Front. Hist. China 2020, 15(3): 338–407
DOI 10.3868/s020-009-020-0016-2

SPECIAL ISSUE ARTICLE

Feng Erkang

The Daily Life of the Professors of National Southwest Associated University—Taking Professor Zheng Tianting and *Zheng Tianting's Diary of National Southwest Associated University* (*Zheng Tianting Xinan lianda riji*) for Material

Abstract This article explores the life of the professors of National Southwest Associated University during the Anti-Japanese War in detail, and tries to reveal their mental outlook and their enlightenment on how to live. The paper also describes the daily lives of Professor Zheng Tianting and his colleagues, including living and sleep, body care, diet and hobbies, family life, closeness to nature, appreciation of cultural artifacts, various cultural and entertainment activities, nostalgia for deceased relatives, communication and care within clans and social groups, diary writing, and self-cultivation. Zheng and his colleagues from National Southwest Associated University felt deeply that people living in social groups needed to take the initiative to find friends, make friends, and be critical friends. Friends can encourage each other, solve difficulties, promote personal development, enrich life interest, and improve quality of life, which makes an already active life more dynamic and colorful. The life of Zheng and his colleagues was in accord with the social conditions of the times. There are three aspects of consistency between them: the common experience of war, patriotic spirit, and confidence that China would definitely win; traditional moral benevolence and the inheritance of the spirit of the ancient Chinese intellectuals who cared about the country and the people before personal enjoyment; and maintaining the spirit of the times, which was a new awareness of independent personality and consciousness. There are many inspirations for life that can be drawn from the daily life of Zheng and his

Feng Erkang (✉)
Faculty of History, Nankai University, Tianjin 100037, China
E-mail: ekf233@nankai.edu.cn

colleagues: People should have a rich and diverse life, every meal deserves to be taken seriously, and one should watch art performances, play mahjong and poker, appreciate art works, collect cultural relics, and so on. Such is what life should mean. Whether it was the willingness of the professors of National Southwest Associated University to "go Dutch" when they had dinner parties during the Republic of China or the novel experience of daylight savings time, these were considered new things in life. They are a reminder that we need to continue to supersede closed thoughts. The professors, who had both the essence of traditional morality and the modern sense of democracy, realized their desire to be their own "master."

Keywords Zheng Tianting, National Southwest Associated University, daily life, critical friends (*zhengyou*), freedom of speech

Introduction

Zheng Tianting's Diary of National Southwest Associated University (*Zheng Tianting Xinan lianda riji* 鄭天挺西南聯大日記, hereinafter referred to as the *Diary*) was selected for the annual list of the year's best history books (one of fifty included) as soon as it was published in 2018. Review articles about the book have appeared one after another, most of which are discussed from the perspective of the educational system and the achievements of National Southwest Associated University (hereafter NSAU) itself. As the most outstanding institution of higher learning in China in the twentieth century, the historical significance of NSAU should indeed be discussed. However, this paper thinks from other angles. It explores the lives of the professors of NSAU during the Anti-Japanese War in detail, and tries to reveal their mental outlook and their enlightenment on how to live. The editor of Zhonghua Book Company pointed out in the "Postscript" that the book "is not only Mr. Zheng's personal record, but also an important record of the teaching, research, work, study and lives of NSAU staff and students during this period."[1] Indeed, the *Diary* records the daily life of Zheng himself, as well as the lives of his immediate family, relatives, and, especially, of friends. Since he was a professor

[1] Zhonghua shuju bianjibu, "Chuban houji," in *Zheng Tianting Xinan lianda riji*, 1351.

and the administrative head of NSAU and Peking University, Zheng's life included teaching, historical research, and administrative work. As stated in the "Postscript," Zheng's diary not only describes his personal life, but also records the lives of his friends, colleagues, and students. The *Diary* provides us with rich and accurate materials on the details of the social lives of professors during the period of NSAU, which can further our understanding and appreciation of the life of Zheng and his colleagues. Their lives included not only their ambitions, their writing of books, their contributions and achievements, and their friendships, but also the nature of their daily lives: eating, living, cultural entertainment, and socializing with friends. This also inspires us to think about what kinds of lives people should have, how to live, and how not to waste their lives.[2]

Personal Daily Life

In this section, I will use the materials in the *Diary* to describe Zheng's personal daily life, as well as those of his family and relatives. Daily life refers to such aspects as living and sleep, body care, diet and hobbies, family life, closeness to nature, appreciation of cultural relics, various cultural and entertainment activities, nostalgia for deceased relatives, communication within clans and socials groups, diary writing, and self-cultivation.

