

Found in Translation:
Dr. Julia Morgan and the Adaptation of
Protestant Missions in China

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Notes on Romanization:

Pinyin system is used for all Chinese names except for those found in Morgan's letters or other documents. Well known names, such as Chiang Kai-shek, are written as their commonly known in American scholarship.



Dr. Julia Morgan and a Chinese friend
(From Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections)

I. Introduction

Dr. Julia Morgan was a Dickinson graduate who served as a medical missionary to China from 1922-1941. By looking at Morgan's life, we can examine the role that American Protestant missionaries played in Sino-American relations during the early twentieth century. Morgan is perhaps better known at Dickinson as the daughter of Dickinson President James Henry Morgan. But in her own time she lived anywhere but in his shadow. Inspired by the progressive Christian movement for global missions, Morgan sailed to China with the goal of improving the lives of the Chinese people through modern medicine and Christian ideals. Her time in China spanned the transitional period during which missionaries liberalized their evangelical work, using humanitarian and social work initiatives to spread the news of the gospel, rather than direct proselytizing. Morgan's service in China as a practitioner of scientific medicine directly influenced this change in China missions. Motivated by Christian values of service, Morgan successfully translated cutting edge standards of medical professionalism into the practice of medicine in China. As part of a broader effort to achieve the evangelical goal of missionary medical institutions, Morgan dedicated her time in China to the progress of the Chinese medical field at the Shandong Christian Union University (Cheeloo).¹

When examining the roles of American missions in the history of U.S-Chinese relations, missionaries have been commonly explained as agents of Western "cultural imperialism." Arthur Schlesinger Jr. defined "cultural imperialism" as the purposeful aggression by one culture against the ideas and values of another."² Within Chinese history

¹ Cheeloo comes from the names Ch'i (齊) and Lu (魯), two states of the Zhou dynasty located in present day Shandong. Lu is the birthplace of Confucius (Corbett, 130).

² Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism," *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, ed. by John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 363.

there are plenty of instances where “purposeful aggression” typifies the advances of Christianity into the Chinese culture and value system. Although missionaries went to China with good intentions, they ultimately represented the interests of Western governments as part of the treaty port system of special privileges and foreign dominance over China. However, as Schlesinger elaborates, “The mere communication of ideas and values across national borders is not in itself imperialism.”³ A more nuanced explanation of the role of Protestant missions in China is required to determine to what extent the missionary work of the kind Morgan embodied favored “communication of ideas” in contrast to “purposeful aggression.” In “Beyond Cultural Imperialism,” Ryan Dunch argues that the enduring explanation of missionaries as instruments of “cultural imperialism” or cultural aggression “reduces complex interactions [between Westerners and Chinese] to a simple dichotomy between actor and acted upon, leaving little place for the agency of the latter.”⁴ To study Julia Morgan’s life and the full extent of her impact in China, we must look, as Dunch’s title suggests, *beyond* the framework of cultural aggression while, at the same time, keeping in mind the active presence of imperialism as a political, economic, and cultural force.

II. The Call to China

Morgan’s story as a missionary to China begins twelve years before she traveled to China. During her junior year at Dickinson, Morgan accompanied the Dickinson Young Women’s Christian Association to the 1910 Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions Convention in Rochester, NY. As an active member of the college’s YWCA, Julia was exposed to the rising popularity of international missionary work. The vehicle for many

³ Schlesinger, 363.

⁴ Ryan Dunch, “Beyond Cultural Imperialism,” *History and Theory* 41, no. 3 (October 2002): 302.

college students' missionary fervor was the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM). The Student Volunteer Movement was an organization that grew out of the greater progressive Christian movement sweeping the nation at the turn of the century. This movement promoted global missions as the necessary complement to the increasing influence of American commerce abroad. The main goal of the SVM was to recruit students to join the foreign missions worldwide.⁵ SVM accomplished this goal by reaching out to college students through posters and talks on college campuses, articles in both religious and education journals, and conventions that provided college students the opportunity to sign up for service as missionaries in foreign fields.⁶ The message of these articles would have reached Dickinson College, since the college's Young Women's Christian Association annually subscribed to journals that frequently published SVM articles and advertisements such as the *Medical Missionary* and the *Christian Century*.⁷ SVM secretaries also frequently served as guest speakers for the Dickinson YWCA during Julia's undergraduate years.⁸

The Dickinson YWCA took an active role in learning about and promoting foreign missionary work, holding missions study classes and a weekly discussion group that often focused on foreign missions.⁹ The China mission field was a recurring topic for the Dickinson YWCA. Morgan was in charge of buying a Christmas present to send to China every year for a Chinese girl the YWCA sponsored.¹⁰ The Dickinson YWCA's interest in

⁵ Clifton J. Phillips, "The Student Volunteer Movement and Its Role in China Missions, 1886-1920," in *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 91-109.

⁶ John. R. Mott, "A Quadrennium in the Life and Work of the Student Volunteer Movement," *Students and the Present Missionary Crisis* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1910), 19.

⁷ Y.W.C.A. Minutes, 1902-1912, Record Group 8124/1, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, 78.

⁸ Y.W.C.A. Minutes, Dickinson Archive, 119, 131, 137.

⁹ Y.W.C.A. Minutes, Dickinson Archive, 114, 123.

¹⁰ Y.W.C.A. Minutes, Dickinson Archive, 98, 111, 119, 116.

China reflected the greater interest of Dickinson College, and the SVM, in the missionary enterprise in China.

Beyond the activities of the YWCA, Dickinson College graduates had been going to China missions in significant numbers since the mid-nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century the rise in popularity of the China mission field was also prevalent within the Dickinson community.¹¹ Dickinson graduate John W. Yost set sail in 1903 for China to the West China Union University (WCUU) in Sichuan. Dickinson funded Yost's professorship at WCUU. In 1921, Yost was replaced by Raymond Brewer, another Dickinson alumnus. By the 1920s Dickinson's commitment to missionary education in China had gained momentum and support from the student body and alumni network, creating the Dickinson-in-China initiative to raise funds for WCUU.¹² Dickinson-in-China was developed "in the interest of international good will and the advancement of education and Christian faith and practice by extending the ideals of Dickinson College in the Orient."¹³ As the devoted daughter of James H. Morgan, dean and future president of Dickinson,¹⁴ Julia appears to have embraced the college's support for foreign missions. James Morgan as president declared that "the function of a College is to teach men to think in world terms instead of local terms."¹⁵ As shown by the YWCA's activities, thinking globally did not only apply to the male students at Dickinson. Foreign missions seemed to be

¹¹ David Strand, "Asia and Asian Studies at Dickinson, 1847-2007," *New Lives for Asian Images* (York, PA: Dickinson College Office of Publications, 2008), 3-11.

¹² Lemieux, Matthew, "Dickinson in China," *Dickinson Chronicles*, <http://chronicles.dickinson.edu/specproj/dsoninchina/index.html>.

¹³ Quoted in Strand, 5.

¹⁴ Morgan became Dean of Dickinson College in 1903 and served as Dickinson's president from 1914-1928 and temporary president in 1931 and 1933.

¹⁵ "Why Go Into a Foreign Field to Distribute Your Good Work When There Is So Much to Be Done at Home?" *The Dickinsonian Supplement*, Nov. 19, 1914, Dickinson-in-China, 1921-27, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA., quoted in Drew Kaiden and Robert Reeves, "The West China Union University," *Dickinson-in-China*, <http://chronicles.dickinson.edu/studentwork/engage/china/wcuu.htm>.

a Morgan family affair, as Julia's younger brother Hugh chose to serve in China as well.¹⁶ Julia's greatest supporter was her father, who was her main correspondent during her time in China. When Julia sailed for China in 1922, she was not leaving everyone she knew behind to travel to a strange new land, but rather she was joining the network of Dickinsonians already spread across China.

During her junior year at Dickinson, Morgan broadened her perception of service as a global missionary as a result of attending the 1910 Student Volunteer Movement Convention held in Rochester, NY. The enthusiasm generated by SVM conventions was so great that it was not uncommon for students caught up in the moment to sign a pledge card then and there promising to set sail for the foreign missions upon graduation.¹⁷ From December 29, 1909 to January 2, 1910, Julia had the opportunity to hear speeches by leaders of the missionary movement like John R. Mott and representatives from missionary fields from all over the world. Their inspiring testimonies sought to stir missionary fervor among the 2,500 students in attendance and rally them to answer the call to become missionaries abroad.¹⁸ During these five days, amidst a crowd of excited students, Julia decided her life would be devoted to work in the China mission field.

As of 1909, China was the country where the most Student Volunteers had sailed to since the beginning of the Movement in 1886.¹⁹ Following the Boxer Uprising in 1900 and the cancellation of the government examination system in 1905, new opportunities arose in China for American missionaries in fields such as modern medicine and higher education.

¹⁶ Hugh C. Morgan, Methodist Church Board of Missions, Mission Biographical Reference Files, United Methodist Church Archives-GCAH, Madison, New Jersey. Hereafter referred to as Methodist Board of Missions, GCAH.

¹⁷ Phillips, 97.

¹⁸ "Statistics of the Convention," *Students and the Present Missionary Crisis* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1910), 595.

¹⁹ Mott, "A Quadrennium in the Life and Work of the Student Volunteer Movement," *Missionary Crisis*, 18.

These opportunities dovetailed with the growing liberalization of missions. As a result, China was viewed as one of the countries with the most potential for new and renewed missionary efforts.²⁰ The Student Volunteer Movement emphasized to the students that China needed missionaries who, in addition to being well versed in the Bible and principles of Christian faith, were the highest trained and most qualified individuals in their fields of study.²¹ In the beginning of the twentieth century, education increasingly became the banner under which missionaries spread Christianity. SVM leader John R. Mott promoted missions for China in this spirit writing in 1911, "It is Western education that the Chinese are clamoring for, and will have. If the Church can give it to them, plus Christianity, they will take it; otherwise they will get it elsewhere, without Christianity—and that speedily!"²² Although Mott certainly believed in the nobility of his cause, his idea to Chinese meant that in order to be educated they must convert to Christianity.

The way in which China would be evangelized, as most speakers at the Rochester Convention agreed, was through its students. Scholars had always held a significant role in Chinese society and even with the ending of the government examination system, the traditional role of the educated class as leaders of China still remained. Chengting Wang, a Chinese pastor who spoke at the convention explained, "It is by [the student's] guidance that the nation has prolonged its life for over forty centuries, so far as authentic history is able to carry us back, and today, with the renovating influence of Western education and thought, he is destined to play a yet more important role in the reconstruction of China."²³ Another

²⁰ A. P. Parker, "The Unparalleled Opportunity in China," *Students and the Present Missionary Crisis* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1910), 223-224.

²¹ Mott, "A Quadrennium in the Life and Work of the Student Volunteer Movement," 30-31.

²² Quoted in Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats* (New York: Octagon Books, 1977), 89.

²³ Chengting T. Wang, "The Part of Oriental Students in the Evangelization of the Far East," *Students and the Present Missionary Crisis* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1910), 45.

speaker clarified the general role that Student Volunteers could play by saying that missionaries must “[train] up for China the sort of leaders which the country must have to guide it through this critical period of its history, reforming the old and molding the new Christian Civilization of China.”²⁴ As China was opening up to Western science and technology, missionaries strove to introduce the Chinese people to Western values.

Historians have characterized missionaries as “cultural imperialists” because they were “conscious promoters of Christianity and thereby of a most penetrating, powerful, and alien structure of ideas and values...they were inescapably involved in a deadly assault on central ideas and values in the lands to which they carried the evangelical crusade.”²⁵ Indeed the majority of the Rochester Convention speakers promoted education and other humanitarian based initiatives as a means of changing Chinese society into one founded on Christianity. They believed that the adoption of Christianity would go hand in hand with the revolution that was currently going on in China. In fact, working within the structure of Chinese society and religion was seen as the most successful way for the SVM to accomplish its goal of world evangelism. In a speech titled, “The Responsibilities of Christian Nations Toward the Backward Races,” British ambassador James Bryce commented that missionaries must “learn how to take advantage of all that is best in [ancient religions] in order to lead men, through such ideals as they already have, into the higher truth of Christianity.”²⁶ Although conscious of the richness of Chinese culture, missionaries’ desire to evangelize indicates their assumption of the superiority of Christianity. Classifying Chinese as a “backward race” also left little doubt of the connection between Christian evangelism and the

²⁴ L. H. Pott, “Educational Opportunities in China,” *Students and the Present Missionary Crisis* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1910), 229.

²⁵ Schlesinger, 360.

²⁶ James Bryce, “Responsibilities of Christian Nations Toward the Backward Races,” *Students and the Present Missionary Crisis* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1910), 112.

racial hierarchies that guided Western imperialism. Missionary work can therefore be associated with the purposeful, even if unconscious, aggression against Chinese culture and values.

However, other speakers put more emphasis on the humanitarian need for missionary programs of education and medicine. China required missionaries not only to educate the students of China about Christianity, but also to introduce methods of modern education, specifically modern medical education. The need for doctors in China was emphasized by many who spoke about China at Rochester. Medical missions were the means by which Western missionaries could extend the Christian message of kindness to the people of China. However, the method promoted imagined Chinese becoming independent practitioners of medicine. The goal would not only be to send doctors to heal the sick, but also to send teachers to educate Chinese on how to heal the sick.²⁷ The repeated demand for medical professionals in China appears to have attracted the attention of Julia, who was a science minor at that point in time. More than a decade later, Julia would write in her application to the Methodist Episcopal Church's Commission on Life Service that her decision to devote her life to China was made at the Rochester Volunteer Convention and was driven by the "need for workers in China, especially need of medical workers."²⁸ Painting a picture of a medical system burdened by what he regarded as the outdated practices of Chinese medicine, convention speaker Dr. Frederick J. Tooker warned that "unless the medical missionary relieves the present untold suffering among the 430,000,000 in China, there is no other power

²⁷Pott, 227-229.

