towards Roman catholicism the attitude of the missionaries was often kindly, and they all admired the heroism of Korea's Roman catholic martyrs. Gale later became a prominent presbyterian missionary, but he never lost the supra-denominational attitudes of

his first commission from the young men of Toronto.

At that farewell meeting the chairman was Sir Daniel Wilson, President of Toronto University. The convener of the Harkness Committee was the architect

H. B. Gordon, who later designed the first building for Severance Hospital in Seoul. The same night, after the meeting was over, Gale left Toronto by the Canadian Pacific Railway to travel through Vancouver to Korea. By strange chance, in the train across Canada, he met William Rockhill, who had been US Minister in Peking and Seoul, and was then in North America preparing to lead a Smithsonian expedition to Tibet. Rockhill was only 34, but already a distinguished orientalist. He told Gale what to expect in Seoul, and described in particular the Korean passion for smoking tobacco.

In Vancouver Gale again met Moody, who was conducting evangelistic meetings in the town. Moody gave the young missionary his blessing and promised to pray for him. Gale always treasured the memory, and never tired of telling Moody's life-story to Korean christians.

So the farmer's son, second-generation immigrant, educated decently and broadly, though not aristocratically, became a missionary. That vocation was still open to the upper as well as to the middle classes; it has lost esteem on the American continent during the last eighty years. Some of Gale's fellow missionaries claimed higher social backgrounds, but many of them shared in the pioneer tradition to which his family belonged. He was twenty-five years old, a layman, without the backing of a great mission board or society, an adventurer for Christ, and an adventurer in cultures, a scion of pioneer stock assailing the last remaining frontier.

His self-offering had an effect on China too. In September 1888 Donald MacGillivray offered to go there as a missionary of the Canadian Presbyterian Church on \$500 a year 'like Gale'. Gale had set the rate. The astonished presbyterians were all but blackmailed by MacGillivray into sending him to start their Honan mission. Oddly enough, as Gale was to become a lexicographer and literature worker in Korea, MacGillivray became a lexicographer and literature worker in China. He left Toronto for China four days after Gale left for Korea.

The quality of their \$500 adventure can be estimated from the fact that in the same year the Presbyterian Church in the USA increased the stipends of unmarried male missionaries in Korea to \$1,000, because it had been discovered that \$800 was not enough for a man to live on.

### iii Pioneer missionary in Korea 1888 - 1891

Gale was joined at Nagasaki by another new missionary, the American presbyterian Daniel Lyman Gifford. They first trod Korean soil on 15 December 1888, at Pusan. Then the ship sailed round the dangerous island-studded south and west coasts of the peninsula to Chemulp'o, the harbour for entry to Seoul. They landed in the midst of a smallpox epidemic. The journey to the capital was a scene of misery in all the villages, and corpses were piled high outside the gates of the city. This was the common custom of the times, but the plague made

the stench worse and more dangerous. Gale entered the capital through the Great West Gate and obtained a room in a simple earth-walled house, where he had to bar the door against inquisitive crowds. There were smallpox sufferers in the same house, but the bed-bugs tried him most. He turned again and again to Psalm xci for comfort and assurance.

They were welcomed by G. H. Underwood, the pioneer presbyterian evangelistic missionary to Seoul, who had already been living there for three years. On Sunday 23 December at two o'clock in the afternoon Gale attended a service taken by Underwood in the small Korean building in Chong-dong that served as a church. About fifty men were present, and when the proceedings opened with a hymn to the *Old Hundredth* tune, Gale was surprised at the vigour of the singing. During the service 'eleven dusky young Koreans' were baptized. Gale reported: 'Mr Underwood translated their replies into English, and such a succession of testimonies I have never heard before.'

The missionaries had been able to do very little work outside the capital. King Kojong had been on the throne since 1864, and was now a troubled man, thirty-six years old. Though far from stupid, he was perplexed by the course of history, and frustrated by the machinations of the factions in his court. Some of these, including the group centred on the queen, were conservative and wished to maintain Korea's traditional dependence on China; others were progressive, anxious to see the country modernized, and therefore more or less envious of Japan's modernization, more or less inclined to favour drawing Korea closer to Japan. During the king's reign there had been several rebellions, but the conservative forces were now in control and the most powerful man in Seoul was Yuan Shih-k'ai, the Resident of the Imperial Chinese Government. Outside the capital the life of the country was agricultural. The merchant class was small, and society consisted of aristocrats and peasants. Education was limited to a few, and even they studied nothing but Chinese grammar and literature. There were no railways and no factories; the roads were little more than tracks.

Roman catholic missionaries had worked clandestinely, though with great success, for fifty years. They had many martyrs, and the last persecution had been as recent as 1866. Protestant missionaries from America began to arrive in 1884 on the heels of the first western diplomatic missions. Seoul had an eager group of foreigners, all anxious to learn more about the little-known country, most of them anxious to influence its politics and open up the country to western ideas and progress.

For the first year, Gale intended to study the Korean language, and like all missionaries in the country at that time, he took a Korean name. It was socially necessary to write one's name in Chinese characters, and if possible the characters were chosen to approximate in sound to one's foreign name, yet look and sound like a genuine Korean personal name. Gale was called Ki Il. Ki is a Korean surname which literally means 'strange' or 'wonderful'; *il* means 'one'. A story is told of how once when he was travelling a Korean asked him which clan of the Ki family he belonged to. Gale replied that he belonged to no clan: surely his interlocutor knew that all foreigners were *ssangnom*—men of low

caste without genealogy?

Gale determined not to stay in the capital with its small but distracting foreign community, and as soon as the bitterest winter weather was over he left Harkness and his wife in Seoul while he went and tried to buy a house in Haeju, capital of Hwanghae province. Haeju was nearly a hundred miles north-west of Seoul, but Gale's account of the journey describes it as being two hundred miles, presumably because it was so uncomfortable. It took four days. He set out early one morning with nothing but a can of milk, some coffee, a fifteen-year-old horse-boy, and a guide, both of whom were drunkards. The pony was indifferent to weather and blows, and the boy trotted alongside, laughing and singing. There were still many corpses along the roads, some of them beheaded cadavers of convicted criminals. Magistrates along the route provided Gale with an escort, so that when he entered the walled city of Haeju on the afternoon of Sunday 17 March 1889, he had two outriders clearing the streets ahead of him and a troop of seven horses and fifteen men following behind. The governor of the city was condescending when Gale said he was British, and gave him to understand that since the people of Haeju had not heard of Britain its citizenship was contemptible. He showered Gale with presents, but kept him virtually a prisoner for a fortnight. It was impossible for him to buy a house in Haeju.

Fortunately he was found by a christian named An, who offered him a welcome in his native village. So Gale left Haeju riding on a pack-pony, again escorted by two runners in blue coats and wide hats with red tassels, all guided by An to the village of Sollae, on the coast to the west in the township of Chang-yon. There he stayed in the house of the An family till June. Sorae, as the village's name is more commonly spelt, was the home of So Sangyun, the first Korean bible translator, who had been converted in Manchuria by Scottish missionaries. His younger brother, So Kyongjo, had been baptized by Underwood in Seoul in 1886, and Underwood had paid two visits to the village, where the first protestant church in Korea was later built.

Gale spent the spring days on lessons in the Korean language and making his first attempts with Korean food, accustoming himself to octopus and sea-slugs, pickled cabbage and seaweed. He learned to bear the hot Korean floor, and went through the painful business of learning to sit cross-legged without a chair, endured Korean indifference to lack of ventilation and to vermin, and grew used to living in a thatched village whose streets were muddy alleys full of scruffy dogs and naked children; made friends with Mun the acupuncturist herb-doctor and Kwak the jiggy-man; and learned about the place of women in Korean life, for he never set eyes on the women of the household where he stayed. He also learned to put up with naive curiosity about a foreigner and his strange clothes. The villagers kept him conscious of the presence of dangerous tigers in the vicinity. And he was desperately lonely.

One day, however, in a little house by the seashore, he met a young man, twenty-three years old, named Yi Ch'angjik. Yi was of good, though hardly noble, family from Haeju, not without means, and well-educated in Chinese literature. According to the custom of his class and period, he had been married at the age of twelve to a woman older than himself. He and Gale, being nearly of an age, struck up a

friendship which encouraged Gale to take Yi as his teacher. People in Sorae knitted their brows. They told Gale that Ch'angjik was unreliable, and easily influenced, but Gale relied on his intuition, for the young man's attractive manner took his fancy. He was not disappointed. Yi proved a loyal friend and able helper, who later became almost part of the Gale family.

In June Gale returned to Seoul. After prolonged and affecting farewells, he and Yi Ch'angjik, accompanied by An and So, boarded a junk and set out for Chemulp'o. The distance was only a hundred and thirty miles, but owing to strong winds the sea journey took six days. Each night they put in at an island village, and when Gale thankfully disembarked at last with Yi at Chemulp'o, An and So returned immediately to Sorae in the same boat.

Gale spent two months of the summer in Seoul, helping Underwood with the preparation of a small Korean-English dictionary. His contribution must have consisted chiefly in translating from the dictionary compiled by the French Roman catholic missionaries. He and Underwood worked in a riverside pavilion by the Han at Yanghwa-jin, battling with the soporific heat and occasionally relaxing to watch the steamers passing to and from Chemulp'o.

In August Gale left Seoul again to live in Pusan. He travelled there from Chemulp'o on the Japanese steamship *Higo Maru*, taking with him Yi Ch'angjik and a Japanese boy called Kusaba Kasutaro. Within a week or two of his departure Harkness, whose health was poor, took his wife to Japan, where they worked for the Presbyterian Church USA, first at Kanazawa, then at Osaka. (In 1895 Harkness returned to north America, where he died in 1938 as a noted minister of the Canadian United Church.)

Gale intended to stay permanently in Pusan. It was one of the three treaty ports of Korea, and no western missionaries had yet settled there. The town was still undeveloped. Bishop Charles Corfe, landing there a year later, described *it* as looking 'more like a heap of ruins . . . nothing more than a hamlet composed of mud-huts and mat-sheds', set between the sandy beach and the surrounding hills, which were partly wooded with pines, partly barren and treeless. The old fort of Pusan-jin dominated it from the north. There were few Chinese in the place, and no European or American merchants, though two Englishmen were employed by the Korean Customs. The Koreans were chiefly occupied in fishery, but the Japanese had begun to develop the magnificent harbour, which was then much bigger than it is today after extensive land reclamation along the waterfront. They had started their trading settlement at the southern end of the bay. Gale and Ch'angjik lodged on the hillside above the Korean town, halfway between the port and the Japanese settlement, in the area now called Ch'o ryang.

About Christmas Gale made a visit from Pusan to Taegu and the historic sites of the ancient capital at Kyongju, travelling by government pony service, changing mounts at post-stations every five miles. He wrote a vivid description of his reception by the inquisitive crowd that escorted him to the yamen at Taegu, where he gained privacy only by deliberately playing on Korean admiration for filial piety. It was 31 December, and he persuaded the previously unsympathetic mayor that he needed a quiet place to write a letter to his parents reporting the state of his affairs at the end of the year.

No record remains of Gale's activities in Pusan. In spring a 33-year-old Australian presbyterian missionary, J. Henry Davies, sent word from Seoul that he intended visiting Pusan with a view to settling there. He journeyed overland, through Ch'ungch'ong and Cholla provinces, with Chinese bibles and books for distribution, and some quinine for sale. (Exchanging Korean *cash* was so unreliable and so inconvenient that westerners often took quinine instead of currency.) Because he was unable to speak Korean he ran into difficulties, and was treated in an unfriendly way. Three or four days before reaching Pusan he realized he was ill, but did not know what was the matter. On the rainy afternoon of 14 April 1890 Gale received a card on which was written: 'Come at once, J. H. Davies.' The coolie who brought the message took Gale and Yi Ch'angjik to a poor house about a mile away, where Davies was waiting. The Australian was weatherbeaten and weary but did not look ill. He asked Gale to deal with the coolies, who were pestering him for more pay.

Gale and Yi helped him walk to Gale's house, where he lay down on the cot, sure he would soon get better. But he could not eat, so Gale called a Japanese doctor, who diagnosed smallpox. Gale and Yi watched by turns throughout the night, and Yi proved a kind nurse. Towards noon the next day pneumonia set in. 'Er wird bald sterben,' said the Japanese doctor; and less than an hour later Davies died. Gale and a few Koreans buried him on a nearby hillside. It was Davies's death that moved Australian presbyterians to make their great efforts in the Pusan area.

Soon afterwards, in May, the daughter of J. H. Hunt, the Commissioner of Customs in Pusan, fell ill, and he sent to Seoul for Dr Heron, the king's American physician, who came overland by fast courier service, accompanied by Malcolm Fenwick. Fenwick was a zealous independent Canadian baptist missionary, who had arrived in Korea late in the previous year, and was to continue working in the country, despite various interruptions, until his death in 1936. John William Heron was born in Derbyshire, England, the son of a congregationalist minister who removed his family to Knoxville, Tennessee, when John was fourteen. John became a gold medallist of the medical school of Tennessee University. and came to Korea in June 1885 at the age of 29, less than a year after his marriage. He was the first presbyterian missionary appointed to Korea after the opening of official relations between Korea and the USA by the treaty of 1883, though another doctor, Horace Allen, arrived first. Heron held the official Korean mandarin rank of *kason taebu*, the second highest grade at Court, next after the royal family. According to the theory of government and kingship then in use in Korea, a physician, because of his intimate personal association with the mon- arch, could not have been given lower rank.

At first he had been given the white jade headband rings and breastpiece embroidered with a single crane proper to a civil official of the third rank, but in December 1886 the king bestowed the gold headband rings and double crane breastpiece of the highest rank possible. Dr Heron was known among Koreans as Hye Ch'amp'an, 'Counsellor Hye', from the Sino-Korean form of his name, Hyeron ('orchid discourse'). He moved in the highest circles, and entertained the great Yüan Shih-k'ai at his house in Chong-dong. The job was not, however, a



matter of honours and high living. The king entrusted diplomatic chores to him. At Underwood's wedding some palace ladies were kept waiting in a chilly summer house, and the queen was angry: Dr Heron was called upon to smooth things over. More delicate was the problem created by the wife of a foreign diplomat who needed extra soup-bowls for a formal dinner. She sought in the Korean market and chose some attractive brass bowls with neat little lids. High-ranking courtiers attended her supper as the king's deputies, and were astounded to be served with typical Korean chamber-pots full of clear consommé. This was taken as a studied insult, and Dr Heron had another night call to the palace.

Many of the missionaries in Seoul at this time were dazzled by the possibility of becoming known, even honoured, at court. Heron and Allen were bitterly jealous of honours received from the king, and one letter from the board in New York told them in courteous but firm tones that they had not been sent out to become mandarins. Practically every woman in the mission had friendship with the queen as one of her chief objects. In fairness to them it must be recalled that they were severely restricted by law in their missionary enterprises, and that although even in later years the missionaries who lived in Seoul were always regarded as social butterflies by those who worked in the provinces, from the middle nineties onwards much less attention was paid to the palace.

The Herons were among the few who had legitimate reason for attending at court. When the family was called to audience the doctor rode in a green palanquin and his wife in a red one, with a retinue of guards. Their four-year-old daughter Annie was taken once and delighted the king with her unabashedly colloquial Korean. He took her into his apartments and brought her back loaded with toys and sweetmeats. Mrs. Heron delighted in describing the royal family:

the king in his red satin robe, all embroidered in gold . . . and . . . the pleasant voice of the little queen as she talked to the prince through the bamboo screen which hid her from sight. . . .

The little prince was actually seen bundling himself over a back balcony all undignified, and scampering through the long verandah until he came to the door of the king's audience chamber, where he solemnly took his place beside his majesty and looked as much as ever like a very pretty, proper wax figure, while all the old grey-bearded officials and time-worn eunuchs bowed down before him, bumping their heads on the stone floor again and again.

The little herons could also see the army of attendants and maids in long blue silk skirts and yellow jackets hovering about his little kingship all day long, powdering his face, painting his lips and finger-tips, shaving the top of his head, pulling out his eyebrows, cutting his food into the daintiest of morsels, fanning him with monstrous long-handled fans, never leaving him alone a moment, even at night guarding and watching by his bedside, singing him to sleep with a queer little lullaby that has been sung to baby kings in the Land of Morning Calm

for the past three hundred years. A kind 'gale' once whispered a translation of this lullaby into the little herons' ears. Here it is:

*Aga, aga, don't you cry,  
All my heart, my blessed boy,  
My unbridled coltish baby,  
Yet so wise and yet so steady,  
Can your like be bought for gold?  
For a silver sum be sold?  
Stronger than the highest mountains,  
Deeper than the deepest fountains,  
Keeping all the laws of un,  
Trusty as the monarch Shun,  
All the people's lasting gain,  
O'er the wide world born to reign.*

The identity of the prince presents a problem. Can this have been Ch'ök, the prince who later became the impotent emperor Sunjong? He was eleven when the Herons arrived in Korea and seventeen by the time this description was written. His mother doted on him and Mrs. Heron's account may suggest part of the reason for his incapacity. Her husband undoubtedly knew the royal family better than any other missionary.

While in Pusan Heron visited Gale, who referred to him later as 'my first and most intimate friend on the mission field'. Heron was distressed about Gale's mode of life, and persuaded Gale to return with him by steamer to Seoul and stay in the Heron household in Chong-dong, close behind the present US Embassy residence. It was a delightful house, surrounded by jessamine bushes and jujube trees. Only a month later, in June, Dr Heron himself fell ill with dysentery while staying at the mountain fortress, Namhan Sansong, where the king had provided summer quarters for the missionaries. He returned to Seoul and might have recovered, had he not been told of a sick woman who was likely to die if left unattended. He got up immediately, dressed, and rode sixteen miles on horseback in the sweltering heat to see her. She lived; but he returned to Seoul and died while Gale was watching at his bedside on 26 July. He was thirty-four years old. No foreigner had died in Seoul before, and there was no cemetery available. Heron's death compelled the government to grant the Yanghwa-jin cemetery for foreigners. His daughters were befriended by Samuel Austin Moffett a Northern Presbyterian minister from Indiana, who had arrived in January.

Gale continued to work at the language. In June he joined H. G. Underwood the American teacher Homer Hulbert, and others in founding the Korean Tract Society (*Han'guk Songgyo Sohoe*), forerunner of the Christian Literature Society of Korea. In February 1891 he was appointed to the Permanent Executive Bible Committee of Korea, which had been organized in 1887 with Dr Heron as one of its five members. Gale took his place and began revising the translation of the Acts of the Apostles done by So Sangyun and John Ross in Manchuria in 1883. In the same year, 1891, his name appeared with Hulbert's as an assistant to Underwood when the Korean-English part of the dictionary on which they had

worked together two years before was at last published.

Samuel Moffett had replaced Heron as Gale's closest friend. They were both still bachelors, and planned a journey to Mukden to visit the Koreans who had been baptized in Manchuria by the Scottish presbyterian missionaries, and to see the missionaries themselves, especially John Ross. Ross had not only made the first translation of the New Testament into Korean, but his *History of Corea Ancient and Modern* (1880) was the first book on the subject in English.

At noon on 27 February 1891 Gale and Moffett set off from Seoul. They had two packhorses heavily laden with strings of brass cash, and Gale's foxterrier Nip bounded alongside—named, in spite of his sex, after Susan Nipper, the sharp-tongued maid in Gale's favourite *Dombey and Son*. Gale's pock-faced boy, Ch'oe Yōnhwa (Kūmdori) was with them, and their guide was the dignified Sō Sangyun of Sorae, now forty-one years old, who had been Ross's helper for bible translation in Mukden. They spent the first night at the town of Koyang. The next morning they passed the two huge rock-hewn Maitreyas at P'aju, and on the afternoon of 1 March they reached the Imj'in River. The weather was balmy, but the great stream was jammed with pack-ice. With some difficulty they got the horses ferried across, and a few miles the other side found an inn with the usual overheated floor, where they stayed the night.

The following day they entered the crumbling city of Kaesōng in the rain. Kaesōng was the old Songdo, capital of the Koryō dynasty. They stayed in an inn outside the south gate, and spent some time visiting the local sights: the famous ginseng fields; the site of the great palace of Koryō; and the Sōnjuk bridge, where the stones were said still to show the bloodstains of Chong Mongju, assassinated there five hundred years before. A few days later they rested again, this time for a fortnight, in the then pagan and, as Gale described it, filthy city of P'yōngyang, which Moffett had visited six months earlier because it was the centre of the area allotted to him for evangelism.

Walking on through the snow, they passed Anju and Pakch'ōn. At Kasan they spent a pleasant day in the little town, but stones were hurled after them as they left. Then on through Yongch'ōn till they arrived at the frontier town of Uiju on 24 March, having walked three hundred and fifty miles from Seoul. Gale described the town as 'a poor little Asiatic Antwerp, surrounded by brown hills', and 'a wilderness of demons, rags, dogs, unburied dead, vermin, squalor, filth and what not' - an inversion of Bunyan's description of Vanity Fair.

The two missionaries were standing on a hill behind the town, looking over the Yalu river to the mountains of Manchuria, when a smiling young Korean approached and talked with them about the historic movement of culture from China through Uiju into Korea. Then he accompanied them to their lodgings, and they spoke of christianity. The Scottish missionaries from Newchwang and Mukden had baptized a small group of some twenty Koreans who lived in the town. This young man was baptized when Moffett returned to Uiju the following year. His name was Han Sōkchin. He remained a great friend of Gale's, and later became moderator of the Korean Presbyterian Church.

Gale and Moffett stayed in Uiju for twelve days. The second Sunday was Easter Day, and Moffett celebrated the Lord's Supper. On the Wednesday they

crossed the triple stream of the Yalu delta and entered Manchuria, accompanied now by Paek Hongch'ŏn, an evangelist who had been baptized at Newchwang. From Uiju to Mukden they rode in Chinese carts with wooden wheels, no springs, and luggage in place of upholstery: 'an awful ride, bumped beyond words into insensibility'. They found the Chinese inns noisome-full of blue smoke and razor-back pigs - and the oily food repellent. 'Great, porky, greasy, oily China', Gale called it. Chinese children shouted after them: '*Yang-kuei-tzu!*' (foreign devils). They had to present passports at the frontier yamen, where they were provided with an armed escort of six mounted soldiers under a muslim captain. There was snow in the mountains, rain in the valleys, more often than not a knife-edged wind. Towns like Liao-yang were grotesque and dirty, but they noticed that the people were more industrious than the Koreans. They entered Mukden in a typical Manchurian dust-storm, and spent four days there with Ross, visiting the Temple of the Fox, the mosques, and the other sights of the city.

Leaving Mukden by cart in another dust-storm, they went east towards Tung-hua-hsien, looking for the Korean christian communities. From the second day onwards they were travelling through beautiful wooded mountain scenery. After two days in Tung-hua-hsien they set off south towards the Korean border sixty-five miles away, still travelling by cart. They intended to climb Paektu-san, but the spring thaws made the roads impassable, so they came down through the immense Yalu forests. On 19 April they entered the Yalu valley, and Gale wrote of it: 'We found traces of Ross's New Testament. It was talked of, it had been seen; we too had seen it, papering the mud-huts, sometimes upside-down, and sometimes inside-out. ...' There were still seven or eight feet of ice in the ravines, and they came across a pathetic Chinese family whose pony had slipped and been killed on a precipice. Within ten miles of the Yalu some Korean squatters delighted Gale and Moffett by letting them taste Korean kimch'i (vegetables pickled in bvine) again. After some hard bargaining at a Chinese lumber-camp, they were scowed across the river and arrived back in Korea by way of Chasŏng, north of Kanggye (where Korea's northernmost presbyterian mission station was later founded). They then walked over the mountain backbone of the peninsula, through Huch'ang to Changjin. For two weeks they lived on millet and dandelion soup, with two eggs and two small fishes, before they gratefully descended to the fertile rice valleys round Hamhŭng on the east coast. Following the coast they arrived at the treaty port of Wŏnsan on 9 May. From Wŏnsan they came over the Ch'ŏrwŏn pass to Seoul, where they arrived in June. In three months they had travelled 1,400 miles, 700 of them on foot, 400 by cart and 300 on horseback.

Gale was by this time probably more widely acquainted with the various parts of Korea than any other foreigner, and had an admirable background for the study of Korean history. As a result of their adventure, the two young bachelors were forming pro-Korean prejudices. Gale extolled the superiority of Korean ponies over Chinese and Manchu breeds, and enthusiastically preferred kimch'i to Chinese cooking. He was not in the least squeamish. If a Korean were offensive, he would trounce the man with his stick, and he once compelled an unwilling peasant to carry him over a stream by taking a running leap on to the man's back. In his late twenties he was still a prankster.

Before he left on the Manchurian trip he had applied to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, USA, asking to be transferred from the YMCA to the Presbyterian Mission. He was undoubtedly encouraged to do this by Moffett and other friends. Daniel Gifford and William Baird supported his application warmly. The principal reason for the transfer was financial. The YMCA in Toronto was facing a crisis, and Gale was likely to lose his support. He was in any case underpaid, and his lack of expertise with money was handicapping him further; he doubtless also felt the need of belonging to an historic church rather than continuing as a freelance worker. After some demurring by the board in New York, his application was accepted and he was officially transferred to the Presbyterian Mission on 31 August 1891.