Sleep and Body Care

The *Diary* entry of March 23, 1939, writes about daily living and rest:

> Today's wake-up time was eight o'clock. The draft of the article was not yet finished. I was going to lecture soon so I had to pause writing. After taking a nap at noon, I heard that Yingzhong 膺中 was sick. I went to

[2] The author is Zheng's student. According to the original plan, this article was to have six sections, including the academic research and teaching time of Zheng and the professors of NSAU, but after writing the second section, it has already reached 20,000 words, and if these other matters are addressed then there will be 50,000 or 60,000 words. Such a long article is not appropriate, so the content on academic research and teaching has been discarded. The author will add it if there is a suitable time later.

> visit him. He had a high fever and delirium, and had poor sleep and a swollen throat, which seemed to be the result of an infectious disease. After returning home, I checked the books for tomorrow's lecture and went to bed at twelve.[3] (p. 140)
> 八時起。草文稿未竟，上課在即，暫中輟。下午小睡。聞膺中病，往視之，熱度甚高，有譫語，不得好睡，喉腫，似爲傳染病。歸。檢上課用書，十二時就寢.

Zheng recorded the situation of getting up in the morning, going to bed at night, and falling asleep at noon. He sometimes recounted his sleep (*Diary*, July 30, 1940):

> In recent days, whenever I drink more tea or coffee, the night sleep is different from the past. In the past, even if I drank strong tea late at night, I could sleep soundly. Am I not as healthy as before? (p. 294)
> 近頃以來，每多飲茶或進加非[咖啡]，入夜輒不能與往時雖深夜飲濃茶而熟睡者不同矣，豈身體不如前耶?

The *Diary* entry of August 3, 1940, records the following:

> Recently, I have been sleeping less and have developed stomach problems. Sometimes the lower left side of my abdomen may occasionally hurt, but it doesn't hurt when I press down. I don't know what the malady is. (p. 296)
> 近日睡眠少，胃疾發，腹部左下偶隱痛，按之又不覺痛，不知何疾也.

Through sleep Zheng studied his health and the possibility that he had a latent disease. From the diary entries of these two days, it is not difficult to find that Zheng thought about his health through sleep. It shows that he was concerned and cared for his body.

Zheng had two fitness activities, walking and boxing. Walking was almost his daily activity, which he maintained whether in Changsha, Mengzi, or Kunming. After returning to Beiping (now Beijing), he did not insist on

[3] When Zheng's *Diary* is cited in this article, the author has included the page numbers in the text for convenience.