²⁸ Julia Morgan, "Methodist Episcopal Church, Recruiting Agency Application," Mission Biographical Reference Files, United Methodist Church Archives-GCAH, Madison, New Jersey. Hereafter referred to as Morgan, Mission Biographical File, GCAH.

that can or will relieve that suffering.”²⁹ With the recent emergence of China from the confines of their traditional society and values, missionaries had an opportunity not only to save the souls of the Chinese, but also to save their lives. Recent scholarship has shown that traditional Chinese medicine was actually a sophisticated and efficacious approach to healing.³⁰ However, both foreign and Chinese doctors trained in Western medicine now offered a modern alternative, along with criticisms of traditional healing practices.³¹ Dr. Tooker explained that China also served a greater purpose for those wishing to devote their life to Christ by giving “an opportunity to return to [Jesus] in some measure what He has done for us; for He said, I was sick and ye visited me.’ Jesus Christ puts himself in the place of the suffering masses, and wherever we relieve any suffering, we are in some measure repaying him.”³² Tooker’s emphasis on the Christian principle of serving the people anticipated the shift in missions that would come in the following decades to emphasize humanitarianism over evangelism.

While speakers at the Rochester Convention, such as Tooker, emphasized the need for humanitarian based initiatives, evangelism was still viewed as the main purpose of these institutions. However, in the following years, especially after WWI, missionaries began to favor initiatives based in philanthropy rather than evangelism. This liberal trend in Protestant missions came during the mid-1910s and 1920s when the New Culture Movement and the May Fourth Movement revolutionized China’s Chinese culture and society. Rather than seeing the people of China as a “backward race” missionaries now gained appreciation for the progressive and patriotic spirit of China’s intellectual class. The liberalization of

²⁹ Tooker, 239.

³⁰ Judith Farquhar, *Knowing Practice* (Boulder: West View Press, 1994), 221-229.

³¹ Xiaqun Xu, “‘National Essence’ vs. ‘Science’,” *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 4 (Oct. 1997): 847.

³² Tooker, 240.

Protestant missions in China would also be propelled during the 1920s and 1930s by rejection of an education tied to Christianity by many educated Chinese who viewed Christian educational institutions as a form of “cultural aggression.”³³ Morgan received “the call” to China just as the China missionary field was undergoing changes. These changes determined the way in which Julia Morgan undertook her duties as both a medical professional and a Protestant missionary.

III. In Preparation for China

In accordance with the contemporary push for humanitarian based missionary efforts, Morgan decided to serve in China as a doctor. For the next decade, Morgan worked towards earning her doctorate in internal medicine from the University of Pennsylvania. Morgan’s medical training was greatly influenced by the current Progressive Era movements for the professionalization of the medical field, which emphasized strict standards of scientific medicine. Ultimately, scientific medicine would largely determine the degree of secularity in which Morgan approached her service as a medical missionary to the people of China. Morgan’s largest contribution to China would be not as an evangelical missionary, but as a medical practitioner and teacher.

After graduating valedictorian from Dickinson in 1911 with a Bachelor of Arts in Classics, Morgan set down the path which would eventually lead her to China as a medical missionary. Upon her death, people who knew her well would recall, “Her call to the missions field, dating back to 1910, was so clear and compelling that she did all her

³³ Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 9-12.

education work in preparation for such a service.”³⁴ To earn money for medical school, for the next four years she taught math and science at Spring City High School and then Latin, Greek, German, and Botany at Carlisle High School. By 1915 Morgan returned to Dickinson to earn her Master’s degree in Science. After graduating in 1916, she entered the University of Pennsylvania Medical School.³⁵

Morgan entered the medical field in the United States at a paradoxical moment. Progressive Era movements had opened up medical training to women. Morgan enrolled in the University of Pennsylvania Medical School the same year the first female graduated with an M.D.³⁶ However, a pervasive emphasis on professionalization in fields like medicine, business, and the law, actually slowed the progress of female physicians into the upper levels and specialties of the medical profession. In 1910 the Carnegie Foundation sponsored the Flexner Report, a detailed study of medical schools in America focusing on whether individual schools fulfilled the requirements necessary for accreditation. Every school except John Hopkins University, a model of modern medical education, was criticized in the report.³⁷ The repercussions of the report created an uphill challenge for female doctors in the early twentieth century. The raising of standards and institutionalization of the education and practice of medicine created intense competition, making it more difficult for women to establish themselves firmly in their medical careers. In general, Progressive Era movements for professionalization, like teaching, created channels in which women could easily enter the

³⁴ W. H. Dievler, “Dr. Julia Morgan,” Morgan, Mission Biographical File, GCAH.

³⁵ Mrs. Richard J. Coughlin, Charlottesville, VA, letter excerpt, August 7, 1970, Julia Morgan, China Records Project Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection, Record Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 9, Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, CT (hereafter referred to as China Records, Yale; Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, “Candidate Blank: Application,” Aug. 10, 1922, Morgan, Mission Biographical File, GCAH.

³⁶ Lloyd, Mark Frazier, “Timeline of Women Pioneers and Women’s Achievements at the University of Pennsylvania,” University Archives and Record Center, University of Pennsylvania, <http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/women/chronext.html>.

³⁷ Morantz-Sanchez, “So Honored, So Loved?,” 234.

work force.³⁸ Medicine was one of the only fields during the early twentieth century where the number of women visibly declined.³⁹ The conservative response to progressive female professionals inhibited female physicians' access to positions in hospital administration or advancement in specialized fields of medicine.⁴⁰ In addition, the moving of medical practice from private residences to hospitals combined with the newly established branches of social medicine created a broad spectrum of jobs, like nursing and social work, which diverted more women from there instead of becoming doctors.⁴¹ These trends created what some historians have labeled as the "dark ages" for women doctors; a period which lasted until as late as the 1960's.⁴²

Julia Morgan, however, is an exception. In the midst of the "dark ages" she achieved a high level of success as a hospital administrator and a respected colleague in the specialized field of tropical diseases. Morgan's success translated directly from the opportunities she found in the China missions field. The missionary field presented a great number of opportunities to many females, especially single women. Morgan never married, but rather than restricting her, as it might have done had she remained at home, this status gave her much more freedom in China. Unlike married missionary women, Morgan was not tied down by familial obligations.⁴³ Going to China allowed Morgan to easily and almost unconsciously assume a role of social mobility that made her accomplishments equal to or greater than those of the progressive female activists back in America. Historian Jane

³⁸ Victoria-Maria MacDonald, "The Paradox of Bureaucratization: New Views on Progressive Era Teachers and the Development of a Woman's Profession," *History of Education Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (Winter, 1999): 427.

³⁹ Morantz-Sanchez, "So Honored, So Loved?," 232-233.

⁴⁰ Morel, *Restoring the Balance*, 97.

⁴¹ Morantz-Sanchez, "So Honored, So Loved?," 240.

⁴² Regina Morantz-Sanchez, "So Honored, So Loved?: The Women's Medical Movement in Decline," in "*Send Us a Lady Physician*": *Women Doctors in America, 1835-1920*, ed. Ruth J. Abram (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985), 232.

⁴³ Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 174.

Hunter has noted, "Mission needs inspired the professional education of numbers of women who would probably have remained school teachers at home."⁴⁴ The demand for doctors in the missionary field also decreased competition in medical institutions, giving women doctors more chances for advancement.⁴⁵ After graduating in 1920 with a medical degree in internal medicine, Julia became a resident at the University of Pennsylvania Hospital for two years and then worked at a tuberculosis sanitarium in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania for three months.⁴⁶ She traveled to China in 1922 and established a career for herself at Cheeloo University Hospital in Shandong province. After nearly twenty years in China as a medical missionary, Morgan returned and became a professor of tropical diseases at the University of Pennsylvania.⁴⁷ The missionary field gave female doctors opportunities to excel in their medical careers not available to them in the United States.

IV. An American Medical Missionary in Revolutionary China

After a decade of studying and professional training in preparation for the foreign missions field, Morgan finally sailed off to China to join the Methodist Episcopal Church's mission in the fall of 1922. Considering it had been twelve years since she made her decision at the Rochester Convention to join the China mission field, one can only imagine Morgan's expectations when she arrived in the field. However, the China portrayed in the speeches at the Rochester Convention was not the same country she encountered upon her arrival. The Qing Dynasty had fallen and the republic that missionaries had hoped for had disintegrated into a disunited system of provincial warlordism. Japanese territorial expansion in China and

⁴⁴ Hunter, 15.

⁴⁵ Hunter, 220.

⁴⁶ Julia Morgan, "Candidate Blank: Application," Morgan, Mission Biographical File, GCAH.

⁴⁷ W. H. Dievler, "Dr. Julia Morgan," Morgan, Mission Biographical File, GCAH.

the Western powers' appeasement of the Japanese at the Paris Peace Conference in the aftermath of WWI created a growing sense of nationalism and resentment towards Western and Japanese imperialism, especially among Chinese intellectuals and students. By the start of the 1920s the May Fourth Movement and the New Culture Movement inspired a generation of intellectuals to strive for the political, social, and cultural progress of China. Morgan, driven by religious fervor and the professional call for doctors in China, arrived to find her role as a Christian missionary and a medical doctor embroiled in controversies that pitted the Chinese nationalist movement against imperialism and Christianity.

In response to Chinese resentment against foreign imperialism during the 1920s and 1930s, the structure and format of foreign missions and missionary institutions of education changed. As a result, the leadership and administrations of the Chinese churches and Christian universities were transferred to Chinese, or rather naturalized, and missionary work became more secular in form. Morgan's role as a medical missionary was defined by the adaptations of Protestant missions to the demands of the Chinese against the imperialism of Christian institutions. This adjustment of the missionary field largely determined the way in which Morgan approached her purpose in China as a medical professional and a Christian.

The 1920s China saw a drastic change in the political atmosphere. Political parties such as the Kuomintang (KMT) and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) served as vehicles for nationalistic fervor. During the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, China's hopes rested on President Woodrow Wilson's call for self-determination of nations in order to regain autonomy of Shandong. Shandong, the birthplace of Confucius and considered by the Chinese to be the "cradle of Chinese civilization," had come under the German sphere of influence through the imperialist concession treaties of the late nineteenth century. During

World War I, the Japanese took control of the region from the Germans. When Japan threatened to abandon negotiations over the Treaty of Versailles and decline membership in the League of Nations, Western powers allowed Shandong to remain under Japanese control.⁴⁸ Although Shandong was returned to China in 1922 as a result of the Nine-Powers Treaty, Japanese maintained its influence over the economy of the region and the continued to station troops there.⁴⁹ The dominant Japanese military and economic presence in Shandong would serve as a continued focus of nationalism for the Chinese against Japanese imperial aggression. Located in the provincial capital of Shandong, Cheeloo University students and faculty were directly affected by Japan's sphere of influence.

The spirit of the May Fourth Movement inspired nationwide student movements that would lead to the anti-Christian campaigns of the 1920s. In tandem with the rise of Chinese nationalism was an intellectual revolution. Returning scholars from abroad, like Hu Shi and Lu Xun led a literary movement to modernize literature in the vernacular (or bai-hua).⁵⁰ "For the first time," Cohen explains in *America's Response to China*, "Chinese intellectuals expressed the desire for a complete transformation of Chinese civilization. They had come to realize that the modernization of China required the destruction of the traditional society and they were demanding precisely the kinds of social and intellectual changes that Americans [including missionaries] had long believed would result in the 'civilizing,' Westernizing, modernizing of China."⁵¹ However, while Chinese intellectuals pushed for reforms towards

⁴⁸ George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 421-422.

⁴⁹ R. Keith Schoppa, *Revolution and Its Past*, 3rd ed. (New York: Pearson Education Inc., 2011), 158.

⁵⁰ Tatsuro Yamamoto and Sumiko Yamamoto, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China, 1922-1927," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (Feb., 1953): 136-137.

⁵¹ Warren I. Cohen, *America's Response to China*, 4th ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 85-86.

modernization, they were critical of Western institutions, like foreign missions, controlling these reforms.

During the New Culture Movement, Christianity was a point of contention among Chinese intellectuals. Influenced by agnostic philosophers such as Herbert Spencer, the Chinese now viewed Christianity through the lens of secular humanism.⁵² “In Chinese intellectual circles there was a desire to find the best in contemporary Western thought and apply it to Chinese traditions and problems. The scientific method was much easier for the young Chinese to absorb than Christian theism, for there was in Chinese culture much that harmonized with Western skepticism.”⁵³ Christian theology, along with other religions including Confucianism, appeared out of date when compared to the progressive scientific rationalism that was now demanded by Chinese students. As a result, mission schools faced growing criticism from their students, and calls for religion to be taken out of curriculum grew louder as the decade progressed. Morgan held a unique position as a medical missionary. Her service as a teacher and practitioner of modern medicine was welcomed by Chinese progressives, but her affiliation with missionary education was not. Morgan’s role as a medical missionary was an integral part of Protestant missions’ response to demands of the anti-Christian movement.

Chinese intellectuals were not the only skeptics of religion. Following WWI, a global trend of secular humanism resulted in criticism of and social apathy towards institutional religion, most notably Christianity. With church attendance in decline, the American church now faced the challenge of how to adjust Christian theology in order to absorb the

⁵² Varg, 97-99.

⁵³ Varg, 99.

rationalism of the age.⁵⁴ Apathy towards world missions was another challenge the Methodist Church in particular faced. The need for world evangelism was no longer so obvious in the new Christian theology. However, this indifference did not extend to the women's groups of the Methodist church, whose dedication to foreign missions was strengthened by their particular desire to continue to support the female missionaries who served as teachers and doctors abroad.⁵⁵ Morgan and her female colleagues at Cheeloo were the recipients of this support, bringing grants to the university that at one point kept the school's doors from closing. Along with the rising apathy and criticism towards the missionary movement in America, the rise of the anti-Christian movement in China soon created an additional obstacle to the growth of missions in China.