The presbyterians stationed him at Kondang-gol, in the area where the Bando Hotel now stands in Seoul. Kondang-gol was a corruption of Koun-dam-gol, 'the village of the pretty wall', because there had been a famous wall there in the sixteenth century, painted with large Chinese characters: *hyo-je-ch'ung-sin* (filial piety, brotherly love, loyalty, sincerity). The Korean church opened there in 1893 attracted many butchers and others of the lowest castes. It was one of the cradles of Korean protestantism, but was later absorbed into the Sung-dong church. The embassy area was very close, and not far off was the Chinese community. British and American products (Cherry Blossom boot polish and Huntley and Palmers biscuits) were on sale in the Chinese shops, most foreign houses could serve iced drinks in the summer-time, there was ice-cream for parties, and lunch was called 'tiffin' by everybody. A fair degree of middle-class comfort could be maintained.

The Presbyterian Mission maintained an 'orphanage-school' called the Yesu-gyo Haktang in Chong-dong. It was hoped that this school would turn into a christian college or theological seminary, but the boys were of the lowest class, unpromising material, and there were never more than twenty-five. Moffett was put in charge almost as soon as he arrived, and Gale helped him teach the boys after he returned to Seoul from Pusan. From July to December 1891, Gale was in charge of the school.

He was spending much time in preparing a book on the language, called *Korean Grammatical Forms (Sagwa chinam)*, though it was not published until 1894, when it was welcomed by foreign connoisseurs of things Korean. Its virtue lay in the cultural content of its material, which included proverbial matter and folk wisdom. The sentences were reportage of what Gale heard rather than deliberately-constructed examples. There was more emphasis on authenticity than on comprehensiveness or pedagogy. It thus set the tone for all Gale's subsequent work on the language and literature. A few words are mistranslated, such as 'porpoise' for globe-fish, and 'silver apricot' for ginkgo nut, but these show no more than the lack of adequate dictionaries. A few examples will indicate the quality of the whole:

58. *P'ogyange kim maeni yagyakhaoeda.* (It is hard pulling weeds in the scorching heat.)

159. *Unhaengi pakkat kopchirun samyoni tungguna, sok almaenginun moga isso.*

(Although the outside skin of the silver apricot is round on every side, the kernel inside has corners.)

251. *Kyejibege hyanghayonun yongung-hogori opta hadora.* (Speaking in reference to women they say that there is no such thing as a lofty and noble character.)

372. *Polt'ong pajinun nondaniga ipso.* (Beehive-shaped trousers are worn by fast people.)

460. *Chottaenun ulgo, sa/taenun kago, puttaenun kurinunira.* (The flute bamboo cries, the arrow bamboo flies, the pen bamboo writes .)

758. *Changgi tununde hunsu mara.* (Do not prompt when we are playing chess.)

iv Wönsan 1892-1897

Dr Heron's widow, Harriet Elizabeth Gibson, was still living in Seoul. She was three years older than Gale, and had come to Korea in 1885 very shortly after her marriage, a southern belle from Jonesborough, Tennessee, whose slave-owning family had suffered in the American Civil war. Now she had two little daughters, Sarah Anne aged six, and Jessie Elizabeth aged four. Missionaries are inveterate matchmakers, and there was much gossip as to whether Samuel Moffett or James Gale would marry Hattie Heron, yet many expressed surprise when it was announced in autumn 1891 that the Canadian was to marry her. The marriage made him solvent again. Hattie had the benefit from John Heron's life insurance, and a gift of five hundred dollars from Queen Min. She was also prepared to sell her handwork. Transferring to the presbyterian mission had not solved Gale's financial problems; he was always impetuously generous and never learned to manage his accounts properly. The mission board in New York disapproved of the match, and took the opportunity to express disapproval of Gale's missionary methods too. He was accused of tickling trout when he should have been trawling a seine. He was hurt, but not discouraged.

The wedding took place on 7 April 1892 at the British Consulate in Seoul before the consul, W.C.Hillier, and was followed by a religious service in Daniel Gifford's house, conducted by the methodist Frank Ohlinger, assisted by Gifford. Horace Allen, now US vice-consul, was present.

Gale's new family moved in at Kondang-gol. He was now in a feminine household, and his bachelor habits were soon corrected. Poor Nip, the fox-terrier, was banished from his sleeping-place on the bed. Gale took to the two little girls as though they were his own daughters, but did not adopt them because he di'1 not want to change their native American citizenship. They grew up with the name of Heron, and retained their pride at being John Heron's daughters undiminished by the place which 'Papa Gale' and his achievements naturally took in their lives.

In June the family left Seoul for Wönsan, the new mission station on the east coast to which the local committee had appointed them. They sent the furniture round the south coast by boat, and themselves travelled across the peninsula for seven days by pony and sedan chair. Gale, who left vivid descriptions of Korean ponies and the fleas in Korean inns, boasted in 1915 that he had crossed

the country in this fashion twenty-five times. The two children regarded the journey as a magnificent adventure. When they found themselves sleeping with donkeys below them, they had excited thoughts of Bethlehem; and they were equally thrilled one night when a tiger took a pig from the yard of the inn where they were staying, and the whole village turned out with flares and gongs to scare the tiger off. The fastidious Harriet did not share their feelings, though she wrote that 'the roadsides were in bloom with hawthorn and sweet white honey-suckle, and the air was full of skylarks' song'. She travelled in a palace chair provided by the queen, which was uncomfortable even though it was attended by a bannerman wearing a blue coat and a black felt hat with a scarlet oxtail attached. Harriet was sure they had been posted to the back of beyond because Mrs. Underwood was jealous of the queen's friendship for her. The queen had given her jewels, headdresses and lengths of expensive dress material, as well as the five hundred dollars. The letters of missionaries at this time show that the wives were bitterly jealous of one another. Mrs. Gale was the senior member of her mission by appointment, and more gifted than most, but others gave her her share of the blame.

Wönsan was a quiet spot for foreigners, of whom there were never more than a dozen resident adults while the Gales lived there. The Korean customs service was under the direction of a Dane, J. F. Oiesen, assisted by L. Ahrendts, the Englishman M. Knott, and others, all of whom had Chinese or Japanese wives or common-law wives. These people maintained well-laden European dining-tables, and were the social centre of the community. There was a Japanese consulate, a Japanese business community and a telegraph office. Two Japanese steamers, *Tokyo maru* and *Satsuma maru*, plying between Pusan and Vladivostok, called once or twice a month. The Gales were not cut off from the world, but they suffered hardships they had never known in Seoul. At first they lived in a flimsy Japanese-style house, so badly heated that during the bitter winter weather Mrs. Gale and the children went to bed every afternoon to keep warm. Snowdrifts rose above the windowsills, the inefficient stoves would not draw, and filled the rooms with smoke. Harriet caught a severe chill which developed into tuberculosis. In the following year Harriet's mother came to live with them after her own husband's death. About the same time Mr. Oiesen had a new house built by Chinese workmen. Harriet copied it, and in 1894 herself supervised the work of building a more substantial Gale home on a point overlooking the magnificent scenery of the bay. It was known as 'Grandma's house', though Harriet paid for it.

Grandma was reckoned a beauty; she was certainly strong-minded. She bullied coolies into making a vegetable garden; she got money from the fashionable Church of the Covenant in Washington DC to build two extra rooms for use as a church and school, and taught Korean boys in the school, though she was already busy teaching her two granddaughters and Mr. Oiesen's family; she also taught Oiesen's Chinese wife to sew western clothes. Either she or Hattie persuaded Gale to buy a cow in hope of drinking fresh milk. Korean cows are not milch cattle, and with difficulty the Gales expressed only a single cupful of beestings before the Korean christians came and begged them not to be cruel to the

calf. So the cow was sold again and the children's nourishment remained deficient; Jessie got malaria, and contracted night-blindness which proved incurable.

There were hazards from lepers, who might at any time seek the traditional cure for their complaint, the flesh of children; from the tigers; and from typhoid and hydrophobia (in a hydrophobia scare Harriet killed the puppy). Life was risky, but not so dangerous as it was for Gale's Toronto friends in China who had their ho uses destroyed about them and their own persons attacked. Koreans were on the whole courteous and friendly to missionaries, and the hazards in life came from nature rather than from man. The family's only casualty was poor Nip, the fox-terrier who had walked and skipped to Mukden and back. A Korean who had bad legs was told by a doctor that the trouble was caused by rats in his bones, and he should send a dog after them. So Nip was stolen for medicine.

For their first Christmas in Wönsan the Gales gave a party to some Koreans at which they presented every guest with a tin basin, a towel and a cake of soap. This may have been a deliberate effort to improve hygiene, or may have been, for some practical reason, a convenient solution to the gift problem. It gave rise to a story sometimes discredited, though Gale averred it in writing: one of the guests told a friend that at the 'Jesus house' he had been given a rice-bowl and a head-scarf, but the cake had been hard to eat because it made his mouth foam. In 1894 the Gales were still busy building their new house when the Sino- Japanese war broke out. Food became scarce and expensive, and money lost half its value. In August Japanese troops landed at Wönsan on their way to Seoul, frightening the Gales and the Chinese builders (most bricklaying for foreigners in Korea at that time was done by Chinese workmen), but the Gales declined the opportunity of evacuation on a Russian ship, and discovered that the Japanese troops, who drilled in the mission compound, were disciplined and courteous. One old Chinese took refuge for a time in the Gales' house, hiding behind the furniture, and the two children crept in with titbits to feed him, until he could escape safely. Soon it became obvious that the war was not being fought in Korea, and the Gales were glad they had stayed, although the building of their house was much delayed.

They were not the only missionaries in the place. Malcolm Fenwick claimed to have been living there before Gale. He too was a Toronto man, and still a bachelor. In November 1892 Dr Hardie, yet another Toronto missionary, arrived. W. B. McGill, an ordained medical doctor, arrived in the same year and opened a dispensary. He was a methodist, but W. S. Swallen, who arrived in 1894, was an American presbyterian pastor. Vignettes of life in Wönsan appear in Gale's novel, *The Vanguard*, where the mischievous portraits of Puffsnauber, the German merchant with a Japanese common-law wife, and the quarrelsome English Wintershines are based on personalities in the customs service. These portraits, however, are wholly without malice, and the real Puffsnaubers and Wintershines were much liked by the Heron girls. There were differences of opinion with the Swallens. Gale, who praised Swallen as a missionary and approved of the family as 'good, plain, earnest folk', would not teach western hymn-tunes to Koreans, and allowed them to chant christian lyrics in their own style. Sally Swallen said, 'The way the Koreans sing is dreadful grating on our ears,' and



set about removing this inconvenience by teaching hymn-tunes to the boys in Mrs Gibson's school. Mrs Gibson was pointed in expressing her opinion that the Swallens were wasting the boys' time. The Swallens had narrower horizons than the Gales. They were hard-working fundamentalists who had little patience with Korean culture, and Sally, who was even nervous of going to dine with the Oiesens lest wine should be served, wrote her opinion of Roman catholic Koreans explicitly: 'Satan has agents everywhere.' When the Gales left Wōnsan the Swallens took over their house, Susanna (Hattie's biblewoman) and the school. They closed the school after a few months, in March 1896, and never ceased to grumble about the bad design of the Gale house-practical efficiency was never a hallmark of the Gale family-but they approved of the strawberries and raspberries from Grandma Gibson's garden.

Annie and Jessie enjoyed Wōnsan. It did not worry them that the potatoes froze in winter, and they liked eating Japanese tangerines with ice-crystals in the juice. They were spoiled by Yi Ch'angjik, who told them how when he had been married as a little boy his bride had at first dressed him as though he were her little brother. Occasionally they went on evangelistic visits with their mother when she was taken in her sedan chair to Kaemal (which they translated as 'dog-town'), the hamlet of thatched houses by the seashore. They often shivered to think of tigers in the hills behind their home-Nip had been chased by a tiger one night, and on a winter morning a tiger strolled through their yard at ten o'clock. One day word came that a tigress had been killed and the carcass was in a house in Kaemal with the cubs, which were still alive. Eager for copy for her articles in Washington papers, Grandma set off to the seashore with the little girls, who could barely squeeze into the small room, almost filled with the great striped body of the tiger. The cubs, alas, proved far too wild for the children to handle, but the sight of these terrors of the night at close quarters was a sufficient thrill in itself.

Children brought up in such conditions took all their adventures as normal. The girls' nearest companions were the score of olive-skinned boys of grandma's school, who wore white baggy trousers and cherry-coloured jackets, had their hair tied into big horse-tails with navy-blue ribbon at the nape of the neck, and bore such homely names as Kobugi ('turtle'). Korean was as easy as English. When Grandma arrived and used new idioms they began to savour exotic Americanisms and such arcana as multiplication-tables. Annie once used a multiplication table to good effect when a buddhist monk was visiting her father and had to wait. She told him it was her own type of sutra, intended to be recited very fast, and astonished him with a demonstration.

The three years during which they lived in Wōnsan were crowded with activity for Gale. He was establishing the mission. At the first baptism on 5 April 1894, four women were christened. By the end of 1894 there were 34 baptized and 24 inquirers, with an average Sunday attendance of 80. By December 1895 he had built up a church of 64 regular members, with the women meeting separately in his dining-room. He settled the problem of what to do about ancestor-worship by circulating a questionnaire to his neophytes. They were unanimous in rejecting the traditional sacrifices, and the new church grew up in harmony with the other

presbyterian churches in Korea. Nevertheless, Gale's initiative in the matter was indicative of the breadth of his theological outlook.

Together with the other missionaries of Wönsan, Gale explored Hamgyöng province. He had charge of the church in Anbyöŋ, from which he opened up missions in the hinterland. One of his converts was Chön Kyeun who founded the church at Munsan, near the great buddhist temple of Sogwangsä, and later became a distinguished pastor.

Gale's spare time was devoted to literary work. When at home, he worked at his desk every day from six in the morning to four in the afternoon. He translated *Pilgrim's Progress*, wrote his dictionary, and did sundry translations from Korean. The *Korean Repository* for December 1892 contains an account of an *önmun panjöl* found by Gale and Ohlinger at what Ohlinger called the 'noted monastery of Sayog-won near Wönsan'. Sayog-won means 'office of translators' and was probably the name of part of the temple of Sogwang-sä. The *panjöl* was a woodblock for printing the Korean alphabet with an explanation in Chinese by the *panjöl* method, which uses two characters to indicate the pronunciation of each syllable. The block also contained a Sanskrit alphabet. The missionaries described the *panjöl*, the only part that interested them, as a 'primer'. The incident was an early stage in Gale's discovery of the language, and is now of little interest, except in so far as it illustrates the opening stages of his studies. He had already taken his share in bible translation work by revising Ross's version of Acts in 1892. In 1893 the name Permanent Executive Bible Committee was changed to Board of Official Translators. It consisted of Gale, the pres-byterians Horace Underwood and William D. Reynolds, the methodists Henry G. Appenzeller and William B. Scranton, and the anglican Mark Trollope (later bishop). They worked under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had taken over the work begun by Ross and continued by the locally-organized committee of 1887. During the three years at Wönsan, bible translation work took Gale to Seoul for long periods during which he left his wife and step-daughters at home. By 1895 he had finished a new version of St John's Gospel, and completed new drafts of Galatians, Ephesians, and both the Epistles to the Corinthians. The books that were published show the difficulty the missionaries had in deciding which word to use for the Godhead. After having- tried a transliteration of the Latin *Deus (Teusii)*, and the Chinese term *Ch'önju* used by the roman catholics and anglicans, they finally settled on the term *Hanünim*, which eventually became the accepted christian word for God.

The arguments on this subject were bitter. At one point Underwood alone stood out for *Ch'önju*. Then Gifford returned from furlough and joined him. Moffett and Gale were for *hanünim*, though they pronounced it as *hananim*, a dialectal variant. Ostensibly the problem was whether to use a Chinese-derived or a Korean-derived word. The anglicans decided to use *Ch'önju* because it was used in the neighbouring anglican missions of North China. They probably also favoured it because the highly successful Roman catholic missions had adopted it. It is hard to avoid the suspicion that this was the very reason why most protestant missionaries were determined not to use it. (The story has a happy ending: seventy years later, after the Second Vatican Council, the Roman catholics de-

cided to accept the protestant term.)

During her widowhood Harriet had begun to translate Part I of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* into Korean. Gale completed this with the help of Yi Ch'angjik, and the book was published in Seoul by the presbyterian mission in 1895. It was a woodblock edition printed on Korean paper by the Trilingual Press at the methodist Paejae School, in two handsome old-style Korean volumes. Another edition, in metal type, was printed on modern Chinese paper in Shang-hai, where Gale had taken the whole family for a visit in the summer of 1893. Both editions were illustrated with charming line-drawings by a Wōnsan artist, Kim Chun'gūn, which continued to be used in succeeding editions until 1926. The book is a landmark in the history of Korean culture, because it was the first Korean translation of a western literary work. For this reason if for no other, Gale's name would be remembered.

It is hard to be sure how far the credit for this translation should be shared with Hattie and Yi Ch'angjik. There is no doubt that Hattie helped Gale in his literary work, and when writing with her assistance he produced better work than he did after her death. Gale himself gave her credit for the initiative in translating *Pilgrim's Progress*, and it was either a remarkable inspiration or a piece of unusually sound literary judgment, because the book stimulates the visual imagination and slips easily into a vigorous Korean narrative style. So far as one can gather from the notes left by Gale, however, he and Ch'angjik worked on it without Hattie's co-operation. Ch'angjik, who had already fallen from grace once or twice since he had been with Gale, several times looked up from the work and ruefully identified himself with Pliable, whose name was translated in Korean as Ich'ōn, 'easily moved'. His failings had been brought home to him by a devout old convert named Kim, a man of much lower class than himself, a friend of potters and writing-brush makers, who loved Ch'angjik very much and recognized his difficulty in withstanding those who tempted him. The 25-year-old scapegrace was deeply touched by the old man's admonitions, and wrote a song for Kim's funeral when he died early in 1894. Gale's translation of the song reads like a typical piece of Victorian pious verse, but the original must have shown clear evidence of the Chinese tradition of songs about parting from which it undoubtedly stems:

God has not, unkind in heart,  
Left us thus to meet and part;  
But our fathers' sins require  
That our bodies pay the hire:  
Then we'll meet again on high,  
Sons of immortality.

The old man also admonished Gale himself, who wrote: 'One of the last days I saw him, when we were sitting together on the mat, he put his hand on mine and said, "Brother, you have told me the Gospel. Be careful lest translation work and the like should take you away from telling others also." How true and 'Wise this was! There are so many calls on a missionary's time that he often needs

a voice to say, "Remember the Gospel".'

Gale's *Korean-English Dictionary* (*Han-yang chajŏn*), was based on the 1880 *Dictionnaire Coréen-français* of the French fathers. It was the first full-scale work of modern lexicography in Korean, much more ambitious than Underwood's stop-gap book of 1890. In its three editions it remained the standard bilingual dictionary for half a century, and subsequent dictionary-makers have built on the foundations laid by it.

The Korean-English section contained 35,000 words arranged in the bizarre alphabetical order devised by the French fathers, vaguely approximating to the Roman alphabet. The Chinese section was arranged according to the Korean pronunciation of the characters, again in the French missionaries' alphabetical order, but with an index by radicals. It contained all the characters in the traditional Korean dictionary of Chinese characters, the eighteenth-century *Chŏnun okp'yŏn*, with meanings copied from Giles's *Chinese-English Dictionary* of 1892. These meanings, though a great improvement on some earlier nineteenth-century work, are often quaint, because they are inadequately translated from the definitions given in native Chinese dictionaries. Gale repeats such definitions as:

*Hyŏn* (33): a dark blue horse. (It really means a dark grey horse.)

*Sa* (9): a tree from which vermicelli is obtained. (Really a kind of chestnut.)

*Kŏn* (21): a call of barbarians to children. (Really a Fukienese word for 'child').

Multiple definitions must often have puzzled those who were not familiar with the history of Chinese writing:

*Ch'ŏk* (11): to pity. Angry. A battleaxe. A hunchback.

*Pi* (107): a white fox; also described as a tiger.

*Kŏn* (10): to speak out boldly. To stammer.

*Chong* (8): a horse's mane. The back part of a lady's hair.

Some entries amaze the western reader by their sheer reconditeness:

*Kan* (44): remains of straw or hay eaten by horses.

*Ong* (22): a term for quadrumanous animals like the spider-monkey.

*P'o* (23): to dig up a field instead of ploughing it.

*Koek* (6): to cut off the left ears of prisoners or the slain.

*Man* (31): a pair of birds that fly side by side, and are closely joined.

*Maek* (9): the offspring of an ass and a cow.

Gale must have chuckled over these, but it was fundamentally honest work and nobody was equipped to do better at the time.

The weakest aspect of the dictionary, as of many other dictionaries of Chinese and related languages, was the treatment of botanical and zoological names. According to Bishop Trollope's *Arboretum Coreense*, Gale frankly admitted in 1918 that many of his identifications of trees and shrubs were incorrect.

One reason for this was the lack of precision in the use of Chinese characters to denote botanical species. The problem has not been entirely resolved three quarters of a century later, when the most recent dictionaries still have vagaries about biological names.

On 8 October 1895, the day Queen Min was murdered by Japanese agents, Gale was in Seoul for the decennial celebrations of the founding of protestant missions in Korea, held from 9 to 11 October. On the night after the assassination the frightened king had Gale and George Heber Jones stay near him in the palace with Generals Dye and Legendre, his foreign military advisers.

Two months later, in December 1895, the Gale family left Wōnsan and went to Yokohama, taking Yi Ch'angjik with them. They lived there till March 1897, while Gale and Ch'angjik supervised the printing of the dictionary, which was financed to the sum of 1,200 yen by the Northern and Southern Presbyterian Missions. In Japan, Gale met a number of Koreans, including political exiles. At various parties, and once on a climb to the top of Fuji, he met Prince Uihwa (Yi Kang) the king's third living son. He had left Korea a month before Gale, with whom he originally intended to travel, and stayed in Japan before visiting Europe and going to America for study. Although he was not the Crown Prince, but the son of a concubine named Chang, Kojong had great hopes for him. At the time of this voyage he was twenty-one years old. Gale held him in great respect, but both Kojong and Gale were to be disappointed. The young prince enjoyed America, and especially the company of American women, to such an extent that the London *Daily Mail*, slightly muddling its information, reported that the King of Korea was to marry an American named Miss Emily Brown. Prince Uihwa, however, was already married in Korea, whither he returned in 1905. He came into the news again in 1920, when he attempted to escape from Korea and join the Korean independence workers in China, declaring that he would gladly accept the status of a commoner if he could live as a free Korean. The Japanese intercepted him and brought him back to Seoul, where they encouraged him to pass his days in pleasure. When he died in 1955 he was said to have twenty-eight children living.

Gale's long stay in Japan and subsequent year of furlough in America scarcely interrupted his literary output. In 1892 he had written three articles for *The Korean Repository*, a monthly review produced by missionaries in Seoul during that year. When it was revived in 1895 he wrote for it again, including what are undoubtedly the first English translations of *sijo* verse ever published. *Sijo* is a three-verse stanza which was the principal form of Korean-language lyric from the fifteenth century onwards. Gale discovered it through his friends Yang Kit'aek and his father, Yang Siyōng, who had helped in compiling the dictionary. Kit'aek, who was eight years younger than Gale, later worked with the Englishman S. L. Bethell, and became a distinguished journalist and independence fighter. Some time before 1894 he obtained from a friend of his father's an offprint from the woodblocks of the *Namhun t'aep' yōng ka*, a singer's word-book edited in 1863. Gale eventually published thirty-four English translations of *sijo* from this text. The translations are interesting in that they accurately reflect the peculiarities of the *Namhun t'aep'yōng ka* versions of the poems, but,

partly because they are constricted by the demands of Victorian versification, and partly because Gale had not fully understood the *sijo*'s mode of expression, they do not convey the real nature of the originals. Three of the first four to be published were entitled *Love Songs*. One of them is essentially an elaboration of the old Chinese symbol of clouds and rain for sexual congress, but this is not apparent from Gale's version:

*Thunder-clothed* he did appear,  
Chained me like the *lightning* air,  
Came as comes the summer *rain*,  
Melted like the *cloud* again.  
Now in mists from tears and crying,  
I am left forsaken, dying. (NTK 16a (174))

He recognized the Chinese proper names in Korean poetry, but transliterated them as though they were Korean words, and then allowed the exigencies of rhyme to lure him into bathos where there should have been romantic impressionism. In the following poem the Hsiao-hsiang river and the Tung-t'ing lake appear in Korean disguise:

Frosty moon and cold winds blowing,  
Clanging by are wild geese going.  
'Is it to the Sosang River,  
Or the Tongchung? Tell me whither.  
Through the midnight hours this crying  
Is so trying!' (NTK 2b (18))

He wrote articles at fairly regular intervals till the magazine ceased publication in 1898, including some translations about the early history of the Three Kingdoms period from the *Tongguk t'onggam*. They contain a number of minor errors, most likely because Gale relied heavily on Yi Ch'angjik's Korean rendering of the Chinese text, and he had as yet no reliable tools for establishing Korean chronology. Hulbert hastened to correct some of the mistakes. He was the same age as Gale, but had lived in Korea two years longer, and assumed a proprietary attitude to all things Korean. He was at this time business manager of the Methodist Mission Press, which published *The Korean Repository*.