exercise due to his busy schedule, but when he noticed his commitment slipping, he tried to correct it. On February 8, 1938, his *Diary* recorded the situation of walking in Changsha: "[The temporary university] has a large campus and I usually walk around it five times a day, which is about 2,500 steps. Even if it rains, I will walk slowly with an umbrella" 校中庭院廣大，日環步五周，約 2500 步，雖雨中亦張蓋緩行 (p. 18). For fitness, even on rainy days, he also took an umbrella to walk, in order to ensure uninterrupted fitness activities. At NSAU of Kunming, he walked around Green Lake, mostly in the evening, sometimes alone, sometimes walking with friends and chatting while walking. For example, after dinner on September 25, 1942, he and Chen Xueping 陳雪屏 saw that "the moon was beautiful, we went for a walk on Green Lake again, sat on the stone bench, and chatted until eleven o'clock before we came back" 月色佳，複在翠湖閒步，坐石凳，談至十一時乃歸 (p. 611). In addition to having a fitness function, walking was also useful for thinking about academic subjects. This experience was recorded in the *Diary* entry on August 9, 1942: "There are too many chores to have leisure time. Only when I walk alone can I conceive and gain something" 餘雜事太多，幾於無暇。構思惟獨步孤行，長有所得 (p. 591). On April 1, 1946, he recalled, "I walked wherever I went in Kunming" 余在昆明，出入皆步行. "I took the car back to Pingsui. I went to school again this afternoon. Since the driver went on leave, I hired a car when I went and walked back halfway. I should still walk a lot" 回平遂以車。今日下午再[次]入校，以車夫假出，雇車而往，歸來步行其半，仍應多多步行也 (p. 1157). He insisted on walking for fitness until his old age, and the teachers of Nankai University often saw him walking on Dazhong Road. In the early 1960s, when Zheng checked and punctuated the *History of the Ming Dynasty* (*Mingshi* 明史) at the Zhonghua Book Company on Cuiwei Road in Beijing, he practiced "Eight-Diagrams Palm" (*Baguazhang* 八卦掌) with his colleagues every day.[4] The *Diary* states that Zheng practiced boxing in Kunming, such as practicing boxing after work in Caisheng Lane at 4 p.m. on April 7, 1944. He studied under martial artist Wu Zhiqing 吳志清 twice a week (p. 815). These two activities were generally conducted on Monday and Friday. On April 26, 1945, he wrote a preface to Wu Zhiqing's *Summary of Martial Arts Theory* (*Wushu lilun jiyao* 武術理論輯要) and asked Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 and others to make

[4] Fu Bolun, "Zheng Tianting xiansheng xingyi," in *Zheng Tianting xiansheng xuexinglu*, 11.

amendments (p. 1026).

Records of physical discomforts like diarrhea, gastropathy, and constipation appear in the *Diary* now and then, which shows that Zheng really cared for his body. As the saying goes: How can people never get sick, on condition of eating common food? Zheng had a serious illness in Kunming, then caught a cold in Beijing. When in Kunming, the doctor said he was suffering from typhus, which may be inaccurate. The status of his sickness was recorded in the *Diary* as follows: He began to feel uncomfortable on December 13, 1944, then he felt that he was struggling to give lectures on the 16th, so visited a doctor and took medicine. On December 18, his body temperature reached 39.5 degrees Celsius and stayed above 38 degrees Celsius until the 25th, then returned to normal on the 27th. During his illness, he was in a trance due to high fever. At night, he always felt dazed and as if he was in a dream-like state. This reached such an extent that he was then bedridden and could not get out of bed even if he defecated. Until December 21, he ate lightly for many days in a row, only taking some milk and lotus-root starch.Ten days later he reflected on the reason for the illness:

> Since the smallpox epidemic in 1913 I have only been bedridden with illness for two or three days, in the winter of 1926. Except that, I have never been seriously ill in thirty years. I'm always proud of my strong body and pay attention to maintaining it carefully. Unexpectedly, I recently got such a serious illness in Kunming. After reflecting on my daily life over the past month, I find that I've had an unhealthy diet in this period of time. Every day I work until 1:00 p.m. before leaving the office, so I usually can't go home for lunch in time, and then I either find something nearby to eat, or just have some steamed buns with cold dishes and cold cooked meat for a meal. Irregular eating habits such as this affect digestion. Besides, I also have to be in charge of the General Affairs Office of NSAU team, and the affairs of the General Affairs Office are already complicated. For more than a month, in order to prepare for lecturing, I had to spend more than an hour to read some related books just before bed, so that every night I sleep less than six hours, and sometimes I am unable to nap to compensate for the lost sleep. Moreover, since the Peking University office moved to Caisheng Lane, I have to visit two or three times a week,

> each time spending three or four hours there, and this has exhausted and frozen me, because my clothes and bedding are not around. (pp. 636–44)
> 余自民國二年（1913）出天花後，惟 15 年（1926 年）冬曾病臥兩三日，三十年無大病矣。平素自負身體強壯，且亦自知謹慎。不意在此竟有此大病。余自省月余以來飲食失節，每日午間一時後始出辦公室，既不及時歸食，或就小店零食，或歸以饅首佐冷菜冷肉食之，多寡冷暖無常無序，此積食也。聯大總務處事本雜，更益以事務組，月餘來又爲講演事，多翻簡冊。余就寢枕上必讀，往往至一時半以後，每夜睡眠不足六小時，而午睡或能補足或不能補足。自北大辦事處移才盛巷，每週必二三往，往返必三四小時，此積勞也……（衣服被褥不在身邊，受涼）此積寒也.

