

HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR

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CELEBRATED MOST WIDELY as an authority on the history of Far Eastern international relations, and fittingly designated at the University of Chicago as Professor of Far Eastern History and Institutions, Harley F. MacNair attained, on the plane of scholarship, the stature indicated in his planning and editorship of the volume on *China* in "The United Nations series." But Harley F. MacNair as a scholar cannot be given due estimate apart from Harley F. MacNair as a teacher and as a man. His professional achievements came to be inextricably interwoven with his personal life and influence. Some phases of this relationship will remain in that intimate seclusion in which he held them. But no one could read the unsolicited sentiments which have come to the writer's attention without realizing that, to his former students, the recollection of him as scholar, teacher, and friend, is a continuing and vivid experience. As interpreter, first, of the West to the East, and then, of the East to the West, he is given tribute with impressive unanimity as a great scholar and a great friend. Not reserving his realistic, historical, scientific, appreciative study for the production of successive tomes, he entered the more fully and richly into the living world of both East and West, and of this richer store gave freely from day to day — in shorter writings, in editing, in reviewing, in conferring, in teaching, in conversing, in letter writing. It may even be possible that the greatest contribution of Harley F. MacNair to the mutual understanding of East and West is embodied in

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the thoughts and feelings of those who shared most intimately his professional competence and cultivated appreciations.

MAJOR PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS

This is not to underrate his major scholarly productions. His initial reputation for solid scholarship and for professional expertness in the field of Far Eastern international relations has rested securely on three publications. First, on his dissertation, completed at the University of California in 1922 and published in China in 1924 as *The Chinese abroad: their position and protection*. It was a comprehensive study, not a narrowed or localized one, and as such it indicated his early penchant for wide perspectives. While primarily a research study, it was written for the intelligent layman. From a strictly professional viewpoint, it was a legal study; yet it was sufficiently realistic to be thoroughly humane. Subtitled *A study in international law and relations*, it was an indication of MacNair's early recognition that these fields included a range of situations much beyond that admitted by some students.

His second major publication was *Modern Chinese history: selected readings*. This substantially edited compilation of 477 excerpts from official and unofficial documents on China's international relations begins with the Macartney embassy of 1793 and ends with the Washington Conference (1921–22). Prefaced at St. John's University in June 1923, it seems to have been planned to accompany H. B. Morse's three-volume work on *The international relations of the Chinese empire*, and primarily to meet the needs of MacNair's course on China's international relations at St. John's. It was aimed at the student's "textbook habit"—even more usual in China, the writer would add, than in the United States—of thinking that he knows a period's history "when he has covered a year's work with a text bearing these [the period's] words on the title page." It was prepared—again, in accord with MacNair's wider concept of the field of international relations—to supply sources on "the thoughts, the customs, and the deeds of those who have 'made' history." Regardless of the eminence of any textbook's author, history "is a subject not to be read from the point of view of one person only."

Although this combination of a history by Morse and a source book by himself represented a professional and pedagogical milepost in its field, these works were limited to China and its relationships. If there was ever a time, however, when China's own international position was recognized as a problem of the Far East as a whole, it was during and immediately

after the years in which the source book was being organized and edited. In 1923–27 China's new Nationalist movement was rolling up a momentum that was calculated to free the young "Republic" from any further humiliation at the hands of Japan and the Western powers. MacNair, almost a participant-observer on the very edge of the swirling revolutionary currents, therefore abandoned his plan merely to condense Morse so it could serve better as a college text with the readings. Instead, he proceeded to emend that work into one which would be valued as a volume presenting the Far East as a whole in its world relations. Using Morse's material as "the heart" of the new book, he expanded it accordingly and brought it up-to-date. The Morse-MacNair *Far Eastern international relations* appeared — for a few days at least — first in Shanghai in 1928. It was suppressed because Nationalists found distasteful certain sentences which the authors would not "correct," and it was not until 1931 that the American edition, familiar to all students of Far Eastern international relations, appeared. Only a few copies of the China edition escaped destruction.

If the Morse-MacNair volume came at a time it was needed as a fairly detailed authoritative background of the century of political and military "humiliation" which China was climactically attempting to annul, it came at a time also when Occidental students of the Far East were generating, with the academician's characteristic lack of co-operation, a body of diverse and piecemeal studies in that period. From approximately World War I to 1927, an increasing number of Western students and scholars (including such names as Blakeslee, Hornbeck, Williams, Latourette, Treat, Vinacke, Willoughby, Dennett, Goodnow, Quigley, Remer, and Steiger) had begun to concern themselves with Far Eastern politics and international relations either as a major interest or as one subsidiary to their interest in the "awakening" or "problem" of the Far East. It was among the publications of these men, each specializing on some phase, period, corner, or perspective of the field, that the Morse-MacNair volume was given a pre-eminent place as a detailed, comprehensive, integrating presentation of modern Far Eastern international relations.

