SOURCES OF NURSING HISTORY IN KOREA

한국 간호 역사 자료집

VOLUME I 1886~1911

Sung-Deuk Oak



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FOREWORD

Nursing education in Korea was founded at the Nurses' Training School of *Pogunyoğwan*, the first women's hospital in Seoul, in December of 1903, at a time when most women were suffering under the yoke of feudalist patriarchy. The stories of the first two Korean nurses, Martha Kim and Grace Yi vividly portray the bleak status of women at that time. Martha was abused by her husband, leaving her without the fingers and thumb of her right hand and missing a portion of her nose. Her husband subsequently abandoned her, taking her children with him. After being baptized, she received nursing education while working at the hospital. Later she played a pivotal role in training of many young Korean women as nurses. Grace, a handicapped servant, entered nursing education after long treatments at Pogunyogwan. When a Methodist local evangelist proposed to her in the presence of the doctor, she, after one month consideration and dialogue with him by asking a set of questions, finally expressed her sincere approval to him, on the condition of "equal partnership between spouses geared towards concurrent performance of studies and works." After she married, she had a very full life as a successful career woman, a good mother, and a supportive wife for her husband who fought for the nation's independence from Japanese colonial rule. Both women were genuine modern women who overcame their given fate and tended to the lives of many people through the professional nursing education and career.

The Korean Nurses Association has been working on the project of "Unearthing Nursing History in Korea" in order to discover and document its honorable tradition and legacy, which may guide its great progress in the future. Dr. Sung-Deuk Oak, professor of Korean Christianity at UCLA, has participated in this project and spared no efforts in collecting historical materials from various archives and libraries at home and abroad, for their compilation, translation, and annotation. I would like to express my deep gratitude to Professor Oak for all of his efforts in making this first volume and other forthcoming volumes.

This book carries personal records, correspondences, and the reports of missionary nurses and medical missionaries, who contributed considerably to the introduction and development of nursing and nursing education in Korea, as well as articles in academic journals, mission magazines, and newspapers. They account for in detail how Korean nurses were selected, educated, and engaged in nursing practice at the turn of the twentieth century in Korea. It also provides some important historical documents regarding the organization of the first Nurses' Associations from 1908 to 1911.

As this first volume compiles historical materials of the medical and nursing work done by Western, Japanese, and Korean women from 1886 to 1911, I hope they will be used not only for nursing history, but for various academic disciplines across history, women's studies, sociology, theology, and etc.

The Korean Nurses Association will continue this "Unearthing Nursing History" project. We hope that many vigorous young scholars, inspired by this project, will emerge and continue the in-depth study of nursing history in Korea, which is indispensable for the upgrading of the nursing work in Korea.

> July 25, 2011 (In the centennial year of the organization of the fist Korean nurses' association and on the 140th anniversary of the birth of Margaret J. Edmund) Kyung Rim Shin, RN, Ed. D., FAAN President of the Korean Nurses Association

PREFACE

This is the first of the five-volume series *Sources of Nursing History in Korea*, 1886-1945, a project granted by the Korean Nurses Association. Covering the early modern period from 1886 to 1911, it focuses on the earliest stories of the Protestant missionary nurses' service and their education of Korean nurses in Seoul. The rest volumes will cover their multifaceted development under the colonial government from 1910 to 1945. And another volume of the pictorial history is to be published soon, which will reveal vivid images of the rich history of nursing in Korea.

MAJOR EVENTS OF THE EARLY MODERN NURSING IN KOREA

A number of Western missionary nurses did the pioneer nursing work in Korea with great devotion and success. The first foreign nurse who worked in Korea was Miss Annie J. Ellers of Boston University Medical College and a graduate of the Training School for Nurses of Boston City Hospital. She came to Seoul in 1886 and worked at the Royal Korean Hospital, Chejungwon (which was established in April 1886 as the first modern government hospital with American medical missionary Dr. Horace N. Allen in charge). In 1895~1897 Miss Anna P. Jacobson, a Norwegian graduate of the Portland General Hospital Nurses' Training School, worked in Seoul, dying after a short service. In 1897 Miss Esther L. Shields, a graduate of the Philadelphia General Hospital Nurses' Training School, began work, and in 1906 opened the training school for Korean nurses at Severance Hospital with the help of Miss Margaret J. Edmunds. Before that, in December of 1903, Miss Edmunds established the first Nurses' Training School at Pogunyŏgwan. The first two Korean nurses-Mrs. Grace Yi and Mrs. Martha Kim-were graduated in 1908 from this school after being trained under Miss Edmunds and Miss Alta Morrison. As a result, from 1908 to 1934, 60 Korean graduate nurses were produced from the Methodist women's hospital Pogunyŏgwan and 245 from the cooperation among the Presbyterian and Methodists missions from Severance Hospital in Seoul and Kwanghyenyöwön in P'yöngyang.