The diseases of gastrointestinal discomfort, can be summarized as finding their cause in the following three points: overwork, irregular and uncontrolled diet, and cold due to seasonal variation. Thanks to Zheng's good physical health, he finally recovered. In mid-March 1946, Zheng got a cold. After taking aspirin, he soon stopped having a fever, but his throat still hurt. Then he took sterculia seed and the "tied pill" 鐵迪丸 (a kind of traditional Chinese medicine) and recuperated (pp. 1150–1153).

Zheng celebrated his birthday. His wife, Zhou Zhimei 周稚眉, laughed at him on the day that he "emphasizes birthdays." It is true that Zheng valued his birthday and those of his children, grandparents, parents, and mother-in-law. The reason being that the body is given by the parents, so it should be taken good care of. As such, there were corresponding rituals and behaviors, which were to worship the ancestors and eat birthday noodles.

On August 7, 1940 (the fourth day of the seventh month of the lunar calendar), the *Diary* recorded, "Today is my 42nd birthday. I can't worship the ancestors but I pray in silence." Since the winter of 1937, he had been unable to worship his ancestors on his birthday for four years. On the same day, Yu Tairan 郁泰然, who was his colleague in Peking University, cooked birthday noodles for him, and another colleague, Liu Yulun 劉育倫, took two photos for him (pp. 296–97). On August 4, 1943 (the fourth day of the seventh lunar month), Zheng ate a bowl of noodles in the morning and a large bowl of noodles at noon. In the evening he went to a birthday party hosted by his friends (Luo Changpei 羅常培, who had the same birthday as Zheng, also attended the party). After dinner, Zheng went to visit his teacher Jiang

Menglin 蔣夢麟, which may have been meant to honor the elders on his birthday. It was on this day that he received a letter from his eldest daughter, Zheng Min 鄭旻, to celebrate his birthday (p. 724). July 10, 1945, was the birthday of his eldest son, Zheng Kechang 鄭克昌. That night he went to a restaurant with Zheng Min, who was studying in Kunming. They both ate a bowl of noodles (p. 1060). He came back to Beijing on July 6, 1946 (the eighth day of the sixth month of the lunar calendar); the day was the birthday of his sisters Zheng Min and Zheng Yan 鄭晏 so the tradition of "offering sacrifices to ancestors" was restored. Zheng Min was still in Shanghai at that time, and he "really missed her."

Since Zheng's wife, Zhou Zhimei, passed away in 1937, he had been single and had not remarried. On September 1, 1944, he declined Yu Peizhong's 余培忠 request for him to be a wedding witness. "I don't want to influence others' happy events in an unfortunate capacity" (p. 922), he said. According to traditional customs, wedding witnesses should be happy and long-lived. The death of a spouse means unhappiness, so it is not suitable for witnesses. The inviter did not have such scruples, while the invitee was concerned about it, which reflected Zheng's particular views on life, especially the maintenance of traditional concepts.

In short, Zheng cared about his body and paid attention to his health in order to create happiness for individuals and families, and serve the society better.

Diet and Hobbies

Zheng lived alone in the staff dormitory of NSAU. He did not cook by himself but took his meals in the teachers' canteen. However, as mentioned above, he was often too busy at work, working until 1:00 p.m., so that he missed the time to eat. So, instead of eating in the canteen, he dined in small restaurants near the school, where he often ate noodles, buns, and pies. For instance, on July 28, 1943, he ate steamed buns and steamed bread for dinner (p. 722). Sometimes he ate steamed buns and flatbreads with pickles. Such an abnormal diet was one of the causes of his illness. Because of his popularity, his colleagues at NSAU and Peking University often invited him to dinner. On December 21, 1940, in order to celebrate the following day's winter solstice, Yu Tairan