Requiring the same kind of scholarship as the above three works — patient, meticulous study; weighing of items of evidence; maintenance of longer vistas; selection of items and contingent factors on the basis of significance, and a creative integration of them — was a publication on Chinese politics and militarism which had been under way before the Morse-MacNair revision came off the press. As the rewriting and expansion

of public lectures which Dr. MacNair delivered early in 1930 under the auspices of the University of Chicago, this book appeared in 1931 under the title *China in revolution*. Since he himself had arrived in China shortly after the Republic had been established, and, aside from two furloughs spent in the United States, had remained until the Nationalist Revolution reached its 1927 crisis, the bulk of the little volume covered years in which he had been close enough to get native and local points of view, attitudes, and innuendoes just about as clearly and freshly as is possible. Though quite aware of "the harassed and hasty critic in these United States" who "may be inclined to cavil at the inclusion of so many wars, and personalities with (to him) strange-sounding names, and may declare that he cannot see the forest for the trees," MacNair insists on the historian's role of combing over the details and complications of actual events. Characteristically his preface first indulges in a bit of whimsical repartee, then releases his real broadside — a broadside with such wide applicability as to warrant verbatim quotation. The author, he retorts to the critic, is responsible for neither [wars nor personalities], and . . . the critic is not as greatly inconvenienced by their numbers as are the people of revolutionary China. . . . To assume that one can comprehend contemporary conditions in that country without reference to the alarms and tragedies of war, and to the military and civilian leaders who have played their complicated roles therein, is to assume a condition contrary to fact. The reader may skip the names and campaigns if he will, but let him rest assured that having done so he will remain almost as happily ignorant at the end as he was at the beginning of his reading. Glib generalizations with vague references to unhappy conditions are easy; the facts are, for the most part, hard, but the person who wishes to understand modern China may find them worthy of consideration.²

If *China in revolution* seemed to represent an extension of MacNair's scholarly endeavor from the field of Chinese and Far Eastern international relations to include that of China's politics and government, it seemed just as truly to mark the terminus of his major productive effort along these lines. Although the eight years of such publications were to be followed by sixteen years of teaching, writing, and travel, no further publication of equal scope or ambitiousness in which he would contribute a large part was to appear in the fields of Far Eastern government, politics, and international relations until the posthumous collaborative treatment of *Far Eastern international relations in the twentieth century* by himself and Donald F. Lach.³ On the other hand, during his last years, he did plan,

² Preface, viii.

³ All but the last three chapters of the manuscript for this new book were read and approved

secure the manuscripts for, and thoroughly edit that most significant volume on the history, culture, and contemporary conditions of China; namely, *China*, in "The United Nations series."

HIS LIFE AND ITS WIDENING OUTLOOK

There are several explanations for his more or less sudden termination, about 1931, of major scholarly production in the field of modern Far Eastern politics and international relations. One is that he had already told the story up to the crucial year of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931; that the fundamental revision of this story must await the appearance of further source materials, and that meanwhile he was writing articles, editing shorter publications, and speaking in public, as well as teaching. Another is that, while he had a great quantity of contemporary material which he was using in his classes, he realized keenly, as he says in a 1938 preface, that the Far East "will not 'stand still' long enough for the student to catch up with it, 'photograph' it, and inclose the results within the covers of a book." A third, and still more fundamental reason, seems to lie in the trend of his personal affairs and his broadening and deepening interest in Far Eastern culture as a whole. For that, we turn to the fuller stream of his life, all too conscious that he may well have had more than Amy Lowell's sentiments in mind when, in the Ayscough-Lowell correspondence, he quoted from her scornfully humorous poem,

Though I shudder thinking of you wand'ring through my beds of bloom
You may come with spade and shovel when I'm safely in the tomb.

The relationship between the professional achievements of Harley F. MacNair and the events and circumstances of his life can perhaps be seen more readily if we put his fifty-six years into a framework of four main periods. First, by 21 years of age (1891–1912), he had finished his undergraduate schooling in the United States. Second, the next 10 years (1912–22) were spent mostly in China, partly in the United States, teaching, studying, and observing in China, getting his advanced degrees in the United States — his M.A. (1916) after three years in China, and his Ph.D. (1922) after an additional five years in China. Third, a purely China period

by MacNair before his death. Positively determined upon since 1934, when he entered into a contract with Van Nostrand, preparation of the book lagged after 1938 because of his interest in other activities and his declining health. By 1943, however, he had reached an agreement with Donald F. Lach whereby the latter was to prepare the portions of the book dealing with events after about 1931. In the final prepublication form the first ten chapters of the book (with the exception of portions of chapter 1) had been prepared by MacNair and the remaining ten by Lach.

of 5 years (1922–27) was devoted to steady, mature teaching, research, and writing — his years of most prolific production. Fourth, his final 20 years (1927–47), were begun with one year at the University of Washington and continued as professor of Far Eastern history and institutions at the University of Chicago and showed the profound influence of Florence Ayscough.