In April 1922, seven months before Morgan's arrival, the anti-Christian sentiment long held by the Chinese took a more definite form as the World's Student Christian Federation convened for the first time in China. Held at American-funded Tsinghua University in Beijing, the conference sparked a negative response from increasingly vocal anti-Christian Chinese throughout China. An Anti-Christian Federation was hastily established in Shanghai and a fierce intellectual debate over Christianity and missions ensued.⁵⁶ Chinese Christians received the most direct criticism for being the "running dogs" of the Western imperialists.⁵⁷ The Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party played an active role in rallying the students behind an anti-Christian, anti-imperialist political

⁵⁴ Varg, 140-150.

⁵⁵ Shirley Stone Garrett, "Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties," *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, ed. by John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 286.

⁵⁶ Yamamoto, 133-135.

⁵⁷ Jon Israel, *Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), 9.

campaign.⁵⁸ Students took up the cry, "Christianity is an instrument of international imperialism to invade weak nations."⁵⁹ The Chinese now blamed infiltration of the values of Christianity into Chinese culture as a means by which foreigners had come to dominate their country. Christian missions, especially missionary schools and hospitals, were targeted as outposts of imperialism. Since education in China was synonymous with nurturing patriotism and Chinese loyalty, missionary schools, with their ulterior motive of conversion through education, were therefore thought incapable of providing the kind of education China required in order to progress as a nation.⁶⁰ For the first half of the 1920s, the anti-Christian movement mainly directed its complaints towards Chinese Christians. In the early half of the decade, the movement did not directly affect foreign missionaries, and the flow of American missionaries to China continued to grow, reaching its peak from 1925-1926. Americans made up 5,000 of the 8,300 Protestant missionary population in China at the time.⁶¹

The May Thirtieth Incident sharply changed the direction of the anti-Christian movement. On May 30, 1925, British led police forces in the foreign concession in Shanghai fired on a mob of Chinese workers and students protesting the death of Chinese worker in a Japanese factory. The anti-Christian movement intensified its attack against Western powers as even some Chinese Christians now joined in on the criticism against foreign institutions, including foreign control of the Chinese church. Some missionaries like Dickinson alumnus Raymond Brewer agreed that changes were needed, writing to the Dickinson community:

"[O]ne must not forget the growing national consciousness of China. [A] mission study book written less than two decades ago used to point to the need of developing a national consciousness. That development has begun with a vengeance. It has not yet fully reached

⁵⁸ Jessie G. Lutz, "Chinese Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Campaigns of the 1920's," *Modern Asian Studies* 10, no. 3 (1976): 416.

⁵⁹ Yamamoto, 143.

⁶⁰ Varg, 181.

⁶¹ Lian, 6.

all the country people or the illiterate but it has taken complete possession of the students and the educated classes. Most unfortunately, and as an illustration of the blindness of the foreign policy of many of our nations, this national consciousness has been developed largely along lines of resentment against foreign nations.”⁶²

The surge of anti-imperialism following the May Thirtieth incident added force to the anti-Christian movement, but in Jinan, Shandong, where Morgan was then stationed, the warlord governor Zhang Zongchang forbid anti-foreign activity by inflicting heavy punishment on any demonstrators.⁶³ Although there are no letters of Morgan’s during this period, the outrage of the Chinese against foreigners made all missionaries aware of the threat this posed to the missionary enterprise.

In 1926, the Northern Expedition, a campaign of the Kuomintang army to unify China under the Nanjing government, absorbed the anti-Christian and anti-imperialist movements. As they marched from the south, KMT troops under the direction of a radical faction of the Government looted and confiscated missionary property under the pretence of military necessity.⁶⁴ In March 1927 the movement reached its highest point of fervor when Nationalist troops ransacked Nanjing and killed several foreigners, including missionaries.⁶⁵ Mobs of Chinese also took to looting and attacking foreign missionary compounds. The worst attacks against missions occurred in the south of China. At this time thousands of missionaries fled China. The China mission field, which in spite of the anti-Christian movement heretofore had just experienced its peak years, now “experienced the greatest dislocation of their work since the Boxer Uprising.”⁶⁶ Morgan’s younger brother, Hugh, who was back in America on furlough for the year of 1926-1927 was advised that his position

⁶² Raymond Brewer, Chengdu, China, to Dickinson Community, Carlisle, Aug. 22 1925, Morgan Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA..

⁶³ David D. Buck, *Urban Change in China* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 126.

⁶⁴ Hankou Consul-General F.P. Lockhart to the Secretary of State, Dec. 5, 1927, Dept of State Archives, excerpted in Paul Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1977), 191-192.

⁶⁵ Yamamoto, 136.

⁶⁶ Yamamoto, 136.

would probably no longer be available on account of the current situation in China.⁶⁷ At this time Julia Morgan was stationed in Jinan, Shandong in the north of China. In early April she was ordered by the American consul to evacuate.⁶⁸ In spite of the difficulties foreign missions in China now faced, Morgan and many other missionaries who had been forced to evacuate during this period, chose to return to the China mission field once conditions stabilized.

Although these attacks against foreign missionaries were led by a radical branch of the KMT army, within the government bureaucracy steps were also taken to transfer control of Christian churches and missions over to Chinese. Central and local governments, including the former government in Beijing, also called for the removal of compulsory Christian classes from missionary school curriculum.⁶⁹ Heretofore the liberalization of missions had mostly addressed the need for missions to evangelize the intellectual community through education. Many missionary schools had previously carried out their mission by including courses on Christianity within the curriculum or had even required students to convert to Christianity in order to attend. However demands for secular education in missionary schools had come as early as the turn of the twentieth century. During his tour of missionary schools in China for the 1910 World Missionary Conference, University of Chicago professor Ernest D. Burton observed the growing resentment of Chinese students towards a required religious curriculum. He suggested that missionary education in China might be more beneficial under an adjusted curriculum that would promote “the general well-being of the nation” and in this way indirectly lead students to

⁶⁷ Frank D. Gamewell to Hugh C. Morgan, New York City, March 15 1927, Methodist Board of Missions, GCAH.

⁶⁸ “Alumni Notes,” *Dickinson Alumnus* 4, no. 4 (May 1927): 29.

⁶⁹ Lian Xi, 15.

Christianity.”⁷⁰ Burton proposed that the primary goal of missionary schools should not be to evangelize the students, but rather to provide them with a solid education that would ultimately lead the students to appreciate Christianity. A decade later, the political and cultural movements that rocked the foundations of the China mission field demanded that Burton’s suggestions become a reality.

The anti-Christian movement was absorbed into the larger national movement which now demanded Chinese control of institutions that had long been under the domination of foreigners. At the height of violence during the anti-Christian movement in 1925-1926, the China mission field was in crisis. Frank Gamewell, Dickinson College graduate and Methodist Board secretary for the Far East, in frustration over the loss of property in China and decrease in funding from America wrote, “We cannot evangelize China, we cannot cure China’s multiplied diseases, we cannot educate her multiplied millions or feed them. That is to say, there is a limit no matter how far we go to what we can do.”⁷¹ The anti-Christian movement combined with the decrease in enthusiasm of the American church towards world evangelism threatened the survival of China missions. Shirley Stone Garrett points out in her article “Why They Stayed” that even though thousands of American missionaries fled China during the most violent moments of the anti-Christian movement, many of them returned shortly after order had been restored. Morgan returned home on furlough after she was evacuated from Jinan, but still planned to return to Cheeloo University. Following 1927, American missionaries, already influenced by the secular humanism that had permeated American Christian theology, further altered the course of their work in order to meet the

⁷⁰ Varg, 91.

⁷¹ Quoted in Garrett, 289.

demands of the Chinese.⁷² “Perhaps the more logical step for those who had been liberalized out of their original ‘call’ was to abandon street or market place preaching for education, medicine, or charity work, on the periphery of evangelism.”⁷³

Morgan’s position as a medical missionary allowed her to play an important role in the response of Protestant missions to the demands of the Chinese for the secularization of missions. The medical profession she had chosen provided missions the scientific knowledge and expertise that anti-Christian critics claimed religion lacked. While her occupation was inherently secular, much of Morgan’s personal approach to her missionary work also reveals a gradual shift in her religious identity. This change is mainly seen in letters from much later in her missionary service. However, the turbulent movements of the 1920s probably made an impression on the newly arrived missionary, who had for ten years built up an expectation of what her missionary work might entail. Rather than finding a China abundant with possibilities for evangelism, as had been portrayed at the Rochester Convention, Morgan found a China actively criticizing and rejecting the propagation of Christianity as an instrument of Western imperialism. Although missions had become increasingly liberal, the anti-Christian campaigns of the 1920s pressured foreign missions to abandon control of the very institutions meant to spread Christianity in China.

V. From the Call to Medical Profession

In the years that followed, Morgan established a more definite understanding of exactly what her role as a medical missionary called her to do. But her first task upon arriving in China was to learn the language. Her first two years were spent mostly studying Chinese in Beijing at the North China Union College for Women, the undergraduate program

⁷² Garrett, 308-310.

⁷³ Lian Xi, 14.

connected to the Peking Medical College for Women. Morgan also practiced medicine at the Sleeper-Davis Hospital, a women's Methodist hospital which was the clinical training facility for the students of the medical college. Peking Medical College for Women taught lessons in Mandarin, so Morgan was able to practice her language while doing clinical work. With the opening of the Peking Union Medical College (PUMC) in 1921,⁷⁴ the state of the art hospital established by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Peking Medical College for Women, lost several prospective students to the better funded college.⁷⁵ PUMC was designed to be the Johns Hopkins of China, a secular institution with a faculty and facilities of the highest caliber and graduates who would be leaders in Chinese scientific medicine. To be competitive on an international level, PUMC taught in English.⁷⁶ Since the women's medical college taught in Mandarin, enrollment dropped as most pre-medical colleges in Beijing began teaching in English to accommodate PUMC. In line with the progressive movements of the decade, medical education in China adopted Western systems of education to bring modern medicine to China. Ironically, during Morgan's career, her ability to teach medicine in Mandarin would determine her contribution to the China medical field and advance her professional career in China and upon her return to the U.S.

At the same time that Peking Medical College for Women was experiencing a significant decline in student enrollment, the all male Medical College of Shandong Christian Union University (Cheeloo) in Jinan was facing financial difficulties. To keep both medical schools open, Cheeloo invited the women's medical college in Beijing to merge with them in Jinan. Unlike PUMC, the Medical College in Jinan and the pre-medical college attached to it

⁷⁴ PUMC was established in 1914, but did not officially open until 1921.

⁷⁵ Charles Hodge Corbett, *Shantung Christian University (Cheeloo)* (New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1955), 124.

⁷⁶ Mary Brown Bullock, *An American Transplant* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 25-27; 41.

continued to teach in Mandarin. Actually, when the Rockefeller Foundation first established plans for PUMC in 1914, the Chinese Medical Missionary Association's raised the concern that there needed to be a college with equal standards that would teach in Mandarin to counterbalance the English curriculum of PUMC. "Behind this recommendation was the conviction that ultimately Chinese physicians would be instructed through the medium of their own language and that it would be a pity to abandon that language now and thus jeopardize all the careful work already done in developing medical terminology and producing text books."⁷⁷ The association nominated the medical school in Jinan to serve as this model of Mandarin medical education. The plan to create a school of equal standards to PUMC would not be realized until 1923 when the merger with Peking College of Medicine for Women brought enough funding for this to be accomplished in Jinan. Cheeloo medical school's emphasis on the Chinese language helped create an institution that successfully integrated modern medicine into Chinese culture and society.

By the winter of 1924, the entire school and faculty of the women's college had transferred to Jinan. The female faculty who moved to Jinan included Dr. Anna V. Scott and Dr. Susan Waddell of the North Presbyterian Mission, and Dr. Francis Heath and Dr. Julia Morgan of the Methodist Mission. During Morgan's tenure, Cheeloo University Hospital and Medical School would earn the reputation as the second best hospital behind PUMC. Unlike PUMC, Cheeloo did not operate under the large budget of the Rockefeller Foundation funded-PUMC, although it did receive several large grants from the foundation.⁷⁸ Practicing in Jinan at an institution whose primary language was Mandarin also allowed Morgan to

⁷⁷ Corbett, 115.

⁷⁸ Bullock, 98.

practice and teach medicine to a broader spectrum of Chinese society than her colleagues in larger cities like Shanghai or Beijing.

As the provincial capital of Shandong, Jinan was an important railroad junction and a center for trade in Shandong. As part of the German and then Japanese sphere of influence, Jinan's commercial and industrial economy was based heavily on foreign enterprise and investments.⁷⁹ When Morgan arrived, the city's population had reached around 300,000, with a foreign community of about 2,000 (most of them Japanese). In May 1925 the warlord general Zhang Zongchang, infamous for his brutality and greed, invaded the city and made it the provincial seat. Shandong remained under his corrupt governance until the KMT takeover in 1928. In addition to Zhang's presence in Jinan, the dissolution of warlord armies throughout the 1920's created gangs of bandits that plagued the countryside of Shandong. For safety, many villagers moved closer or into the city of Jinan.⁸⁰ Although Jinan had many urban developments such as electricity and telephone, the surrounding rural area allowed Morgan to administer medical care to more than just the urban elite of China.

A center for development of rural medical practice, Cheeloo emphasized a practical application of modern medicine that went beyond the sterile labs of PUMC research facilities. For example, a common skill Dr. Morgan taught her students was how to make a homemade pneumothorax instrument to treat tuberculosis.⁸¹ In *An American Transplant*, Mary Brown Bullock compares the occupations of the graduates of the two institutions and determines that many of the PUMC alumni became administrators, teachers or government officials while more Cheeloo graduates worked at missionary stations or entered into private practice. From the comparison of alumni occupations, the specific influence of each institute

⁷⁹ Buck, *Urban*, 45-47; 83-97.

⁸⁰ Buck, 149-155, 126.