When the printing of the dictionary was finished Gale and his family went to America. Two months after leaving Japan, he was ordained minister by the presbytery of New Albany, Indiana, on 13 May 1897. This ordination was due to the efforts of Samuel Moffett, who was a member of the New Albany presbytery, and persuaded the presbytery to waive the normal canonical regulation which required an ordinand to have had presbyterian seminary training. Gale was ordained on the basis of his record in Korea. He stayed with the Moffett family in their house at Madison, Indiana, and Moffett took part in the examination of the candidate and gave the charge at the ordination service.

After this the Gales went to stay in Washington DC, where Harriet's

relatives were living. The family became the designated missionaries of the Washington Sunday Schools, and Gale remained their special correspondent till he left Korea in 1927. In Washington he again met Prince Uihwa. Early in 1898, in New York, he spoke at the international convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, the organization which had been responsible for his own missionary vocation, and told the delegates of the conditions of missionary work in Korea. He also visited Toronto and his native district in Ontario.

During the same furlough he prepared a book of essays called *Korean Sketches*, giving his first impressions of Korea. Some of them had previously appeared in *The Korean Repository* and elsewhere. He speaks resignedly of the discomforts caused by fleas in inns, and the curiosity of the town rabble; his humour bubbles over in describing the tantrums of Korean ponies and the relationships between foreign residents and their Korean servants; he frankly recognizes that petticoat government is normal in Korean households; he shows how deeply he had already penetrated the apparent illogicality of the Korean mind. He was unusually perspicacious about religion when he wrote: 'Because Korea has no religion apart from her national life-her whole existence, from king to coolie, being one complicated system of ancestor-worship-one may easily fail to notice what enters so subtly into every detail of her life.' He also wrote a telling paragraph on a coolie's disregard for wages reckoned as a measure of work done. He tells of community stone-fights, of tigers and ghosts, of prayer-drums on Korean junks, of a royal procession in Seoul, and of men who lived in squalid huts but wore silken clothes. He includes a conversation at Washington in 1898 with Yi Pomjin, Korean Minister to the USA, evidently approving Yi's prophetic recommendation of the abolition of Chinese characters and the exclusive use of Korean alphabetic script as a help towards the modernization of his country. In a chapter on special friends, Gale includes H.H. the Prince Uihwa, as well as a rascally boatman, an old ex-slave woman and the buddhist abbot of Sogwang-sa, a charming old man named Umsorha, who discussed religion with Gale and coveted one of the family's cut-glass bonbon dishes. The book gives a catholic sampling of contemporary Korean life, but contains one sentence Gale must have regretted later: 'Literature', he writes on page 61, 'in Korea is a dead letter':

By the time he was thirty-four, James Gale had established a flourishing new mission station, compiled a major dictionary, written a pioneer work on the grammar of Korean, published the first Korean translation from occidental literature, and made fresh drafts of nearly half the New Testament in Korean. He had thus laid the foundation for his own studies in Korean culture and created essential tools for several generations of missionaries.

## v *Educator 1898- 1910*

The Korea to which Gale and his family returned in April 1898 was subtly changed from the Korea in which he had worked before. The Sino-Japanese war

of 1895 had put an end to Chinese suzerainty over the country and Yüan Shih-k'ai bad gone; the king was now styled Emperor of Korea, and had issued proclamations which ensured that modernization would proceed. Outwardly, the life of most Koreans changed only in a few details, but the process of change was irrevocably started. The political struggles of the next decade centred on the rivalry of Japan and Russia for dominance over Korea. The king tried to use Russia against Japan; meanwhile progressive Korean groups were beginning to link the idea of independence with republicanism. The uncertainties of the times made many Koreans ready to listen to the comforting message of christian missionaries, and the first ten years of the twentieth century were a period of marked growth in the churches.

The Gale family returned for a short time to Wönsan. The whole province was being handed over to the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, whose first missionary arrived there in November 1898. Though James Gale was a Canadian, he was employed by an American church, so he had to leave. Negotiations for the hand-over of the property began early in 1899. Swallen left in April, but Gale stayed on till the transfer was complete. Meanwhile he helped the newly- arrived Canadians with their language studies. The Canadian mission agreed to buy the property at the valuation of the American missionary committee on the field, US \$1650, but the American home board raised the price to \$4000 Mexican-Maria Theresa dollars then being the stablest currency in China and Korea. The Canadians on the field not only refused to pay more than the original price bargained for, but made a new condition of purchase: they must be guaranteed a right-of-way to the public thoroughfare. If that was done they were ready to purchase Mrs Gibson's property as well for US \$350. It took over a year to complete the transaction. In the spring of 1900 Yun Ch'ihö , who was to be an important friend of Gale's for the rest of his missionary career, went to the Wönsan area as governor of Tögwön, and assisted in the completion of the deeds of sale. Gale finally handed the title deeds of the property to Dr Grierson of the Canadian Mission in September of that year. The Canadians paid 3,650 yen for the mission property and US\$350 for Mrs Gibson's property.

In the midst of these negotiations the Gales had one of their most distinguished visitors: early in August Prince Henry of Prussia arrived in Wönsan harbour on the SMS *Deutschland*, and came ashore to walk his dachshund. On the 8th the ship's band came as well, and played at a party given for the Prince in the Gales' garden.

On 9 September 1899 the Gale family left Wönsan for Seoul and went to live at Yönmot-kol, 'Lotus-pond Hollow', now called Yönji-dong. Here Gale was to spend all his remaining years in Korea. He lived in a house facing south, with a path leading up from the street gate past the big ginkgo-tree that still stands there. Most of the building was a single-storey Korean house, but the west end by the front door was two-storied. Gale's spacious study was just inside the front door on the left, and the family living quarters were upstairs. It was over-furnished, in the manner of the day, with dry palm-leaves in vases, opulent hangings, Korean screens and knick-knacks, a Bellini madonna and Fra Angelico angels in the bedroom-heavy in taste, but comfortable. The style



of living was ample and the house was hospitable. Korean food was often served, especially for foreign guests. Nip was replaced by Petite.

At the mission meeting of 1899 Gale reported that he had spent three months of the year at Wönsan, and then six months on translation projects and the correction of his *Korean Grammatical Forms*. This book was re-issued in 1903 by the Methodist Press in Seoul, better printed than the first edition, with a smaller typeface. The material was slightly rearranged, and the Korean spelling brought up to date, in line with a recent spelling reform promulgated by the government in the first official encouragement of Korean script in modern times. The script was now described as *kungmun*, 'national script', instead of *önmun*, 'vulgar script', which had been the name used previously and in practice remained the colloquial term for another forty years.

In 1900 Gale became pastor of the Yönmot-kol church (predecessor of the present Yöndong church) which stood very close to the missionaries' houses, half a mile inside the Great East Gate, and had been started nearly a decade earlier by his friend Daniel Gifford. Gifford's sudden death in April 1900 caused the vacancy filled by Gale. In 1903 the buildings had to be enlarged. In 1904 Gale reported a normal Sunday congregation of 163 people, and had baptized 35 and admitted 36 catechumens during the year. His sermons were remembered as uncomplicated and forceful. He never used notes when preaching, and none of his sermons were ever published, but some of his sermon notes survive, and together with his articles and essays, suggest what his preaching must have been like. The outlines are compact and logical, highly scriptural, with fewer anecdotes than one might expect, but with a simple subject and a direct message. At this period he and Underwood preached several missions together. On one occasion in 1900 they addressed a crowd of 1,500 in P'yöngyang.

The first years of his pastorate in Seoul were the last of the Yi dynasty. Even apart from the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5, it was a turbulent and bloody period in Korean politics. Gale, like most westerners in Korea, knew some of the progressive leaders. In May 1900 he boarded a Japanese steamer at Pusan to travel to Chemulp'o. Among the passengers was a man with a pockmarked face who appeared to be Japanese. This man spoke to Gale and reminded him that they had met five years earlier in Prince Uihwa's rooms in Tokyo. He was Kwön Yöngjin, a former statesman who had been exiled for his implication with Japanese policies in Korea and was now returning of his own accord in response to the proclamation of an amnesty. Gale said that Kwön knew he would be murdered in Seoul, and spoke as though his death would be redemptive. On arrival in Seoul he surrendered himself, and he was assassinated in prison on 27 May. It was one of the last outrageous acts done in the name of the Yi dynasty. Hulbert saw it politically as part of a Russian plot, but Gale reflected on the mind of Kwön, who deliberately returned to certain death.

On 27 December 1901 more of Gale's acquaintances from the Tokyo days were beheaded after they landed in southern Korea and began extorting funds from the local gentry on behalf of the exiled progressive, Pak Yöngghyo; but soon Gale was to make friends with political progressives who made a more positive contribution to the development of modern Korea. The Yönmot-kol

church became a centre for twelve converted members of the Independence Club (*Tongnip Hyōphoe*) after they were released from prison, where they had been under sentence because of their radical politics. Most of them had been converted during their imprisonment, when Gale, Bunker and others made special visits to the gaols. Gale was especially interested in Yi Wŏn'gŭng, a scholar and distinguished servant of the Korean Empire, father of the even more famous scholar, Yi Nŭnghwa; Kim Chŏngsik, former chief of police; and Yi Sangjae, Korea's first Postmaster-general, who played a leading part in the early stages of modernizing Korean education, and in founding the Independence Club. The most famous member of the group was Syngman Rhee, who half a century later was to be the Republic of Korea's first President. After his release from prison he went to Gale for advice and baptism. Gale declined to baptize him, because he had studied at the Paejae school, which belonged to the methodist mission, and Gale thought the methodists had a prior claim to him. Nevertheless it was Gale who helped Rhee to write a short autobiography in 1904, and encouraged him to go to America. Gale thought that Rhee was 'called to a higher service' than that of a political reformer—which is an indication of the relative importance of politics and the christian ministry in Gale's thinking.

These progressive leaders were the first significant group of well-born Koreans to become protestant christians. Some of them remained members of the Yŏnmot-kol church for many years, but the attraction that Gale and his faith offered them was as much educational as religious. The social implications of protestant christianity as taught by Gale and his companions represented exactly the kind of enlightenment which these men wished for their country, and the time for the awakening of Korea to modern scientific and social ideas was already overdue.

With some of them—Yi Wŏn'gŭng, Yu Sŏngjun, and Kim Chŏngsik—Gale in 1904 founded an educational association, the *Kyoyuk Hyōphoe*, and during the same period he had other work of the same kind in hand. As early as 1900 he had been encouraging David Yer (Yo Pyŏnghyŏn) and others to establish a Korean YMCA. It was only to be expected that he would want to see the society that originally sent him to Korea become a permanent part of the country's christianity. At last in January 1903 he was able to join David Yer, Yun Ch'ihŏ, Homer Hulbert, the anglican bishop Arthur Turner, the commissioner of customs Sir John McLeavy-Brown, the American consul-general Horace Allen, and others, in founding the Seoul YMCA (*Hwangsŏng Kidok Ch'ŏngnyŏn-hoe*), thus contributing to one of the most influential movements in the modern-ization of Korea. In 1905 he was president of the branch, and when the YMCA building in Chong-no, the main street of Seoul, given by the American business-man Sam Wanamaker, was dedicated in 1908, Gale as chairman of the board of directors took a leading part in the ceremony. In the same year Bishop Turner, who was then president of the Seoul YMCA, and others were anxious that the YMCA should develop a large-scale programme of christian literature, and that Gale should be released from his mission to undertake this as a full-time job. Nothing came of their efforts, but the plan gave recognition to Gale's deepening

concern about providing modern literature for Korea. His friend Yi Sangjae, of the former Independence Club, became secretary of the YMCA in 1907 and played an important role in its development.

From the time that he arrived in Seoul to live, and felt himself at the centre of Korean affairs again, Gale, like most missionaries, began to express his opinions about political developments. He not only had a ready pen, he had two special advantages: his friendship with the Independence Club and other progressive thinkers, and his unusual ability with the Korean language. This ability occasionally led diplomats to call on his services. In December 1900 Queen Victoria made the Emperor of Korea an Honorary Knight Grand Commander of the Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, and the British Minister in Seoul asked Gale to accompany him when he went to the palace to deliver the insignia. There was some embarrassment as to how to get the collar and sash put on without offence to Kojong's imperial dignity. The solution was found when the emperor and his son retired for a while, then re-appeared with the emperor wearing the sash, and the elephant emblem dangling happily on his breast. Shortly afterwards a wily Russian told his majesty that the Order of the Indian Empire was of no more than insignificant glory, so the emperor never wore it again. The Russian was not entirely unjustified.

With such experiences to reinforce his second-hand news-gathering, and with his penchant for writing and passing judgment, Gale became a correspondent for the *North China Daily News* of Shanghai. He wrote for that paper intermittently from the end of October 1899 until August 1905, except for the months during which he was absent from Korea in 1903. After 1905 he may have felt that the Japanese take-over of the Korean government in all but name made it unwise to continue his journalism; at all events, the Shanghai paper began to draw instead on the Japanese-controlled *Seoul Press* and other correspondents.

It is practically impossible to trace with certainty all the articles Gale wrote for the Shanghai paper, because complete files of the *North China Daily News* no longer exist outside Peking. Some of the articles were unsigned, but most were signed 'Esson Third' in honour of his Scottish grandmother's maiden name. In 1901 he recorded that he was in danger because the identity of the writer of his columns was being sought by a group in Seoul; but that hazard did not cramp his style. Occasionally he wrote on cultural topics such as literature, tobacco or eunuchs, and sometimes he wrote a story, usually humorous and heavily satirical. A charming piece of November 1900 entitled 'A new coinage for Korea' tells of the proposition made by a Korean that he and Gale should co-operate in counterfeiting. In 1904 shortly before the Russo-Japanese War broke out, he reported that Seoul was uneasy and the community stone-fights had begun a month earlier than usual. One article gave a scathing pen-portrait of the emperor; another described a Korean attempt to destroy Japan by boiling a map of the island empire. The general tenor of the pieces was that Korea was asleep and unheeding, with a hopelessly corrupt court and short-sighted government, the whole country riddled with superstition, while Japan, though despised by Korea, was superficially and technically superior to Korea, and could help Korea—if she would. He clearly had distaste for Japan, and felt strong loyalty

to Korea, but his loyalty was tempered with exasperation.

It was entirely consonant with this attitude that he should be active teaching young people in school. Both presbyterians and methodists had made attempts to open schools in Seoul. The methodist schools, Paejae for boys, Paehwa and Ihwa (Ewha) for girls, have been important in modern Korean education, but the presbyterians laid less stress on education than the methodists, and the early history of their schools was chequered. Miss Annie J. Ellers had started a school for girls in Chong-dong in 1887, which was moved to Yōnmot-kol in 1895. This was Chongsin Girls' School, which still occupies the same site. Gale was naturally interested in a school so close to his own house, and helped with the teaching there. Among the pupils were Yi Ch'angjik's two daughters, and Gale taught such prominent leaders of the modern Korean education movement as the second of these sisters, Yi Hyegyong, and Kim P'illye (Pillee Kim Choi). They remembered him as a courteous gentleman and enthralling teacher, with astonishingly good spoken Korean. In 1909 when the reorganization of the Korean government under Japanese influence necessitated the registration of schools, and Chongsin became a recognized institution for the first time, Gale was named as the official founder of the school. This was because its previous history was ignored by the government, and the documents required a legal fiction. Thus Gale's name was recorded as founder of a school whose history dates back before his arrival in Korea.

He was more directly concerned with the education of boys and youths. The early presbyterian attempt at a boys' school in Chōng-dong, where he had helped Moffett, had not done well. In 1902 Gale started again, giving lessons in rooms of his own house and the church buildings at Yōnmot-kol. At first six boys attended, aged between 14 and 20. It was called the Intermediate School (*Yesu-gyo Chung-hakkyo*). Later, in 1905, when a brick building was erected on a site specially acquired beside the church compound, the school became known in English as 'The John D. Wells Training School for Christian Workers', after the President of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA during the early years of the Korean mission, who had died at the age of 88 in 1903. Gale himself insisted in 1905 on a suitable Korean name being devised for the school, and with the help of his friends, Yi Ch'angjik, Kim Chōngsik and Yu Sōngjun, chose *Kyōngsin*, 'to arouse to what is new'. In the same year Gale handed the school over to Edward H. Miller, but for some years he continued to teach the boys astronomy and christian history. Certain lessons and functions were conducted together with the Chongsin girls, with a curtain down the middle of the room to screen the sexes from each other. Gale's school still exists as Kyōngsin Middle and High School in Hye-hwa-dong, Seoul.

Gale produced a series of four *Korean Readers* (*Yumong ch'ōnja*), owing much to the Ontario Public School Books, for use in these schools. The first three books were written in contemporary Korean book-language, combining Chinese and Korean scripts. They contain information about science (especially astronomy) and world history, health and modernization, stories from English and American literature, all with suitable moral reflections. The last book was written entirely in Chinese, and consisted of selected passages from Korean writers,

which show that by 1904 Gale had formed a discriminating acquaintance with Korean literature. The language of the books is now dated. The vocabulary not only includes such things as *chongsae* (coir colour) for 'brown', *samu* for 'work' of all kinds (now restricted to office work), *wasa*, from the Japanese *gasu*, for 'gas', and Sino-Korean *sis*a for 'Caesar', but was designed to train readers in the book-language of the day, literary Chinese. There was no attempt to improve the use of the Korean vernacular, and the forms of the Chinese characters were often recondite. Two examples translated from the first volume show the fusion of poetry, elementary science, and presbyterian morality that gives these books their peculiar cachet. The students were warned against eating raw fruit, encouraged to adopt capitalism (with bookkeeping), to trust paper money, to be punctual by using modern timepieces; and they were taught some meteorology:

Children, do you know what those white masses are that flock together in the sky in the daytime and colour it pink in the twilight? They encircle the mountains and cover the trees, they settle on the great crags. They are like smoke or snow, or like mountain peaks, so that in olden days men of leisure who passed their time composing poetry about nature took them as a subject for impromptu verse; but they never discussed their real nature.

Now, because the earth is always warmed by the sun, vapours rise into the air from the surface of the sea and land, and become clouds. If, as they pass through the sky, they suddenly meet cool air, rain is formed, and if the rain meets colder air as it falls, it turns to hail, or in winter-time to snow that flutters gently down. The reddening of the western sky at evening is clouds reflecting the light of the sun.

The calvinistic ethic is clearest in the lesson on trading:

No human occupation is superior to trading ... Trade is a peaceful warfare. As supplies have to be prepared for the battlefield, capital is needed for trading; as weapons are needed on the battlefield, a good reputation is needed in trading; as strategy is needed in battle, so it is necessary to know the qualities and prices of goods. The unprepared will be defeated in trade as they are in battle. Truth and honesty create goodwill and fairness. Honesty means more than not stealing another man's goods, it means behaving conscientiously in all matters ... Koreans who intend to go into business should attend a commercial school to study goods, prices, and book-keeping.

The stories in the third *Reader* include 'The Diffident Man'. The diffident man was a clumsy fellow who overcame his shyness and accepted an invitation to dine out, but upset a bottle of ink in the ante-room before dinner. Desperately, he mopped it up with his handkerchief. Later, at table, he burned his mouth with hot pudding and wiped his sweating face with the inky handkerchief. The humour of this tale must have appealed to the young Koreans who used the

textbook. Their own jokes are often intrinsically similar.

Some of the other western stories used in the *Readers* were: Addison's *Vision of Mirza*, the discovery of America by Columbus, Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans, the death of little Paul (from *Dombe y and Son*), the death of Pliny at Vesuvius, an extract about Man Friday from *Robinson Crusoe*, and accounts of the Boston Teaparty, the Battle of the Nile, Beethoven's 'Moonlight Sonata', Alfred the Great, Richard Coeur-de-Lion, Grace Darling, Thomas à Becket, and Cincinnatus. The influence of the Ontario Public School Books is evident. Most of the stories convey some useful lesson, such as Columbus's teaching that the world is round, the patriotism of Leonidas, Pliny's thirst for scientific knowledge, and the hope of after-life in the story of little Paul's death. The Korean texts in Chinese in Volume IV (*Yumongsokp'yŏn*) included the *Hung fan* from the *Shu ching*, which was regarded as Korean because Ch'i Tzu (Kija) was supposed to have written it. The remainder were prose extracts from such writers as King Sejong (a decree on abstinence from wine, taken from the *Kukcho pogam*), Yi Saek, Chong Mongju, Yi Kyubo, Chŏng Tojŏn, Kwŏn Kun, Yi Yulgok, and Hong Yangho. Gale's chief sources were the *Tongguk yŏji sungnam* and the *Tongmun-sŏn*. It is significant that he also included the preface to *Hunmin chŏngŭm*, the original publication of the Korean vernacular alphabet.

A story from his days as principal of the school illuminates Gale's approach to some Korean customs. He deplored the use of the old-style mourner's hat, a huge beehive-shaped affair of straw, which completely hid the wearer's face, and was supposed to prevent him looking up to heaven because he was guilty of the death of his parent. For some years christians debated discarding it because of its superstitious meaning, but they never plucked up enough courage to brave the accusations of filial impiety which would be hurled at them if they forsook it. In September 1904 the mother of Kim Pyŏnghŭi, one of the schoolboys, died. She had become a christian as a result of her son's encouragement. Gale seized his chance: 'Your mother is in heaven, and you did not kill her, but were the means of her salvation. You are not condemned before God and unable to look up, but are a happy boy.' The boy attended the funeral wearing a small white hat, and was severely criticized. 'Beads of perspiration gathered on Pyŏnghŭi's nose, but he went through it like a man', and other christians decided to follow his example. Gale's attitude may seem severe, but he was clearly doing what the Korean christians wanted him to do.

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society fostered scholarship of a different kind. It was founded at a meeting held in the Seoul Union on 11 June 1900, and Gale was elected Corresponding Secretary. In the first year of the Society's existence he presented two papers of which in many ways the more interesting was an account of the city of Seoul, called 'Hanyang', published in 1901. It was based on the study of Chinese-language texts which were not then available in modern reprints, and is still a quarry for information about the city.

Some of the best writing in 'Hanyang' is a translation from the *Ch'ao-hsien fu*, written by the Ming envoy Tung Yŭeh in 1488, and printed at the beginning of the *Yŏji sungnam*. These two extracts are typical:

When there is a message from the emperor, the king comes out to meet his envoy here (at the Mohwa kwan). The *kwan* is used as a rest-house for the envoy, and also as a gathering place for the officers of state. When the message arrives, the king puts on his ceremonial robes and crown, and comes out to meet the ambassador. The ministers, with pins in their headgear, stand like ibises in attendance, while old and young gather on the hills to see, and towers and gates are filled with people in gaudy dress. Houses are decorated and music is wafted on the breeze, drums beat, flags fly, incense goes up like mist in the morning; peach and plum blossoms give colour, and noise of moving horses and chairs is heard. The stone 'sea-lions' bask in the sun that rises from the sea: in front of the Kwanghwa Gate they sit east and west, high as towers, wonderfully hammered out. Like monkeys of Wu-shan, acrobats perform: with boys high on their shoulders they dance and cut capers, walking the tightrope like sons of fairies-with boots on too-same as mountain spirits crossing stepping-stones. They are masked, in horse-skins, as lions and elephants, and they dance as fabled birds, decorated with pheasant tails. Nothing was seen in Songdo or P'yöngyang that compared with this. (YJSN I 6a4-b3)

There were five layers of honeyed bread and other things piled up a foot or more above the tables; the several dishes of bamboo, brass, etc., were arranged in order, and a border of hanging gems was fastened round the table. Silk cut into pieces formed flowers, and painted pictures of the phoenix were used as ornamentation. There was an absence of fruit upon the tables. Round cakes made of honey and flour and cooked in oil were placed in a circle on the dishes in different layers and in various colours, piled up until they were a foot high and more. There were also silver and white metal dishes having eight-horned borders, ornamented with blue gems, over which were laid four kinds of silk flower-leaves. Along each border there were nails of white metal made like to pearl flowers of China. Green silk decorations were embroidered with peacocks, their tails beautifully spread and their wings lifelike, all with heads down as though bowing to the guests. Koreans like to make a display when they set a table, piling up in front and leaving less at the rear. One table was arranged like the character 'one' (一). There were dainties and rice soup, like Chinese *mi-kao* and *liao-hua*, pickled relish and soy. Their fermented spirit is made of glutinous rice, and not of millet as ours, and yet it was if anything superior. The aroma spread through the room in a way that sur passes even that of Chinese drink. The flavour was of the finest, like the 'Autumn Dew' of Shantung. The wine-cups were lined out like the figure one and covered with a silk spread.