Whatever else affected him during the first period, he was deeply influenced by his mother, his religion, and an eager intellectual and imaginative outlook. To his mother he seemed always devoted.⁴ Although, from 1912 to the 1922–27 period, he saw her only on two trips back to the States, he appears always to have felt greatly indebted to her. Undoubtedly connected with her influence was his confirmation in an Episcopal church thirteen years after his birth in Greenfield, Pennsylvania. Even before this, at the time of the Boxer movement (1900) and from then till the outbreak of the Chinese Revolution (1911), he says, China had appealed to his imagination. Meanwhile, in California in 1909, he graduated from Redlands High School and became one of fifty charter students in the Redlands University being inaugurated by Baptists of Southern California. There, extracurricular activities, which became assets for later work and leadership, included three years' service on the staff of the town's public library and two years' service as the University's librarian, intercollegiate debating, editorship of the student monthly, and presidency of the student body. By the time he received his Ph.B. in 1912 he had become "aware of the value to China and the West of Christian missions," and wanted to go to the inland missionary college at Boone University, Wuchang. He went to China but was assigned to the (similarly Episcopalian) St. John's University on the outskirts of Shanghai.

Under the able presidency of Dr. F. L. H. Pott, to whom MacNair later dedicated his third major professional work, St. John's University was educating an enviable proportion of new China's future leaders. Among other young colleagues whom he met here, were W. S. A. Pott, later to write *Chinese political philosophy* (1925), and Carl F. Remer, later to write on China's foreign trade, boycotts, and investments. He himself apparently taught a variety of courses; including Western history and English, for the first book he edited was one of *Short stories for Chinese students*. His 1915–16 furlough was spent garnering an M.A. at Columbia University, and he returned to St. John's as professor of history and govern-

⁴Of his father, Dougald Evander MacNair, the writer has had the opportunity to learn little.

ment. In 1919 he was made head of the department. He was now working assiduously on China's international relations, also collaborating with Alice M. Atkinson on an *Introduction to Western history for Chinese students*. According to close colleagues of those years, the outstanding feature of his life at the college, however, was his wide acquaintances and warm friendships with Chinese students. It was these, it is claimed, that enabled him later to write objectively about China without the harshness and sharpness of criticism which was so prevalent among foreigners in China during these and subsequent years.

Before this writing was to begin, a last spate of professional preparation lay in his path, and his 1921–22 furlough found him a teaching fellow in political science at the University of California. There, in 1922, he took his Ph.D. in political science and history.

As he now returned to China, ten years after his first arrival, the affective experiences of his life were coalescing — his religion (securely implemented in his present missionary life work), his family (his mother and sister now joined him), Mrs. Florence Ayscough (he had met and fallen in love with her in 1916; he now introduced his mother to her with most felicitous results), and China and the Chinese. In retrospect he wrote: "From the day I landed, on September 24, 1912, I felt *at home* in the country and with the people, precisely as I felt from the time I met Florence: a combination of spiritual and physical comfort, at-oneness — and stimulation."⁵

China's situation was emergent and dynamic. Scarcely had the Washington Conference attempted to arrange peace for the Far East when Soviet emissaries "stepped up" their linkages with China's rebellious youth and revolutionary veterans. Yet to MacNair at that time, "There is probably no other country in the world concerning which so many fallacies exist and about which so much that may fittingly be termed rot has been told as holds in the case of China. . . . No one outside of China, or those who have lived in the country, can have any conception of the abysmal depth of ignorance which prevails in Japan, America, and Europe concerning China and things Chinese."⁶ Consequently, while *Modern Chinese history: selected readings* was being printed, he began that succession of articles for English-language periodicals in China later collected in *China's new nationalism* (1925) and *China's international relations* (1926). Of immediate pertinence and often continuing applicability to China, the West, and their relations, these essays contained the common sense, professional

⁵ *The incomparable lady*, 16.

⁶ *China's new nationalism*, 36, 39.

background, and sheer humane wisdom which even now are all too rare. Fittingly, in 1926, after the Incident of May 30, 1925, he was made a contributing editor to the *China weekly review* and the *Chinese social and political science review* and a member of the editorial staff of the (missionary) *Chinese recorder*.

Back in 1921 he had taken a responsible part in famine relief work in north China, and in the summer of 1924 he had been dean of the East China summer school. If he was mingling with sinologists and students of Chinese art and literature, he was also lecturing publicly on such ticklish subjects as "The land regulations of the International Settlement." It was not new to him to hear shooting and to see cotton-padded soldiers on Shanghai's borders. But the agitation, strikes, and mass action of 1924–26 were of a new order, and by March 1927 the revolutionary armies arrived in east China. With other members of the St. John's faculty, he did day or night duty in anticipation of threatened mob attack from the neighboring Chinese village. It was under these circumstances that Harley F. MacNair, the author and scholar, was finishing the sections of *Far Eastern international relations* dealing with developments in China "during the autumn of 1926 and the spring of 1927."

His 1927–28 furlough he spent as associate professor of Far Eastern government and diplomacy at the University of Washington. After he was invited to the University of Chicago, first as visiting professor for the summer of 1928 and then as professor of Far Eastern history and institutions, he and his mother moved their household goods and art objects to the Chicago Midway. However, he spent 1931–32 at St. John's before, contrary to his personal preferences and wishes, finally resigning his old post in China. The fact that MacNair decided in favor of Chicago upon the advice of Mrs. Florence Wheelock Ayscough (Jan. 20, 1875–April 24, 1942) may be taken as a symbol of the fact that his acquaintance with her may have been the most important single factor in widening his interests from the political and international aspects of the Far East to the "history and institutions" (and entire culture) of the Far East.