⁸¹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to Friends, Aug. 20 1933, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 4, China Records, Yale.

is revealed. PUMC created leaders for medicine in China while Cheeloo created doctors to directly serve the Chinese.⁸² Language largely determined the career paths of each medical school's graduates. One of the largest criticisms of PUMC was the use of English rather than Mandarin. As one missionary doctor commented about PUMC's use of English, "Chinese students taught medicine in English are likely to be out of touch with the people and will not advance Chinese [modern] medicine."⁸³ Although knowledge of English did give PUMC students and faculty the advantage when studying abroad or presenting research conducted in China to the international medical community, Cheeloo's training in Mandarin had immediacy to its application to the people of China. Teaching in Mandarin was in step with the missionary goal for providing more doctors to serve China. Morgan was very conscious of this distinction and wholly committed to the philosophy that medical training in the Chinese language represented. The stress on learning Chinese, once thought integral to proselytizing now became the basis for a distinctive type of medical practice intended to "serve the people."

While this system of medical education initially relied heavily on foreigners to teach Chinese students, it was the long held goal of Cheeloo to have more Chinese than foreign faculty on staff.⁸⁴ When the impassioned movements of national and cultural progress swept the country, both regional warlords and later the Nationalist Government imposed regulations requiring missionary schools to replace foreign administrators with Chinese ones. On November 16, 1925 the Ministry of Education in Beijing issued regulations that all foreign universities must have a Chinese vice-president and a board of managers with at least half the members being Chinese. The government also demanded that missionary schools "shall not

⁸² Bullock, 129-132.

⁸³ Quoted in Bullock, 41.

⁸⁴ Corbett, 152.

have as [their] purpose the propagation of religion.”⁸⁵ Cheeloo would struggle to find Chinese educators who could take on administrative positions, mainly because the funding was not available. In the missionary system, individual faculty members were sponsored by a mission’s board and paid salary through the board rather than through Cheeloo. Chinese teachers were less likely to be sponsored by a foreign board and therefore their salary was drawn from Cheeloo funds. With a strapped budget, Cheeloo University found it more expedient to hire a foreigner rather than a Chinese person despite the stated mission of the institution.⁸⁶ Pressure on Cheeloo and the rest of the missionary schools would increase in 1928 when the newly inaugurated Nationalist Government in Nanjing tightened regulations to require universities to have a Chinese president and Chinese deans.⁸⁷ Morgan, at home on furlough during year when the Nationalist issued this decree, devoted her energy to finding new female and Chinese faculty for the college. She wrote to the Cheeloo Women’s Committee in America:

“Our Chinese girls are getting their direction and extra-curricular training almost wholly at the hands of foreigners, which is not as it should be. [Luella] Miner is very wise, and is a wonder as dean of women, but she feels even more strongly perhaps than the rest of us the need for Chinese women of training and character to take a hand, even a leading hand in the matter of directing and planning for our large group of women students. This need has been felt before, but is more than ever urgent now that the Chinese themselves feel that by and large Chinese should have a guiding hand in schools in China of whatever sort. We agree thoroughly with that principle and would like to have the Women’s Committee support it to the extent of assigning part of the funds of the annual appropriation to salaries for Chinese members of staff.”⁸⁸

The transfer of administrative duties over to Chinese faculty addressed the demands of government regulations. However, it also diminished foreign missionaries’ role in the

⁸⁵ Corbett, 166.

⁸⁶ Corbett, 152.

⁸⁷ Lian Xi, 53.

⁸⁸ Julia Morgan, Carlisle, to Miss Bender, May 25 1927, Archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, Record Group No. 11, Box 255, Folder 4152, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, CT. Hereafter quoted as United Board, Yale.

propagation of Christianity through missionary schooling. Through the naturalization of missionaries in the 1930s, the Chinese could no longer claim that mission schools were instruments of foreign cultural imperialism.

Morgan's connection with Luella Miner reveals the type of missionary opinions Morgan would have been exposed to during her first few years in China. Miss Miner, a central figure in Jane Hunter's *The Gospel of Gentility*, is a strong example of a single female missionary who was a leader in establishing women's education in China. Miner, a prominent missionary who had been working in China since 1887 probably served as an important role model for Julia on how to translate her missionary call into an effective gospel for China.⁸⁹ As early as 1890, Miss Miner wrote, "Some missionaries seem to work with the Chinese at arms length as it were, and are a little inclined to criticize those of us who treat them fully as equals and let them see that we regard them as personal friends..."⁹⁰ Agreeing with Miss Miner's recommendations for the transfer of Cheeloo administration to the Chinese, Morgan would continue to be an advocate for more equality between the Chinese and foreign faculty in terms of pay and recognition throughout her time at Cheeloo. Many of her letters to the Cheeloo Board of Directors and the trustee committees would consistently urge for an increase in pay for the Chinese faculty.⁹¹ Beyond her position as doctor and a teacher, Morgan would dedicate her life to improving the conditions of the Chinese at Cheeloo, particularly the female students, to whom she left a majority of her inheritance.⁹²

⁸⁹ Hunter, 25-26; 40.

⁹⁰ Quoted in Hunter, 189.

⁹¹ Julia Morgan, Carlisle, to Miss Bender, May 25 1927, Group No. 11, Box 255, Folder 4152, United Board, Yale; Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Carlisle, Nov. 30 1930, China Records Project Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection, Record Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 3, China Records, Yale; Julia Morgan, to benefactors of Cheeloo University, Sept. 20 1934, Record Group No. 11, Box 255, Folder 4152, United Board, Yale.

⁹² "Julia Morgan, "Will and Testament," May 5 1949, Record Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 9, China Records, Yale.

Morgan's support for women's education is not surprising. Her experiences in the male dominant atmosphere of higher level education and professional medicine probably drove her to do all that should could for the next generation of women doctors. In this way, she helped advance not just medical education in China, but more importantly women's medical education in China.

Even though the anti-Christian upheaval of 1927 caused three to five thousand missionaries to return home, *Dickinson Alumnus Magazine* reported that Morgan "stuck to her post" until ordered by the American consul to evacuate. She was overdue for a furlough and timing seemed perfect to leave while she had the option. During her return trip to America in April 1927, Morgan's mother, Mary Curran Morgan passed away on April 22, 1927 of a heart attack.⁹³ Her death must have been a blow to Morgan, who in spite of the distance remained very close to her family, including her young nieces and nephews, throughout her years in China. Although Morgan's letters contained mostly matter of fact narratives of her life in China, in one letter from January her emotion betrayed just how much of a sacrifice she had made to serve in the China mission field. She wrote to her parents:

I've run into some pretty hard knocks and some pretty difficult situations in these last four years, which wouldn't bear being put down on paper even to you, some of them, as is usual with such things I guess, partly my fault, some over which I've had no control, but through everything—and it hasn't all been hard—I've had you and mother to think about and love and try a bit to imitate so that that has really been almost the surest thing I've known and the most certain and the most real and fixed, in four years experience that has just about played me off my feet at times.⁹⁴

The person she was closest to was her father, as was typical of many single female missionaries. In *The Gospel of Gentility* Jane Hunter notes that close father-daughter

⁹³ "Death of Mrs. Morgan," *Dickinson Alumnus* 4, no. 4 (May 1927): 11.

⁹⁴ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Carlisle, Jan. 9 1927, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 2, China Records, Yale.

relationships instilled confidence and ambition in women to seek broader opportunities, such as foreign missions.⁹⁵ James Morgan, as president of a college that supported global missions, would have been especially encouraging towards his daughter's career choice. Although we have few surviving letters to Julia from James Morgan we can intuit from her side of the correspondence that her father believed possibly as much as she that the sacrifices she made were worth the opportunities she gained and positive impact she made in the China mission field.

Even though separation from her family was a significant sacrifice, Morgan continued to believe that her service in China was worthwhile. More importantly, she found more personal satisfaction and professional success in China than she would have if she had remained at home. Hunter observes that "conservative evangelical [female] missionaries found the fulfillment overseas that more radical women found closer to home; in so doing they broadened the possibilities for women's lives and afforded new testimony to their potential."⁹⁶ Granted, the group of women in Hunter's study was a generation earlier than Morgan's cohort, but we still find similarities across the generations. In 1924 Morgan arrived in Jinan with three other female doctors. Years later when comparing Cheeloo to another medical school clinic, she would write that the disorganization of the latter was "perhaps hardly as well organized as [Cheeloo] in 1924 when we women came down and 'took hold', though I'd hate to be caught making that statement."⁹⁷ While her political stance on feminism is unknown, it is quite clear that Morgan throughout her career struggled with the male-dominated structure of the institutions with which she was affiliated. Although she

⁹⁵ Hunter, 32-33.

⁹⁶ Hunter, xvi.

⁹⁷ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James. H. Morgan, Carlisle, Dec. 16 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

did not face the same struggles as women doctors back in America faced, Morgan and her female colleagues did not fully escape the criticisms that came with being a professional woman in the early twentieth century. Overcoming the negative attitudes of her male colleagues was a recurring theme in much of Morgan's experience as a medical missionary in China.

The China mission field provided opportunities for women doctors to excel in areas of medicine that were not open to women doctors back in the United States. Morgan took full advantage of these opportunities. By dedicating herself to her work she not only was able to achieve personal success, but was also able to provide the best medical care to her patients, the best training to her students, and the best opportunities for women's education in China. During the year of 1927-1928 she received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to spend the majority of her furlough in Boston studying.⁹⁸ Before returning to China she took a course at Saranac Lake School of Tuberculosis and also stopped in India to study at the Calcutta School of Tropical Diseases.⁹⁹ Tuberculosis, among other common maladies found in China would become her area of expertise. These experiences gave her the skills necessary to excel in the specialized field of tropical diseases. From her expertise she achieved a high level of success in the medical fields in both China and American, despite the fact that she was a woman in medicine and *because* she was a woman in the mission field.

Returning to China in October of 1928, the following years would prove to be her most fruitful and successful period in China. In the 1930's Morgan more fully took on the

⁹⁸ Julia Morgan, Philadelphia, to Mr. Garside, Dec. 8 1927, Group No. 11, Box 255, Folder 4152, United Board, Yale.

⁹⁹ Julia Morgan, "Women's Foreign Missionary Society personnel file update," April 30 1940, Morgan, Mission Biographical File, GCAH.

responsibilities of Cheeloo as administrator, mentor, and colleague. Coming into her own, Morgan attained fluency in Mandarin, gained conviction of her role as a medical missionary, and developed a reputation as one of the hardest workers in Cheeloo University Hospital.

VI. Cheeloo University Under Pressure

When Morgan returned from furlough in October of 1928, the unstable political conditions in China were now centered in Jinan. Chiang Kai-shek, after overcoming party division of the left-wing Nationalist Party in Wuhan, renewed the Northern Expedition in the spring of 1928 in an effort to unify China under a central authority in Nanjing. The great military campaign north also sought to oust or gain the loyalty of warlords controlling the northern provinces. After gaining the support of Feng Yuxiang and Yan Xishan, two northern warlords, Chiang advanced towards Shandong. However, the approaching KMT army was seen by Japan as a threat to Japanese businesses and nationals in the Shandong region. The arrival of both Chiang and Japan's troops in Jinan quickly escalated into a battle in which thousands of Chinese troops were killed and Japan seized control of the city.¹⁰⁰ Morgan returned in the fall to find Jinan under Japanese control. Japanese troops would remain in Jinan until a diplomatic settlement over the Jinan Incident was reached in April of 1929. Chiang was slow to demand the return of Jinan from Japan, because General Feng now was demanding control over Shandong in payment for his service. Unwilling to see Shandong under the control of another military leader, Chiang let Japan retain Jinan until the Chinese government could successfully govern the city.¹⁰¹ Chiang's goal of uniting China as a modern nation-state only gained a weak advantage over the regional warlords. The

¹⁰⁰ R. Keith Schoppa, *Revolution and Its Past*, 3rd ed. (New York: Pearson Education Inc., 2011), 245

¹⁰¹ Buck, 163-164.

Shandong provincial government would not fully recover and organize until the fall of 1929, when Han Fuqu, a general under of Feng Yuxiang's command, switched his allegiance to Chiang's leadership.¹⁰²

As far as the people of Jinan were concerned, the Nanjing government had brought neither a unified nor peaceful China. The Jinan Incident and its aftermath incited a Japanese takeover of the region and dislocated the provincial government even more than it had been during the warlord era.¹⁰³ Fighting between Nanjing and the northern armies continued around Jinan throughout 1930. Even though General Han had taken over the government of Shandong 1929, Morgan wrote how the northern armies still continued to dominate in the region. In May, 1930 American women and children were advised by the American consul to evacuate to Qingdao. Morgan remarked, "Anybody with a job has no thought of going."¹⁰⁴ Staying in Jinan to work during times of fighting was recurring choice Morgan made during her years at Cheeloo. Her dedication to her professional career at Cheeloo motivated Morgan to stay on even in times of danger. Foreign doctors played a vital role in administering medical care to both the soldiers and civilians injured during this period of fighting. "The civil population," Morgan explained, "won't lift a hand to help soldiers, who have been their curse for years."¹⁰⁵ In the absence of an organized and strong government, non-government organizations like Cheeloo Hospital had to provide medical care to the soldiers who could not get medical care from their own armies.

Even though the KMT continued to struggle to gain administrative control of the region, the provincial government continued to put pressure on missionary schools to comply

¹⁰² Buck, 156-164.

¹⁰³ Buck, 164-165.