The major events in this volume are as follows:

October 8, 1886	Miss Annie Ellers, of the PCUSA, began to work at the department of women of the Government Hospital, <i>Chejungwön</i> , as its first female doctor and nurse
November 1888	Miss Meta Howard, the first Methodist female doctor, of the WFMS of the MEC, established the first women's hospital, <i>Pogunyŏgwan</i> , in Seoul
October 1891	Miss Gertrude Heathcote, of the English Church Mission, arrived in Seoul as the first active graduate nurse and worked at the Hospital of St. Peter
April 1895	Miss Anna P. Jacobson, the first regular Presbyterian nurse, arrived in Seoul
October 1897	Miss Esther L. Shields, the second Presbyterian nurse, arrived in Seoul
March 1903	Miss Margaret J. Edmunds, the second Methodist nurse, arrived in Seoul
December 1903	Miss Edmunds established the first Nurses' Training School [hereafter NTS]
	at Pogunyŏgwan
Jan. 25, 1906	The first capping ceremony at Pogunyŏgwan NTS for Grace Yi and Martha Kim
September 1906	Miss Shields established the Severance Hospital NTS
Jan. 30, 1907	The second capping ceremony of the <i>Pogunyŏgwan</i> NTS (Ellen Kim and Mattie Chung)
March 1907	The Korean Government established Taehan Hospital and began to train nurses
March 20, 1908	Missionary nurses organized "The Graduate Nurses' Association in Korea"
June 12, 1909	The first capping ceremony of the Severance Hospital NTS for Bessie Kim
Nov. 5, 1908	The first graduation of the Pogunyŏgwan NTS (Grace Yi and Martha Kim)
Dec. 3, 1909	The second graduation of the Pogunyŏgwan NTS (Ellen Kim)
June 10, 1909	The first graduation of the Severance Hospital NTS (Bessie Kim)
	The Severance Hospital Nurses' Association was organized (with only Korean nurses)
September 1910	The Medical School of Governor-General Government Hospital opened the
-	department of midwifery and nursing

November 1908	The third	graduation of the	Pogunvõgwan	NTS	(Mattie Chung)

The second graduation of the Severance Hospital NTS (Sinsŏng Kim, Wŏnsuk Cho, Yŏngsin Pak)

June 17, 1910 The Severance Hospital Nurses' Alumni Association was organized

Oct. 27, 1911

June 1909

The Severance Hospital Nurses' Association, composed of Methodist and Presbyterian Korean nurses, was organized. Eleven Korean nurses attended its first meeting The Graduate Nurses' Association changed its name into "The Western Graduate

Nurses' Association in Korea"

As this chronology suggests, nursing education, which started at the nurses' training schools of the Methodist and Presbyterian hospitals in Seoul from 1904 to 1906, developed in an environment of "all practicable cooperation" between the two schools. These two hospitals decided to form an "organic union" in 1905, as a part of the establishment of the one "Christian Church in Korea 다 한 예수교회," which was the goal of the Council of Evangelical Protestant Missions in Korea. This vision was not realized due to the different policies of the home boards and churches. Nevertheless, the "practicable union" enabled the missionary nurses and doctors to work together to train Korean nurses at these two hospitals. Furthermore, Severance Hospital became an ecumenical institute in 1915 and Presbyterian and Methodist nurses cooperated in nursing education, beginning in 1917. At the same time, the first two nursing schools integrated the nursing systems developed in the United Kingdom, the United States, China, and Japan with due concern for Korean customs in medical treatment, and shared their curriculum and teachers and exchanged students for mutual training. This method of combination and cooperation produced the first graduate Korean nurses from 1908 to 1911.