He had first met Mrs. Ayscough at the library of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in the autumn of 1916. Born in Shanghai of a Canadian shipper-and-merchant and an American mother, and schooled in Boston, she had returned to China and married, at twenty-three, Francis Ayscough of an English importing firm. Florence Ayscough had breached the tradition of cultivated British women in Shanghai sufficiently to take up the study of Chinese language, literature, art, and

history. Apparently sensing, that afternoon, that Mr. MacNair was discovering China with the same eagerness as she, but from a somewhat complementary angle, she invited him to tea at the Ayscough "Wild Goose Happiness House"—the first of many teas with her. "Tea," to her, he avers, "was an occasion for exchanges of ideas with friends around a fire or in a garden." And, "to converse once with Florence was to gain knowledge and inspiration. To converse often was to gain an education, especially with respect to China, and to develop an outlook on life which could never desert one."⁷

She introduced him to the writings of Thomas T. Meadows, among others, loaned him books, presented him her own works of poetry, lore, and essays, and, as a charming hostess with "that exquisite voice," gave him an opportunity to indulge his love for beauty in a setting of unusual Oriental richness and Occidental taste. Propriety, dignity, and reserve—British, Episcopalian, and Chinese (they did not call each other by their first names until a few days before their wedding in 1935)—seemed the more to accentuate the slightly heretical, ironic, or fanciful which lighted their serious exchange of facts, allusions, and personal experiences.

It was in 1929, when she published the first of her two volumes on Tu Fu, that he visited her in her St. Andrews home in New Brunswick, Canada, and "consulted with her" about remaining at the University of Chicago or returning to China. She believed, he recalls, "that for the time being at least, my work in China was done and that Chicago offered me an opportunity to do in reverse what I had long been doing in China: help the West to understand the East."⁸ They met again two years later when she came from Vienna to lecture in the United States. That autumn she returned to Vienna, and he went to China to teach the 1931–32 year at St. John's. Then, finally, resigning his mission post, he took his mother to visit the Ayscoughs, by then in their Channel Island home in Guernsey, where Mr. Ayscough was incurably ill. The following year Francis Ayscough died.

Late in the summer of 1934 both Mrs. Ayscough and Dr. MacNair were again in Shanghai. In the garden of her "Grass Hut" they celebrated the appearance of her second volume of Tu Fu and planned to visit Tu Fu's temple and garden on the site of the original Grass Hut. Shortly afterward, with Gerald Steiner, her secretary, they were journeying up the Yangtze, through the gorges to Chungking, and thence by air to Chengtu. Back again in Shanghai, other memorable, if lesser, events followed. By spring

⁷ *The incomparable lady*, 6.

⁸ *The incomparable lady*, 17.

they were traveling in Japan; by June, in Seattle – with as yet no word uttered between them of the possibility of future marriage. But on September 7, 1935, in a notable setting in Guernsey, they were married.

The next seven years were lived by these two together, accompanied happily by his mother, on the crest of life's waves. Intriguingly complementary before, their interests and even in part their professional and artistic skills now seemed to fuse. Heir to the miniature gardens of her former homes, their new House of the Wu-t'ung Trees⁹ became also a treasure house, museum, and library, a scholar's workshop, as well as a hearth and home. Their antique Oriental furniture and rugs, their ceiling-to-floor Chinese paintings and scrolls, their moving panels hiding more libraries of Chinese books, the ingeniously lighted cabinet of ancient bronzes and symbolic objects of precious stone, yes, and the Ch'ien-lung jewel trees – these and much more, provided, in actuality, a setting for cordiality, considerateness, even coziness, as well as for intellectual, artistic, and spiritual cultivation. Here, celebrities, both Eastern and Western, conversed; here, old and tried friends were convivial with simple tea. Here, the assumption of American university communities that colleagues must be entertained with bridge, was incongruous; here, privileged graduate students came to experience by sheer absorption the greatness, richness, and spiritual cultivation of Far Eastern peoples.

In 1937 Mrs. MacNair published her *Chinese women yesterday and today* and wrote a paper for a 1938 congress of Orientalists in Brussels. In 1938, as Japan was spreading terror south from her 1937 North China coup, Dr. MacNair published, in expanded form, a paper he had delivered in 1932 at the Toronto meetings of the American Historical Association. *The real conflict between China and Japan* stressed underlying attitudes. In 1938–39, the MacNairs made their last trip to the Orient. A “marvelous time we had together,” is his tantalizing report.

Shortly thereafter, prolonged illness claimed Mrs. MacNair. Anxious attendance upon her, along with his regular university work, taxed him heavily. On April 24, 1942, she was “promoted,” as he put it, to “another plane.” If ever adoration and spiritual kinship called for reciprocity, as, bereft, they lived on and deepened, it was now. To Harley MacNair the separation could not be lasting. The “Plan” which had endowed her for interpreting China to the West “in a way in which, in modern times at least, no other Westerner had done,” the Plan which gradually, “definitely,

⁹ The *wu-t'ung* is the only tree, according to Chinese mythology, on which the bird of happiness rests.

step by step, without conscious thoughts on our part” had brought the two together — that Plan would bring them together again.