¹⁰⁴ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Carlisle, May 10 1930, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹⁰⁵ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Carlisle, May 10 1930, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 3, China Records, Yale.

with regulations on secularization and naturalization. While attempting to register the school according to these new regulations, Cheeloo faced substantial opposition from the provincial government. The Shandong Commissioner of Education, He Xiyuan, was particularly anti-Christian.¹⁰⁶ Although Cheeloo had hired a Chinese president by July of 1929, the student protests that erupted at Cheeloo in the fall forced him to resign. In an initiative to harass Christian colleges, the provincial KMT Propaganda Department recruited some Cheeloo student and trained them to cause mass disturbances on campus. Students from the College of Arts mostly led the demonstrations. A small radical group distributed a pamphlet reading, "We all want to recover the educational rights vested in Cheeloo, and we wish to destroy all nests of cultural penetration. Cheeloo was established by the English and the Americans, and it serves as an organ of cultural aggression and destruction of the Chinese race... Cheeloo, a co-operative undertaking of thirteen missions, is the headquarters of the imperialists of North China."¹⁰⁷ The protesters accused Cheeloo University, and by extension Morgan, of cultural imperialism. They demanded foreign control over Cheeloo to be relinquished. The student protesters did not criticize the fact that they were receiving a Western style curriculum so much as they criticized the prevalence of Christianity within these subjects. Although a significant number of the students participated in initial protests, by the end most students desired to return to their studies while only a few radical students continued to boycott classes. The protests encouraged the Cheeloo Board of Directors to quickly make changes in the university to meet registration requirements. By December the student body quietly returned to their studies.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Carlisle, Oct. 27 1929, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 2, China Records, Yale.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in Corbett, 174.

¹⁰⁸ Corbett 169-175.

However, the Propaganda Department was not through with Cheeloo University. Following a party-sponsored anti-Christian campaign over the Christmas holiday, the Propaganda Department next spurred on the Cheeloo employees, who were mostly non-professional staff from the hospital, to demand higher wages and then to strike when the demands were not met. As a result, the students were sent home for holiday and the hospital was forced to close for nearly a month. The School of Medicine continued to operate however, with the students taking on the tasks of the striking workers. "The brightest spot in all this has been the medical students," Morgan wrote to her father, "who have refused to close school or be sent off to other places to work. They have swept floors and tended furnaces and cooked food—are willing to do anything just so school keeps open—and they're winning out now."¹⁰⁹ Regardless of the accusations of cultural imperialism made against Cheeloo by some students and workers, it was widely agreed among the academic community that Cheeloo University and the hospital in general made a positive contribution to China. When Nanjing discovered who was responsible for the closure of one of the leading schools and hospitals in North China, the central government demanded the immediate resolution of the problem.¹¹⁰ In fact, throughout the registration process, Cheeloo's medical school, when compared to the arts and humanities school, received the least amount of criticism from the Ministry of Education. For a short period the medical school even considered registering without the School of Arts. Eventually Cheeloo University as a whole was registered in 1931.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Carlisle, Feb. 2 1930, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 3 China Records, Yale.

¹¹⁰ Corbett, 175-177; Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Carlisle, Feb. 2 1930, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 3, China Records, Yale.

¹¹¹ Corbett, 181.

Some Chinese did believe that Western medicine was as much of a threat to Chinese nationalism as Christianity. However much of this criticism came from practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine, whose businesses and livelihood were threatened by the rise in competition with practitioners of Western medicine. Traditional Chinese medicine, according to its proponents, represented China's "national essence" (*guo cui*). However supporters of Western medicine reasoned that Western medicine was not a form of aggression against Chinese nationalism, but merely the most advanced form of medicine and therefore in line with the progress of China. Within the KMT government itself there was a difference of opinion about Western medicine verses Chinese traditional medicine.¹¹² The debate over which form of medicine served China the best did not affect Cheeloo directly and Morgan also never entered into this debate herself. It was typical for many of her patients to have seen a number of Chinese traditional doctors before going to Cheeloo as a last resort. One family with scarlet fever was so pleased with her work that they recommended her to their sick neighbor who was a traditional Chinese doctor. Another doctor actually ended up going to treat the neighbor, so we don't know how Morgan would have approached the Chinese doctor.¹¹³ Morgan was assigned to China to teach and practice the form of medicine in which she was trained. She strictly adhered to the methods of her profession and whether her practice of medicine infringed on traditional Chinese culture and society probably never occurred to her. Morgan was a very practical person who seems to have focused more on the person or problem in front of her rather than on abstractions like whether or not modern scientific medicine was an attack against Chinese society and culture.

¹¹² Xu, 847-861.

¹¹³ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to family, June 6 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

From her perspective, curing the disease that had long ailed a villager was more important than whether it was through a treatment with which he was culturally unfamiliar.¹¹⁴

Another challenge to Cheeloo University that complicated the school's response to criticism for being an invasive foreign institute was the fact that a majority of its funding came from foreign charity and grants. The Great Depression had a crippling effect on Cheeloo. In 1934 the Rockefeller Foundations withdrew a grant worth 20% of the Cheeloo Medical School budget. To address the losses, the Cheeloo Committee called for the dismissal of one of the two current Chinese doctors in the internal medicine department. Morgan, who supported efforts to recruit and retain Chinese medical staff, lamented this cut, remarking, "We've worked about five years to get these two [doctors] where they are now, and it's just criminal to cut one of them and have to start all over again [with training]."¹¹⁵ Many Chinese doctors had a hard time supporting their families with the low salaries Cheeloo offered, especially when there were more opportunities to earn a better salary elsewhere.¹¹⁶ Cheeloo was also severely hit when the U.S. trade policies undercut the value of U.S. currency, which in turn reduced the value of aid dollars from America. The hospital was especially affected because so much of its equipment used came from abroad.¹¹⁷ This shows how complex the relationship with foreign institutions was. Although Cheeloo was increasingly Chinese in its administration and staff, it continued to remain dependent on foreign funding and the leadership of foreigners like Morgan. Even though Cheeloo strove to

¹¹⁴ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Carlisle, Sept. 21 1931, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 4, China Records, Yale; Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Carlisle, Dec. 28 1930, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 3, China Records, Yale.

¹¹⁵ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to family, Dec. 12 1934, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 10, Special Collections, China Records, Yale.

¹¹⁶ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Carlisle, Nov. 30 1930, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 3, China Records, Yale.

¹¹⁷ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Carlisle, Nov. 2 1931, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 4, China Records, Yale.

comply with requirements to naturalize the university, foreign financial support continued to remain paramount for the Cheeloo's survival.

VII. Adaptation in Matters of Faith

The pressure from the Chinese public and government for missionary schools to offer a secularized curriculum put missionary workers in a difficult position. Morgan, having been called to China by feelings of religious devotion, was obliged to change the type of mission she may have originally imagined following, in order to adapt to the attitudes of the Chinese intellectual class and her own commitment to medical professionalism. On her application for the Methodist Women's Foreign Missions Society (WMFS), Julia stated that her main inspiration for going to China was to fulfill the need for doctors in China. Nearly twenty years had passed since the Rochester Convention had called for the propagation of Christianity in China by the means of medical and educational institutions. Even though Christianity was in effect no longer a fixture of missionary education, it continued to be a strong fixture in the lives of many students and teachers. The devolution of mission administration did not mean that the positions were transferred to non-Christians, or that religious life on campus disappeared. Miss Miner's replacement for the dean of women's position was Mrs. Yü, an American educated woman who Morgan described to her brother as a "fine Christian."¹¹⁸ However government regulations for missionary schools restricted the extent that proselytizing could be carried out through missionary education. With these regulations, Morgan probably realized that her impact as a missionary would be concerned less with evangelizing her religion and more with the progress and spread of modern

¹¹⁸ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Carlisle, Sept. 22 1929, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 2, China Records, Yale.

medicine throughout China. Her best friend in China, Hazel Myers, a YWCA employee stationed in Jinan, faced much more indecision over the validity of her work. Morgan admitted that Hazel “is a lot more doubtful of the usefulness of her work than I ever am of mine—but perhaps that is because I’m going in for material results in the way of well trained doctors etc., and the things she’s aiming at are more intangible to begin with.”¹¹⁹ From this comment it is clear that Morgan considered her primary purpose in China was to serve as a medical teacher and practitioner. To serve the people is an enduring Christian virtue, but at times quite secular as well.

During the time between her first furlough in 1927 and her second furlough in 1934, Morgan’s letters reflect an increasing secularity, coupled with a skeptical view towards religious fervor of a fundamental kind. This transformation in her religious thought was not necessarily unconscious or without some effort to refocus her spirituality. In the summer of 1930 Morgan attended a YM and YWCA Conference in Qingdao, which was attended by many Cheeloo students. Morgan also invited Dr. Lin Lien-Ch’ing, an Assistant Resident from Morgan’s internal medicine department who was not a Christian. “I hope for good things,” Morgan wrote her sister, “as [Dr. Lin] has just spent this last year [working] with two of the finest Christian girls who have ever gone through [Cheeloo].”¹²⁰ At the conference Dr. Lin was asked why she was not a Christian. She responded that Christians, as Morgan related, “don’t practice what they preach.”¹²¹ Lin Lien Ch’ing would go on to become a very close friend of Morgan’s, but she would never convert to Christianity.

¹¹⁹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Carlisle, March 23 1930, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 3, China Records, Yale.

¹²⁰ Julia Morgan, Tsingtao, to Margaret McElfish, June 30 1930, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 3, China Records, Yale.

¹²¹ Julia Morgan, Tsingtao, to Margaret McElfish, June 30 1930, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 3, China Records, Yale.

Morgan's main motivation for attending the conference was for want of more spirituality in her life. "I often feel," she expressed to her father, "that I'm more and more tied up in a fragment of living in the medical science, and must somehow keep alive along other lines."¹²² In her search for spiritual clarity, Morgan was referred by Miss Miner to read the works of Professor Wieman of Chicago Divinity School. Historian Paul Varg argues that at this time American theology lacked conviction as it developed to address the growing skepticism of secular humanism. According to Varg, Wieman "offered little in the way of beliefs except that God was to be studied by the scientific method, that is, by observation and reason, if any correct concept was to be derived."¹²³ Wieman insisted that Christianity and science were not in contradiction. This interpretation seemed to put Morgan's mind at ease.¹²⁴ In the years to follow, Morgan appeared to adopt what can be best termed as a "modern" theology. She continued to attend both Chinese and foreign church on Sundays, but occasionally skipped church services to ride her horse around the countryside or prepare the new hospital for incoming flood refugees.¹²⁵ She attempted to start a Bible study class, but nothing much materialized.¹²⁶

In 1932 events occurred in Morgan's life that gives us a picture of where her missionary creed stood. Some foreign Cheeloo faculty established a fundamentalist group that had a fair amount of student participation. Morgan wrote in a tone of disapproval, "They

¹²² Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Aug. 5 1930, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 3, China Records, Yale.

¹²³ Varg, 151.

¹²⁴ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Aug. 5 1930, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 3, China Records, Yale.

¹²⁵ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, May 1 1931, MC 2008.2, Julia Morgan Correspondence and Photographs, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA (hereafter referred to as Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive); Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, July 2 1933, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 4, China Records, Yale; Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Oct. 13 1935, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 5, China Records, Yale.

¹²⁶ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Feb. 15 1932, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 4, China Records, Yale.

are very zealous indeed and have a very large following—but not an especially thoughtful following. They... have succeeded in splitting student groups off from one another, even to the extent that many of them have, I hear, vowed never again to go into our Church.”¹²⁷ Morgan’s condemnation of fundamentalist evangelism surfaced even more strongly when a Methodist station in Tai’anfu, an outpost not far from Jinan, came under the direction of two fundamental missionaries who were eventually relieved of their posts. The Bible women of Tai’anfu station, or Chinese laymen missionaries, were kept on but within the year closed down because they had taken to methods of healing through prayer.¹²⁸ Before the station was closed down, Morgan went to give them physical examinations and when she told one woman that she was healthy, the woman responded, “The Lord loves me.” To which Morgan later in a resigned tone responded, “Who can deny it? They think He shows it in very practical ways, too.”¹²⁹ Morgan was critical of foreign missionaries who, she felt, had introduced misleading Biblical teachings in ways that undermined proper medical care.

Morgan’s annoyance was most pronounced in her complaints about a male missionary, Mr. Hanson, who insisted that the fundamentalist-inspired missionary station remain open even after the departure of the two WFMS¹³⁰ missionaries. Morgan griped about Mr. Hanson’s meddling, writing, “[Mr. Hanson’s] membership lies with the men’s board and [he] hasn’t any business butting in and [he] hasn’t much sense anyway...The worst of it is that he and Mrs. Hanson are going to General Conference and I expect will continue to tell what they think of the WFMS... Unfortunately we’re apt to be “queer” out here and

¹²⁷ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Nov. 13 1932, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹²⁸ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Jan. 15 1932, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 10, China Records, Yale; Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Dec. 15 1932, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹²⁹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Dec. 15 1932, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹³⁰ Women’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Church

“bossy.”¹³¹ Conflict between the men’s and women’s boards in the field was not uncommon. Women’s boards were more successful in raising funds. However very often their funds would go directly to the general boards, which were mostly comprised of men. Therefore women did not often get a say in what way the money they raised was spent. The WFMS finances were independent from the general Methodist mission board and their independence and success created tensions between the women and the all male general mission board.¹³²

Another event that occurred in 1932 which also reveals the change in Morgan’s religious perspective was the visit of Dr. E. Stanley Jones, a Methodist missionary to India who was a prominent advocate for Indian self-rule and a close friend of Mahatma Gandhi.¹³³ His visit to Jinan came after the recent publication of his book, *The Christ of the Mount: A Working Philosophy of Life*. This book examined the methods in which Christianity could be naturalized in India and other foreign missions. Jones had asked Mahatma Gandhi how this could be accomplished and he advised Jones to “practice without adulterating [Christianity] or toning it down.”¹³⁴ Only by serving as models of Christianity would Protestant missionaries achieve their endeavors to share the gospel. Jones stressed that the underlying principles of equality and kindness were the means by which missions could be successful.¹³⁵ Morgan liked what Dr. Jones had to say and hoped his ideas would remain with her. In this way, Morgan saw how to use her position as a doctor and teacher to serve the missionary enterprise.¹³⁶ To model Christian principles in her daily life was the way in which she could

¹³¹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Jan. 15 1932, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 10, China Records, Yale.

¹³² Hunter, 12-14.

¹³³ Robert Eric Freykenberg, ed., *Christians and Missionaries in India: Cross-Cultural Communication since 1500* (London: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2003), 60.