Above all, the earliest nurses' associations, organized from 1908 to 1911, are the *de facto* origins of today's Korean Nurses Association. They were "the Graduate Nurses' Association in Korea" (1908), "the Severance Hospital Nurses' Alumni Association" (1910), and "the Severance Hospital Nurses' Association" and "the Western Graduate Nurses' Association in Korea" organized on the same day of October 27, 1911. The last two associations continued to exist until 1923 when "the Chosŏn Nurses' Association" was organized by Korean nurses and then "the Western Graduate Nurses' Association in Korea" was integrated into "the Chosŏn Nurses' Association in Korea" was integrated into "the Chosŏn Nurses' Association in 1925. This Chosŏn Nurses' Association was reorganized into today' Korean Nurses Association originated indirectly from "the Graduate Nurses' Association in Korea" (1908) and directly from "the Severance Hospital Nurses' Association" (1911). The publication of this first volume of the series, hence, has such a significance of celebrating the centennial of the organization of the first Korean nurses' association in 1911.

PLANNING

When I participated in the conference on Horace G. Underwood held at Yonsei University, Seoul, in April of 2010, the Korean Nurses Association asked me to collect the primary sources of the early Korean nursing history at the archives of the United States, to edit and translate two or three volumes of its sources, and to search for the descendents of the earlier missionary nurses, if possible, and those of Margaret J. Edmunds who established the first nursing school in Korea in 1903. The KNA history team had already launched the project of "Unearthing the Nursing History" of the Association and collected many available materials in Korea. They thought that I would be the right scholar for this project. President Dr. Shin Kyung Rim emphasized the significance of the project and promised full support of my research endeavors. As I wrote the drafts of the history of Christian medical work in Korea about twenty five years ago when available historical materials were very limited, and have waited for an opportunity to rewrite it, I thought that the KNA project would be a good start for the rewriting of those earlier drafts. However, the uncertainty in finding enough materials for the compilation of two volumes and the academic pressure as an assistant professor facing tenure review, made me hesitant to commit to the project. However, after finding two of Mrs. Margret Edmunds Harrison's grandchildren by way of research, e-mails, and phone calls, I submitted a research trip proposal to the KNA.

COLLECTING THE SOURCES

The KNA funded my research trip and following works from start to finish, though they did not know how much material I could collect. I visited many libraries and archives in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut over a period of a month in the summer. And another trip in the fall also led me to valuable documents. I was lucky enough to make photocopies of three boxes worth of primary sources—personal letters, diaries, reports, magazine articles, annual reports, tracts, books, and etc.—in addition to many photos. It took more than six months for me to sort out and edit these original sources and then several months to translate them into the Korean language.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I could not have finished this first volume without the moral support of professor Shin Kyung-Rim, president of the KNA, whose sense of history, tremendous drive, and decisive courage set this project on its way and guided its progress to the end. Dr. Lee Hea-Young and Ms. Pak Sung-hee of the Institute of Health Policy of the KNA have continuously helped me with various practical matters. And Dr. Lee Bang-weon, a researcher of the same Institute, also facilitated my project with her research and collection of primary materials.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to librarians and archivists who provided me with great assistance during my research. Frances Lyon-Bristol, reference archivist of the General Commission on Archives and History, the United Methodist Church, at the Drew University, Madison, NJ, and other staff there aided my continuous requests for archival materials with kind willingness and professional skillfulness. I appreciate the valuable help of Martha Smalley, special collections librarian of the Day Mission Library, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, CT and Dr. Ruth T. Cameron, special collection librarian, and Ms. Betty C. Bolden of Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary in New York. I cannot thank enough Mr. Kenneth Henke, special collection librarian of Princeton Theological Seminary, who helped me find Esther L. Shields Papers. It was a great joy to see her manuscripts in the last moments of my trip.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr. Samuel Hugh Moffett and Mrs. Eileen Flower Moffett, who kindly invited me their home and presented their collections of missionary photos of Korean Christianity and allowed me to scan them for the future use. Some pictures in this volume and future volumes are from this Moffett Collections. My special thanks should go to Mrs. Susan Harrison Bradarich, granddaughter of Margaret Edmunds Harrison, who kindly donated family albums and photos to the KNA, which I could use freely here. Professor Park Hyong-woo, director of Tong'ŭn Medical Museum of the Severance Hospital, also permitted me to use scanned images of the first textbook of nursing in Korean, published in 1908.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The first volume covers the period from 1886 to 1911. The first part is the original primary sources, and the second is their translation. It starts with the letters of Miss Annie Ellers who was appointed to the Korean Government Hospital, *Chejungwŏn*, as the first missionary nurse and female doctor in 1886, and ends with the articles on the Severance Hospital Nurses Alumni Association in 1911. Some documents were written after 1911, yet they are included here because they describe the events and situation of the earlier period.