As we were seated on the mat, his majesty suddenly arose, stepped out and looked at the tables. I did not know what he meant to do until he picked up one himself and brought it forward, desiring thus to show honour. Beef, mutton and pork were among the dishes. When these

were cut, the minister first tasted. Last of all there was a large table of *man-t'ou*, with a cover of silver on the dish. One official with a knife, who had cut the meat, also divided the *man-t'ou*. There were in the *man-t'ou* walnuts, dates and other things prepared and seasoned suitably. The meat used in it was all of well-fed animals. There were mutton sausages strung on sticks and broiled. Various kinds of fruits were mixed up in the preparation of them.

Dainties and soup were brought in a second time, till there was no place to put them, and so dishes were removed from the tables and put on the mats in order to make way. After eating fish and fishy food, they brought us lotus roots to sweeten the breath. (YJSN I8a7-9a5)

This account of the reception of the imperial envoy by King Songjong shows the translator's lack of experience, but gives a vivid picture of Korean manners in the fifteenth century. The other paper, 'The Influence of China upon Korea', the first ever given before the Society, throws more light on Gale's times and on personalities. He read it in the Seoul Union at four o'clock in the afternoon on 24 October 1900 in the presence of the US Minister, Horace Allen, and others, with HBM Chargé d'Affaires, J. H. Gubbins, in the chair. The paper gave a fair picture of the way in which Korean culture had been overshadowed by China. It provoked strong objections from Homer Hulbert. On 29 November he read a paper to disprove Gale's contentions and establish the importance of native Korean culture. His paper failed to make the most important points that might have been made in favour of his position. Gale's thesis required some modification, but his devastating rebuttal of Hulbert, and the suave remarks by the president of the Society, the methodist George Heber Jones, still make good reading. Jones quietly made the points that Hulbert ought to have made but did not.

History has so far dealt gently with Hulbert because, though belatedly, he vigorously espoused Korea's cause against Japanese imperialism. He was always in competition with others as a Koreanologist; in fact George Jones, Mark Trollope, and Gale were by far his superiors. He was unable to read Chinese, and bitterly sarcastic about those who could, so although he wrote excellent accounts of things he had seen for himself, he made serious misjudgments on some aspects of Korean culture. From 1901 to 1905 he produced his own magazine, *The Korea Review*, writing it almost entirely himself. Only three articles by Gale were published in it, all during its first year.

After a sparkling beginning, the Royal Asiatic Society in Seoul was active for three years. Then it went into eclipse and was not revived until 1911, when Bishop Trollope returned to Korea after ten years in England. From 1902 onwards, Gale was too busy with bible translation to do serious work for the Society. He, the methodist Appenzeller, and the presbyterian William Davies Reynolds, were appointed to form a translation committee small enough to make reasonably fast progress. In March 1902 they met at Reynolds's house in Mokp'o. During a month of meetings there they standardized the Korean forms of three thousand scriptural proper names. These forms survive in



common protestant use to this day. The three men then arranged to meet again in Mokp'o for a further month's work before the rainy season. Gale arrived on time, but Appenzeller was detained in Seoul because of injuries received at the hands of some Japanese when visiting a country church. While they were waiting for him to arrive in Mokp'o, Gale and Reynolds worked on I Corinthians. Then news came that on 11 June Appenzeller and his Korean helper had been drowned in a shipwreck when the Japanese steamer in which they were travelling to Mokp'o had collided with another in a fog eighty-six miles south of Chemulp'o. As a result of this tragedy, H. G. Underwood was appointed to replace Appenzeller, and the committee moved to Seoul, where between October 1902 and March 1906 they met in 555 sessions from 8.30 to 12.30 in the mornings and from 2 to 4 in the afternoons. Their plan was only to complete the New Testament, but Gale made drafts of Proverbs and both books of Samuel in addition.

There was a six-month break in the committee's schedule from April to October, 1903, while Gale visited his wife and stepdaughters in Switzerland. They had gone to Lausanne in 1900 because of Hettie's health and the children's schooling, and remained there for six years. The girls went to a French school and Grandma Gibson taught them English at home. In the vacations they went as far afield as Holland and Germany: they were being 'finished' as nearly as possible. Keeping one's family in Switzerland strikes today's missionary as expensive, but one of the reasons for the plan was economy: life in Switzerland was simple and inexpensive. Mr Oiesen's Chinese wife and three children, one of whom was deaf, went with the Gales. Hattie received no missionary stipend while in Switzerland, and lived by boarding these children, together with Kuai- sun, the son of a wealthy Chinese from Tientsin.

Gale kept a diary of his journey across Asia by the Trans-Siberian Railway. He sailed from Chemulp'o on Saturday 18 April 1903 in the Russian ship *Argun*. The captain, a Russian of English descent, made a friend of Gale and talked to him at length. The following day was Russian Easter, and the crew had received the *antidoron* from the chaplain of a Russian man-o'-war, so they felt free to get drunk during the night. When Gale rose to a Sunday breakfast of caviare, cold meat and coffee, he found the decks strewn with drunken sailors busily kissing each other.

On Monday morning the *Argun* put in at Port Arthur, then under Russian control. The harbour was magnificent, but the town, with its streets full of Cossack police and patchwork mules, was a dreary fortress relieved only by the gorgeous dress of the Tsarist officers and their ladies. Gale scented war in the air and saw the Russo-Japanese conflict coming. The ship sailed on to Dalny, a half-finished place where armies of coolies were blasting for railway works, and the waterfront was still under construction. The part already finished was piled with mountainous heaps of coal, and the whole town was subject to the famous dust-storms of the Liaotung peninsula. Here one boarded the train for Moscow, but it left every Sunday night at eleven, and Gale had arrived on a Monday. He proposed to fill out the week with a visit to the missionaries in Mukden, and board the train there a week later. He found that this was not

possible: he had to return to Dalny to buy his ticket to Siberia on the day the train left.

On Sunday morning 26 April he was back at Dalny from Mukden, but still could not buy his ticket till the evening. He went to church and attended a Russian liturgy, which he thought 'simple and naive'. Late in the evening he managed to buy a ticket as far as the Russian-Manchurian frontier. It cost 55 dollars, first class, for the 1300-mile, three-day journey. The train was plush and comfortable, with electric lights and ornamental mirrors, spacious and smoothly-running because of its five-foot gauge. It was very different from his first journey across Manchuria in a cart, twelve years before. Next morning as they sped northwards along the South Manchurian Railway, he saw again the life of the Liaotung countryside, with pigtailed peasants dressed in blue, coffins above ground, a Chinese farmer pushing his pig and his wife in the same wheelbarrow; but Cossack cavalry drilling in the old town of Liao-yang was a reminder that the Russians were in control of Manchuria. He passed through Mukden again, and hours later crossed the long iron bridge over the Sungari river into the station at Harbin. Harbin was the junction for Vladivostok, and they had to wait an hour and a half. Gale heard Cossack soldiers singing, and toured the town before the train went on, now westwards along the Chinese Eastern Railway. Another day brought them to the walled city of Tsitsihar before they began to climb the Great Khingan Mountains, where three thousand coolies were making a tunnel. Meanwhile the train had engines front and rear which pulled and shunted it up the mountains in four great zigzags. At the top they met the eastbound express and both trains stopped while the conductors got down and kissed each other. It was very cold now; when they got out at the stations to promenade, a German lady paraded her dog in several changes of coloured coat, and some of the passengers played snowballs.

At seven o'clock on Thursday morning they reached the Siberian frontier at Manchou-li, where Gale bought a ticket to Warsaw, 5555 miles away, for 85 dollars. Ice and snow were everywhere; it was bitterly cold. The train went on to join the Trans-Siberian railway at Tarski. Mounted tribesmen watched over great herds of cattle, sheep and camels in this 'land of lamas', where the shaggy people lived in dug-out houses. At one of the halts Admiral Kuzmich, retiring at the end of a commission in the East, impressed Gale by talking kindly to an old Buryat camel-driver. So they passed along the Shilka River, through Chita, and over the Yablonovyy Mountains.

Next day, 1 May, they came down to Mysovsk on the east shore of Lake Baikal. The lake was frozen hard and covered with snow. The railway round the south end of it was still not finished, and passengers had to leave the train to board the ferry. The famous *Baikal*, white and ungainly, with two funnels set athwartships, went first and broke the ice, while the passengers followed in the *Angara*. The twenty-mile crossing took four hours. Gale went down to the second-class dining-saloon, where great quantities of Russian tea were being drunk, and the thunderous din of the ice-breaking made conversation difficult. Nevertheless he managed to chat in French and German with Pavel Valesuk, military post agent from Dalny, who was travelling to central Asia to drink *kumis*, the

fermented mare's-milk of the steppes that proved such a good remedy for tuberculosis; with a Russian agent for American agricultural machinery; and a Siberian university student who was intensely proud of his homeland.

They came ashore on the west side of the lake in a snowstorm, but boys were running up and down the platform selling oranges and lemons. A forty-mile run brought the train to Irkutsk. Gale spoke of its 'scintillating domes and towers' and the rich fur coats he saw in the streets of that flourishing centre of trade, where there was an average of three murders a week. It was the wildest city in Siberia, a huge dirty frontier town, like the American wild west with a tsarist veneer of churches, museums and expensive hotels. The stationmaster politely informed the passengers that there would be no Moscow express leaving for three days. Admiral Kuzmich did not take the news easily, and it was found possible for the passengers to leave next morning at six on the ordinary train. They received back one third of the fare from Irkutsk to Moscow. It was paid, much to Gale's astonishment, in gold coin.

After Irkutsk the architecture of the stations was more splendid, but Siberia appeared to be one vast military camp, with tsarist authority making itself felt everywhere. Besides the naval officers in their dark blue and the army in their light blue-grey, there were the ubiquitous railway police. The train trundled on through the evergreen forests of the taiga for about 650 miles till it crossed the Yenisei River at Krasnoyarsk. Krasnoyarsk too was full of onion-domed churches, but looked like 'an exiled Pittsburgh'. On 6 May they crossed the Ob River and saw the sled road still visible on the ice. Coming out into the Siberian Plain through a landscape dotted with wooden windmills, the train approached Omsk, where Dostoyevsky had lived and suffered, and where there was a *kumis* sanatorium. From here till Moscow, as he looked out of the train windows over the steppes where the Kirghiz herdsmen rode, Gale saw the marmots sitting on their haunches, like the prairie dogs of his Canadian home.

The next day they were at Chelyabinsk, among the birchwoods, with its nearby Monument of Tears built by Siberian convicts. When the sun rose, the train clocks pointed to 2.30 a.m. as the time in St Petersburg. Gale had to change cars and wait for an hour and a half. He visited the town and saw more gilded churches, many warehouses, and huge piles of American-made agricultural implements, but no bookshop.

When the train left Chelyabinsk it began to climb the foothills of the Urals, which it crossed the next day. At last they were in a land of spring: the ploughing had started and birds were singing in the trees when Gale drank Russian tea with lemon in it for fifteen kopeks a glass at Miass. Later they stopped at Zlatoust, the iron town, where, only a month before, a strike by the iron-workers had been cruelly crushed by the military. The passengers bought souvenirs. Gale bought a pie-knife. Very soon afterwards they must have passed the stone pyramid at Urzhumka that marked the boundary between Asia and Europe, but Gale made no record of it.

The Ufa valley was deep in spring floods. Beyond the next range of hills was the Volga valley, and the line crossed the great river just before Syzran. Soon they were at Tula, where they had to change again. Gale noted the chapels

built into the station. Admiral Kuzmich was off to Sebastopol for his health's sake, and at Tula he bade his fellow-passengers goodbye with profuse kisses. He even kissed the stiff English infantry captain who had worn a summer suit as they crossed Lake Baikal in the snow.

The train for Moscow left at midnight. Gale had trouble because he had put his case on top of a lady's hat and could not understand her Slavic expostulations. They rattled northwards through the dark and arrived at Moscow on the morning of 10 May, fifteen days and six hours after leaving Dalny. Gale called Moscow 'a golden city', and stopped keeping his travel journal. He had found the trip a great pleasure: 'I like the Russians,' he wrote, 'and with mingled hopes and fears . . . await the progress of their empire.' The Russians were important for Korea, and Gale was in their country for the first time. If Poland and central Europe made any impression on him, no record of it survives. He must have been growing impatient for his reunion with his wife and the two girls. While he was with them in Switzerland that summer he wrote, with assistance from Hattie, his only novel, *The Vanguard*. (The title was the publisher's idea.) It is a spirited, entertaining and sentimental account of the presbyterian mission in northern and eastern Korea, chiefly P'yöngyang and Wönsan. The core of the book, according to Gale, was the autobiography of Ko Ch'anik, a Wönsan man who became an elder of Yönmotkol church; but the most vivid characters are thinly-disguised portraits of missionaries: Samuel Moffett as the hero; Malcolm Fenwick as the maverick Fireblower; Graham Lee, the ebullient bachelor, called Plum by a Korean pun on his surname; and Gale himself blended with Mr Duff of Elora and caricatured as a literary Scot, McKechern. The doctor, Sir James, is a composite portrait of Dr Heron and Dr Hall; Appenzeller appears as Foster, and Underwood as Gilbert. The portraits of Koreans, mostly lower-class converts, include, apart from Ko, Gale's 'boy' (called the Dragon), and Pang and Kim of P'yöngyang. They are warm and unvarnished. There is a good description of the *General Sherman* incident of 1866, when an American ship of that name was destroyed at P'yöngyang and all aboard her were massacred, including the British missionary, Robert Thomas. There is also an account of the troubles with Korean Roman Catholics, who forced some protestants to contribute money for building a Roman church at Sinhwan-p'o, in Chaeryong prefecture of Hwanghae province in 1902. It is substantially true, and is one of the few examples of Gale's adverse reporting on Christians not of his own denomination.

He took the manuscript back to Korea with him. On the return journey across Siberia, he was pestered by the Russian police, who were especially inquisitive about documents, so he concealed the pages somehow inside his trousers. The book was published in 1904 by Fleming Revell in New York, and was given an enthusiastic notice in the *Korea Review*. H. H. Underwood, in his bibliography of western writings on Korea (1930) wrote coolly that it was 'as accurate a picture as is found in most such fiction', but included it in his list of fifty basic titles on Korea. Though it would be absurd to overestimate the book's virtues, it would be equally so to overlook the abundant sincerity and enthusiasm it demonstrates for Korea and the gospel.

In March 1906 Gale again left Seoul to join his family in Switzerland, and travelled by rail across Siberia. It must have been a colder journey this time, though he was spared the ferry across Lake Baikal, for the railway round the south end of the lake had been completed. Tsarist Russia was still a militant state, but the Russo-Japanese war of 1904 had put an end for the time being to her oriental designs. Korea itself was now firmly under Japanese tutelage; Russian influence in south Manchuria had been broken. Gale cannot have failed to notice the difference.

After a short holiday in Switzerland the family visited England in early July before going to the United States for the main part of the furlough, which was only the second in Gale's eighteen years of missionary service. They did not visit Canada, but were again based on Washington DC. There was a tremendous welcome meeting, with Henry B. F. Macfarland, mayor of the city, in the chair, and Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court, and Chief Justice Peelle of the Court of Claims, among the speakers. Also in the welcome committee were Dr Teunis Hamlin and other directors of Howard University, then a university attended chiefly by negro students. The directors of Howard had prepared for the visit by awarding Gale an honorary doctorate of divinity on 31 May 1904, and sent the certificate to him in Korea. The degree honoured his literary work and especially his contribution to bible translation.

During this furlough President Roosevelt asked Gale to call on him to report on the personal character of the US Minister in Seoul. Since foreign legations in Seoul had been abolished a year previously when Japan assumed direction of Korea's foreign relations, it looks as though Roosevelt was still pursuing Horace Allen, whom he had recalled in 1905; but no record is available of Gale's conversation at the White House.

Between 1900 and 1906 his intense activity in bible translation had no doubt helped to compensate for his separation from Harriet. He was overjoyed when she and the girls returned with him to Seoul from America in August 1907. The event was made even more moving by the enthusiastic party given for them by elder Ko Ch'anik and other members of the Yŏnmot-kol church. Grandma Gibson remained in America, but Annie was now an official missionary of the Presbyterian Church, teaching in the Chŏngsin School. Gale returned to his routines of teaching, preaching and literary work. Almost immediately he was elected pastor of the English-language Union Church of Seoul for 1908, and in the same year he was elected second moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, a position held by only six westerners.

During 1907 the Korean presbyterian and methodist churches were rocked by a revival movement that became the wonder of the christian world, though it sometimes shocked the missionaries by its fervour. No mention of it remains in Gale's writings. Its peak was reached before his return from furlough, and he was doubtless preoccupied with Harriet's poor health, but it would be typical of his Scottish tradition if he distrusted the ecstatic signs of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit that were reported from so many Korean churches. His own congregation at Yŏnmot-kol seems not to have been affected, though it was growing fast. Between May and November 1905 the building was enlarged three

times, but it was still too small. The swelling congregation included the famous royal court sorceress, Chillyōng-gun. By 1907 the average attendance was 550, with two Sunday schools, one for boys and one for girls, whose membership totalled 800. The year's contributions from the congregation amounted to \$1610.24, slightly less than \$3 per capita of average attendance, at a time when the price of unskilled labour was from 15 to 25 cents a day. In 1907 they contributed two-thirds of the construction costs of a completely new wooden church, seating 1200 people, which was dedicated after Gale's return.

About the same time Ko Ch'anik entered the seminary at P'yōngyang; but he died early in 1908. The seminary had been opened in 1901 under Moffett's direction, and was intended to serve the whole Korean presbyterian church. At the beginning there was a single three-month semester each year, and Gale used to go for a six-week lecture stint. On 19 May 1908 he laid the foundation stone of the new building of the seminary. The first class had graduated in 1907, with Han Sōkchin as one of its members.

Little remains, apart from the four *Readers*, to show what Gale did in literature between his first and second furloughs, or immediately after his return in 1907. Work on the bible and Korean-language christian newspapers occupied most of his time. As early as 1901 he had temporarily relieved H. G. Underwood as editor of *The Christian News (Kurisudo sinmun)*, a joint methodist and presbyterian enterprise. He undertook the same job again in July 1905 and continued it, apart from his furlough, for five years. In December 1907 the name of the paper was changed to *The Church Herald (Yesu-gyo sinbo)*. The name was changed again in February 1910 to *The Christian News (Yesu-gyo hoebo)*, when the ownership was taken over by the Korean presbytery, and Gale relinquished the editor-ship to his old friend Han Sōkchin. These papers appeared fortnightly. The *Herald* had contained general and political news, in line with Gale's educational concern, but the new paper was more strictly evangelistic in content.

Meanwhile Gale had been an indefatigable proofreader for the bible translation committee, and after his return from furlough, in the course of four or five months, he reviewed the translations of Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. In 1906 his collaborator Yi Ch'angjik was nominated as one of the first three Koreans officially appointed to the bible translation committee.

In 1906 Gale published a Korean translation of the *Shorter Catechism* of the presbyterian church (*Sōnggyōng yori mundap*). His version of Robert's *Rules of Order (Ŭihoe t'ongyong kyuch'ik)*, based on Yun Ch'ih'o's translation, probably also dates from this period. His life of Martin Luther in Korean, *Rut'o kaegyō kiryak*, was published in 1908 as one of a series of modern educational books. In 1909 he classified christian literature work under three headings. Among work for Korean readers he gave pride of place to the bible, commenting on the impetus it had given in making a nation of readers out of a nation of non-readers. This was chiefly due to the use of the native phonetic alphabet. Other christian books had followed the bible, he said, and had 'contributed to bring about a simple form of composition, unknown before, but now employed by novel-writers, newspaper editors, and literary people in general'. His second category was literature for missionaries, chiefly dictionaries and language aids. New books

of this kind were needed, but not likely to be written because potential writers were fully occupied by the great demands for direct evangelistic work. His third category was missionary information for the church at home, of which he recorded an adequate supply in print, including his own *Korean Sketches* and *The Vanguard*.

The political and cultural background of Korean life was now changing more rapidly. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 had eliminated Russian influence. Railways and mails were functioning under Japanese direction, banks were operating, Seoul had telephones. On 18 November 1905 the Japanese had engineered the signing of a 'protectorate treaty'. Hulbert, who up to this time had favoured Japanese policies, suddenly began making efforts as an amateur diplomat to stop their progress. In July 1907 he was present at the second International Peace Conference at The Hague, trying to fight for Korea behind the scenes, but on 19 July the Japanese forced the Korean king to abdicate in favour of his impotent son, who became a puppet emperor. The Korea to which Gale returned was already under *de facto* Japanese rule, and it was merely a matter of time before it became a colony in the Japanese empire. It was impossible for Hulbert to return to Korea to live.

During August and September 1908, Gale was writing *Korea in Transition*, a book to be used by young presbyterians in America for study courses in 1909 and 1910. The book was translated into Danish almost immediately, along with *The Vanguard* - a sign of widespread interest in Korea at a crucial point in her history.

In 1909, when Gale's entry for *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* was written, he was described as 'the foremost literary interpreter of the Korean mind to the occidental world'. It might have been added that he had also done great things in introducing occidental ideas to Korea. That part of his work was now to be of much less importance, because Japan had taken control of Korean education, and foreigners were strictly limited in the contribution they were allowed to make. Gale's four *Readers* were eventually banned. When he protested, he was told by the censor that his inclusion of Kipling's story 'Moti Guj—Mutineer' in the third volume was inflammatory, because in that story the elephant refused to serve his second master, and Koreans might understand this as a suggestion that they should refuse to serve their new master, the emperor of Japan. The pretext was silly, but the Japanese were entirely serious: their aim was to standardize all educational materials according to their own norms. This incident and the later brutalities of 1919 destroyed the last traces of Gale's confidence in Japan's ability to lead Korea. In the Korea of the Japanese his work had to change.

His family life changed too, and tragically. Harriet had been cured of tuberculosis in Switzerland, but her physical strength had never matched the robustness of her will. Barely six months after her return to Seoul, on 29 March 1908, she died in a room filled by mourning Koreans. She declared that for the last eight nights of her life her soul had been taken from her body and rapt into heaven. Gale wrote: 'The resultant impression made by her last days is one impossible to express. Words do not touch it at all. Out of the world, yet in it; up in heaven,

and still here suffering; beautifully victorious, and yet helplessly dying. We look back upon it as the most tender, most solemn, most real moment of life, never to be forgotten.' She was forty-eight years old; he was forty-five. They had been married for sixteen years, but had spent less than ten of those years together, and little more than five of them together in Korea. They had no children—they had travelled a great deal and her health had never been good. She is buried in Yanghwa-jin cemetery for foreigners, in the same grave as her first husband.

For the next two years his stepdaughters kept house for Gale: Annie taught at Chōngsin Girls' School; Jessie was the practical one. On 15 December 1908 Tz'ŭ-hsi, the Empress Dowager of China, died, and the two Heron girls were soon afterwards invited by an English friend to stay in Peking and see the spectacular funeral. There Annie again met Esson M. Gale, son of Dr Gale's physician brother, Hugh. Esson had gone to China as a student interpreter of the United States consular service. In November 1909 he became engaged to Annie, who prepared to marry him and leave the Seoul household.

Dr Gale's parents both died during the same year.

## vi Korean studies 1910 - 1920

On 7 April 1910 Dr Gale married Ada Louisa Sale, eighteen years to the day after his wedding with Harriet. He was now forty-seven and wore spectacles, but was still slim, and his wavy hair had neither greyed nor thinned noticeably. Ada was thirty-five.

She was born at Strines, Marple, Cheshire, on 25 October 1875 and educated in England and Japan. She attended the exclusive Peeresses' School Joshi Gakushuin in Tokyo while she lived at Yokohama, where her father was a partner in Sale, Frazar and Company, shipping agents and merchant bankers. George Sale had been born in 1841, and trained in the silk trade, travelling through Europe and Russia. In the 1880's, being in financial low water, he made a fresh start by moving his family to Japan. He spoke several European languages, and soon added Japanese to his repertoire. His family was prominent in the English-dominated international community of Yokohama, enthusiastic about its tennis, its singing in the church choir, and its chamber music. There was a piano quartet in the family, and Lilian spoke Italian. The Gales had formed a friendship with the Sales while Dr Gale was in Yokohama working on his Korean dictionary in 1896. When the Gales visited England in the summer of 1906, they again met the Sale family, who were living at Beckenham in Kent after their father's retirement. Harriet Gale told her little daughters that she would be happy if they were to grow up as attractive and gifted as Marie and Ada Sale; so when their beloved foster-father planned to marry Ada, who returned to the Orient for the purpose, the Heron girls gave their delighted approval. Indeed, Jessie said that Annie had engineered the whole affair.

The wedding took place in Yokohama. There was a civil ceremony at the British Consulate in the morning, and a service at the Union Church in the afternoon, conducted by T. R. Good of the Reformed Church of America, minister of



the Union Church. Lilian Sale was bridesmaid, and Kim Chōngsik, the former Independence Club member, who had also helped at Kyōngsin School but was now doing YMCA work in Tokyo, was best man. The new Mrs Gale arrived in Seoul with her husband, accompanied by her mother and sister and Annie Heron, on 16 April. Six months later Annie married Esson and went to live in Peking. Jessie for the next nine years divided her time between the two households.