But not for a little time. Harley MacNair had always wanted to minister to his mother through her last years. Yet now for her last three years, she on her part, though a care and an anxiety, was more than ever before a stay and a comfort to him. From East and West, moreover, had come scores and scores of tributes to Florence Ayscough MacNair’s life and work, opening again and again the springs of deep feeling. At his very hand also was her accumulation of translations and verse, of various writings and correspondence. Among these, constituting a more or less distinct group, were the Ayscough-Lowell letters. They centered chiefly on the preparation of *Fir-flower tablets* and the problems of sinology, literary criticism, Eastern and Western literature, raised by that work. For the light they shed on these topics, for their own “innate charm” as letters, and for the friendship they portrayed (“a factor in life more deeply appreciated by Chinese than by Westerners”), he filled the gaps in them where possible and published them in 1945. At the opposite extreme from this unity of materials were Mrs. Ayscough MacNair’s scattered, diverse writings and translations. These were to be published, to be sure; but even before them must come the hundreds of letters and tributes. Unwilling to write a biography, indeed to issue more than a “slight record . . . a warning to the learned, the accomplished, to all in this floating world who love ancient things,”¹⁰ Harley MacNair edited excerpts from the letters and tributes, himself wrote the chief letter-memoir, and compiled *The incomparable lady*. Since by this time, 1946, his mother had also passed on, there seemed to be a pervasive poignancy to the single quotation from Li T’ai-po reserved for the last page of those “Tributes and other memorabilia pertaining to Florence Wheelock Ayscough MacNair”:

For a long time I shall be obliged to wander without intention;
But we shall keep our appointment by the far-off Cloudy River.

To those who knew Dr. MacNair only as author and lecturer during these last years, that intimate compilation gave snatches of an unsuspected wealth of experience, deepness of tragedy, richness of faith. For, day by day he was meeting the inexorable demands of his university work and the world’s war situation with a disciplined, steadied, unrevealing poise. Outside of his regular classes, the intermittent run of graduate theses and oral examinations kept up. Requests for articles, for revising and editing

¹⁰ The quotation is from Li Ch’ing-chao at the end of MacNair’s letter-memoir in *The incomparable lady*, 45.

manuscripts, for book reviews, and for addresses did not stop. The University of Chicago Round Table and the Northwestern University Reviewing Stand kept calling on him to help interpret fast-moving events in the Far East.

Among specific claimants upon him was *The Far Eastern quarterly*. In 1941 he had joined with several others to establish The Far Eastern Association for the purpose of publishing the *Quarterly*; and he continued an active member of its Advisory Editorial Board. In August 1943 he led the Harris Foundation's round table conference on China's political, economic, social, educational, and health conditions and prospects. Representatives of various Chinese universities who were guests of the U.S. government and certain other Chinese leaders — all authorized by the National government — went to Chicago to participate in that conference under his moderatorship. None mentioned the fact that, fifteen years before, he and H. B. Morse had been the first foreigners to have a scholarly work banned and destroyed by that same National government. By the spring of 1944 the conference reports of both prepared and extemporaneous remarks, approved by the individual Chinese participants, were discerningly, interpretatively, and, as now expected of MacNair, unconventionally edited, and published. By this time he had been made a staff member of the Civil Affairs Training School at the University of Chicago. The views which he expressed with forthrightness were not always those expressed by Washington. In one instance, I am told, an ambassador-consultant of the State Department flew in from Washington to present to a class a position contradictory to that which MacNair had presented at the class's preceding session. On the other hand, Dr. MacNair himself made trips to Washington, not only as consultant to certain government offices, but also to vindicate his own graduate students caught in the red tape of personalized bureaucracy.

It was suggested earlier that the widening of MacNair's interests from China's international relations and political conditions to Far Eastern culture as a whole was accompanied by a sharp diminution of major professional publications. In their place had emerged products more diversified or at least in a richer interpretative setting. Finally, however, both breadth and depth were embodied in a single notable publication, the symposium he edited under the title *China* (1946). While it includes a chapter on the "Social revolution" in China and the best succinct statement yet to appear of the National government's agricultural achievements, it chiefly represents the point of view of the humanities. As such

it is the most authoritative single volume combining China's history, culture, and present conditions.¹¹

But the four years preceding its publication had been MacNair's hardest. The terrific descent from the richest span of his life to the most devastating had left him, in spite of continued outward buoyancy and verve, fatally weakened. Knowing his heart might stop any day, yet that he might live for years, he was planning flexibly, frugally measuring his expenditures of energy. He finished *The incomparable lady*. Then, scarcely a year later, he himself, as he said of Florence MacNair and would have it said of himself, was "promoted."

TRIBUTES AND EVALUATIONS

In the Memorial Service for Harley Farnsworth MacNair held at the University of Chicago shortly after his death, tributes were given him, as colleague and as teacher, with an authenticity, intimacy, and felicity which alone could come from sincere first-hand appreciation. These it is scarcely fitting to attempt to epitomize here or to record in review. It would seem premature, moreover, to try to evaluate his contributions to the interpretation of the West to the Far East, without access to the tributes which have been paid him by individual Chinese and Japanese; and similarly premature to try to evaluate his contributions to the interpretation of the Far East to the West. In recognition of both, it is significant, however, that, if it had not been for a heart too weakened for air travel, he would have been sent to Chungking as cultural attaché of the United States.