"prepared chicken, fish, and duck for dinner, and served wine; this was a rare joy during war" 備雞、魚、臘鴨爲晚飯，並設酒，此戰時客中強自爲樂也 (p. 355). Zheng communicated frequently with Professor Lei Bolun 雷伯倫,[5] and often accepted the invitation of Lei to visit. On the evening of February 17, 1941, he ate freshly cooked dumplings and drank "good wine, green and clear, especially delicious; the pity was that I couldn't drink too much" 肥酒，色作翠碧，極美，惜不能多飲 (p. 381). On February 12, 1943, he ate fried leek dumplings at Lei's home and they "talked very happily" (p. 663). On the evening of June 25, he went to Lei's home to eat steamed buns with Luo Changpei, Yao Congwu 姚從吾, and Yang Zhensheng 楊振聲 (p. 711). The dumplings, fried leek dumplings, and steamed buns eaten at Lei's house were all northern foods, while Lei was from Hebei province. Zheng, whose ancestral home was Changle, Fujian, was born and had lived in Beijing for a long time. Therefore, his eating habits certainly had a northern flavor, and he even loved Sachima, which is the traditional food of the Manchus (p. 712). His favorite dishes were crabs, hilsa herring, and mussels (pp. 103, 652), which should be due to inheriting the tastes of southerners. As far as I know, Zheng liked to eat nut snacks such as walnuts in his later years. In fact, it was his habit for many years. The *Diary* often had records the buying of peanuts, walnuts, and chestnuts. For example, Zheng bought a pound of chestnuts on September 19, 1943 (p. 737). He bought a pound of chestnuts again on October 4 (p. 742). In the same year, he purchased peanuts on September 5, October 3, 8, 21, 23, 30, and November 5 (pp. 734, 741, 743, 748, 749, 751, 753). Not only did he like eating peanuts himself, he also bought them for Zhang Tingqian 章廷謙 (p. 757). He bought walnuts on November 28, 1943, and on December 3 he bought peanut candy and walnut candy (pp. 762, 764). Since he did not cook himself, Zheng often ate eggs to supplement his nutrition. There are often accounts of buying eggs in the *Diary*; he ate raw eggs for convenience. Zheng was used to drinking tea. Normally, drinking strong tea at night did not affect his sleep. As a professor, he was certainly no stranger to Western food and often drank coffee. Most of the time he went to the coffee shop with his friends, and sometimes drank it at friends' homes. He occasionally dined at Western

[5] Lei Bolun 雷伯倫 (Lei Haizong 雷海宗), is the author's teacher.

restaurants or had Western food at friends' homes. On the evening of September 23, 1940, at Fan Jichang's 樊際昌 house, he had "a fine Western meal cooked by Fan's wife" 進西式餐，其夫人所烹，甚精美 (p. 315). In general, since he could not cook by himself, Zheng not only ate in the school cafeteria but was also a frequent visitor to restaurants. He ate both northern and southern foods and preferred northern wheaten food. Perhaps because of his celibacy, he ate snacks frequently and preferred nuts, which was also the same when he was in Beijing. For example, he bought peanuts on April 27, 1946 (p. 1170).

Family Life and Caring for Children

Zheng left his home in Beijing in mid-November 1937, leaving five young children, and he came back in early November 1945; during this time he went to Changsha, Mengzi, and Kunming. Only his eldest daughter, Zheng Min, studied at NSAU, after arriving in Kunming on August 14, 1943. Although he had a family member beside him, there were still thousands of miles between him and his other children. He did not have a real family life until he returned to Beijing. Therefore, family life mentioned in the *Diary* refers mainly to caring for children through letters to home and taking care of the eldest daughter beside him. One way in which Zheng demonstrated his care for family life and his children in Beijing was that he did not remarry.