Ada provided James Gale with the comradeship that circumstances had deprived him of in his first marriage. He was always inclined to be dependent on his womenfolk. Ada did her best to join in his missionary work; her musical ability was a great help, and doubtless encouraged him in his efforts to promote a society for the study of Korean music, Chosŏn Ŭmak Yŏn'gu-hoe, in 1917-1919. Her fluency in Japanese helped to foster good relations between the missionaries and the Japanese residents in Korea, whom she visited assiduously. She never forgot that Japan had been her first love, and she had great difficulty in learning Korean. In 1918 she was still officially studying that language. It was said of her later, by way of a family joke, that she only learned three words of Korean: *moksu* (carpenter), which she confused with *moksa* (pastor); *sat'ang* (sugar), which she used for *sok't'an* (coal); and *chigŭm* (now), which she used as a universal imperative.

Japanese, however, was becoming more and more used in Korea, which had been finally annexed to the empire of Japan in October 1910. The Korean monarchy had been abolished, and both Kojong and his son lived in retirement. Few missionaries lifted their voice in protest at the time. Some Koreans regret that Dr Gale was not an independence fighter, but he was no more a political creature than he was a sectarian. His vision was far from impractical, as is amply shown by the energy he put into his work, by his enthusiasm for education, and by his brief contribution in 1907 to a symposium on Korea's greatest need: while many contributors were pious, Gale urged the need for industrial training. Nonetheless, his deepest concern was to understand the Korean mind, and much of his energy between his second marriage and his next furlough was spent in studying Korea and translating her old books.

One of the greatest fillips he received in the prosecution of these studies was a direct result of Japanese involvement in Korea. He was enthusiastic about the editions produced by the Chosen Kosho Kanko-kai, the Society for the Publication of Old Korean Books. It began to issue its volumes in the autumn of 1909, and continued to produce a book a month for seven years. The series contained a haphazard collection of texts, because it depended on the manuscripts and printed editions that happened to be in the possession of members of the society. Some of the geographical works supported old Korean claims about the northern boundaries which China had never recognized, but Japan was interested in maintaining. Gale's interest, however, was early gripped by the volumes of the *Taedong yasŭng*, a miscellany of Korean records written at various times between 1450 and 1650, some important and some merely anecdotal. There were thirteen volumes in this set, published by the Chosen Kosho Kanko-kai between November 1909 and April 1911. The second volume contained a fifteenth-century col-

lection of anecdotes by Yi Yuk, called *Ch'ōngp'a kūktam*, whose weird and occult themes appealed strongly to Gale. In 1911 he had come into possession of a manuscript collection of similar anecdotes attributed to Im Pang (1640-1724). Adding three stories from sources which he never identified in print, Gale translated a selection of these tales and submitted them for publication to J.M. Dent of London. His own title for the manuscript was *Korean Imps, Ghosts and Fairies*, and in his letter to Dent he wrote: 'After a residence in Korea of over twenty-four years, I am struck by the oddity and yet the faithfulness of these stories to the world that I have lived in, but have never been able to find so marked and definite an expression for.' In an article in the *Korea Magazine* in August 1917 Gale admitted that he had no inkling of the Korean tradition of fairies and goblins until he had been in the country for twenty years, then, when he first read of such things, he discovered that his helpers had taken his knowledge of such things for granted. It must have been the *Taedong yasūng* that opened his eyes. For the rest of his time in Korea he delighted in choosing fairy material for translation. Dent accepted the book, gave it the title *Korean Folk Tales* (which, as Arthur Ransome pointed out in an enthusiastic review, was inaccurate, for they were not true folk-tales) and used *Imps, Ghosts and Fairies* as the sub-title. The charming little work was published in London in 1913, and at the same time by Dutton in New York.

Yi Yuk's story, *The Propitious Magpie*, suggests the flavour of the whole collection:

People say that when a magpie builds its house directly south of a home, the master of the house will be promoted in office. King T'aejong had a friend once who was very poor and had failed in all his projects. After various fruitless attempts he decided to wait until the king went out in procession and then to send a servant to build an imitation magpie's nest in some propitious place before him. The king saw it, and asked the man what he was doing. He said in reply that when a magpie builds its nest straight south of a home, the master of the house instantly gets promotion. His master, he said, had waited so long and nothing had come, that he was building an imitation nest to bring it about. The king took pity on him and ordered his promotion at once.

When I was young myself a magpie built its nest before our home, but I, along with other boys, cut off the branch so that the whole nest fell to the ground, and there were the young with their pitiful yellow mouths. I felt sorry and afraid they would die, so on a propitious site to the south I had the nest hung up on a *nut'i* tree (zelkova), where the young all lived and flourished and flew away. In that very winter my father was promoted three degrees in rank and was attached to the office of the prime minister.

Afterwards I built a summerhouse at Ch'ongp'a, and before the house, directly facing south, magpies built a nest in a date tree. I had a woman slave and she pulled it down and used the nest for fuel, but

they came again the next year and built once more. The year following was 1469, when Yejong came to the throne. That year again I was promoted. In the spring of 1471 magpies came and built their nest in a tree just south of my office. I laughed and said: 'There is a spiritual power in the magpie surely, as men have said from olden times, and as I myself have proven.' (TDYS II 21)

*Korean Folk Tales* was dedicated to Gale's first child, George James Morley, who was born in April 1911, and baptized by pastor Kil Sŏnju, the great missionary and educator from P'yŏngyang, who became an intrepid independence leader. George was given the Korean name Cho-se ('Help the world') by his father's Korean scholar-friends, and instead of being sent to day-school with the American missionary children, was educated at home in English style. For a few months when he was eight he went for French lessons to the Sisters of St Paul of Chartres, near the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Myong-dong. By that time Dr Gale was a good friend of the French archbishop of Seoul, Monseigneur Auguste Mutel. The Gales might belong to an America mission, but the education of the family was to be European.

When the second child was born on St Valent in e's day 1916, he was named Vivian Scarth, after his mother's younger brother, Vivian, and when he was baptized in the Yŏnmot-kol church on 30 April by a Japanese pastor, Ino Kuchi, the Japanese name Masao was added. Masao, 'upright man', can also be read as an acceptable Korean name, Chŏngnam, but Masao was convenient for his Japanese amah, Otori. Ada found it easier to communicate with Otori than she had with George's Korean amah.

Gale continued his work on the Korean language. The second edition of his dictionary was published in Yokohama in 1911. It was much expanded, and contained about 50,000 entries. Several thousand historical and geographical proper names were included, setting a fashion which has been kept by most large native Korean dictionaries up to the present day. The order of the words was changed to the Korean alphabetical order. The second part, the dictionary of Chinese characters, was not re-issued till 1914. This part too was considerably revised, and slightly enlarged to include modern meanings for some characters such as 'nitrogen' for the character *chi*/, 'suffocate'.

*Korean Grammatical Forms* appeared in an entirely rewritten version and much smaller format in 1916, remaining in general use until the second world war. It now contained 240 grammatical word-endings and 1,000 sentences and phrases. The material was updated, more christian sentences were included, and the whole book greatly improved. There is plenty of humour in the examples, especially among the proverbs:

*Ch'ŏga chip malttugedo chŏrhagenne* (He would bow to the horse-post of his wife's family).

*Kosumtoch'ido che saekkinŭn hamhamhada handa* (Even a hedgehog thinks his young soft and sleek).

159 *Unhaengipakkat kkŏpchirun semoga china, sok almaengŭnŭn tunggŭmnida*

(The outside of the apricot is cornered, but the kernel is round). Gale had second thoughts about the way he had treated this subject in 1894, because the ginkgo nut has three layers: the fleshy outside encloses a ridged shell, inside which is the round edible part.

367 *Haesamun mokkido haryoniwa, pidane p'urhanunde ssununira* (Sea-slugs can be eaten, and are also used as starch for silk).

Old sentences were improved and mistakes corrected:

58 *P'ogyange kim maegich'orom yagyaklzan kosun opso* (Nothing is harder than pulling weeds in the scorching heat).

Errors such as 'porpoise' for 'globefish' were corrected, and there were signs of the changing times:

*I pone yebaedange tungul tarasso* (We have now hung up electric lights in the church).

Dr Gale was president of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1911 to 1916. One of his best monographs was his study of the Korean alphabet, published in 1912. It was first announced for public reading in April 1911, but not delivered until December of that year which shows the pressure under which he was working. Since 1945 research into this subject has been pushed much further, but Gale's main conclusions are still valid. They were far sounder than the speculations of Hulbert and others, and the paper is an invaluable introduction to the bases of traditional Korean thought, as well as a notable appreciation of the outstanding qualities of the Korean alphabet. Gari Ledyard in his *The Korean Language Reform of 1446* (1965) says: 'Gale's study was, for its time, a great achievement. He examined all the theories critically, and investigated as many Korean sources as he knew about or were available to him.' Gale's next paper, 'Selection and Divorce', was less thorough. It is the least satisfying of his studies: the subject-matter-the occult considerations affecting the selection and rejection of spouses- was closely in harmony with his interest in the preternatural, but the material was unwieldy and difficult to summarize. In 1915 he published his study on the Pagoda of Seoul. This was a more substantial piece of work, but it proved to be his last essay in active historical research. Most of what he published after this was translation of Chinese texts. He was intensely interested in the history of Korean printing type. The importance of early Korean achievement in this field had been noted by Griffis and others, especially Maurice Courant in his great *Bibliographie Core enne*. Gale took the matter a stage further when he published in the *Seoul Press*, 11 October 1913, an article consisting of translations of early references to Korean movable metal printing types, drawn from the *Munhon pigo*, *Kukcho pogam* and *Tongmun-sŏn*. He added to these official documents the following informative passage from the jottings of Sŏng Hyŏn in the *Taedong yasung*:

They made the first type models of boxwood, and by means of them

made an impression in a tray of mud gathered from the seashore where the reeds grow. When the boxwood model was thus pressed into the mud, the impression constituted the matrix. Then an upper tray, with holes in it, was fastened above. The copper was then melted and poured down through the openings of the upper tray, so that the metal went into the various matrices, each becoming a type. If any were badly formed, the corners of the irregularities were filed off. Bamboo slips were prepared to make all solid, that it should not shake. At first, not knowing how to prepare the plate, they had melted wax and poured it on; but the types were unsteady in the plate, and so bamboo slips were used to wedge it up instead of the wax. (*Yongjae ch'onghwa* VII)

The article dealt with the Korean metal movable type of 1403 as though it were the first ever made, and did not mention the movable metal type cast some time between 1232 and 1241 on Kanghwa Island. Details of this were not published until a posthumous paper by Bishop Trollope, written between 1925 and 1930, appeared in the Royal Asiatic Society's *Transactions* for 1935 (Vol XXV, pp 103-107). Gale, however, had mentioned the Kanghwa type in chapter xxiii of his *History of the Korean People*, written in 1925, and T. F. Carter, recording it in his *Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward* (New York 1925, p. 254) acknowledged Gale as the source of his information. Trollope's copy of Carter's book, now in Yonsei University Library, is annotated in the bishop's own hand giving the reference to Yi Kyubo's writings beside the acknowledgement to Gale.

Yi Kyubo is the sole source for the story of the Kanghwa type. Whether Gale or Trollope first lighted on it, he probably discovered it first in English, in the *Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen 1914- 15*, page 17. The *Report* appeared shortly after the publication of the first modern reprint of Yi Kyubo's writings in 1913, and doubtless drew either Gale's or Trollope's attention to Yi Kyubo's mention of the matter. None of the Kanghwa type remains, nor any piece of printing done with it, but Gale possessed several pieces of early Korean type, which he believed to be from the fount cast in 1403. A facsimile impression of them was printed with a translation of his *Seoul Press* article in the Dresden magazine *Victoria* in 1914. He was mistaken about their date, for they were from a fount of either 1772 or 1777. After his death they were acquired by the Library of Congress, Washington DC.

Yi Kyubo, the Koryŏ statesman and poet, proved to be a discovery of major importance for Gale. He had included one piece of Yi Kyubo's prose in the 1904 *Readers*, but now he could see the whole of the man's work, and quickly recognized its unusual quality. With his friend Kim Tohŭi he began to translate the poems, and they made a pilgrimage to the poet's grave on Kanghwa Island. Gale told and re-told the story of that outing many times. One version is in chapter 19 of *The History of the Korean People*.

Some of his translations of Yi Kyubo were published in the *Korea Magazine*, of which he was chief editor for the whole of its life from January 1917 to April 1919. During his pre-breakfast study hours he wrote the greater part of all

twenty-eight issues. Indeed the magazine had to cease publication after April 1919 because Gale went on furlough in May that year. The articles signed with his name are mostly about the Korean language; many unsigned translations from Korean literature were later used in the *History of the Korean People*; a few articles are signed 'E.T.' for Esson Third, the pseudonym which he had used a dozen years earlier in the *North China Daily News*.

The unsigned articles betray his authorship by their style and subject-matter. The attribution is proved beyond doubt by the manuscripts preserved among his papers in Montreal. A signed article, 'Concerning the Occult', underlines one of his main interests, and he was also the author of a series of articles on 'Korea's Noted Women' by 'A Student of the Orient', for he was gallantly fascinated by the female sex, and made it one of the themes of his *History*. Many early missionaries, especially spinsters, were misled by the social customs of Korea into thinking that Korean women were downtrodden. Gale knew better, and presented Korean women as forceful and effective, usually beautiful, and always beguiling. His view was touched by romance, but it was fundamentally sound. In 1922 he wrote: 'The Korean woman has convictions of soul that hold fast through foul and sunny weather. Her influence on the present generation is the most hopeful possible. In study she is the equal of the man. Surely among the women of the world she will have a place of honour.' This is the other side of the coin he had written about twenty-five years earlier, in *Korean Sketches*, when he whimsically described petticoat government in the home, and rightly declared that it was the normal pattern of Korean life.

The same interest in women is seen in the translation of *Okchung hwa*, Yi Haejo's version of Korea's best-known folk romance, *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, published serially in the *Korea Magazine* under the title 'Choon Yang'. The style is unmistakably Gale's, and his typescript has been preserved by his son, but the translator's name was not published in the magazine.

Gale's approach to pseudonymity and anonymity was curious. In the *Korea Magazine* he may well have been motivated by modesty, because he was writing so much of the journal's copy, but he had a puckish streak too. He happily quoted his own earlier writings, and did so several times in the *History* without admitting the fact. In one extreme instance, he quoted in the *History* a story from *Korea in Transition*, where the same story is attributed to Esson Third, 'himself an oriental writer'; but Esson Third was one of his own pen-names. 'Spectator' and 'A Student of the Orient' were simple enough noms-de-plume, but 'Yung Oon' is more puzzling. Probably it was an inversion of Unyong, the name of the heroine in a well-known Korean story he had translated with Kim Tohŭi in 1917. It means 'cloud bud', but when reversed to mean 'blossom cloud' it can also be interpreted as 'British sojourner'. The articles in the *Korea Magazine* deal with such topics as tea, paper, dancing-girls, tobacco, chess, playing cards (*t'ujon*), the prohibition of alcohol, Korean religious ideas, and modern changes in Korean life. Gale thought Korean-language texts were meagre and uninteresting, so his articles are full of translations from Korean writings in Chinese. Fairy stories and lyrics predominate: he came to admire Korean philosophical writing, but did not translate much of it. At times he was schoolmasterly with his

readers, upbraiding them for lack of background in Chinese literary culture; at other times he made careless slips himself and gave wrong attributions for the texts he translated.

The quality of the verse translations can be illustrated by comparing two of them with plain modern versions. He treated a poem by Ch'oe Ch'iwon as follows:

*An Ancient Thought*

I am told the fox can change into a pretty girl,  
The wild-cat to a scholar-lord or chief.  
When creatures doff their forms so easily,  
Who then can tell what sort of beings  
Really walk around us? Again I think, well, yes,  
It is not hard to change the form or kind;  
What's hard is how to keep the soul and mind  
From changing. There's the rub. The true to false,  
The fair to foul, are changes to be feared.  
Keep bright the mirror of the soul, I pray.

The same poem more directly translated reads:

*Determination*

A fox can turn into a lovely woman,  
A wild-cat change into a learned scholar.  
Who knows when he meets these wonders,  
These illusions under human form?  
But transformation is not really difficult;  
Controlling the mind is the greater problem.  
For the sake of telling the true from the false  
I will polish the mirror of my heart. (TMS IV 2)

Gale published his version as prose, but characteristically used far more words than were necessary to convey the meaning of the original. He took pains to unify the whole stanza by using the word 'change' in the latter part, whereas the Chinese demands that the reader perceive the link for himself. Gale ignored the structure of the stanza and made no attempt to convey the parallelism, but his rendering of the sense was correct, even cogent. He concerned himself first with meaning, and expressed it in diction that echoes Shakespeare and the Authorized Version.

The second example shows him working in a different way. The poem was written by Pyön Kyeryang. Gale gave it no title. (Cf HKP chapter 24)

So quiet sits this hamlet neath the hill,  
With softened shade and furrows freshly turned.  
I wander by the stream to seek for simples,

My books I spread out neath the drying sun.  
Across the sky's blue vault the wild-goose wings,  
Amid the moonlit bamboos calls the whip-poor-will.  
I look toward Seoul, whence endless thoughts arise,  
And jot a verse down for my friend of friends.

The plain translation is:

*From the country to one Yi, a military graduate living in Seoul*  
The village still and quiet before the piled-up peaks,  
Only a few mulberry-trees and two ploughed fields.  
Searching for herbs, I often walk through the woods;  
Airing my books, I fall asleep in the sun.  
Clouds clear from the sky over the river  
    where I see wild-geese returning,  
Moonlight bathes the mountain bamboos  
    when I hear the nightjar calling.  
With feelings I cannot define, I turn towards where you are,  
And write a new poem to send to you.

Here Gale paid all his attention to style, yet again he ignored the parallelism in the two middle couplets, which is an essential element in this type of poetry. He was intent on writing English blank verse, a medium for translation of Chinese seven-syllable verse that has been unjustly neglected by modern translators. He was given to mannerisms, and did not take the trouble to avoid repeating 'neath', but made good use of alliteration. In each of the first six lines of the poem he sacrificed part of the sense for the sake of metre; yet he could have justified himself by claiming that he had retained the 'complete sense' of the poem.

Perhaps his most interesting work in the *Korea Magazine*, not excepting 'Choon Yang', was the series of excerpts from the diary kept by Kim Ch'angöp while accompanying the Korean embassy to Peking in the winter of 1712-13. The series was interrupted by the cessation of the magazine, but it shows how Gale was translating prose at this time. The choice of book was characteristic. Kim's diary reflected Korean attitudes to foreign culture, and Gale selected passages that show Kim Ch'angöp at his chattiest. Occasionally Gale balked at a difficult passage and omitted it. Frequently he made mistakes that appear to be due to following his Korean pundit too closely. He confused official titles and was generally slipshod, as though trying to work too fast. He was prodigal of words, and his choice of expression very nearly succeeded in turning Kim into a mirror of James Gale. The extracts which were included in chapter 32 of the *History of the Korean People* were revised and improved.

Two concerns pervaded many of the *Korea Magazine* articles: the changes taking place in the Korean language, and the role of christianity in the modernization of Korea. Concern about religion shows most often in his translations of Korean writers. He translated a poem entitled 'Heaven' by the sixteenth-century scholar Song Ikp'il, boldly rendering the Chinese word for 'heaven' as 'God',



and producing what might well be a christian text. He found also a letter written by Hong Yangho in the eighteenth century to the Chinese scholar Chi Yün in which Hong expressed his intellectual objections to what he had heard about christianity as it was being preached in Peking. The same letter shows that Hong knew of the muslim eunuch of the Ming court, Cheng Ho, who led several maritime expeditions across the Indian Ocean at the beginning of the fifteenth century, reaching Aden and Mogadishu, but not, as Hong Yangho imagined, the countries of Europe. Gale was also interested in contemporary Korean criticism of christianity, and at the end of 1918 gave a full account of some newspaper articles on the subject by Yi Kwangsu.

In lighter vein he contributed such pieces as this ode to tobacco by the seventeenth-century scholar Chang Yu. The style is reminiscent of those arch belles-lettres in the Canadian newspapers of Gale's youth.

Thou loose-filled flower with oily seed  
And leaf that turns a brownish tan,  
Thou wert not born of Chinese breed  
But earnest to us from east Japan.  
Across the sea in savage ships  
Thou mad'st thy way by lifted sail,  
O master of the heart and lips,  
Thou wonder weed, thou fairy tale!  
(*Kyegok chip xxx 27*)

There were also typical Korean yarns and anecdotes, sometimes didactic, sometimes good for little more than a chuckle, and often losing much when taken out of their original Chinese, like the following story from the fifteenth-century commonplace book of Song Hyon:

There was in the days of Koryŏ an official named Yongdae, who dearly loved a practical joke. It seems a snake appeared on the shore of a dragon pool near his place, when the priests of the temple, thinking it a young dragon, caught it, kept it in a cage and fed it. Yongdae, hearing of this, had his naked body painted over carefully with scales in all the colours of the dragon. In this guise he came and called at the temple, saying, 'Have no fear, I pray your reverences. I am the dragon spirit from the pool. I have learned that you have kindly taken in hand my unworthy posterity to teach and bring up, and so I have come to express my thanks. On such and such a day I shall call again specially to see the teacher'. He said this and disappeared.

On the appointed day the priests, all dressed in their best, assembled to await him. He came, and calling for the teacher, took him on his back and straightway made off towards the pool. When he reached the edge he said, 'Now let go. Be careful not to hold on to me, but just shut your eyes and we shall be in the dragon palace in a moment.' The priest shut his eyes and released his hold. At once Yongdae swung round and flung him into the

water with all his might, and then made off. The priest, almost drowned, floundered out at last, his clothes in a dreadful state and his body full of aches and pains. He made his way back to the temple and went to bed. On the following morning Yongdae called again, but this time in ordinary guise, and asked, 'Are you ill? What's the matter?' The priest replied, 'The old dragon of the pool, knave that he is, has lost all his senses. He lied to me and got me into this plight.' (TDYS I 81)

It was now thirty years since Gale had arrived in Korea, and his reminiscences were part of what he had to offer, usually tinged with regret at the passing of so much that he had enjoyed:

When the writer came to this country, the first thing that completely bowled him over, speaking metaphorically, was the manner of dress. Men walked the streets in long tinted robes made of the finest silk, with a girdle across the chest of blue or green or scarlet. Nebuchadnezzar himself was surely never so adorned. The wide sleeves hung down on each side, deeper and more capacious than Aunt Miranda's pocket. Sometimes this robe was divided at the back, sometimes at the sides; sometimes it was a complete roundabout, or *turumagi*. On the gentleman's head was a headband, tied after long practice, tight enough to squeeze tears from the eyes. Above the band was a little cap, beautifully woven of horsehair. Above this sat the gauze hat, a cage for the topknot that you dimly glimpsed through the meshes. Over his eyes was a huge pair of spectacles, much like those Americans affect today, though more stunning in appearance. Back of his ears were gold buttons or jade; under his chin a lovely string of amber beads; in his right hand a waving fan; on his feet the daintiest pair of shoes mortal ever wore, wedded to a pair of socks white as Malachi's fuller never dreamed, the only really beautiful footgear in all the world. As he walked along with measured tread, the lengthy robe adding inches to his height, he was indeed one of the most startling surprises that the eye of the west ever rested upon.

From the time of the *Korea Magazine* articles onwards, Gale's written English style deteriorated noticeably. Harriet had helped him. Her own style was sweetly heavy, but her sentences were better shaped than his. He now lacked the assistance she had given him, and he lacked critics. He had only one more book published outside Korea, *The Cloud Dream of the Nine*, and that had been written before the *Korea Magazine* began. *Korean Folk Tales* was the best written of his books. After that he was at his best when writing most drily, as in his papers for the Royal Asiatic Society. Whenever he was passionately involved in his subject he became careless, till at the end of his life some of his essays seem like unconscious parodies of his own mannerisms.

*The Cloud Dream of the Nine* was a translation of *Kuun-mong*, the best of old Korean novels, written by Kim Manjung in 1687. Kim Tohŭi drew Gale's attention to it. Korean scholars differ as to whether the Chinese or the Korean text was the original. However, there are so many Korean versions, all of them

faulty, that the best opinion now holds the Chinese text as the original. Gale did not say what text he had used, and it was for long assumed that he translated the only known Chinese version, a text printed in 1803; but since his translation contains matter not in that text, it was concluded that he must also have referred to a Korean version. This conclusion lent some colour to the theory that the novel was first written in Korean, and gave Gale's work a special place in the esteem of Korean scholars. Among his papers in Montreal, however, I found a note saying that he had worked from a Chinese text and had never seen a Korean version. He must have used a text unknown to Korean literary historians. Among my own books is a battered single volume from a two-volume Chinese edition of *Kuun-mong* which I found in an antique shop at Chonju in November 1970. It was printed at Naju in 1725, and contains the matter translated by Gale but missing from the 1803 text. Professor Chong Kyubok, an expert on *Kuun-mong* texts, obtained a similar volume in 1970 at Taegu, but, like mine, it was the second volume. If the first volume can be found, it will doubtless prove that this Naju edition is not only the text used by Gale, but the oldest printed version of the novel.