¹³⁴ Quoted in E. Stanley Jones, *The Christ of the Mount* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1931), 15-16.

¹³⁵ Jones, 9-22.

¹³⁶ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Nov. 13 1932, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

share her religion with China. As Protestant missions secularized the nature of their work, Morgan came to understand the words of the Chinese minister who had spoken twenty years earlier at the Rochester Convention; "If the Far East is ever to be evangelized, it must be evangelized by the people of the Far East themselves."¹³⁷

VIII. An American Doctor in China

For Morgan, the greatest impact she made as a missionary was through her medical work at Cheeloo. Out of all the positions she held at Cheeloo, teaching medicine was the most meaningful to her. Most of Morgan's teaching was the clinical section for internal medicine, while another professor gave the lecture section. Clinical work gave her close contact with her students, something she enjoyed immensely.¹³⁸ Morgan had a good rapport with her students, but also was a very strict teacher. One time, she held an exam on a Saturday and her students complained that she was being too tough. "But their 'complaints' are rather mild affairs in as much as I work harder on it than any of them and they know it," she wrote to her father.¹³⁹ Her strictness and discipline even caused some friction among her colleagues.

We have large rounds and I showed a case of dysentery who has been hard to feed because he doesn't like the proper things—whereupon Dr. Struthers spoke up, before the students too, advocating the policy of letting them eat what they want and citing several cases that got well on such a regime—just as if that proved anything. It's hard enough to get the students around to prescribing proper diets anyway, without such carelessness and path-of-least-resistance policy preached to them by the staff. I told him as soon as rounds were over what vile teaching I thought it was and he hasn't broached the subject since.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Wang, 45.

¹³⁸ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Sept. 21 1931, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 4, China Records, Yale.

¹³⁹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, May 10 1930, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹⁴⁰ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Jan. 24 1932, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

Disagreements aside, Morgan found boundless fulfillment in her job as teacher and mentor. She wrote to her father, "...there's no job anywhere that's quite as much fun as my job, for I always feel—maybe wrongly, who knows—that I'm doing something that's useful and that needs to be done and that's interesting to do all the time. I suppose most people in a teaching job anywhere do feel that way—only here I happen to know that the things I do wouldn't get done unless I were here to do them."¹⁴¹ The purpose of her life in China was to make modern medicine available to the Chinese. Her students were those who would take the lead in the progress of China in future generations.

When the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931, students across the country voiced the nationalist cry for China to fight. Cheeloo students were equally eager to join the struggle. Because the Nanjing government was worried about provoking Japan, it pursued a policy that would silence the protests of the nationalist youth by closing school early for the holidays and stopping train lines running to Nanjing. Morgan provided a sympathetic view of their feelings about the situation, but disagreed with their impulsive reaction, writing, "The poor students get so agitated over these things and make plans to save their country, though they're not the ones who either should or can—and then work and preparation for future usefulness gets interrupted once more."¹⁴² At the same time, Morgan failed to acknowledge the influential role that Chinese students have historically played in Chinese politics and the pressure that they felt to save China from the seemingly constant aggression of foreign nations. Indeed the student protests during this period forced the temporary resignation of Chiang Kai-shek from the presidency and also likely forced Nanjing into more belligerent

¹⁴¹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Sept. 11 1932, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 4, China Records, Yale.

¹⁴² Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Oct. 4 1931, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

policies toward Japanese aggression. Morgan might not have understood the nature of Chinese politics, but she believed that education was the best way that students could help China progress.

Part of Morgan's comment that, "things wouldn't get done unless I were here to do them," very well may be a frank acknowledgement that some of the things that made Cheeloo Hospital and Medical School run so smoothly were a direct result of her own dedication and initiative. After almost a decade in China, Morgan was one of the most senior female medical staff and had started taking on administrative duties. The wife of Dr. Smyly, an Irish doctor at Cheeloo, referred to Morgan as the "back-bone of the hospital." Her Mandarin had reached such a level of fluency that several people had commented that she sounded just like a native speaker.¹⁴³ In 1931 Morgan was elected acting head of the Medical Department while Dr. Smyly left on furlough. As department head, she was in charge of three foreign and four Chinese doctors, eighteen interns and twenty-four fourth year medical students.¹⁴⁴ Morgan, true to her model of professionalism, was as fond of yet as demanding towards her staff as towards her students. But at the same time she emphasized a collaborative working environment. She wrote to her father:

My, but I do get attached to these young doctors I work with. I really entered this year with fear and trembling for fear I couldn't hold my staff together and get their full cooperation during the year while I was at the helm—a place I don't enjoy and am not well fitted for really—but they have been fine. I've worked at it, of course—thought up ways and means of making them feel a part of the organization and not just subordinates, and my how they have responded! I've instituted a monthly dinner among other things, where we talk over our problems and complaints, if any, together.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, March 8 1933, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹⁴⁴ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Sept. 1931, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹⁴⁵ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Apr. 3 1932, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

Morgan's motivations in creating such an atmosphere of equality among her staff probably stemmed from the conflicts she had encountered between herself and the other male faculty. Even though Morgan did not face the same institutional barriers that women doctors faced back in American, Cheeloo Medical School was still modeled after the American system of medical education, a system predicated on male superiority. Morgan was not the only female doctor to run up against the Western male faculty at Cheeloo. She explained that she and her female colleague "think alike on a good many things where we think unlike the men members of our staff."¹⁴⁶ An issue at the hospital that seemed to divide staff along gender lines, or at least between senior foreign male staff and the female and Chinese staff, was the decision over whether to build a new hospital or to simply add another wing to the old hospital. Morgan favored building an entirely new hospital, reasoning that the school and patients would quickly outgrow the new wing in only a few short years. Plans for adding a new hospital had been in circulation since 1927, but had been delayed because of the unstable conditions in Jinan. The plan resurfaced in 1932 and even though it was in the midst of the Great Depression, money for the hospital had already been secured through the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund, a grant stipulated to fund women's educational institutes in China that the Peking College of Medicine for Women brought over when they merged with Cheeloo.¹⁴⁷ "Another thing that makes me sick," Morgan vented to her father, "is that the women raised this money to begin with, but they aren't paying any attention to what their women representatives—nor the clinical staff in general—want."¹⁴⁸ All but one of the

¹⁴⁶ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Nov. 13 1932, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹⁴⁷ Julia Morgan, to Cheeloo Women's Committee, May 8 1933, Group No. 11, Box 255, Folder 4152, United Board, Yale.

¹⁴⁸ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Nov. 13 1932, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

Chinese staff also supported building a new hospital, but those opposed held strong to their opinion and the issue was not entirely resolved until after more than a year's debate.¹⁴⁹

Therefore, when Morgan took the helm, equality was both a strategy to help the department weather through external challenges and a personal goal to create the type of working environment she desired.

Despite her intentions, Morgan's relationships with her younger colleagues, more specifically her Chinese colleagues, naturally followed some preconceived notions of seniority and hierarchy. Although she did take pains to be a friend and confidant, the manner in which she approached their relationships was rather maternal in kind—often referring to them as “such a dear” or “just a peach.”¹⁵⁰ Lin Lien Ch'ing, the young doctor whom Morgan brought to the YWCA Conference that one summer, became a very close friend. Dr. Lin eventually moved into the home with the rest of the female medical staff from Cheeloo. In 1934 Morgan returned to the United States on furlough and Dr. Lin was able to take leave and study in Boston with Morgan that same year.¹⁵¹ While in Boston, Morgan was given the task of introducing Dr. Lin to America. In a letter to her sister, Morgan gives a revealing account of what showing America to Dr. Lin was like:

I've had lots of fun with Dr. Lin, and taking her around has almost been like taking a child who is utterly ignorant of many things. You probably wouldn't find it strange but it's a new experience in art galleries and historic places to have along a person that never heard of Grecian Mythology, in fact never heard of Athens, also didn't know America ever had a revolution, nor what it's all about, knows very little about the Bible, only the most important “Characters” etc. Well, that's where we start! It seems inconceivable doesn't it? But she gets along very well without any of these things. What price, Western culture?¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to Mr. Garside, April 9 1933, Group No. 11, Box 255, Folder 4152, United Board, Yale; Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, June 20 1933, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹⁵⁰ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Sept. 1931, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹⁵¹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Oct. 28 1935, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 5, China Records, Yale.

¹⁵² Julia Morgan, Boston, MA, to Margaret McElfish, 1934, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

At first glance, it appears that Morgan is likening Dr. Lin to a child. Morgan may have been referring to Dr. Lin's experience rather than Dr. Lin herself. She then goes on to observe that Dr. Lin had become a successful doctor in spite of never learning about Western culture, followed by a thoughtful acknowledgement that maybe Western culture is not as necessary in life as she might have thought.

This excerpt is an example of Morgan's analytical thought process as she observed and recorded the world around her. Often in her letters she began by explaining her first reaction to things, followed with a reflection as to why she or somebody else reacted in such a way. For example, during her furlough trip to India, she wrote about how she thought Indians seemed "more intelligent looking and acting than the Chinese. I fear, though that again is perhaps my ingrained prejudice in favor of an Aryan face."¹⁵³ Another example is when her housemate Susan Waddell became engaged to one of her former Chinese students who was ten years her junior. "As you can imagine," Morgan wrote, "it has raised quite a storm among the foreigners here, and, I judge, no less among the Chinese. Everyone seems to think the age difference and difference in experience are more difficult to surmount than the racial difference. One wonders, tho', how much the racial difference is really subconsciously *the* thing in people's minds."¹⁵⁴ She was predisposed to view people in certain ways, but she also was aware of prejudices, including her own.

Other instances of her interactions with Chinese colleagues, students, and patients reveal that maybe some of her actions and reactions were governed more by elitism rather than imperialism. In 1931 and 1935, Shandong province was severely flooded and several

¹⁵³ Julia Morgan, Calcutta, India, to James H. Morgan, Aug. 22 1928, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 2, China Records, Yale.

¹⁵⁴ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, July 2 1933, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 4, China Records, Yale.

thousand flood victims fled to Jinan. The government set up refugee camps in Jinan and elsewhere in the province and an international relief fund also provided medical supplies to treat those in the camps.¹⁵⁵ When Cheeloo medical staff divided up responsibility among the camps, their first step taken to prevent spread of disease was the inoculation of all camp residents. However the refugees were less than willing to receive vaccinations. Morgan impatiently described them as “ignorant country mothers probably without a day of schooling in their lives—how can they be expected to take up with such proceedings willingly?”¹⁵⁶ Morgan’s prejudice might then be not so much focused on race as focused on class and education. She not only demanded strict adherence to the techniques and procedures of scientific medicine of her students, but also of herself. This degree of professionalism, although it probably was reliable when it came to the sometimes chaotic circumstances at Cheeloo and in Jinan, certainly made Morgan less patient when treating Chinese patients who were not privy to the progressive educational standards being implemented by the Chinese government at the time. While Morgan might not have possessed the patience to adequately address the cultural barrier between herself and the refugee patients, the type of medical treatment she administered was what she believed in and was hired to do.

The flood refugee situation also showcased what Cheeloo Medical specialized in—rural medicine. The rural patients, who came to the Western style hospital as their last resort, presented unique cases of diseases in various stages of advancement rarely observed in the West. This gave rise to new fields of medical research and discovery, placing medical researchers in underdeveloped countries like China and India at the forefront of scientific

¹⁵⁵ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Oct. 13 1935, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 5, China Records, Yale.

¹⁵⁶ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Oct. 28 1935, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 5, China Records, Yale.

medical discoveries.¹⁵⁷ Vitamin deficiency was a frequent ailment in the refugee camps, as their diets were especially nutrient poor. Scurvy was particularly prevalent and difficult to treat since fruits with high amounts of Vitamin C were often too scarce and too expensive to adequately treat all of the refugees. During the major flood of 1935, Morgan organized an initiative to find a more common and cheaper food to administer to treat the scurvy. She eventually found that cabbage was effective and came much cheaper at two or three cents a pound.¹⁵⁸ From this research Morgan was able to publish a paper with the Chinese Medical Association.¹⁵⁹ Although Morgan was fluent in spoken Chinese, writing in Chinese was significantly more difficult, especially when needing to use medical terms. Morgan's paper probably was eventually translated into Chinese, since Cheeloo was the leading institute in medical translation.¹⁶⁰

Morgan also conducted research on endemic diseases in China such as tuberculosis and a parasitic disease called Kala-azar. Although Morgan's practice in the remote regions of China might have seemed to remove her from the progress of modern medicine, she actually was at the forefront of medical discoveries on treatment for diseases or maladies not generally found in the United States.

Julia Morgan could be imperious and even arrogant when it came to her standards and convictions. At the same time she was sympathetic to Chinese nationalism and pride. She acted as the agent of a foreign institution in China and yet she also supported the transformation of the hospital into a Chinese run and staffed facility. She accepted the

¹⁵⁷ Corbett, 206-208.

¹⁵⁸ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Feb. 9 1934, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 10, China Records, Yale.

¹⁵⁹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Apr. 9 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

¹⁶⁰ Corbett, 206.

authority of modern medicine and could be inflexible in its application; however this reflected the greater desire of Cheeloo Medical School to be held to the highest possible standards of modern medicine.

IX. Japanese Aggression in Morgan's Time

Throughout Morgan's years in China, Japanese aggression and imperialism was a looming presence over China. The movements of nationalism and clashes of violence between the Chinese and Japanese affected the work of American missionaries. Close to the Japanese sphere of influence in Shandong, Cheeloo University, and especially the hospital, witnessed and at times became an active participant in some of these events. During the period of Japanese aggression, Morgan's dedication to Cheeloo University Hospital and the city of Jinan was also strengthened by the continued rise of Chinese nationalism.