Part I "Personal Documents" is a collection of primary sources written by twenty-three missionary nurses and doctors and a Korean nurse, who worked in nursing work or nursing education in Korea from 1886 to 1911. Their personal file records of the mission boards, mission letters, reports, essays, magazine articles, memos, and obituaries are edited chronologically in

each person's section. The materials of the female medical doctors are included, for they will reveal more aspects of the nursing work in early modern Korea. Most materials are of missionaries, except those of Bessie Kim, because the first Korean nurses graduated from the training school in 1908 and they had not left many writings up to 1911.

Part II "Articles" are the magazines and newspapers articles on the nursing work in Korea, not written by those who were listed in Part I, but by others. They are selected mostly from the Christian English periodicals published in the United States, Korea, and China. Some articles came from the Korean weekly newspapers such as *Tongnip sinmun*, *Taehan k'ŭrisŭdoin hoebo*, *Kŭrisŭdo sinmun*, and *Yesugyo sinbo* or Korean monthly magazines like *Korean Repository*, *Korea Review*, *Korea Field*, *Korea Methodist*, *Korea Mission Field*, *Sinhak wŏlbo*, and Kajŏng chapchi.

Part III "Annual Reports" are those of the Women's Hospital, its Nurses' Training School, and the East Gate Dispensary in Seoul, run by the Korea Mission of the WFMS, from 1899 to 1911. Some annual reports of these institutions before 1898 can be found in the personal reports of Part I.

Part IV "Documents of the Nurses' Association" consist of the minutes of the "Graduate Nurses Association in Korea" organized by missionary nurses in 1908; the constitution of the "Severance Hospital Nurses Alumni Association" organized in 1911, and its "The Florence Nightingale Pledge for Nurses" and "A Nurses' Prayer" in 1911, and an article about the annual meeting of the "Severance Hospital Nurses Association" in 1911 during which Presbyterian and Methodist Korean nurses met. These materials reveal that these first nurses' associations, organized in 1908 and 1911, were the historical root of the Korean Nurses' Association organized in 1923 and today's Korean Nurses Association.

Appendices have a list of Western nurses (1886~1911), a list of Korean nurses (1908~1914), a photocopy of a Korean article on the second capping ceremony in 1907, and photocopied pages of the first Korean textbook on nursing printed in 1908. In addition, Chronology of nursing work in Korea (1886~1911), Bibliography, and Index will help readers find some sources that they are interested in.

PHOTOS

All the pictures and images in this book are collected by the writer and each one has permission to be used here from either the libraries and archives or their individual owner. Therefore, these photos cannot be used in any form and format without the permission of these copyright holders who are listed on page 1. If the pictures came from non-copyrighted sources, such as old magazines before 1920, I labeled its original sources. When the original documents contained the pictures, I edited them in the English texts. Sometimes I added some other pictures in the Korean texts to help readers to understand the contents visually.

TERMS

The Korean term for "a nurse" in this volume is "kanhowon 간호원 看護員" instead of "kanhobu 간호부 看護婦" which was a Japanese term and used beginning in 1910 in Korea. During the colonial period, two terms were used at the Christians hospitals, though the official name for a nurse was "kanhobu." Therefore the Korean term for "nurses" in the name of the Severance Hospital Nurses Training School changed from "kanhowon" in 1906 to "kanhobu" in 1911. There were five kind of nurses in Seoul around 1910: probationers (for two months: 學習 看護員), junior nurses (for three years without a cap: 後進看護員), senior nurses (for three years with a cap: 先進看護員), graduate nurses (委任看護員), and superintendent (看護員長).