*The Cloud Dream of the Nine* was to have been published by The Open Court, of Chicago, but the world war intervened, and Dr Paul Carus, The Open Court editor, died—of a broken heart, if Gale is to be believed—so *The Cloud Dream* remained in typescript. In March 1919 Mrs Elspeth K. Robertson Scott, a resident in Japan, visited Korea for a holiday with her sister, Elizabeth Keith. Miss Keith's watercolours and etchings became well known, and Mrs Scott wrote the text for a collection of them published a quarter of a century later under the title *Old Korea* (London 1946). Much of the information in the book was obtained from Dr Gale, and she describes how she made his acquaintance while she was in Korea. Gale showed her the *Cloud Dream* typescript, which she took to the London publisher Daniel O'Connor. O'Connor published the book in 1922, with a rather silly introduction by Mrs Scott. Very shortly afterwards O'Connor went bankrupt, and the remaining unbound sheets of the book were acquired by the Christian Literature Society of Korea. The last copies were sold by Mr Yi Kyōmno at his well-known bookshop, T'ongmun-gwan, in Seoul after the Korean War. (T'ongmun-gwan had previously been Paek Tuyong's famous Hannam Sōrim, where Gale was a regular customer.)

The story is set in T'ang China, though the author was a seventeenth-century Korean. It tells of a young buddhist monk who sins against his vows and is condemned to transmigrate into the person of a poor country boy who eventually becomes the greatest soldier and statesman in the empire, marrying two princesses and six other women as wives and concubines. This paragon of confucian virtues lives to a ripe old age, when he is taken up in a cloud, only to discover that he is once again a young buddhist monk in his cell. The dream pattern for a novel was a commonplace; the best-known example is the Chinese *Hung lou meng*, *The Dream of the Red Chamber*.

The real theme of the book is the tension between buddhism and confucianism in Korean thought, but the psychological interest centres in the female characters. All Gale's chief concerns are represented: religion, the mystic and

occult, women and poetry. Opinions today are divided on the quality of the translation: the ornate diction is a faithful reflection of the original idiom, written just before his style began to lose its discipline. If one takes into consideration the inadequacies of the dictionaries available to Gale and the fact that in his day there were no annotated editions of Korean texts, it is remarkable that there are so few mistakes in the translation. For a third of a century it was the most significant work of Korean literature available to the English-speaking world.

Gale's marriage to Ada gave him a firm emotional base, but at the time of the first world war, trials and sorrows began to press upon him from outside. Not only was he constantly worried about money: his relations with other missionaries grew strained. Charles Allen Clark was increasingly critical of his activities and attitudes. After the June presbytery meeting of 1917 Gale recorded that Clark had offered a long prayer, and about this time Clark circulated a letter to all presbyterian missionaries complaining that Gale spent too much time on literary pursuits and neglected attendance at presbytery and other meetings. Clark was an uncompromising conservative with deep doubts about Gale's view of missionary life. The last jealousy between Gale and the Underwoods must have evaporated by 1918, when on Easter Sunday Gale baptized H.G. Underwood's first grandson, Horace. In the early part of the war period, however there was a serious estrangement from his old friend Moffett. Moffett was the pioneer of the northern mission, than whom no single other missionary had a greater personal influence in moulding the Korean presbyterian church, and Gale had made him hero of *The Vanguard*; Gale owed his ordination to Moffett and they expected to remain lifelong friends; but Gale's thinking had been moving away from Moffett's. Gale was less concerned about dogmatic theology, Moffett was deliberately unchanging in his views and policies. Dissension arose over the P'yŏngyang seminary. In May 1916 Gale sent a letter proposing his resignation from that institution. He disapproved of its methods, thought its standards too low, its teaching bad, its materials outdated, its student enrolment too numerous. He thought he discerned another way forward for Korean education, and he was possibly right. The issue between him and Moffett eventually expanded into complex alignments of theological liberals and conservatives; but that was after Gale's day, and Gale would have been shocked to think that he had in any way promoted the theological liberalism of the next generation. Both men were sincere, and both were deeply hurt. When Moffett wrote an eirenic letter in July 1917, Gale was relieved. He wept, and responded wholeheartedly to Moffett's advance.

It was well that he had this comfort in July, because at the beginning of August, when the family was staying with Father Drake at the anglican mission house in Chemulp'o, the baby Vivian went down with fever and acute diarrhoea. Four days later, on 7 August, he died, not quite fourteen months old. His father was heartbroken, and for months filled his prayer-diary with mourning for his 'angel laddie'. He even wrote the baby's biography. The funeral was at Yanghwa-jin on the 11th. There had been a long drought, and on the day of burial the rains came at last. Because they were so late that year Gale's trip to the Diamond

Mountains planned for mid-September had to be postponed for a few days. In early years after moving from Wönsan to Seoul the Gales spent the hot summer weather at the temple of Tosön-sa, near the fortress of Pukhan, in the mountains north of Seoul. They continued to do so throughout Gale's missionary career, but in later years they occasionally took the children to the beach at Myöngsa-simni near Wönsan, which was a regular summer resort for missionaries. There was a fine sandy beach near pinewoods on the Kalma peninsula. The name means 'ten leagues of shining sand' and is a poetic cliché for the east coast scenery, usually linked with the crimson sea-rose, the *rugosa* that grows wild there.

In the course of the trip to the Diamond Mountains from 21 September to 22 October 1917, Gale visited old haunts in the Wönsan area. (During the same year he also went back to Sorae, where another missionary vacation colony had been established.) The Diamond Mountains are renowned for the most beautiful scenery in Korea, rich in literary associations. Gale prefixed the diary of his trip with quotations from the diaries of Korean travellers, including these sentences from the fourteenth-century writer Kwon Kiln: 'When I was young I learned how everybody wished to see the Diamond Mountains, and I sighed over my own failure to visit them. I heard too that many people hang pictures of them in their rooms and bow before them. Such is the burning desire that would peer into these mystic glades.' (*Yangch'on chip* XVII 9). Gale was accompanied by Yi Ch'angjik, Ada and six-year-old George. They went by rail on the Wönsan line to P'yöngyang, then by pony through Hwach'ön to the mountains. It was autumn, when the reddening maple leaves gave the Diamond Mountains their greatest beauty. George was carried up and down the slopes in a jiggy, and delighted the nuns in the temples with his Korean speech. At the little temple of Changgyöng-am they met an old nun of eighty-four named Myodökhaeng, 'mystic virtue', who spoke with a Hwanghae accent and was much taken with the little boy. Yi recognised her as the widow No whose only son, Ch'ilsöng, 'seven stars', had been his childhood playmate. Yi's milk name too had been Ch'ilsong; his friend had died at the age of twelve, and soon afterwards the widow had disappeared. Yi told her who he was and there was a moving scene as she called him by his childhood name again. She put her amber rosary round George's neck and promised to meet him in paradise. Yi wrote a poem for her and pasted it up on the wall of her cell. The journal of the whole trip was published five years later by the Royal Asiatic Society, and still makes delightful reading; but it is wrong to say, as some Koreans have said, that Gale was a pioneer traveller in the Diamond Mountains. By 1917 he could record a postcard and souvenir stall for tourists by the Diamond Gate, and many foreigners had visited the area before that date.

Gale's increasing respect for buddhism led him to give more comfort than he knew to his old friend MacGillivray, who was now working with the Christian Literature Society in Shanghai, where a co-worker, the great English baptist Timothy Richard, had published in 1910 a book called *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism* that made a positive approach to buddhist thought. Two years later the aged bishop Moule had seen the book and written a scathing attack on

it. The ensuing rumpus might have caused an irreparable rift between MacGillivray and Richard, but in 1913 Gale wrote a letter giving a favourable opinion of the book which helped to mould MacGillivray's thinking and to smooth over the problems in Shanghai. Gale became more and more appreciative of the good things in buddhism from this time onwards. In November 1915 he completed an English translation of *P'alsang-nok*, a popular Korean life of Gautama Buddha, but this was never printed.

Another trip was the guided one-day visit to Kaesong which Gale led in June 1918 and soon afterwards briefly described in the *Korea Magazine*. Kaesong was the capital of the Koryŏ dynasty from the tenth to the fourteenth century. Gale had seen its sights first in 1891, on the way to Manchuria, and it was perhaps on that journey that he visited the tomb of Wang Kon, the founder of Koryŏ:

I found a little colony of latter-day Wangs nestled about its feet. One pretty lad with newly-fashioned topknot stood by the side of the way to watch. I asked him his name and he smiled and said, 'Wang.' The thirteenth generation removed, and yet as comely as a piece of *Koraiyaki* (Koryŏ celadon). I would have liked to have carried him home, preserved him, and kept him as a memento of the kingdom of the Wangs.

During the war years Gale suffered greatly from dryness of soul. He derived much comfort from Bishop Trollope's friendship: Trollope's anglo-catholic theology was so entirely different from any presbyterian style of thinking that they were forced to meet on the basis of their common christianity, unhindered by the differences that divided the American missionaries. They also had in common their loyalty to Britain and their interest in Korean literature. George was a joy, and also an anxiety, because Gale shared the worry every Korean feels as to how his son will turn out. He prayed earnestly that George should be spared what he regarded as his own shortcomings, especially pusillanimity.

When on 4 August 1918 Ada gave birth to a daughter, Ada Alexandra, named after her mother and her great-uncle, the much-revered Alexander—he felt that God was making up for the loss of Vivian. He doted on little Alex, and she lighted the rest of his days. His Korean assistants pleased him by proposing a Sino-Korean version of her name, transliterating Alexandra as Allaksŏn, 'peaceful happy fairy', which summed up what Gale wanted in a daughter. He was not disappointed, but as a baby she was often ill, and he suffered agonies of anxiety. Each time she recovered she gave him greater joy. A Chinese amah, Ah Ming, was provided for her.

We have forgotten the exciting novelties of those days. At midsummer 1913 Gale wrote in his prayer-diary: 'I am to go for a motor-ride, I am told. Go with us, dear Saviour, and make the ride one for thy praise and glory.' On the other hand there was world-weariness. Gale in his forties felt the loss of spirits common in his sex at that age. He worried about the prudence of Pastor Kil Sŏnju's activities in the independence movement, and agonized for Yun Ch'ihŏ when he was imprisoned by the Japanese in 1914. Money was always a

worry. Behind all loomed the shadows of the Great War. Gale prayed for 'poor blinded Israel', and then for 'poor Belgium'. It was Belgium that caught the sympathy of the Seoul foreign community: there were rose teas at the Belgian Consulate, and benefit performances for the sake of Belgium, including a performance of *Ch'unhyang* at the Chosen Hotel. When the war ended there was a victory parade in Seoul with a procession of decorated motor-cars, and naturally Dr Gale was one of the orators of the occasion. The war, however, was a background to life rather than an immediate disruption. The biggest effect it had on Gale was to prevent him from making a visit he had planned to his stepdaughter in Shanghai in 1914, and from taking the furlough that he was granted for 1915.

The translation of the bible into Korean was completed in the month of Gale's second marriage. It was published in 1911, but its deficiencies were recognized immediately. Gale was one of the committee of fifteen appointed in 1912 for the revision of the Old Testament. Not all the other members had his feeling for Korean style. He relied increasingly on the opinion of Yi Wŏnmo, who was appointed in 1917 as one of the committee's four Korean members; but again and again the pleas these two made for smooth Korean diction were voted down by other members of the committee who favoured literal adherence to the grammatical structure, sometimes of the original tongues, but all too often of the English Authorized Version. Gale became the principal drafter of the revision, and in 1916 chairman of the revision committee, a post he held till he resigned from the committee in 1923.

He continued his work for the Christian Literature Society, reading tracts for them to publish, and also writing and translating. In 1911 he produced a curious mnemonic life of Christ in verse called *Yesu haengjŏk kinyŏm-si*. For several years he and Underwood collaborated in translating the Scofield Bible. The project suggested itself to both men independently before they decided to work together. Underwood was still working on it shortly before he died in America in October 1916, and the minutes of the presbyterian mission annual meeting in 1917 say that the New Testament part was in the press. There is no other trace of this project. Apparently the book was never published, but that it should have been undertaken is significant. Cyrus Ingerson Scofield (1843-1921) was a confederate soldier who became a lawyer and politician before he was converted at the age of 36, and three years afterwards, without formal theological training, became a congregational minister at Dallas, Texas. He later attached himself to the Southern Presbyterian church. His *Reference Bible*, which consists of the Authorized Version interlaced with his notes and explanations, gained the approval of the Moody Institute of Chicago and has been an important text in popular American protestant theology. It is characterized by an eclectic literalism in hermeneutics that results in three distinct but interrelated doctrines: dispensationalism (an arbitrary division of history into seven periods, each with its own mode of redemption); a form of chiliasm known as premillenarianism, teaching that the second coming of Christ will be followed by his reign on earth for a thousand years; and an ecclesiology denying that the Church is the new Israel. The eschatological concern that underlies this system is derived from the wide-

spread interest in prophecy that produced such nineteenth-century movements as Mormonism, Adventism, Anglo-Israelism, the Russellites (or Jehovah's Witnesses), the Irvingites and the Plymouth brethren. The chief moulder of Plymouth brethren doctrines was John Nelson Darby (1800-1882), another lawyer turned freelance theologian, who was the paramount influence in the formation of Scofield's teachings.

Premillenarianism was the crux of the matter for the missionaries in Korea. It entered the Northern presbyterian mission in the eighteen-nineties. Mrs Swallen, a keen adherent of the doctrine, wrote in 1894 that the whole mission was premillenarian. Gale contributed to the spread of the idea when he translated Blackstone's *Jesus is Coming* in 1913, because that book, widely disseminated by the Moody Bible Institute, was important in promoting Darby's doctrine. Gale's *Bible Magazine* also contained articles on the Second Advent. The translation of Scofield's bible fits naturally into this picture. Possibly it was never published because it ran into trouble with the Japanese censors, who were always quick to resent any doctrine of universal rule that might jeopardize the reputation of the Japanese emperor; but if that were so, one would expect the story to be current among the tales of Japanese persecution. Scofieldism is not apparent in the Korean churches today, but it was important in the growth of Gale's own theological attitudes. Like Scofield and Darby, he was an untrained theologian; unlike them, he was not attracted by legalism. His approach to the subject was spiritual rather than intellectual: the part of him that was fascinated by the occult was drawn to eschatological speculation, and in later years was to find expression in Anglo-Israelism. Perhaps neither Gale nor Underwood realized what theological dynamite they were handling. Scofield's book had solid virtues which would appeal to them, and it was certainly convenient to have notes so close to the scripture text.

Gale worked on other helps to scripture study. He edited Korean Sunday-school lessons for several years. He was spending even more time on newspaper work. For the better part of twenty years he was one of the leading figures in Korean christian journalism. In December 1915 the chief Korean church paper again became a joint methodist and presbyterian organ, with the name *The Christian Messenger* (*Kidok sinbo*). Gale was associate editor, or foreign editor, till he left for furlough in 1919. From February 1918 till his furlough, and again for several years later on, he also edited a Korean-language bi-monthly, *The Bible Magazine* (*Sōnggyōng chapchi*), for preachers and other church workers, published by the Christian Literature Society. Its contents were mainly translations from the Chinese *Sheng-ching-pao*, edited in Shanghai by R. A. Jaffray, another Toronto man, and son of an editor of the *Globe*.

He maintained his interest in education. In 1912 an interdenominational Union Bible Institute for the training of unordained church workers was founded in Seoul, and in 1913 its name was changed to the Pierson Memorial Bible Institute. Arthur Tappan Pierson had been a great American presbyterian promoter of missions, for twenty years editor of the famous *Missionary Review of the World*. In 1910, when he was seventy-three, he visited Korea. A year later he died, and his family gave money for land and new buildings near the Great



West Gate, next to the Russian Orthodox Church. When the new school was opened on 20 May 1917, Gale was the administrator. From 1914 to 1919 he was the presbyterian delegate and teacher to the school, which was a joint methodist and presbyterian institution. He still spent a month and a half every spring in P'yōngyang, teaching part of each day in the seminary and giving the other half to bible translation.

In 1911 he changed his listing from the New Albany presbytery to the presbytery of Washington DC, where he was the recognized missionary of the Sunday schools. He continued as pastor of the Yōnmot-kol church, where the average Sunday congregations rose to 700 or 800, and there was a strong emphasis on Sunday school work. By 1918 his staff consisted of a co-pastor, Yi Myōngbak, two helpers and three bible women. This team administered the largest protestant congregation in Seoul, and was also responsible for evangelistic work in the villages between the East Gate and the Han River. The Yōnmot-kol congregation planned a surprise celebration in honour of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Gale's arrival in the country. The date was not quite right, but they decorated the church, and he was showered with presents and overwhelmed with congratulatory addresses.

He had intensified his studies of Korean literature and history, and now employed three Korean literary secretaries full time. He rose at five-thirty, and every morning spent the hours from six to eight in reading old books with these assistants. He was an object of reverence in the Seoul foreign community, famed for his brilliance, his urbanity and his knowledge of things Korean. He was frequently called on to deliver addresses before officials, and to help in drafting important Korean letters. His Korean speech is said to have been accurate and elegant, but slightly hesitant. Korean groups asked him to address them on Korean literary and historical subjects, and for some years he was overseer of his mission's language training programme.

To the surprise of almost everybody except the Korean organizers, popular demonstrations for Korean independence broke out in Seoul on 1 March 1919 and rapidly spread throughout the country. Japan's increasingly oppressive rule had at last provoked the Koreans, whom Gale had correctly described as dormant in his newspaper articles fifteen years earlier. Inspired by President Wilson's Peace Points, and agitated by the death of the retired King Kojong on 21 January 1919, the people organized non-violent demonstrations. A provisional government in exile was formed in Shanghai. The Japanese reacted with brutality, and quickly stamped out the movement within the peninsula, but they could not quell the new spirit. Ch'angjik's second daughter, Yi Hyegyōng, was now a teacher at Chōngsin School; she became vice-chairman of the Korean Women's Patriotic Society (Taehan Min'guk Aeguk Puin-hoe), which was founded in October 1919. As a result of this she was imprisoned with hard labour at Taegu for three years. One of her sisters also had to flee the country, and a brother died as a result of tortures inflicted on him in prison.

Gale reacted to these events by persuading Bishop Trollope to take a letter describing them to Lord Bryce in London. He had met Bryce in Seoul when Bryce visited Korea in 1916 on his way back to England after being British

ambassador to the United States. The reply was sent to Gale by the bishop's hand, because they distrusted the security of the mails, even of diplomatic bags. Bryce noted that the United Kingdom, with its own problems in Ireland and elsewhere, was in no position to rebuke Japan for her conduct regarding Korea. He recommended fostering the Korean national spirit through education and literature, and using passive resistance. It was the sort of advice that appealed to Gale, because it coincided with his own ideas. Meanwhile he prayed:

God, grant that this people may win out in their struggle for liberty. Thou seest the hard Hun rule of the Japanese, thou knowest how unjust it is, how false, how selfish, how unsympathetic. Hear the prayers that ascend from the torture-house of the prison. Hear all the prayers from the faithful wives and mothers who wait in deserted houses. Right is right, as God is God, and thou wilt see right through to the end. God bless Korea in these days of trial, and bring Japan to a place of true repentance and faith.

His friend Kil Sŏnju, who had baptized George, was one of the leaders of the demonstrations, on whom the wrath of the Japanese fell.

Gale's furlough had already been deferred twice, but on 26 May 1919 he left Seoul for his third full furlough in thirty years. It was less than a year since the armistice at the end of the Great War. Shipping was still not back to normal. After a month of waiting in Japan, the Gale family sailed from Moji on 17 July 1919 in the SS *Sado Maru*. Baby Alex's Chinese amah, Ah Ming, went with them. They sailed by Shanghai and Hong Kong to Singapore, crossed the Indian Ocean to the Suez Canal, narrowly escaped being delayed again by a dock-strike in Marseilles, but arrived eventually at Tilbury. In England they made their base at Grandfather Sale's house in Bournemouth while George was settling at Monkton Combe School, near Bath. Then the rest of them crossed the Atlantic for deputation work in the United States.

They spent the last part of this furlough in Canada. There was a great gathering of the Gale clan at Alma, and they celebrated baby Alex's birthday at Jenny's house in Kitchener. Dr Gale paid his first visit to Toronto in twenty-three years. The newspapers pressed him for his views on Japanese rule in Korea. He spoke of the brutalities of the police and military officials, but said he thought the Japanese elite had ideas diametrically opposed to those of the militarists. He blamed Kojong for his incapacity and for 'his attempts to win the favour of the Russians by allowing them to use the country for military purposes'. This was doubtless diplomatic talk on the part of one who hoped to return to work in Japanese-ruled Korea, but it was the opinion of Kojong sincerely held by the majority of westerners at that time. Gale added that during World War I some Koreans had hoped Germany would win, not so much because Japan was on the side of the Allies, as to put the world in a turmoil so that Koreans 'would have an opportunity to regain their lost independence. The Koreans are now intensely awake to the spread of socialist doctrines, and are waiting to see if Japan develops troubles of her own which might afford opportunity for the Koreans to take action.'

He was speaking with deep concern when he said: 'Whereas the Korean of thirty years ago was a scholar, the young Korean of today is in many respects an ignoramus. He has a smattering of western knowledge, and some little idea of his own tongue; but his knowledge of the ancient literature of his people is practically non-existent. Therein lies a great danger. That literature contains all the idealism of his race.'

Too few missionaries spoke in these terms; the quality of Gale's work during his remaining years as a missionary was inspired by this conviction.

## vii Literature for Korea 1920-1927

The Japanese thought the whole affair of *Kimi undong*, the Korean independence movement of 1919, had been easily put down, though as a result of it they mitigated some of the harsher aspects of their rule. The demonstrations seemed to have been no more than a flash in the pan, and the provisional government in Shanghai meaningless. It is true that much Korean diplomacy during the next twenty years was ineffective, and that the immediate political effect of the movement was minimal, but 1919 proved to be a crucial year: the important results were spiritual. The Koreans were drawn together as they had never been before, and now that China's cultural domination had collapsed, one immediate effect of the 1919 movement was the blossoming of Korean culture. Modern literature is usually dated from the first western-influenced writing, published about 1906; but the proliferation of Korean writing did not happen till the twenties. By that time modern ideas were beginning to percolate beyond the small number of people educated in the early mission schools. Ironically, the Japanese themselves provided much of the education which reinvigorated Korea's national selfconsciousness. The famous literary magazines of the twenties, heavily indebted though they were to Japanese and European models, began to lay the foundation of what we now recognize as modern Korean culture.

The christian churches felt the effect of this new wave. They had traditionally emphasized the use of the Korean alphabet and pure Korean, as opposed to heavily sinicized, language. Their purpose had been single-mindedly evangelistic, but one of their effects had been to stimulate the development of the national culture. Christian churches, as well as buddhist and other religious groups, had played an important role in the 1919 movement. In the aftermath they were handicapped by their own success. The pace of christian growth slowed down; the fierce fervour of the politically uncertain years before the Japanese annexation of 1910 had cooled; the simple evangelical teaching of the first christian generations no longer satisfied the minds of young Koreans trained in Japanese and missionary schools. The problems of the Korean churches today are partly derived from the fact that many missionaries and Korean church leaders were tardy in recognizing this change of temper.

Gale was one of the few who recognized the emergence of the new mental climate. After his return from furlough on 11 October 1920 he published few

christian books—a translation of H. E. Fosdick's *Manhood of the Master* in 1921, *Old Testament Types* and *The Gospel as Sung* in 1923, and a translation of Thomas a Kempis's *Imitatio Christi* in 1925 are all he did; he planned a life of Dwight

L. Moody, partly done in 1924 but never finished. He spent most of his energies in translating non-religious books for the newly-enthusiastic reading public of young people. In 1924 and 1925 he published translations of *The Swiss Family Robinson*, Bruce's *Polar Exploration*, *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, *Robinson Crusoe*, Walter Scott's *Talisman*, *A Book of Strange Stories* (containing Washington Irving's 'Rip Van Winkle', Walter Scott's 'Tapestried Chamber' and stories from *The Century Magazine*, *Blackwood's Magazine* and *Chambers' Journal*), and a Korean and English translation of a confucian classic, the Great Learning. Charlotte Yonge's *Book of Golden Deeds in all Times and all Lands* was finished in 1924, but there is no evidence that it was ever published. This list of titles now looks dated, and was paternalistic at the time the books were produced, but it was meant for young people. The adventure tales were intended to hold interest, and all the books, even *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, whose very title raises smiles, were calculated to encourage sound morals and give a healthy introduction to western thought.