During the Jinan Incident in 1928, Cheeloo Hospital took on a leading role in the medical treatment of the soldiers and residents of Jinan following the violence and immediate aftermath. Although Morgan was at home on furlough at the time of the incident, the support that Cheeloo gave the city of Jinan set a precedent for the role the university would play during future confrontations with the Japanese. Morgan gave full support for this kind of involvement during turbulent times. Even though Japan had returned Shandong to Chinese control as a result of the Washington Conference in 1922, Shandong remained a de facto sphere of influence of Japan. Japan also continued to retain financial control over several economic endeavors in the region, such as the Qingdao-Jinan railroad line. When Chiang's troops arrived in Shandong, Japan warned China not to interfere or interrupt the Japanese economic enterprise in the province. The Qingdao-Jinan train was of particular concern to

Japan, because the line gave Japanese businesses from Qingdao port access to northern China. Japan also had a vested interest in the success of the northern warlord armies, since the government in Beijing had ¥40,000,000 in loans held by Japan as payment for the transfer of control over the railroad to the Chinese. When Chiang's troops arrived in Shandong, Japanese forces were sent to Jinan in order to protect Japanese businesses and citizens.¹⁶¹

Jinan was also an important location for the Kuomintang coalition because the bridge just north of Jinan provided the most expedient route across the Yellow River for the advancing Northern Expedition. On May 2 and 3, the units of the KMT army converged at Jinan, but were unable to cross the Yellow River bridge, because the retreating warlord army had dynamited the structure, making it too unstable for the large army to cross. When Chiang's troops arrived, the Japanese General Fukuda ordered his troops to attack. This attack set off three days of fighting within Jinan. Chiang Kai-shek did not wish to provoke the Japanese, since his fight was with the northern warlords. He called for the retreat of all the KMT troops from Jinan, except for a small garrison that would maintain Chinese control over the city. General Fukuda, acting without orders from his superiors, ordered an attack on the remaining Chinese soldiers.¹⁶² David Buck explains that General Fukuda's attack "was the first in a long chain of unauthorized attacks by Japanese military commanders in China."¹⁶³ Cheeloo medical staff witnessed some of the most horrifying acts of unwarranted Japanese aggression during this incident. As the Nationalist army retreated from Jinan, many injured Chinese soldiers were abandoned in the military hospitals. Cheeloo hospital staff took on the responsibility of administering medical care to these soldiers. At one particular

¹⁶¹ Buck, 156-164.

¹⁶² Buck, 161-163.

¹⁶³ Buck, 162.

military hospital, Cheeloo staff arrived to find that the sixty Chinese soldiers left behind had been shot at point blank by Japanese soldiers.¹⁶⁴ In addition to caring for Chinese soldiers, Cheeloo hospital also provided medical care to Jinan residents who had been caught in the crossfire of the two armies. "The way the hospital rose to emergencies endeared it to the people of Jinan."¹⁶⁵ The Cheeloo hospital and medical school earned the reputation of the institution that remained to support the Chinese, even when China's own government could or would not.

The next significant incident in Sino-Japanese relations occurred in September of 1931 when the Japanese Kwantung army invaded Manchuria and then proceeded to establish the puppet government of Manchukuo in early 1932. Chiang Kai-shek diverted little military force to impede their encroachment onto Chinese territory, instead looking for a diplomatic solution with the help of the international community. Chiang also hesitated to pressure Japan with troops, because that might give Japan more reason for expansion. Chiang's apprehension in provoking the Japanese was to some extent grounded in the fear of the repeat of the Jinan Incident.¹⁶⁶ The apparent inaction of Chiang and the Nanking government was also attributed to the use of Nationalist forces to fight the Communist resistance in central China. In addition, the government had to deal with the thousands of displaced refugees from the flooding of the Yellow River that same year. Nonetheless, students across China were incensed by Chiang's nonresistance policy. Morgan wrote to her father, that the students believed that, "'peace talk' is almost as good as traitor talk. So far the remarkable control shown in not fighting seems the right, the wise and the only thing. But I don't know how long it can continue with feeling running as high as it is, and with the really dreadful

¹⁶⁴ Corbett, 192.

¹⁶⁵ Corbett, 193.

¹⁶⁶ Cohen, 105.

things that are happening in and around Mukden.”¹⁶⁷ Morgan’s observation reflected the fears of the government that too strong a reaction from the Chinese would provoke a more serious response from the Japanese army. Students at Cheeloo responded to the Japanese invasion more aggressively than did their teachers and political leaders. Cheeloo medical students even volunteered to fight and administer medical care for the Chinese army. Although not as passionate as her students, Morgan was equally as horrified by the actions of Japan, writing, “The lies that the Japanese are sending out to the League of Nations makes you sicker and sicker, but I suppose they can’t fool all the world for very long. They’ve already done a vast amount of irreparable damage, and just walk right into Mukden as though it’s theirs by right.”¹⁶⁸ Morgan hoped that whatever decision the League of Nations in Geneva made would be the solution to the Japanese transgressions.¹⁶⁹ The Nationalist Government was also holding its breath, depending on the response of the foreign community to help uphold the treaties that in theory pledged for no war between nations. But the League of Nations responded with little force behind their recommendations. The US government, not a member of the League, but a signatory of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, was just as obligated and just as hesitant as the League to come to the aid of the Chinese. The Great Depression and domestic issues took precedence in the political attitudes of Americans at this time. American economic and commercial interests to some extent favored Japanese control over China’s economy and industry. The dire economic situation

¹⁶⁷ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Oct. 4 1931, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹⁶⁸ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Oct. 4 1931, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹⁶⁹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Oct. 18 1931, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

across the globe encouraged appeasement of the Japanese at the cost of Chinese sovereignty.¹⁷⁰

Morgan and the foreigners at the Cheeloo community represent the divergence of American missionaries' opinions from the general opinion of Americans. In the early spring of 1932, Morgan was visited by a friend from medical school, Amy Gilbert, who was touring Asia that year. Although good friends, Morgan was taken aback at how Amy Gilbert and her travelling companion were relatively supportive of the Japanese actions. "Amy Gilbert made me so mad by siding with Japan," Morgan wrote to her father, "taking the opinion of a young British business man for her authority etc. Maybe she'll change her mind sometime... But they came to China via Japan and Japan only lets you see the side they want you to see."¹⁷¹ Amy Gilbert and the British businessman seemed to share the opinion of many businesses and governments in the West on the impractical nature of aiding the Chinese in retaking control of regions which the Japanese could govern more efficiently. The Japanese presence could also serve as a bulwark against Communism and the Soviet Union.¹⁷² Morgan, like many connected with the China mission field, advocated for the League and the US to take more responsibility in stopping Japan's wanton belligerence. More removed from the issues of domestic politics that mainly guided American policy towards China and the Manchurian crisis, missionaries reacted more to the humiliation and atrocities they witnessed occurring against the Chinese.¹⁷³ Morgan also felt firsthand the deep sense of hopelessness that pervaded the Chinese people's spirit during this situation. "Dear Mrs. Yü," Morgan wrote, "our dean of women and very good friend... comes over and talks and talks—almost broken

¹⁷⁰ Cohen, 105-112.

¹⁷¹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Feb. 1932, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹⁷² Herring, 488-489.

¹⁷³ Varg, 251-254.

heartedly about the whole business. Well none of us can see ahead. And it makes you lose faith in all nations—not just Japan—for Japan just can't be so awfully behind the rest in her outlook—and not so long ago we acted almost the same in Panama.”¹⁷⁴ Morgan's letters' to her father would frequently linger on the hopelessness of the situation China faced. Mostly she would forgo trying to make sense of the matter, hoping her father's response would help her understand how Japan could get away with such horrific acts. Although no letters of James Henry Morgan responding to her daughter are on record, it is clear that he was a constant support for Julia. Her remarks towards him indicate that her father, ever the professor, often counseled her through dilemmas and always encouraged her to evaluate circumstances in a logical and very academic way.

It must be noted that during the events surrounding the Mukden Incident, Cheeloo and Jinan were never in any great danger. General Han Fu Chü, the regional governor, stationed a number of troops within Jinan and firmly rebuked the Japanese army's request to send more troops to Jinan under the guise of protecting Japanese citizens.¹⁷⁵ Cheeloo Hospital patients increased as many of them refused to go to the Japanese hospital in town.¹⁷⁶ As Japanese aggression towards China escalated, China's condemnation of foreign imperialism shifted its focus from Western countries to Japan.

Into the spring and summer of 1932, Morgan and the rest of the Cheeloo community waited for the League's response. “We're hanging over the newspapers these days to see what's going on in the north, and also to see what Geneva says about it all. If Geneva can't

¹⁷⁴ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Mar. 18 1932, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive; Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Feb. 1932, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹⁷⁵ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Feb. 15 1932, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 4, China Records, Yale.

¹⁷⁶ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, May 1 1932, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

now see Japan for what she is, I haven't much hope for the League. If it comes to a showdown though, I'm expecting Japan to do just what she's done before—say 'I go' but go not. Then it will again be a case of 'unavoidable circumstances.'¹⁷⁷ The Mukden Incident reached a tacit resolution with the Tanggu Truce in May 1933, in which China consented to all of the Japanese demands.¹⁷⁸ Morgan's observation of Japan's motives foreshadowed the coming of the Second Sino-Japanese War.

X. Decision to Stay

On July 7, 1937 a skirmish arose between Chinese and Japanese troops around Marco Polo Bridge, located just outside of Beijing. Tensions rose throughout the month of July as the Japanese and Chinese governments failed to reach a compromise. Tokyo wished to solve the incident locally, but Nanjing responded with a stronger stance against the perceived threat of continued Japanese expansion into Chinese territory.¹⁷⁹ Chiang Kai-shek said, "If we allow one inch more of our territory to be lost, we shall be guilty of unpardonable crime against our race."¹⁸⁰ Morgan, in the midst of preparing for a summer vacation at this time, changed her plans and decided to summer in Qingdao, where she could easily receive news in case of the incident boiling over.¹⁸¹ In August, Tokyo issued its conditions for settlement of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, as it became known, requiring China's recognition of Manchukuo as an independent state from China and the Nationalist Government's agreement

¹⁷⁷ Julia Morgan, Jinan, China, to James Henry Morgan, Carlisle, Feb. 1932, Julia Morgan, Dickinson Archive.

¹⁷⁸ Youli Sun, *China and the Origins of the Pacific War, 1931-1941* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 39.

¹⁷⁹ James B. Crowley, "A Reconsideration of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 22, no. 3 (May, 1963): 281-289.

¹⁸⁰ Quoted in Crowley, 286.

¹⁸¹ Julia Morgan, Qingdao, to James H. Morgan, Aug. 11 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

to eliminate all anti-Japanese movements within China.¹⁸² Nanjing responded on August 13 by stating, "China is duty bound to defend her territory and her national existence."¹⁸³ Earlier that day, Chinese bombers had attacked naval bases located in the Japanese foreign concession in Shanghai.¹⁸⁴ The Second Sino-Japanese War had begun.

Rumors of the outbreak of fighting in Shanghai reached Qingdao and by the end of August it was clear that full-scale war had begun. Cheeloo women and children were advised to evacuate to Qingdao and only key faculty and staff were advised to stay on in Jinan.¹⁸⁵ A week later, the consul directed Americans to evacuate China entirely. But Morgan, still in Qingdao, refused to entertain that suggestion in the slightest remarking:

Fortunately I have so far not had much question in my own mind as to what I should do. This university is a cooperative enterprise between Chinese and foreigners, and for us to pull out now when the hardest questions that have ever come up, perhaps, are being faced, seems the wrong thing to do—at the moment...the Japanese seem to be setting out to ruin schools and have bombed Nanking's fine new government hospitals, so I know I'm running into probable danger. *But* all my Chinese colleagues are there, in just as much danger. And the students are returning to be taught. I'm not sure that that's wise, but I am sure that doctors and nurses are needed in China now more than ever, so I hope I can stay and work.¹⁸⁶

Since schools and hospitals had been rumored to be the special mark of Japanese bombers, Morgan was a little concerned about opening school in the fall. However, after some delay, Cheeloo opened in September. Even though a percentage of students were not able to return, Cheeloo accepted several students who had been transferred by the government from North

¹⁸² Crowley, 288-289.

¹⁸³ Quoted in Crowley, 289.

¹⁸⁴ Crowley, 289.

¹⁸⁵ Julia Morgan, Qingdao, to James H. Morgan, Aug. 24 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

¹⁸⁶ Julia Morgan, Qingdao, to James H. Morgan, Aug. 31 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

Eastern University in Mukden and others who had transferred from the government schools of the Beijing area which were also forced to close down.¹⁸⁷

While students returned from the summer break in Jinan, the Japanese army washed through Shanghai and spread west towards Nanjing. Japanese forces from the north also began moving south and by the end of September had taken over the capital of Hebei on the edge of Shandong.¹⁸⁸ As the Japanese army fast approached Jinan, the faculty began making arrangements for the probable transfer of Cheeloo University out of Jinan. Since educated Chinese were a particular target of the Japanese, it would no longer be safe for the Chinese faculty and students to remain. On October 7, 1937 Cheeloo University closed and, like many other Chinese colleges and institutions, began the long trek to the interior of the country to what was now known as Free China. The medical school was invited to use the facilities of West China Union University,¹⁸⁹ another missionary college in Chengdu, Sichuan. Nearly ninety percent of Cheeloo medical school removed to Chengdu immediately.¹⁹⁰ Most of the Chinese staff fled to Chengdu, but Julia Morgan and several other foreign faculty members of the medical school elected to stay behind in Jinan and keep Cheeloo University Hospital running.

Expecting Japanese troops to seize Cheeloo any moment, Cheeloo University became concerned about the safety the situation in Jinan and decided to evacuate the women and children to Qingdao. The single women in Jinan, especially Morgan and her housemates,

¹⁸⁷ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Sept. 5 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale; Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Sept. 15 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

¹⁸⁸ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Sept. 5 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale; Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Sept. 26 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

¹⁸⁹ West China Union University was the institution that was supported by the Dickinson-in-China program.