The Korean name of the "Nurses' Training School" of *Pogunyŏgwan* in 1903 and Severance Hospital in 1906 is used here "kanhowŏn yangsŏng haggyo 간호원양성학교" based on the following three documentary evidence. In 1906 the Nurses' Training School of the Pogunyŏgwan was mentioned as "kanhowŏn yangsŏng haggyo" by an article of *The Kajŏng chapchi* [Home Magazine]; in 1907 George H. Jones made a speech at the second cappting ceremony of Pogunyogwan and his article in his church monthly magazine *Sinhak Wŏlbo* called the school "보구녀관 간호원양성학교"; and the Nurses' Training School of the Severance Hospital was mentioned as "세브란스병원 간호원양성학교" in 1910 by Korean nurses' letter. The "Superintendent" of these schools are translated into "kangowŏnjang 간호원장" because they were head of the hospital nurses as well as the training school. At the same time, as Jones in the same article used "yemosik 禮帽式" for the capping ceremony and "예모(禮帽)" for a nurse's cap, this volume used them instead of "kagwansik 加冠式" or "kwan 冠."

"The Graduate Nurses' Association in Korea" organized in 1908 is translated into "Taehan chorop kanhowonhoe 대한졸업간호원회" instead of "Chaeson chorop kanhobuhoe 재선졸업간호부회" (which was assumed from the title of "Chaeson soyangin chorop kanhobuhoe" reorganized in 1911). As the terms "Choson 朝鮮" (for "Korea") or "chaeson 在鮮" (for "in Korea") began to be used after the Japanese annexation of Korea ("Taehan 大韓") in August 1910, the documents produced in the colonial period (1910~1945) used the title "Chaeson soyangin chorop kanhobuhoe" and retroactively used the title "Chaeson chorop kanhobuhoe" when they wrote that it was organized in 1908. Now this anachronism should be corrected. When some Korean graduate nurses organized their own Korean Nurses' Association in October 1911, missionary and Western nurses changed the name of their association from "the Graduate Nurses' Association in Korea"

This book uses "yŏjabyŏngwŏn 여자병원" (not "yŏsŏng byŏngwŏn 여성병원") for a "woman's hospital," whose meaning was a general hospital for women, not an obstetrics and gynecologyhospital. On the other hand, Methodism/Methodist and Presbyterianism/Presbyterian are translated into "Kamnihoe 감리회" and "Changnohoe 장로회" instead of "Kamnigyo" and "Changnogyo." Foreign mission "Board" or "Society" in New York, "Mission" in Seoul, and "Station" in major cities in Korea are respectively translated into "sŏngyobu 선교부," "sŏnggyohoe 선교회," and "sŏngyojibu 선교지부." Therefore, the Woman's Foreign Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church is translated into "Pukkamnihoe yŏja haeoe sŏn'gyobu 북감리회 여자해외선교부" in Korean.

As I have done all the work of collecting, editing, translating, and annotating the documents and of correcting the manuscripts of this volume, any error in typescripts, copyrights, compilation, and translation, belong to me alone. As the final manuscripts should be submitted to the printer by the end of May in order to be published in June, I had to rush to complete the final drafts. However, the delay of its publication for a month enabled me to do some more corrections and revisions for a better shape of the volume.

Through the four volume series of the *Sources of Nursing History in Korea*, I hope that not only many hidden stories of nursing work will be known to the public, but also the heritage of the practicable cooperation among hospitals and nursing schools will be revived for the future development of nursing in Korea. Furthermore, I hope that this series will become inspirational sources for those who plan to reinterpret and rewrite the medical history in Korea from the perspective of female nurses and doctors.