Recognizing the new literary climate of the twenties did not save Gale from the pains that changes in Korean culture were bound to bring him. *The Gospel as Sung* was a re-telling of the gospel story in rhythmic Korean phrases suitable for chanting in traditional story-telling style such as he had used with success in Wŏnsan thirty years before, 'an attempt to do something in Korean such as old Caedmon's poems did in English'. But by 1923 this style was already obsolete and a year later he publicly admitted that the book was published long after it would have been of any use.

Gale disliked the adoption by Koreans of the Sino-Japanese adjectival suffixes *-chŏk* and *-sang*. He wrote slightly of modern books which used the newly-coined verb-ending *-yŏtta* and the fashionable vocabulary of students, whose 'principal stock-in-trade' was *insaeng*, *saenghwal*, *hŭimang*, and *hwalbal*—neologisms for humanity, life, hope and vitality. He did not acknowledge the epoch-making influence of the magazine *Ch'angjo* ('Creation') started by Korean students in Tokyo in February 1919. The newly-coined sentence-endings were created by this group: today they are standard Korean usage, and it is difficult to judge whether Gale was fighting the tide or whether he was essentially right. Many Koreans would like to purify the language of foreign vocabulary, though nobody now speaks of reviving the old literary grammar which Gale loved. In 1923 he wrote to the literary committee of the Christian Literature Society:

The Korean language is fighting for its life as an intelligible medium of expression—can it survive against Japanese influence, western civilization, loss of classic Korean, introduction of illiterate writers? The worst enemy is the foreign missionary, putting out unidiomatic, ungrammatical, childish books. The bible is most defective, hymns are a literary disgrace, our books bad, Sunday-school lessons ditto.

He thought the Christian Literature Society should stand for good Korean. He opposed the introduction of western punctuation marks in Korean (in this he was misguided, though his principle is understandable), and he gave a rule for translation: 'Unless the translator can read through the paragraph in English and get it in mind so that he can close the book and reproduce it in Korean, he is not fit for his job.'

It may well have appeared to some that Dr Gale now typified a passing generation. His political views were conservative. Although he had come from stock politically liberal in the British tradition, he was a cavalier rather than a roundhead. He detested Bertrand Russell, the Huxleys and Ramsay Macdonald, whose stars were in the ascendant in England. He took the opposite stand to Bishop Trollope, who had worked as a priest in the London slums and held socialist views. Young Koreans were beginning to flirt with socialism, to Gale's distress. His affection for the older forms of the Korean language was consistent with this kind of conservatism. In 1923 he expressed his pessimistic view of Korean culture by printing two translations side by side. The first was from his old favourite, Yi Kyubo:

*A Great Thunderstorm in November*

The season's opening moon,  
When winter airs break forth from out the deep!  
The master of the thunder strikes his drum,  
The splitting heavens rip wide from pole to pole;  
Like glittering snakes of gold across the sky  
Go thunderbolts, till all the frightened hairs  
On every head stand up; the spouts of rain  
From off the silver eaves shoot waterfalls,  
And hail like eggstones falls with deadly aim.  
The wind rips out by quivering root the trees  
That guard the court; the whole house shakes its wings  
As though to fly away. I was asleep  
When this befell, the third watch of the night;  
Wakened from dreams with all my wits at sea, I  
could not rest, but tossed me to and fro.  
At last I knelt and joined my hands in prayer:  
'We are accustomed to thy might and power,  
In spring the thunder, and in autumn frost,  
But such a sight, with nature off its track  
Makes mortals tremble, cold fear palpitate.  
Our king's desire is how to govern well;  
Why is it God should thunder thus, beats me.  
In ancient days the tiger king of Chou,  
And T'ang of Yin so acted that they changec  
The threatening hand of heaven to one of blessing.  
My humble prayer would have our gracious king  
Bend earnest thought to make this stroke of thine

Turn out a blessing, and not grinding death,  
But just a tickling on the skin  
That leaves one feeling better.'  
(TYSC XII 1)

With this Gale contrasted a poem published in 1921 by the 24-year-old O Sang-sun in the second issue of the literary magazine *P'yeho* (Ruins).

*Creation*

Cackle! Cackle!  
Does the sound mean pain?  
Cackle! Cackle!  
Or does it mean joy?  
Cackle! Cackle!  
My hand into the nest I reach,  
I find an egg new-laid;  
I take it out and go away.  
There is life in the egg.  
I think of its affinity with this life of mine.  
I look and meditate upon its depth;  
I stand like a road-post by the way.  
The hen flies up on the roof.  
With anxious look she gives a sideways glance at me-  
Mother of the egg - creator.  
She treats me with contempt, the young philosopher, me!  
Cackle! Cackle!

'These two quotations will illustrate how far the centuries have pulled apart: wrote Gale.

*P'yehŏ* was started in 1920 by a group of young Koreans inspired by a quotation from Friedrich von Schiller:

*Das Alte stürzt, es iindert sich die Zeit,  
Und neues Leben bliiht aus den Ruinen.*  
(The old decays, the times are changing ,  
And new life blossoms from the ruins.)

The lines come from *William Tell*, Act IV, Scene 2, and are part of a speech by the dying nobleman Werner von Attinghausen, who sides with the people for liberation from the Austrian yoke, and appeals for unity among the Swiss people. The implications of the quotation were both literary and political, because independence from the Japanese was the burning desire of young Koreans in 1920. They felt the urgency of the changing times and looked for new life from the ruins of their national culture. Their manifesto was irreproachably healthy- minded, but by choosing 'Ruins' rather than 'New Life' for the title of their journal they gave too much away. Orientals have always found romanticism the

most attractive element in western literature, and this group responded to romantic decadence in Europe. The only other western missionary who paid serious attention to Korean ephemera was W. C. Kerr; he and Gale deserve credit for recognizing the importance of the evanescent literary magazines of those years. This is the more remarkable in that Gale did not like them.

His choice of poem in this context was not a good illustration of his point of view. Had he not been distracted by the fact that O Sangsun wrote in Korean whereas Yi Kyubo wrote in Chinese, Gale might have noticed the affinity between the two poets. Yi Kyubo, when not in the exalted mood evoked by a unseasonable thunder storm, wrote the same sort of self-deprecatory philosophizing verse as O; and though Gale's iambics fail to do justice to Yi Kyubo's Chinese verse, in his contempt for the young man's work he translated it in an unwarrantedly prosy fashion. Indeed it is hard not to suspect him of deliberately reducing its impact, which is felt in a more direct translation:

'Kkokgidak! Kkokgidak!  
Do you complain about the pangs of birth?  
'Kkokgidak! Kkokgidak!  
Do you boast of the joy of bearing life?  
'Kkokgidak! Kkokgidak!  
I put my hand into  
the straw nest hanging from the roost and  
feel a beautiful warm egg.  
I take it out and hold it in my hand,  
and while I stand thinking about the affinity between  
man's life and the life hidden in the egg,  
staring at it in silence,  
still as a wooden devil-post,  
the mother of the egg, the creator,  
flaps up on the roof  
nervously cocking her head on one side  
to look down at me with a glassy eye,  
as though to mock the young philosopher,  
and cackles: 'Kkokgidak! Kkokgidak!  
Kkokgidak! Kkokgidak!'

There is much more of the old tradition in this than Gale allowed, as there is usually a much larger influence from the native tradition in modern Korean writing than western critics, quick to catch echoes of western influence, and distracted by accidents of diction, usually recognise. If Gale could have known

O Sangsun in his later years when, still a bachelor, he was a tramp of the Seoul tearooms, eternally chain-smoking and talking of Nirvana, the Victorian Canadian would have felt justified in his pessimism. O's pen-name was Kongch'o, meaning 'Transcendental Void', but purposely punning on *kkongch'o*, 'cigarette-ends'. He died in a small room near Chogye-sa, the central buddhist temple, in 1963, and his friends made funeral offerings of packets of cigarettes. Yi

Kyubo also wrote magnificent poems on the Void, which are not spoiled by his dissipations.

Although Gale often said that the Korean alphabet was part of the divine *praeparatio evangelica*, he seems also to have believed that Chinese characters would never lose their pre-eminence in Korea. In 1918 he suggested printing all books in double columns of Chinese and Korean, but thought Koreans might settle down to use a mixture of Chinese and Korean script modelled on Japanese *kanamajiri*. He was wrong in thinking that literary Chinese would survive, right in believing that mixed script would become the norm—at least for the next half-century. Despite his lack of sympathy for contemporary fashions of script and style, however, young people responded to his efforts, and he was fifty years ahead of his time in his principles for the translation of the Korean bible.

He stayed on the Bible Society's revision committee as chairman till 1923, but grew increasingly dissatisfied with the processes that were used. His draft was criticized by missionary members of the general advisory committee of the Korean bible agency who had thought his translation, though approved by the revision committee, not literal enough. He said: 'My greatest ambition is to have the Book speak the thought, no more and no less, but to speak it in sweet easy-flowing Korean.' There was so much dissension that in September 1921 thirty-two pages of Genesis were printed in mixed script and circulated to all missionaries, who were asked to comment. A majority thought Gale had sacrificed meaning to style, because he had not kept closely to the English sentence structure. Some admitted that he had produced a smooth Korean version, but complained that he had 'shortened the original'. One crucial point was Gale's refusal to repeat nouns which Korean syntax did not require to be repeated, though the Hebrew did. This applied especially to some twenty omissions of the word for the godhead in the opening chapters of Genesis. One missionary asserted that Gale was leaving God out of the bible. Criticism was so strong that the London authorities of the British and Foreign Bible Society felt bound to apply their rule which said, 'Every version shall be as literal as the idiom of the language will permit.' Gale resigned from the revision board in March 1922, but was persuaded to return. The board was enlarged in the hope of effecting a compromise, but Gale was not disposed to let it tamper with his work. He considered most of the members inexperienced, and summed up his feelings as being much the same as Dr Avison's might be if his decisions in running Severance Hospital were submitted to the general public for final approval. In February 1923 an entirely new board was appointed to work on a final version, and Gale's work was to be printed tentatively. In March 1924 he was made an honorary member of the board. He understood that his draft, having been rejected by the Bible Society, was now his own, and he began making arrangements for its private publication. There was a new storm of protest, especially from some Southern Presbyterian missionaries, who did not want the work published under any circumstances, and claimed that though Gale had done it, the copyright belonged to the Bible Society.

For a time Gale despaired, believing that all his labour would be wasted,



but the 'Gale Bible' was published on the last day of 1925. The event marked the end of four years of great unhappiness, and Gale was delighted to receive the first copy just inside the fourth centenary year of Tyndale's Bible. Yi Wŏnmo had been his chief assistant in preparing the text, but Yi Ch'angjik and Yi Kyosŭng, the other two members of his regular team, had also helped. He paid Yi Kyosŭng thirty yen a month, and tried to augment the sixty yen that Ch'angjik received from the Christian Literature Society. Yi Wŏnmo was paid ninety yen.

A curious feature of the bible was the indication on the contents page of the length of time required for reading each book of the bible, ranging from three minutes each for the second and third Epistles of St John to four hours forty minutes for the Psalms. This was intended to 'encourage the right use of spare time'. The text was printed in mixed Chinese and Korean script, that is, with the words of Chinese derivation printed in Chinese character, according to the usual style for secular books at that time. The Bible Society, aiming at wide readership, generally used the Korean alphabet alone, but Gale was concerned about educated readers. It pleased him, too, to think that the epigraphs to each testament (Psalm cxix 18 and 130) had been Ada's suggestion. The publisher was Kidok-kyo Ch'angmun-sa of Seoul, an enterprise of his old friend, Baron Yun Ch'ihŏ, who is important enough to justify a digression about him.

Yun Ch'ihŏ was born of a powerful clan in 1865. In 1883 when the first US Minister to Korea passed through Tokyo on his way to Seoul, he met Yun, who was studying in Japan. Yun accompanied him to Seoul as interpreter. In 1885 Yun's father was disgraced and the young man went to Shanghai, where he attended the Anglo-Chinese College and was baptized in 1887. He went on to study at methodist colleges in the USA till 1893, when he returned to China. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, he returned to Korea and joined the cabinet. Later he was a member of the Independence Club and edited its newspaper, the *Tongnip sinmun*, becoming a leader in the struggle for constitutional government. He was Korean delegate to various international christian conferences, and in 1906 founded the Anglo-Korean School at Kaesong. He has already been mentioned as one of the founders of the Seoul YMCA. In 1908 he was principal of the patriot An Ch'angho's Taesŏng School—where Gale gave Wednesday afternoon bible lectures. At first he suffered under the Japanese and was imprisoned as one of the 105 men convicted for their alleged involvement in a plan to assassinate Governor-general Terauchi Masatake in 1910. Later the Japanese succeeded in compromising him, and after the liberation of Korea he retired to his home in Kaesong, where he died of self-administered poison in 1946. He was one of the outstanding figures of his time. Gale had known him since he was governor at Wŏnsan in 1899, and his generosity made it possible for Gale to publish his Korean bible.

There was a strong feeling in the Korean church that there should be only one translation of the bible in the country. The Bible Society and its committees favoured this feeling, and disliked the idea of a 'rival translation'. Both Gale and the Society had tried to work in harmony, but he felt himself persecuted and many Koreans thought him badly treated. The Bible Society agent described him as 'a very delightful man, provided one could let him have his own way'; but

today Gale's critics look more obstinate and less intellectually respectable than he does.

Gale's bible was never fairly judged, though it was compared to the Moffatt bible. He left Korea less than two years after it was published, it was never reprinted, and is now very difficult to obtain. Yet it was what he claimed, a smoothly-reading text, and when the Bible Society's revised translation was finally published in 1937 it bore a greater resemblance to Gale's bible than has ever been admitted. The revisers made such poor progress without Gale that they decided to base their work on his version after all, making only minimal changes. The resultant text was Korea's standard bible until 1967. No other single individual has made a contribution to Korean bible translation comparable to that made by James Gale. He also finished a Korean translation of the Apocrypha. The manuscript was given to the Anglican Church, which was the only group interested in publishing it, but unfortunately never had funds for printing it. The manuscript was lost during the Korean War.

The dictionary needed revision again. Gale completed the manuscript for a third edition, but it was destroyed in the great Yokohama earthquake of 1923. Some of his work-sheets were saved, and in 1924 he published a vocabulary of 3,000 modern words. The publication of the whole dictionary was delayed till 1931, four years after he left Korea. Its preparation was entrusted to Alexander Pieters, a senior presbyterian missionary. The number of entries was increased to 82,000, though the majority of the proper names in the 1911 edition were omitted. The Chinese character section was not re-issued. Gale's dictionary was partly superseded by Yu Hyonggi's *New Life Korean-English Dictionary* in 1947, and was out of print after the Second World War, but remained the most authoritative work of its kind until Samuel E. Martin's *New Korean-English Dictionary* appeared from Yale in 1967.

In 1923 the Gale family visited Annie and her husband, who were now stationed in Manchuria, at Changchun. This was the occasion of Dr Gale's last contribution, still under the pen-name Esson Third, to the *North China Daily News*. In it he described how he walked round Peking carrying Kim Ch'angöp's eighteenth-century diary, which he had translated in the *Korea Magazine*. It was in Changchun that he received the news of the loss of the manuscript and proofs of his dictionary in the Japanese earthquake. He was shattered by the blow. The monsoon rains were at their height and the mud was tiresome. He was further depressed by the harsh treatment of White Russian labourers by the Chinese, who made the gangs work harder than Chinese had worked under Russians when Gale was last in Manchuria twenty years before. That same summer Dr Gale and Esson went to spend a week at Pogranichnaya (Suifenho) near the Russian border, and the family had a seaside holiday at Pehtaiho, where Jessie's husband taught little Alex to swim.

In spring of 1924 Han Sökchin invited Gale to visit Uiju with him on the anniversary of their first meeting there in 1891. Thirty-three years later to the day, they stood once again on the Soldier's Hill, and looked over to China together, in a sentimental pilgrimage which epitomized much of Gale's feeling for far eastern history and for his own mission.

During these last years in Korea, literary work was Gale's only official responsibility. He was no longer editing newspapers, apart from the *Bible Magazine*, and he had handed Yŏnmot-kol church over to a Korean pastor in 1919, but he continued to do some teaching at Kyŏngsin School. He preached as frequently as ever. The sermon notes were sparser, and he began to make use of mnemonics, which became more and more idiosyncratic. One address was summarized as *Shine my Dominus; take full power. What doest Thou?* which is an acronym of the real sermon outline: 'Sick, mad, dead; tree, fish, pigs; walk- on-water, disappear, to-heaven.' This must have been a sermon on the divine power shown in the gospel stories of Christ. Topical references to Lloyd George and Mussolini came in, but there was an increasing insistence on the heritage of Korean culture. Another favourite mnemonic, dating from 1922 and often used, was *Great things, pure, sweet, clear, come from China; China's prince, Prince T'ang*, an acronym for a list of things that originated in China; 'gunpowder, tea, porcelain, silk, compass, colour, flowers, chess, cards, paintings, paper, type.' A sermon on paradise had as its text Luke xxiii 43, our Lord's words to the penitent thief; it began with Adam and Eve, went through Dante, Thomas More and Milton to Hsi Wang-mu, and ended up in man's heart. This was a type of preaching almost as far removed from the hearty uplift of the Alma methodists as it was from Mr Duff's dry dogmatism.

Dr Gale was now even more of a revered pundit. One of his delights was to lead parties of guests round the historical sites of Seoul on Monday afternoons (traditionally the pastor's day off), when he enjoyed deciphering and translating stone inscriptions, some of which he incorporated into his *History of the Korean People*. 19 February 1923 was the emotional peak of his life in Korea, his sixtieth birthday by the solar calendar. For Koreans the sixtieth birthday is the apex of a lifetime, because it marks the completion of the sixtyfold cycle which is the basis of traditional Chinese chronology. It is called *hwan'gap*, 'return of the beginning', because the year again has the zodiacal sign of one's birth-year. Gale was born in a year of the Black Pig, and 1923 was a Black Pig year. A group of foreigners came to the Yŏn-dong house for a Korean supper, all wearing some sort of traditional Korean dress, from court robes to informal coats. Gale, in white clothes and horsehair hat with enormous brim, brandished a long tobacco-pipe. Korean friends, in larger numbers, gave a soberer party in the garden on 30 April, when the weather was milder.

George was not present at this family feast. He had remained in England at Monkton Combe School. In 1922 Jessie married a friend of Esson's named Charles Carroll, and they were now in Persia, where Charles had a government contract for work on ports and railways, and Jessie saw wilder adventures than she had ever seen in Korea.

Gale's diary for 1925 survives and gives vivid pictures of that year. On New Year's day he visited Saito, the Governor-general of Chosen, for the customary ceremonial greetings, and met the three Roman catholic bishops of the country, all of whom he counted as friends. He presented Saito with a copy of *The Cloud Dream of the Nine*, and received in return the Japanese edition of the *Tongguk t'onggam*. During January he was busy translating *Jesus, the Carpenter of Naza-*

reth, and had the anglican doctor, Anne Borrow of Yōju, convalescing in his house—which meant constant streams of anglican visitors. His relations with anglicans were complex. Perhaps it was because their missionaries were British that they had always provided some of his best friends and his surest spiritual support. He frequently went over to the anglican church of the Advent in Chōng-dong for evensong on Sunday afternoons. Yet when in 1926 Father Cecil Cooper presented a translation of A. H. McNeile's book *Self-training in Prayer* to the Christian Literature Society, Gale reported that it was

'a very advanced book, written as a cultured high-churchman would do it. Mr Cooper has made a brave attempt at a well-nigh impossible thing. It will be only for the leaders (for a few, perhaps, we may need such a book). I fear even the leaders, as they chew the cud of this kind of book, will lose both their simplicity of thought and their clearness of expression . . . I can scarce understand a high-churchman myself.'

Bishop Trollope was nothing if not a high churchman, yet when at the beginning of March 1925 he returned from six months in England, Gale was delighted to see him again, and after their first conversation confided to his diary that the bishop's mind and English training made him conscious of 'America's poor thin civilization'. On 28 March he and Trollope celebrated the latter's birthday with a two-hour walk beyond the Great East Gate of Seoul, returning to the Gale house for a tea-party with sixty-four candles on the cake.

During the early months of 1925 Gale was working on the *History of the Korean People*, sometimes writing two chapters a month, and always keeping more than a year ahead of the publication schedule. (It was finished in March of the following year.) In May work began on printing his Korean translation of the bible. During the same month he went to Andong for a week of special teaching. At the end of the month there was a visit from Oiesen, the Danish commissioner of customs who had been a friend in Wōnsan thirty years before. In July the family went as usual for a holiday in the Underwoods' summer home by the Han river, where one of the rooms had been built round a pine-tree—a typical missionary whimsey. Gale took with him the proofs of the bible. Seven-year-old Alex took her private menagerie: Gamma the dog, Twit the turtle, Bunny rabbit and Nancy the canary. The holiday proved a nightmare. The monsoon brought devastating floods, and though the Underwood house was high enough to be safe, the Gales watched in agonized distress as weeping people clinging to wreckage were carried away down the swirling stream. Memories of the floods of that year *ūlch'uk* ('the Year of the Blue Ox') and the toll they took of humanity still live in Korea.

Gale's reading during 1925 included Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year*, Froude's *Elizabeth*, Hawthorne's *Tanglewood Tales*, Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Macaulay's *History of England*, and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. He did not care much more for contemporary writing in English than he did for the new Korean literature: Margaret Kennedy's *The Constant Nymph* had been published the year before

and horrified him beyond words. In his spare time he was studying the Chinese classics. Since 1923 he had worked on the Confucian Analects and Mencius. From 1923 to 1927 he was vice-President of the Korea branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and after his 1920 furlough published two papers in the Society's *Transactions*. 'The Diamond Mountains' (1922), was an account of his trip there in 1917, together with a collection of Korean references on the subject, a brief topography, and translations from three famous Korean travelogues. Appended to it is a list of similarities between christianity and buddhism. In 1924 he published a translation of an account of a Korean shipwreck on Sakhalin in 1636. Only too typically, he gave no particulars of the original document, but it proves to be a work called *P'yohae-rok* or *P'yoju-rok*, contained in one of the Chosen Kosho Kanko-kai volumes. It tells how Yi Chihang of Tongnae, sailing up the east coast of Korea in the early summer of 1636, was blown by a storm to Sakhalin, later reached Hokkaido, and met some Ainu. After three months he was taken by Japanese traders to Tokyo and returned to Korea through Osaka and Tsushima, arriving in Pusan nearly eleven months after he set out.

Gale's final contribution to the *RAS Transactions* was 'A short list of Korean books' appended to Bishop Trollope's paper on 'Old Korean books and their authors' published in 1932 after the bishop was dead and Gale had left Korea. It is not without interest, but is a collection of notes and was clearly never organized into the form which its author intended.

He was not such an enthusiastic collector of old books as his friend the bishop, whose Landis Memorial Library now forms part of Yonsei University Library's collection of old Korean books, but in 1925 he negotiated for the American Library of Congress the purchase of 154 volumes from the library of his friend Kim Tohūi, who had died the previous year. Kim, the man who had accompanied Gale to Yi Kyubo's grave, had taught classical Chinese at Kyōngsin School. According to the report of the librarian of Congress for 1927, Dr Gale had 'for many years secured rare and valuable Korean works' for the library, and 'also analysed, indexed and otherwise helped.' In 1926 he had purchased the Kim Tohūi collection for the library, and in 1927 he presented from his own collection 312 volumes, together with 33 rubbings of stone inscriptions and 150 christian books published in Korea between 1864 and 1899. So the library had doubled the size of the Korean collection it had held in 1924, entirely owing to Gale's efforts. The most significant feature of these accessions was the number of Korean works as distinct from the number of Korean editions of Chinese works. Two fine manuscripts especially delighted the librarian: a copy of *Nansōrhōn chip* with a preface by Chu Chih-fan, and Gale's treasured copy of *Chodu-rok*, an annotated list of confucian shrines and institutions compiled by order of King Chōngjo. (The title is taken from the expression *tsu-tou- Korean chodu*—used in the Analects for ritual vessels.) The collection contained other important items, because Gale felt strongly that England and the USA were the only countries where the books would be properly looked after and made available to students.

*The History of the Korean People* was written for *The Korea Mission Field* magazine between 1924 and 1926, and was still being published in monthly

instalments when he left Korea. He was sixty-three years old when he finished writing it. It summarizes his achievement, his virtues and his faults as a scholar. No one was better informed on the subject, but he wrote for a middlebrow audience that enjoyed the book's anecdotal style. This style, however, was derived from the Korean historiographical tradition. There was a considerable Chinese bias-though this has been over-emphasized by critics who have failed to observe Gale's deep concern for native Korean culture and how far he was in advance of others in his reading of Korean-language texts. The *History* also had a strong missionary bias, and imputed to Koreans belief in a god not easily distinguish- able from the God of the christians. Sometimes the style was jocular to a degree that now seems fatuous, but the generous extracts from Korean writings gave the work a quality not to be found elsewhere.