However history may estimate such contributions, in the thinking of MacNair they had to stand one paramount test — that of intellectual and scholarly integrity. On the ableness of his own scholarship, there seems to be unanimity — unanimity of his earlier peers, his later professional critics, his colleagues, his most highly trained students. Nevertheless, since any scholarly work was essentially the cumulative product of successive scholars, he was himself content to carry forward such a work as that of H. B. Morse in a collaborative study and later to accept collaboration in

¹¹ Because it is so characteristic, this should be quoted from his Preface: "It would be an exaggeration to say that the volume of correspondence which lies back of this book equals in value the book itself, but it may be divulged that it all but equals it in interest. In bound form, these letters will be one of the most treasured items in the Editor's library, and, although seen by few, will constitute a valuable commentary on human nature, historiography, and bookmaking." It should be noted that more chapters relating to the social sciences and the contemporary scene were originally planned, but war conditions prevented several authors from preparing the desired chapters. These chapters, however, would not have offset the preponderant emphasis of the volume.

emending his own works or producing fresh ones. On the other hand, if a presumed scholar issued a book with many errors or without making an appreciable contribution, MacNair could be caustic in his review of it. To these attitudes, no doubt, may be ascribed his personal rewriting of sections of doctoral dissertations which came to him for approval. To them also, probably, is due some of the final challenge of presenting the symposium on the history, culture, and changing conditions of China, and the painstaking rewriting-editing of not a little of some of the manuscripts contributed to *China*. Yet he recognized originality or scholarship even though it were in a student criticized by others or in a colleague unrecognized or deposed by some educational institution. Of one such person he frequently remarked, "I have always wished I could write as good a book as — did."

To sinologists it may appear that this premium on scholarship should have compelled MacNair to put more stress upon the use of material in the Chinese language. One clue to his attitudes on this issue is his sympathy with the insistence, in the Ayscough-Lowell letters, on the co-ordinate contributions of linguistics and poetization; another is his praise of his wife's subsequent combination of the two roles. To him, a command of Chinese and of Chinese-language documents in any sphere of knowledge constituted a field of study with exhaustive demands, in which all foreigners consulted Chinese collaborators in some degree, and in which one Chinese scholar was most likely in turn to criticize another Chinese scholar. Yet the exceptional scholar's competence *might* reach from sinology into a literary art like poetizing or into some other discipline. As for himself, Harley F. MacNair realized quite definitely that he did not have the linguistic training nor the time — if he was to fulfil his own professional obligations — for both. In the specialties in which he was trained professionally, moreover, there was an enormous contribution to be made. Sinologists were not making it. If this contribution had pertained to matters more or less remote from current world problems — which it *did* not — it might have waited for some future doubly-, trebly-, quadruply-trained scholars — which it *could* not.

This issue was linked with others. MacNair aimed to use the *products* of sinology, just as he aimed to use the products of all other scholarly specialties he thought relevant — geography, economics, literature, philosophy, etc. Politics and international relations as he observed them in China were integrated with the factors of many specialties. If, moreover, there were a scholarly lag from his not specializing in sinology, or anthro-

pology, let us say, there might be lag also from not keeping up with the newer findings of his own professional specialties, and particularly from not keeping up with events themselves. Indeed, howsoever the professional history journals might eschew the contemporary scene, Harley MacNair, in Shanghai in 1923–26, put a historian's and political scientist's perspective into essays on current issues as he saw them, and, in 1926–27, he was unwilling to complete *Far Eastern international relations* without providing his contribution to an understanding of the immediate complex of those relations. Later, freshly returning to China every few years, he could not but do the same for his university classes, lectures, round tables, and conversations in the United States.

A summary word is in order on the opportunities, over and above his home, community, and formal education, which permitted Harley F. MacNair to make his contributions. The foreign educational missions of the Episcopal church come first. The debt he owed to the stimulus of Florence Ayscough's knowledge and enthusiasm for more or less complementary aspects of Chinese history and culture has been suggested. Finally, the opportunity provided by the University of Chicago's professorship in Far Eastern history and institutions was crucial. During the twenty-year period spent chiefly in that position, and in closer and closer spiritual at-homeness with Florence Ayscough, the fruitage of his broadened perspectives and enriched appreciations was reflected directly in his university classes, in his shorter writings and editing, in the volume *China*, and finally in his relations with students, colleagues, friends, and acquaintances of many nationalities.

PRINCIPAL WRITINGS OF HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR

- 1919 Ed. *Short stories for Chinese students*. Shanghai, 1919.
- 1922 Christian work among Chinese abroad. In *The Christian occupation of China*, ed. by M. T. Stauffer (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922), 358–62.
- 1922 With Alice M. Atkinson. *Introduction to Western history for Chinese students*. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1922.
- 1923 Ed. *Modern Chinese history: selected readings. A collection of extracts from various sources chosen to illustrate some of the chief phases of China's international relations during the past hundred years*. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1923. xxxvii, 910 pp. Impression of 1927 (and 1933) has index, pp. 911–922; preface dated 1927.
- 1924 *The Chinese abroad: their position and protection. A study in inter-*

national law and relations. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1924. xxii, 340 pp. Translated into Chinese in 1927. Second impression 1933.