July 25, 2011 Sung-Deuk Oak Dongsoon Im and Mija Im Scholar Associate Professor of Korean Christianity University of California Los Angeles

ABBREVIATIONS

AJN	American Journal of Nursing			
BFM	Board of the Foreign Missions			
CRKM	The Correspondence and Reports of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the USA, 1833-1911, Korea Missions. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1957.			
KMF	Korea Mission Field			
KNA	Korean Nurses Association			
MEC	Methodist Episcopal Church			
MECS	Methodist Episcopal Church, South			
MRW	Missionary Review of the World			
NJPC	Nursing Journal of Pacific Coast			
PCUS	Presbyterian Church in the United States			
PCUSA	Presbyterian Church in the United States of America			
PHS	Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA			
PTS	Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, NJ			
TMM	Tong'ŭn Medical Museum, Severance Hospital, Yonsei University, Seoul			
UMHC	United Methodist Historical Center, Drew University, Madison, NJ			
UTS	Union Theological Seminary, New York, NY			
WFMS	Woman's Foreign Missionary Society			
WMF	Woman's Missionary Friend			

PART I

ORIGINAL SOURCES

23

I.

Personal Documents

(Letters, Articles, Memoires, and Memos) of Female Missionary Doctors and Nurses in Korea, 1885~1911

> 1. ANNIE J. ELLERS 2. META HOWARD **3. LILLIAS STERLING HORTON** 4. ROSETTA SHERWOOD HALL 5. ELLA A. LEWIS 6. GERTRUDE HEATHCOTE 7. MARY MARIA CUTLER 8. ANNA PETEREA JACOBSON 9. ESTHER LUCAS SHIELDS **10. EVA HENRIETTA FIELD** 11. EMMA F. ERNSBERGER 12. LILLIAN A. HARRIS 13. ESTHER KIM PAK 14. MARGARET JANE EDMUNDS 15. MARY E. BROWN 16. CHRISTINE H. CAMERON **17. ETHEL E. KESTLER 18. ALTA IRENE MORRISON** 19. ELLA P. BURPEE 20. HILDA L. HELSTROM 21. GILBERTA HARRIS 22. LAURA MAY PITTS 23. HELEN FORSYTH 24. BESSIE CARNAHAN KIM



Annie J. Ellers, 1886

Annie J. Ellers (1862~1938) was born in Burr Oak, Michigan, on August 31, 1862. Her father was a Presbyterian minister. She graduated from Rockford College, Illinois, in 1881 and from the Training School for Nurses of Boston City Hospital in 1884, and entered Boston University Medical College in 1884. When she was preparing to go out as a medical missionary at a woman's hospital in Persia, Dr. Frank F. Ellinwood, secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, PCUSA, requested that she go to Korea to become a physician to the queen. She planned to come back to Boston after two years' service in Korea to complete her study and obtain a degree as a medical doctor. On May 22, 1886 she left San Francisco for Korea. On the steamer with her were three other American teachers-D. A. Bunker, G. W. Gilmore, and H. B. Hulbert-who were appointed to the Korean government school. They arrived at Yokohama on June 12, and she stayed at Dr. Hepburn's house for two weeks. She arrived at Chemulpo on July 3, and entered Seoul the next day. Dr. H. N. Allen of the government hospital Chejungwon, which had opened in April 1885, introduced her as a "doctor" to the court for the sake of convenience. She began to see Queen Min in August 1886, and decorated with the second rank of Chongpuin on October 25, 1886. When the royal hospital was moved from Chaedong to Kurigae, near Myongdong, on October 5, 1886, she came to be in charge of the woman's department of the hospital and began to see female patients in October 8, 1886. She started a girls' school at Chöngdong in June 1887, which developed into Chöngshin Girls' School later. She married D. A. Bunker on July 5, 1887, and was decorated with the rank of Chönggyöng-puin on January 6, 1888. She handed over the responsibility of the woman's department of the hospital to Dr. Lillias Sterling Horton, who arrived in Seoul on March 27, 1888. Ellers had had some training both as a nurse and as a physician in the US, she was a "medical student and trained nurse" at the time of her arrival in Korea. However, as there was no female missionary doctor in Korea in 1886, she worked as the female physician of Queen Min and at the government hospital. As Rev. Bunker joined the Korea Mission, MEC in 1895 and became a teacher of Paejae Haktang, she also became a Methodist missionary. After forty years' service, Mr. and Mrs. Bunker retired and lived in San Diego, California. When Mr. Bunker died in 1932, she buried his bones at the foreigners' cemetery at Yanghwajin, Seoul. She came back to Korea in 1937 and lived in Sorae, Hwanghae province. She died on August 8, 1938 in Seoul, and was buried beside her husband.