The book is limited chiefly in two ways, one arising from the nature of its sources and the other from Gale's own temperament and training. In spite of his interest in other religious systems, his sources were biased in favour of orthodox confucianism. He relied heavily on the *Samguk sagi* and the *Tongguk t'onggam*. Both these were dogmatically confucian works, and his other chief sources were only slightly less so. He has nothing to say of *sirhak*, the pragmatic learning of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which is now seen to be a major current in the history of Korean thought, but which official confucianism disowned as heretical.

The limitations imposed by his own temperament and training are of a different order. Several writers have complained that the work is not exhaustive, and that it gives uneven attention to different periods, dwelling on some and skipping over others. This is true, but the reader who expects a comprehensive history of Korea is not looking for what Gale set out to write. The title is important. His chief concern was to describe the sort of people the Koreans are, through a medley of cultural and literary history, full of stories about individuals, rather than to give a synthesized account of the forces that moulded the history of the pen- insula. Gale was creative rather than scientific, not a trained historian, but a *littérateur* and an antiquary . These were natural avocations for a culturally-inclined Canadian of his generation, and typical of the missionary community in which he worked. Bishop Trollope wrote far less than Gale, and brought to the task an education of far higher quality than Ontario could provide; his writing has distinction and insight that are lacking in Gale's. It is not surprising that Gale admired him. Yet Trollope, the best scholar in several generations of missionaries to Korea, had essentially the same avocation: he was an antiquary rather than an historian, who wrote less than Gale because he was not also a *littérateur*.

Gale left Korea for the last time without fuss in 1927. A party was given by the International Friendly Association in the Chosen Hotel Concert Room under the chairmanship of a Japanese named Niwa. Gale spoke, praising the power and culture of Japan on the interesting grounds that Japan meant so much to his wife. Then he turned to Korean culture:

The east, i.e. Korea, saw, centuries before Abraham was born, that religion was of the heart, not of the nation, nor of the organization, nor of the period

of time, but that true religion was neither more nor less than the union of the heart with God . . . Confucianism, buddhism, taoism - the more I study them the more I honour the sincerity, the self-denial, the humility, the wisdom, the devotion that was back of the first founders, great priests of the soul. Their one desire was to overcome evil and step upward and upward, nearer to God. In this we are all alike, confucian, buddhist, christian—all brothers. Kind and sympathetic we should be to one another. Christ came to fulfil the ideals of each and every one of us. In Him, whatever our religion may be, we shall find the ideal of the soul. May He unite us all.

One could not wish for anything better at the end of his missionary career than this mature statement of the uniqueness of Christ and the respect one man should have for another's beliefs. In 1927 he wrote in an editorial report to the Christian Literature Society:

With what face can we talk to the oriental about anything we have, or any- thing we do, or have ever been? Let's cover our lips with sackcloth, never mention the west again, but rather enter into a life of silence and prayer, and see if we cannot render the east a better helping hand than heretofore.

After forty years of missionary effort, that statement expressed not despair, but humility.

The *Korea Mission Field* noted quietly, in the personal column of the July issue, that Dr Gale and his family had left on furlough.

## viii Retirement in England 1928-1937

Though he left Korea on 22 June 1927, Dr Gale was not due to retire from the mission till 31 August 1928, and had a year of furlough before his contract finished. He arrived in Canada at Vancouver where he spent a week with an old varsity friend. From August to October he visited his native Ontario for the last time, and was feted by the United Church of Canada, of which his own presbyterians had become part in 1925. He preached and lectured at Kitchener (where Alex's birthday was celebrated again at the home of his sister Jenny Cleghorn and Alex's cousin Corea), his brother's church at Bayfield, and other local churches.

In Canada on 22 September he copied into the book of farewell addresses given to him by his Korean friends a passage he had translated from Mencius:

When God intends to invest a man with high office, He first of all sends him disturbance of mind, weariness of body, hunger of appetite, emptiness of soul, and turns all he does into confusion. By so doing He works upon his heart and awakens him to a patient humble spirit, so that the man can then do things great and high that he never could have done before.

(Mencius VI 2 xv 2)

Beside it he copied a sentence from St Ignatius Loyola:

If the Lord send you great tribulations, it is an evidence that He has great designs upon you, and that He wills that you become a saint.

The mere similarity of thought between the Chinese sage and the Spanish saint would have seemed noteworthy to Gale, but he was probably deeply moved by these passages. He had been wounded by the troubles over the bible translation, and it was far from easy to settle down in retirement. It had been hard to leave Korea, he was tired and had long been suffering from emptiness of soul. Even deciding where to live had been an agony. Just before leaving Korea he expressed this publicly in a report to the Christian Literature Society:

In casting about for a place to retire to, the town of Victoria, Vancouver Island, offers special attractions, more even than London, England, or Washington DC. With an even climate, which is the principal consideration, it is Canada still, and in touch with the east . . .

I confess that though the board lets me live in Canada, my church membership will be a question. I am afraid I shall have to leave it on the other side. Heart-union I believe in, as my life has ever proven . . . but organic union I would not lift my finger to bring about. I like differences; I like historic continuity. I like to think that there is a methodist church as well as a presbyterian.

Then, reminiscing on the part played in his boyhood by the presbyterian church at Elora and the methodist church at Alma, he continued:

The dear methodist church! When home last, I preached there, and all the people listened with radiant faces. But I like the old presbyterian church too, for with all its chill and solemnity, it was there that I first caught sight of that heaven to come that has gone with me ever since. Would I vote for an organic union between these two? Never! Co-operation, then? Oh yes, yes, yes, all the time and everywhere. What shall I do then as to church membership if I go to Canada? Join the Union? I don't like the flavour of it, all mixed up, no taste, and a lot of confusions in its rear. What then? Join the old hard-shelled presbyterian group that has chucked my good friends out of Formosa? Never! I don't count that even christian ...

Eventually he decided to live in England. He was offered a post as oriental specialist in the Library of Congress, but declined it for the sake of his wife. England was her native land, and George was living there. Annie and Jessie and Esson were disappointed, and felt that he could have lived more comfortably in America. In all probability he would have suffered from the economic depression of the times even more seriously had he been in the USA. Certainly his instincts were British.

He and Ada crossed the Atlantic on the RMS *Empress of Scotland* at the



end of October. In the first week of December he was preaching at George's school. They took Alex to live in Bath, in a house obtained for them by the Sale sisters, so as to be close to Monkton Combe. The family were not united for long, however, because two years later the economic recession led to the decision for George to go to Canada, where he worked for the Bank of Montreal.

Bath still retains much of the aura of those days in the eighteenth century when the attractions of its ancient spa made it the most fashionable watering-place in England. The old-world elegance of the town suited Dr. Gale's taste, and he lived, surrounded by his small but remarkable collection of Korean art and furniture, at 35 St James's Square. The house stands on the east side of the square built by John Palmer between 1790 and 1793. The poet Walter Savage Landor lived in it from 1838 to 1858. Gale claimed that Landor's best-known lines were addressed in 1849 to his landlady at 35 St James's Square after a quarrel with her:

I strove with none; for none was worth my strife;  
Nature I loved, and, next to Nature, Art;  
I warmed both hands before the fire of life;  
It sinks, and I am ready to depart.

Landor's grandson, the explorer A. H. Savage-Landor, had visited Korea in 1890-91, and published a book about his visit, of which Gale kept a copy in his library in Bath. However, Gale relished more the fact that Landor the poet had entertained Charles Dickens in the house, and Dickens had conceived the idea of *The Old Curiosity Shop* while staying there. Moreover, the character of Boythorn in Gale's old favourite, *Dombey and Son*, was supposed to have been modelled on Landor. Gale was an enthusiastic admirer of Dickens, a member of the Bath Dickens Fellowship, to which in 1930 he read a paper on 'Charles Dickens and Oriental Writers'. A Canadian classmate who had visited Bath, addressing the Toronto Dickens Fellowship Club in January 1929, delighted them with a description of Dr Gale reading from *The Old Curiosity Shop* to ten-year-old Alex in an upstairs room of the house in St James's Square.

The guest book of the Bath house records a constant stream of visitors from Korea, especially the priests and doctors of the anglican mission. Father Cecil Chambers, who had worked in Seoul with Bishop Trollope from 1912 to 1918, came to Alex's birthday tea in 1928. His brother Basil had retired from his living as Rector of Ashchurch in Gloucestershire to live in Henrietta Street, Bath, and became a close personal friend of the Gales. (The same birthday was the pretext for the arrival of the last fox-terrier, Poo ng—so-called by a pun on the Korean *p'ung*, meaning wind, or Gale.) In September 1930 Bishop Trollope came to Bath and the two old friends went on an outing together to see the benedictine monks at nearby Downside Abbey. It was their last meeting: the bishop was on the eve of returning to Korea, after the Lambeth Conference of that year, and less than two months later he died on board ship in Kobe harbour. Many interests filled Gale's eight and a half years of retirement. He had been made a life governor of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and was a well-

known member of its Bath branch. He was active in the Bath branch of the Royal Empire Society, and the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution. Bath is a famous centre for retired people, drawn by the curative effect of its waters on rheumatism, and such societies flourished. He was a president of the Bath branch of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union, a member of the Bath City Mission, and associated with the Somerset Diocesan Mission to the Deaf and Dumb. For some years he was the much-loved president of the 135 members of the Bath branch of the British Israel World Federation, and only relinquished that position when his health failed. Although the British Israel theory had already been severely criticized by orthodox christians, it had not yet attracted the suspicions and distaste with which it later came to be viewed. The theory that the Celto-Saxon races are descendants of the 'Lost Ten Tribes' of Israel, who did not return from Babylon to Palestine in the sixth century BC, was held by some protestant groups in England during the seventeenth century. It was elaborated by a Scot, John Wilson, in some lectures published in Bath in 1843. Wilson was involved in the founding of the Anglo-Israel Association, which in 1919 became the British Israel World Federation. Most British-Israelites also accepted the theory first put forward in 1864 by Charles Piazzi Smyth, Astronomer-Royal for Scotland, according to which the Great Pyramid was built with the British inch as its unit of measurement, to demonstrate a time-scale showing the major events of Israelite and Celto-Saxon history. Gale had been fascinated by the pyramids since he had included a passage about them in the third volume of his *Korean Readers* in 1901. In 1920 he had made many pages of notes about them, and one summer during his last term in Korea he had given two or three lectures on the pyramids and prophecy to the holidaying missionaries at Myōng-sa-simni. He is said also to have preached a series of sermons on the subject at Yōnmot-kol. He was sincerely convinced by British-Israel theory, and it is not surprising that its ideas should have appealed to him. He had always been attracted by the out-of-the-way, he had been accustomed to thinking of mythical racial origins when studying Korean pre-history, and his political sentiments found echoes in Anglo-Israelism.

Rumours that he had become a Roman catholic floated back to Korea, and disturbed his old friends. C. A. Clark must have written to ask him the truth, because in June 1932 Gale wrote him a letter which was published the following September in *The Korea Mission Field*. Gale denied that he had anything to do with Roman catholicism. On arriving in Bath he had naturally begun to attend the presbyterian church, and had even preached at Holy Trinity, the presbyterian chapel in the Paragon. It was the original 'Chapel in the Vineyards' of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, but had passed into presbyterian hands in 1922. This unusual history appealed to Gale, but he was soon disillusioned about the minister in charge. Robert Calder Gillie, who was only two years younger than Gale, and had arrived in Bath in the same year as Gale, was a modernist. He had written many books, but Gale was most deeply offended by *The Bible for Youth*, published in 1924. Dr Gale objected to Gillie's rationalization of miracles (such as that the walls of Jericho did not fall down, but the frightened inhabitants surrendered), to the textual criticism which denied the traditional authorship of the New Testa-

ment books, to the higher criticism of the Old Testament, and above all to the emasculation of prophecy. He wrote in the front of his copy that Gillie was 'a good, kind man' but 'the character of all these notes is such as to destroy SIMPLE FAITH'. He could not sit at the feet of such a preacher, so he went off to the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, the calvinistic methodist body founded by the Countess to introduce methodism to England's upper classes. Her Bath chapel had been opened in 1765, and though this had now passed to Mr. Gillie's congregation, another was functioning (and still is, in 1971, as one of the thirty-six that belong to the Connexion) in Trafalgar Road, in the village of Weston, a suburb of Bath. Gale became an elder there before he discovered that the pastor was another modernist, so he 'joined up with the Low Church, Evangelical (Church of England) at St Andrew's', a hundred yards from his front door. It is easy to understand how James Gale felt at home in St Andrew's, Walcot, where traditional evangelical orthodoxy was taught. The ceremonial, or lack of it, would have been strange to his high-church friends in the anglican mission in Korea. They would, however, have appreciated his pleasure in his pipe and the pint of beer with his supper which he could enjoy now he was no longer obliged to humour the puritanism of his missionary confreres.

He remained a member of the Presbyterian League of Faith, and wrote enthusiastically of the interdenominational City Mission prayer meeting held every Wednesday morning, 'an old-time revival prayer-meeting that does one's heart good'. He reiterated his belief in 'the infallibility of the bible ... every jot and tittle of its prophecies will be fulfilled'. His orthodoxy did not allow of scepticism or rationalism, yet he did not lose his theological breadth: he was that rarest of christian types, the truly romantic protestant, and had little sympathy for the harsher kind of fundamentalism, though he was a man of principle, and the conservatism of his political views was mirrored in the strength of his orthodoxy. His appearance fitted his character, as he walked the streets of Bath in clerical subfusc with a high Roman collar and pince-nez spectacles, only his neat moustache betraying that he was a non-conformist minister.

He had disposed of most of his Korean and Chinese books when he left Korea, keeping only *Sambong chip* and the two treasured volumes of the Chosen Kosho Kanko-kai edition of *Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip*, the works of Yi Kyubo. It was nearly twenty years since he and Kim Tohūi had visited Yi Kyubo's grave on Kanghwa Island and started to work together on translations of his poems. In retirement Dr Gale polished and repolished the translations. He sent them to Kegan Paul in 1933, but that publisher did not regard them as a paying venture and suggested Oxford University Press. Oxford also rejected the manuscript. It was a period of slump, but other factors weighed against the publication of Gale's work. Arthur Waley had long since revolutionized the English reader's idea of translations from Chinese poetry, and Gale's diction was now as outdated as the bustle and the brougham. The letters of rejection must have brought disappointment, but Yi Kyubo was an old friend, cheering Dr Gale with wry comments on old age, and comforting him with thoughts of God. Gale translated one such poem:

This long-drawn illness grows apace;  
How many times this wavering pulse of mine  
They feel! You say I'm not to die ...  
Still, why should God have special thoughts of me?  
I'm seventy-three and more, and so my way  
To heaven is open wide. When shall my time,  
My day to go, come round? I'll ask of God;  
And if he gives no answer to my call,  
I'll look up his recorded notes and see  
Where I've been out of reckoning.  
(TYSC hujip VII 18)

The catalogue of his library was not finished until October 1933. He had kept one buddhist book, the popular life of Gautama Buddha called *P'alsang-nok*. He had a surprising number of Roman catholic devotional books, some books on astronomy, good collections on Scotland and Korea, some British Israelite works, and the beloved old Ontario Public School Books. He made an attempt to learn Sanskrit, but did not get very far: for Sanskrit to have been useful to him he should have studied it forty years earlier. His more absorbing and satisfying studies were on the bible, and in the last years of his life it was bible themes that filled his notebooks. There was little or no system about his studies now, but no sign that his passions were spent. When the socialist government of Britain was defeated in 1931, he declaimed *Nun danket alle Gott*.

He did a great deal of preaching and lecturing, in churches and schools and to various societies. The sermons tended now to re-live the earliest of his Korean memories, and almost always quoted his favourite Korean authors. In old-style English fashion he pronounced Seoul as 'Sowl' to rhyme with 'howl'; and gave imitations of Japanese officials to make his tales vivid. He sniffed again in imagination the smell of the lacquer on Korean gauze hats, which now seemed the most evocative of all his memories of Korea before she was modernized. Modernization had killed the Korea he loved. In a letter of 1933 he wrote:

Korea is dead and gone as a country. She was the most interesting of the Chinese group to the very last, for she had never been overrun, as China herself was overrun, by Tartars, Mongols, and Manchus, but had preserved in her thought, her habits and her writings the spirit of the T'angs and Mings. Now, however, Japan comes in like one of her own east coast tidal waves, and old Korea is no more.

In spite of this sadness, it was a retirement in grand style. On occasion he drank the amber waters of *Aquae Sulis* in the Pump Room. His health remained good: he was a little under six feet in height, and something over thirteen stone in weight, though he did not look portly, because he was broad-shouldered. He helped with church services until the latter part of 1934, when his health worsened. His biggest trial was the scantiness of his pension. Jessie used to send cheques from Iran asking for books on Persian history and including a handsome surplus,

but he was sometimes so worried about money that the worry interfered with his ability to pray. In 1935 he had the joy of a visit from George, and his own brother Bob came over from Canada to see him. In 1936 news came of the death in Korea of Yi Ch'angjik. That summer the Gales had an August holiday, visiting Lyme Regis and Budleigh Salterton in the second-hand Standard car which Alex learned to drive at the earliest legal age. Later in the same year Dr Gale himself fell seriously ill. He recovered from the first stroke, which happened while he was doing business in a bank in Bath. Then one afternoon in November he sat by the fire laughing as he told an anecdote while his wife and daughter were getting ready to go out to tea with friends in the square. Suddenly he sneezed and looked pale; but made light of it. When Ada and Alex returned home the house was in darkness and he was sitting upstairs in the drawing-room unconscious and unable to move. He was taken by ambulance to a nursing home called Ormond Lodge. Consciousness returned, and he enjoyed being read to, but was weak and unable to sit up. At Ormond Lodge in the early hours of 31 January 1937, barely three weeks before his seventy-fourth birthday, he suddenly sat up, looked up, and said, 'How wonderful! How beautiful!' Then he fell back dead on his pillow. He was buried two days later at Lansdown Cemetery. The service was taken by Prebendary F. E. Murphy, assisted by Dr Rowland Grant, Rector of Walcot, and Basil Chambers. The least sectarian of presbyterians was laid to rest by anglicans. Ada died sixteen years later, at the age of seventy-seven, on 25 January 1953.

His adored Alex grew up as a confirmed member of the Church of England, and is now the wife of Alderman John Lloyd-Kirk of Bristol. Their three children are James Gale's only grandchildren.

## ix Scholar and missionary

The strain of high romance, that made James Scarth Gale both a pioneer missionary and an industrious translator, was evident in his selection of material whenever he wrote about Korean culture. It showed itself in his old-world feeling for women, his delight in strange tales and lyric poetry, his antiquarian pleasures, and his sense of the adventure of evangelism. He discovered in Korea a world of faery to which his Scottish blood responded—Scottish wraiths appear beside Korean ghosts in his *History of the Korean People*. The introduction to his *Book of Strange Stories* shows that he was aware of the dangers of this bent; but his millenarianism was its positive theological aspect. His dislike for Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell, and his hatred of theological modernism were not due to defensive fundamentalism: he could not conceive the world in materialist or behaviourist terms. He was anxious to teach science and practical skills to Koreans, but his passionate faith involved acceptance of miracle, and a love of prophecy sometimes so extravagant as to disturb some of his fellow-missionaries. His thinking was never subjected to the discipline of systematic theological education. Although this was part of the reason for the indiscipline of his writing, more formal training might have blunted his romanticism. Above all, he believed

that the second advent of Christ was imminent, and this was probably why he worked so hard and completed so much.

His achievement as a missionary can no longer be measured in churches built or converts made. Even his Korean books survived for little more than one generation, and are not read today. The significance of his missionary work lay in its depth. In addition to pioneer work in Wönsan and a highly successful pastorate in Seoul, through the two presbyterian schools and the YMCA he influenced many Koreans who became christian or nationalist leaders. He was always alive to the needs of the moment: the need of early missionaries for dictionaries and grammars; the need of young Koreans for education in the first decade of the century, for a new kind of literature after 1920; and the need for a fresh approach to bible translation.

His romanticism had an effect on his techniques. He translated with panache, and never stayed closer than he needed to the sentence-structure of the original text. At the beginning of his career, when he was doing *Pilgrim's Progress*, the wide differences between seventeenth-century English and nineteenth-century Korean forced him to liberate himself from tyrannical literalness. The method suited his personality, and he produced important work. His *Cloud Dream of the Nine* is still read fifty years later, and his *Folk Tales* were reprinted a second time in 1971. Even though his essentially Victorian concept of poetry made him write usually in iambic metre and often with rhyme, his English versions of *sijo* were landmarks in literary history, and he unfailingly chose the best in Korean literature for presentation to the west. A comparison of his versions with the elegant paraphrases of them published by Joan Grigsby in *The Orchid Door* shows the honesty of his technique. As a translator of Korean writings in Chinese he suffered from a lack of adequate tools. It is quite understandable that he should mistake *tao-nu* for *kumis*, the milk wine of the steppes, when he had no modern Chinese dictionaries to explain that it is a specialised word for tea, and that he should sometimes trip up over obscure buddhist terminology. Such points can still hinder professional scholars.

He appreciated the virtues of scientific scholarship, and his monographs show that he was not bereft of them himself; but he was often so carried away by enthusiasm for his subject that he did not bother with the apparatus of scholarship. The fact that his readers were not interested in such detail was another reason for his failure to indicate his sources. There is a great difference between his Asiatic Society papers and his *Korea Magazine* articles: the former were more meticulously prepared.

The same duality shows in his romanizations of the Korean language. The preface to his dictionary presented a scientific system of romanization better than anything else proposed by his contemporaries. He never published an analysis of it, nor described rules for its use, but it closely resembles the McCune-Reischauer system of 1939, which has now become the norm. The differences are in the treatment of a few vowels. He wrote *ö* for McCune-Reischauer's *ö*, *eu* for its *ü*, *ai* for its *ae*, *oi* for its *oe*, and sometimes *oi* for its *e*. Otherwise there is no significant difference between the two systems. Gale's taste in the matter was remarkable. In writing for popular audiences, however, he bowed to the common,

and deplorable, missionary custom of writing *u* for *ö*, and *oo* for *u*, omitted the apostrophe after aspirated consonants, and was inconsistent about medial consonants.

Even more than most missionaries, he recognised the remarkable qualities of the Korean alphabet and its importance for national development, but his appreciation of the Korean language was characteristically impressionistic rather than analytical. H. G. Underwood's *Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language* was a better-organized book, yet the fascinating collection of sentences and proverbs in Gale's *Grammatical Forms* had the wider vogue. His dictionaries show that he could handle large masses of material with competent attention to detail, but his articles on language show that he had less interest in its mechanics than he had feeling for its effect. This feeling extended, as that of few foreigners ever has, to details of style in Chinese poetry and prose written by Koreans. His ability to interpret Korea to westerners, and his appeal to Koreans, were due to an affinity between his own personality and traditional Korean culture, with its mixture of moralizing and fairy lore. People described him as winsome, kindly, genial, sparkling. He could no more resist talking to a coolie or a sewing-woman than to a prince or a buddhist abbot. His old gift of mimicry, which made him so infuriating as a schoolboy, and so apt at learning Korean, betrayed him in later years. A friend commented that Dr Gale had adopted Korean gestures to the point that if he said, 'The fellow has no brains', he would tap not his head, but his chest, because the Koreans, like the Chinese and the Hebrews, think of the heart, not the head, as the seat of thought.

It is also said that he refused to attempt writing Chinese characters with a brush, because he believed it would be presumptuous for a westerner to attempt the art without the years of assiduous practice from early youth that go to make an oriental calligrapher. This was humility, and humility was a virtue which he came to love more as he grew older. An undated essay, written in his later years, sums up his romanticism and shows his deepest insights in praise of humility. It would have been surprising if a man so devoted to women had never written anything about the Mother of God. What he had to say about her was so untypical of presbyterianism that the version of the essay which he published in the Korean seminary journal in 1921 was much abbreviated and simplified. In the English text he compared the Blessed Virgin to Kuan-yin, 'goddess of mercy', but this was less original than what he said of the maternal element in the God-head. He wrote of Mary's life as one of rejection and suffering, showing some protestant bias in working out the details of that essentially catholic idea; but he was completely in harmony with catholic tradition when he emphasized the centrality of Mary's *fiat* to the whole doctrine of the Incarnation. He did not wish to worship her or even pray to her, but he could not prevent himself apostrophising her in his peroration:

Ave Maria! Thou lowly one, so gentle, so submissive, so truly one with God's great and wonderful purpose! A pattern thou for all ages and times to come. May we, like thee, gently, quietly, submissively, purged of self, lose our personality in the Father's will.

The lack of theological precision shows his lack of formal training and an absorption of buddhist ideas; but Mary had drawn from him his best mystical writing. It was something he could scarcely have imagined when he was dazzled by the candles in the church of St Sulpice.

The greatness of his achievement is enhanced if one knows his foibles and weaknesses. James Gale must have delighted in the parallel between the words St Paul wrote to the Corinthians about true strength being found in weakness and the words attributed to Confucius in the fourth book of the Analects: 'The faults of men are characteristic of the class to which they belong; by observing a man 's faults it may be known that he is virtuous'.