- 1925 *China's new nationalism and other essays*. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1925. xi, 398 pp. Additional impressions of 1926 and 1932. Essays followed by a date, in the list below, are from the *China weekly review* although the precise title may be somewhat different.

China's new nationalism

Wanted: an interpreter

Some thoughts on anti-foreignism, Nov. 1, 1924

On feelings of racial and national superiority, Nov. 8, 1924

The protection of missionaries

"Some Asian views of white culture," April 26, 1924.

The perennial attack on the returned student

Idealism in Chinese politics, Dec. 1, 1923

Aristocracy and democracy in China, Aug. 2, 1924

China, and the man of destiny idea, Dec. 8, 1923

An analogy in stimulants, Dec. 15, 1923

The abacus mind, May 5, 1923

A cycle of Cathay, Feb. 9, 1924

Magellans of the air, June 7, 21, 1924

Armistice day, 1923, Nov. 17, 1923

A parlous parliament, Oct. 27, 1923

The basis of an American policy in China, Oct. 11, 1924

The return of the indemnity funds to China, July 5, 1924

Official responsibility – a modern application, July 26, 1924

Some causes of banditry, June 16, 1923

The reverse of the shield, Oct. 20, Nov. 17, 1923

Dr. Koo's reply to the Lincheng note, Oct. 13, 1923

Chinese victims and Japanese justice, June 14, 1924

Contract labor on Nauru Island, March 29, 1924

The background of oriental exclusion, May 10, 1924

"The flower candle wife," April 28, 1923

Admission of adopted Chinese into the United States, June 28, and Oct. 25, 1924

The modern Chinese scholar (*St. John's echo*, 1922)

The scholar as a gentleman (*St. John's echo*, 1923?)

Famine relief at work

Professor Giles on chaos in China, April 11, 1925

Political tendencies in China (*China mission year book*, 1923, chap. 1)

- 1926 *China's international relations and other essays*. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1926. x, 326 pp. Some of the essays (see list below) from the *China weekly review (CWR)* for 1925 and 1926 "have been so rearranged that only a literary detective would be able to trace their origin" (preface).

China's international relations (*Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1925)

- On American ignorance of things Oriental (*CWR*)
 "Unequal treaties" in China and Japan (*CWR*)
 Shanghai — as others see it (*CWR*)
 The land regulations of the International Settlement (a lecture later printed in the *China press*, 192?)
 Thoughts on racial equality (*CWR*)
 Combating bolshevism in China (*CWR*)
 Ways and means of solving China's problems (*CWR*)
 Critical moments in the history of Christianity in China (a paper read before the Shanghai Missionary Association, Nov. 3, 1925, and then printed by the National Christian Council as a pamphlet and translated into Chinese)
 A note on the literary labors of some missionaries to China (*China bookman*, 192?)
 The missionary and the present crisis (*CWR*)
 A note on missionary ethics (*Chinese recorder*, 1926)
 Christian schools and government registration (*CWR*)
 President Butler and religious education (*CWR*)
 History — and the China problem (*Chinese social and political science review*, 10 [1926], 355–69, under title "The value of historical studies in modern China.")
- 1926 The Protestant Christian movement and political events. In *The China Christian year book, 1926* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1926).
- 1928 China today: nationalism, bolshevism, and imperialism. In *Problems in international understanding*, ed. by C. E. Martin and E. Dobie (Seattle: University of Washington Book Store, 1928), 35–53.
- 1928 and 1931 With H. B. Morse. *Far Eastern international relations*. 1st ed. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1928. xv, 2 l., 1128 pp. Suppressed.
 2nd ed. rev. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931. xviii, 846 pp.
- 1929 Freshman course in the history of civilization. In *Junior College curriculum (Proceedings of the Institute for Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions, vol. 1)*, ed. by Wm. S. Gray (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), 215–20.
- 1929 Intellectual rapprochement of East and West. *St. John's echo*, 40 (July 1929), 8–14.
- 1929 The increasing nearness of the Orient. In *China and Japan in our university curricula*, ed. by E. C. Carter (New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1929), 11–17.
- 1929 Chinese immigration. *Encyclopedia britannica* (14th ed.), 5 (1929–46 ed. incl.), 556.
- 1930 The political history of China under the Republic. In the "China" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 152 (Nov. 1930), 214–28.
- 1931 The United States in the Pacific and the Far East. In *Survey of American*