¹⁹⁰ Julia Morgan, Qingdao, to James H. Morgan, Oct. 9 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

balked at such a demand when there was so much work to be done in Jinan. With the evacuation of the Chinese staff and women doctors and nurses, Cheeloo Hospital's staff was reduced to five foreign male doctors and a few remaining hospital support staff.¹⁹¹ Morgan and the other single women resented what they regarded as an unnecessary precaution, but many of the wives supported the evacuation of all the women. As one remarked, "the single ladies *should* leave [Jinan], as otherwise they might endanger [my] husband and others who in time of the trouble would have to live up to the 'women and children first' motto."¹⁹² Morgan disagreed, seeing herself not as a burden but rather as much a part of the war effort as the men. She had made up her mind early in the war that she would stay. "If anything happens to me," she wrote her father, "don't take it too hard—it probably won't happen anyway—Remember I'm where I want to be and where it seems right to be, and a doctor shouldn't choose places of safety anyway."¹⁹³ Morgan's steadfastness in the face of war reflects the philosophy of doctors that later inspired the creation of the organization, Doctors Without Borders (MSF). The President of MSF once said, "Bringing medical aid to people in distress is an attempt to defend them against what is aggressive to them as human beings...More than offering material assistance, we aim to enable individuals to regain their rights and dignity as humans."¹⁹⁴ Perhaps like MSF doctors today, Morgan believed she should be where the need was the greatest. Her ethos was based on a blend of medical professionalism and Christian service rather than medical professionalism and human rights. Her impulse to serve overrode gender stereotypes of the day and counsels of caution.

¹⁹¹ Julia Morgan, Qingdao, to James H. Morgan, Oct. 18 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

¹⁹² Julia Morgan, Qingdao, to James H. Morgan, Aug. 24 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

¹⁹³ Julia Morgan, Qingdao, to James H. Morgan, Aug. 31 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

¹⁹⁴ Quoted in Peter Redfield, "Doctors, Borders, and Life in Crisis," *Cultural Anthropology* 20, no. 3 (Aug., 2005): 328.

Although Morgan had repeatedly stated that she would not abandon her post at Cheeloo, the illness of her best friend, Hazel Myers, made her reconsider. Bedridden with a severe case of bronchia-pneumonia, Hazel would not be healthy enough to escape if in fact there was an incident in Jinan.¹⁹⁵ Morgan also needed to take into account her own health. Although only forty-six, she had been increasingly poor health over the past few years. In 1933 she had surgery to remove uterine fibroids, from which the recovery had proven to be more difficult and lengthier than expected. In 1936 she had a severe case of bronchia-pneumonia, similar to Hazel's. She was bedridden for a few months and luckily her brother Hugh was there in Jinan to help take care of her.¹⁹⁶ Following this sickness Morgan's immune system was severely weakened and she suffered from chronic bronchitis and thus became more susceptible to contracting the flu.¹⁹⁷ Unconcerned with her own health and safety, Morgan chose to stay in China because she believed in the importance of her post at Cheeloo.

Morgan's greatest dilemma during this period was not whether she should repatriate to America, but whether she should stay in Jinan and help run the hospital, or go to Chengdu to help continue teaching the students. While she knew she was needed at the hospital, letters from Dr. Lin in Chengdu described how much teachers were needed down there as well. "I can't get over thinking," she debated with herself, "how much our students are missing in these 2-3 vital years in their coursework and there won't be any students for *me* to teach

¹⁹⁵ Julia Morgan, Qingdao, to James H. Morgan, Oct. 9 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

¹⁹⁶ Julia Morgan, Qingdao, to James H. Morgan, Oct. 31 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

¹⁹⁷ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Nov. 8 1936, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 5, China Records, Yale; Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, June 19 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

(clinical years) probably for several years to come.”¹⁹⁸ But Morgan did worry that her health would not permit her to make the arduous trip to Chengdu. She had heard the story of one man who had to stand up in a boat for three nights because there was not enough room to sit. The boat was built to hold 150 passengers, but was holding 850 passengers on that trip.¹⁹⁹ Morgan would spend the better half of the next year trying to decide whether she should go to Chengdu.

The women, who had spent the month of October in Qingdao, were allowed to return to Jinan when the men who had remained at Cheeloo determined that the situation in the city was safer than expected. Morgan eagerly returned to Cheeloo, lamenting how much the hospital’s capacity had diminished due to the evacuation of the Chinese staff. Afterwards when all of the women staff had been evacuated, the five remaining doctors struggled to keep the hospital running and were forced to group all of the departments into either “medicine” or “surgery.”²⁰⁰ On the women’s return to the hospital Morgan wrote, “Such a welcome as we’ve had! Very quiet and not said in words, but you can tell that we’re more welcome than perhaps ever in our lives to the few men who took it upon themselves to run things in a womanless world.”²⁰¹ Evidently still sore from the men’s demands for her short exile from the place she knew she was needed most, Morgan re-entered the hospital with “a vengeance” and her usual push for efficiency and thoroughness, even if that meant she had to be her

¹⁹⁸ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, May 5 1938, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 7, China Records, Yale.

¹⁹⁹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Oct. 9 1938, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 7, China Records, Yale.

²⁰⁰ Julia Morgan, Qingdao, to James H. Morgan, Oct. 31 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

²⁰¹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Nov. 10 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

“own Assistant Resident and intern at the same time.”²⁰² Cheeloo Hospital, as it had in previous times of need, remained open to care for the people of Jinan.

By December of 1937, the Japanese army had reached the bank opposite Jinan on the northern side of the Yellow River. Even though the Japanese were soon due to arrive in Jinan, Morgan expressed the hope that that something would prevent them from coming, “because it [would mean] preserving our school buildings and hospital work etc.”²⁰³ In spite of the circumstances, Morgan and her colleagues continued to believe that one day Cheeloo University could return to Jinan. By staying in Jinan, Morgan and the other foreign faculty fought to preserve the institution they had worked so hard to improve and expand.

On December 26, 1937, Japanese troops finally entered Jinan. Morgan described them as, “well dressed in khaki colored woolen uniforms, and fur-lined caps with ear tabs, and some provisions carried in a sort of knapsack, as well as good-looking rifles etc. They look very business like, and—very human.”²⁰⁴ The Japanese took possession of Jinan without any resistance from Chinese troops or government officials, because Chinese forces had fled the city just prior to the Japanese army’s arrival. In general the takeover was peaceful, except a few isolated incidents. Occasionally a villager, who was not aware of the current situation with Japan, would be told to stop by Japanese soldiers and rather than stopping he would run away in fright. In response, Japanese soldiers would shoot at the

²⁰² Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Nov. 10 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

²⁰³ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Aug. 31 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

²⁰⁴ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Dec. 27 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

villagers who tried to flee. Cheeloo hospital received more than one of these villagers with bullet wounds.²⁰⁵

As life under Japanese occupation settled down, Morgan arrived at the decision to stay in Jinan, where she would remain for the rest of her time in China.²⁰⁶ While Morgan had been considering going to Chengdu, the faculty remaining in Jinan proposed the re-opening of Cheeloo for those students who had not been able to get in front of the Japanese lines. The president of Cheeloo University rejected the proposal of re-opening in Jinan because Cheeloo ran the risk of being labeled disloyal to China.²⁰⁷ Another fear was that the Japanese would compel Cheeloo to swear loyalty to Japan and give them control over certain aspects of university curriculum and administration.²⁰⁸ Morgan joined the Jinan faculty's request for Cheeloo to open its doors, arguing that "schooling is needed by dozens of hundred of boys and girls who can't go elsewhere, [therefore] it seems a very necessary thing to open [Cheeloo] now."²⁰⁹ With the possibility of having some students return to Jinan for classes, Morgan decided that she should remain at her post in Jinan. Morgan believed that the best way for China to surmount the threat of Japan was to continue educating the Chinese students who still remained. Morgan hadn't given up hope for the Chinese, so she decided to stay.

²⁰⁵ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Feb. 9 1938, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 7, China Records, Yale.

²⁰⁶ Letters from Yale Divinity School Archives indicate that she remained in Shandong during the Sino-Japanese War, however many accounts of her life, such as David Strand's article "Asia and Asian Studies at Dickinson, 1847-2007," explain that she accompanied Cheeloo Medical School to West China Union University.

²⁰⁷ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Aug. 5 1938, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 7, China Records, Yale.

²⁰⁸ Corbett, 240-245.

²⁰⁹ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Sept. 18 1938, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 7, China Records, Yale.

In October 1938 the university administration was convinced to open the Theological School.²¹⁰ Morgan by the fall of 1938 had made up her mind to stay in Jinan and help advocate for the Medical school to be allowed to offer courses again. In time, the medical school was allowed to teach “refresher courses” on medicine and classes that did not duplicate those being taught in Chengdu. Eventually the Medical school would open its doors to a class of first year medical students in the fall of 1941. Morgan had by that time returned to the United States on furlough.

XI. Return to America

In June 1941, Morgan left Jinan for furlough, unaware that she would never again be able to return to China. When the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor came later that December, Morgan’s plans for returning to China were never realized. Morgan’s immediate concern following the attack on Pearl Harbor was the evacuation of the Cheeloo foreign staff from China. Corresponding with the Cheeloo directors based in New York City, she suggested different consular officials who might help locate Cheeloo staff and family. Now considered enemy combatants, Morgan feared her friends at Cheeloo were in danger of internment in concentration camps.²¹¹ In Charles Corbett’s history of Cheeloo, he records that the entire American faculty had safely returned home by August of 1942, except for Dr. Arabella Gault, who chose to stay behind in Jinan. Although Cheeloo University closed in Jinan, it continued to operate in Chengdu. Following the war, several foreign staff members returned, but Cheeloo’s situation remained disorganized and disjointed as civil war raged on in China.

²¹⁰ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Oct. 9 1938, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 7, China Records, Yale.

²¹¹ Julia Morgan, West Grove, PA, to Mr. C. A. Evans, New York, Dec. 18 1942, Group No. 11, Box 255, Folder 4153, United Board, Yale..

When the Communists defeated the Kuomintang in 1949, the university and its foreign staff were placed under increasing pressure because of their relationship to Christianity. Finally in 1952, the CCP restricted the flow of funding from abroad and Cheeloo University ceased to exist as the joint enterprise Morgan had dedicated nearly twenty years of service to.²¹²

The experiences Morgan had as a medical professional in China allowed her to continue a successful career in medicine in America. From tramping about rural China doing research on tuberculosis and Kala-azar, to taking the reins of Cheeloo Hospital internal medicine department, Morgan had many opportunities to distinguish herself from her female and even male colleagues back in America. She became a professor of tropical diseases at her professional alma matter, the University of Pennsylvania.²¹³ Dickinson welcomed Morgan back to Pennsylvania, awarding her an honorary doctorate of medicine in September 1942.²¹⁴

Ever devoted to Cheeloo, Morgan would continue to donate money to the university. Supporting medical education in China was important to Morgan, but supporting women's medical education was of particular importance. Morgan dedicated her life to this, eventually leaving her inheritance to go towards women's medical education at Cheeloo, or another institute in Shandong if Cheeloo no longer remained.²¹⁵ On January 26, 1948 Julia Morgan passed away at the age of fifty-six of heart complications at the University of Pennsylvania Hospital. A medical professional to the end, she left a record book of the history of her illness for medical research.²¹⁶

²¹² Corbett 245-266.

²¹³ W. H. Dievler, "Dr. Julia Morgan," Morgan, Mission Biographical File, GCAH.

²¹⁴ "Honorary Degree Recipients," *Dickinson Alumnus* 19, no. 1 (Sept. 1941): 8.

²¹⁵ Julia Morgan, West Grove, PA, to Mr. C. A. Evans, New York, Dec. 18 1942, Group No. 11, Box 255, Folder 4152, United Board, Yale.

²¹⁶ W. H. Dievler, "Dr. Julia Morgan," Morgan, Mission Biographical File, GCAH.

The legacy of Julia Morgan's life is the contributions she made to the field of medical education. The importance of Morgan's success as a teacher, practitioner, and researcher in the field of medicine directly corresponds with the opportunities she found in China. Her lasting impact on the China mission field through her practice of medicine was in step with the growing secularity of missions in China. As American missions in China adapted to the social, cultural, and political changes of the 1920's and 1930's, Morgan found professional success and personal fulfillment in the secular initiatives of the Protestant missionary enterprise in China.

As a child of the Progressive Era and a student of the foreign Christian missionary movement, Dr. Julia Morgan was inspired to serve the people of China as a medical missionary. Guided by her own Christian ideals, Morgan chose to dedicate her life to the progress of Chinese society. Her commitment to the evangelist goal shared by many foreign missionaries gradually diminished as the progressive movements of Chinese society accelerated the secularization of missionary educational institutions already in effect due to the liberalization of missions. However, her commitment to the medical profession never wavered. Morgan's command of the Chinese language allowed her to successfully translate methods of Western medicine into common practice of modernizing China. Furthermore, Morgan's fluency in Mandarin allowed her to truly make a personal connection with the people of China. The relationships she developed with her Chinese colleagues, students, and patients instilled in her a strong support for Chinese nationalism. Even though her interactions and attitudes towards Chinese people were preconditioned at times by her own American and Western prejudices, Morgan never faltered in her commitment to facilitating progress in China. Her support for Chinese nationalism and her dedication to Cheeloo

University led Morgan to remain in China during the Sino-Japanese War. Friends and family back in America praised Morgan for her heroic efforts in war-torn China, but she declined this recognition, and said that she and her missionary colleagues “are really getting more than we give all the time” from the Chinese people.²¹⁷ Morgan had chosen to become a doctor and a missionary in order to help China, but ultimately it was China that helped Morgan. Morgan achieved professional success in medicine from the opportunities that became available to her in China. Morgan’s experience allowed her to transcend the gender barriers in medicine that she encountered when she returned back to America after spending twenty years in China. As an unmarried woman, Morgan found freedom in her mission work in China that would not have been possible in contemporary American society. By dedicating her life to serving as a missionary in China, Morgan herself was “found in translation.”

²¹⁷ Julia Morgan, Jinan, to James H. Morgan, Dec. 1 1937, Group No. 8, Box 143, Folder 6, China Records, Yale.

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