- foreign relations, 1930*, ed. by C. P. Howland (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931), 5–64.
- 1931 Manchuria: a triangle. *Nineteenth century*, 109 (June 1931), 681–91.
- 1931 *China in revolution: an analysis of politics and militarism under the republic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. xi, 244 pp. Second impression 1932.
- 1932 American Far Eastern policy. *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 19 (Oct. 1932), 541–63. Reprinted in part in the *China press*, silver jubilee ed., Shanghai, Oct. 10, 1936, pp. 161–66.
- 1932 The policies of the powers in the Far East since the Washington Conference. *World unity*, 10 (April 1932), 5–16.
- 1932 Shimpei Goto. *Encyclopedia of the social sciences*, 7 (1932), 4.
- 1933 Charles William King. *Dictionary of American biography*, 10 (1933), 383–84.
- 1934 *Europe and the Far East: the drive for power and profits in the nineteenth century (Report of the Institute of Public Affairs)*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia, July 1934. Mimeographed. 39 pp.
- 1934 *Modern Far Eastern history: a syllabus*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. 30 pp.
- 1937 China within the triangle. In *Peace or war? A conference at the University of Minnesota, April 7–9, 1937*, ed. by H. S. Quigley (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1937), 129–49.
- 1938 Ed. The log of the Caroline, 1799 (by Captain Richard Jeffrey Cleveland). *The Pacific Northwest quarterly*, 29 (Jan., Apr. 1938), 61–84, 167–200.
- 1938 *The real conflict between China and Japan: an analysis of opposing ideologies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. xvi, 216 pp.
- 1939 Some aspects of China's foreign relations in long retrospect. *Chinese social and political science review*, 22 (Jan.–Mar. 1939), 346–62.
- 1939 *With the White Cross in China: the journal of a famine relief worker [1921] with a preliminary essay by way of introduction*. Peking: Henri Vetch, 1939. viii, 123 pp. Ed. limited to 600 copies.
- 1941 With Florence Ayscough MacNair. China and Japan: their antithetical ideologies. *The review of politics*, 3 (July 1941), 306–18.
- 1941 Retrospection without prediction. *Chinese Christian student*, 32 (Nov., Dec. 1941), 3, 14–15.
- 1943 The Far Eastern problem. In the 1943 annual volume of the *Encyclopedia britannica*. Also in the 14th ed., 9 (1946), 75–75L.
- 1944 China and the Far East. *Review of politics*, 6 (Jan. 1944), 110–20.
- 1944 The “mystery” of the Far East. *The University of Chicago magazine*, 37 (Dec. 1944), 3–7.
- 1944 Ed. *Voices from unoccupied China*. By Liu Nai-chen, Tsai Chiao, C. K. Chu, J. Heng Liu, Fei Hsiao-t'ung, Wu Ching-chao, Chin Yueh-lin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. 1v, 106 pp.
- 1945 Ed. *Florence Ayscough and Amy Lowell: correspondence of a friendship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. 289 pp.

- 1946 Compiler and ed. *The incomparable lady: tributes and other memorabilia pertaining to Florence Wheelock Ayscough MacNair*. Privately printed at Chicago [by the University of Chicago Press], 1946. x, 150 pp. Edition limited to 300 copies individually numbered.
- 1946 Ed. *China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946. xxxv, 574 pp. Chapter 9, "The republic: phase of war-lordism (1911–1938)" (127–144) is also by MacNair.
- 1949[?] With Donald F. Lach. *Far Eastern international relations in the twentieth century*. New York: D. Van Nostrand [probably 1949].
- n.d. *A pilgrimage to the Diamond Mountains*. Privately printed, n.d.

RADIO FORUM PARTICIPATION¹²

- 1938 The Far East: whose victory? With Carroll Binder, E. B. Price. May 22.
- 1940 The Far East: backdoor or war? With Walter Laves, E. B. Price. Jan. 21.
- 1940 The Soviet Union and America. With Samuel Harper, Walter Laves. Dec. 1.
- 1941 Japan: setting sun? With Tyler Dennett, Nathaniel Peffer. Aug. 10.
- 1941 Showdown with Japan? With Nathaniel Peffer, James Young. Oct. 26.
- 1942 China. With Eliot Janeway, Nathaniel Peffer. June 21.
- 1943 Objectives in the Pacific. With H. G. Callis, C. D. MacDougall, G. J. Scharschug, and J. H. McBurney (moderator). *NWURS*, Dec. 5.
- 1943 The four powers confer. With Franklin Scott, Quincy Wright. Dec. 12.
- 1943 The problems of small nations and peace. With William Halperin, Sir Bernard Pares. Dec. 26.
- 1944 American policy toward the Far East. With T. A. Bisson, Walter Judd. April 16.
- 1944 Japan. With Thoburn Brumbaugh, Harold Quigley. July 30.
- 1944 Peace as a world race problem. With Louis Adamic, Ernest Colwell, Robert Redfield. Aug. 20.
- 1945 China – weak link in the United Nations? With Owen Lattimore, David Rowe. Feb. 4.
- 1945 Russia and the Far East. With Kenneth Colegrove, Albert Parry, Frank Smothers, and J. H. McBurney (moderator). *NWURS*, July 1.
- 1945 Solution in China? With J. B. Powell, Agnes Smedley. Sept. 2.
- 1945 What shall be our policy in China? With Chen Chi-mai, Kenneth Colegrove, Frank Smothers, and J. H. McBurney (moderator). *NWURS*, Dec. 2.
- 1945 What should be American policy in China? With Dryden Phelps, Robert Smith. Dec. 16.
- 1946 The Chinese civil war. With Robert Smith, Gunther Stein. Aug. 4.
- 1946 America and the Chinese war. With Owen Lattimore, Theodore White. Oct. 27.

¹² These forums are "The University of Chicago round table" unless indicated as *NWURS*, meaning "Northwestern University on the air – the reviewing stand."