On January 30, 1938, it was Lunar New Year's Eve. The Chinese "miss their loved family members more than ever on the happy festival" 每逢佳節倍思親, as did Zheng. The *Diary* expresses this mood: "At noon, I wrote the sixteenth letter to my family to instruct [the original, *gao* 告, has multiple meanings, such as teaching, instructing, and talking out] each child" 午，作書告諸兒，家書第 16 號 (p. 14). The entry did not show what was said to the family in the letter, but "instruct" indicates that he would not only tell about himself but also he imparted to his children the proper direction of their efforts in the new year. This was the sixteenth letter which he had written to his family after he left Beijing, indicating that he would write at least one letter to his family every month. When he left school in the afternoon, he saw a street vendor selling flower lanterns with auspicious characters and position titles. A seven- or eight-year-old child onlooker said that he would like to own one.

Zheng bought him a lamp with the words "Military Commander" and wished him "to become a military commander" 長成爲軍長, which made the child happy. It is conceivable that he transposed his love for his children onto this unfamiliar child, as if thereby satisfying his paternal love. On this day, he missed his family in particular: "Since I was born, I have never been away from home on the New Year, and I worshiped ancestors every New Year's Day. I was very disturbed when I thought of them . . . [at five o'clock in the morning] and I prayed for them silently and went to sleep" 余自有生以來，未嘗在客中度歲，亦從無除夕元旦不祭祖者，思之惶憮。……（凌晨五時）默祝，然後就寢 (p. 14). In addition to writing a letter to his family, he also sent money to help subsidize family expenses. Because Beijing was an enemy-occupied area, he could not send money directly to home but had to transfer money through different financial institutions, which took a lot of his energy. Moreover, the remitter could not write their real name, because once the enemy from the puppet regime found out that the remitter was Chinese faculty or staff, their family would be persecuted.

Zheng went to the airline to welcome Zheng Min on her arrival from Beijing to Kunming (via Chongqing). "The woman seemed to be Min, but it was not quite like her. When the car stopped, it really was Min! Suddenly sorrow and joy were mixed, and many tears were falling" 一女子，似是旻兒，又不甚似。車停，果旻兒也！一時悲喜交集，淚欲落者屢矣. In the evening, father and daughter talked until 12:30 at night before going to bed. Zheng Min talked about her learning situation and the characters of her brothers and sisters (p. 727). The *Diary* did not directly express Zheng's deep love for his children. For instance, when Zheng Min talked about the advantages and disadvantages of her brothers and sisters, Zheng only recorded, but never expressed emotion. The presence of his eldest daughter recurs many times in the *Diary*. His concern and love are reflected in two things. One thing was that Zheng insisted on sending Zheng Min, who lived in school, to the dormitory when she came to see him in the evening. All parents are concerned for the personal safety of their daughters. Another thing was about the costs of supplies. In addition to the cost of eating, young female college students incurred significant expenditure on clothing and makeup, such as buying leather shoes. Zheng Min's name often appears in the payment bills of the *Diary*. The professors of NSAU during the war were mostly struggling financially. Even if

many people knew that Zheng was hard up for money, living on salary advances, he still always met the needs of his daughter.

After going back to Beijing, Zheng had a normal family life. The most obvious thing was his regular diet. He went to school for work in the morning, went home for lunch at noon, no longer had to be in a hurry to go to the canteen on time or go to the restaurant, and would not worry about skipping meals. More important was that he could accompany his children, care about their learning, pay attention to whether they were fed and warm, and go to parks and shops with them. On February 4, 1946, during the Lunar New Year Festival, he took Zheng Kesheng 鄭克晟 and Zheng Keyang 鄭克昜 together to visit Changdian children's toy market, and took his younger child to Changdian the next day (p. 1140). On the morning of March 29, he and his three sons visited Zhongshan Park (p. 1156). On April 28, he paid for making clothes for four of his children (p. 1170). On June 1, he gave his children different amounts of pocket money based on gender and age (p. 1181). On July 2, he had a haircut with Kesheng (p. 1194). There were many nights where he communicated with his children. The children gained paternal love in this way, and they enjoyed the joy and happiness of family.

Zheng was widowed in 1937 when he was thirty-nine years old (nominal age), an age at which most people would remarry. Friends and relatives cared about him, and often tried to persuade him to remarry. On the evening of March 24, 1944, at Mei Yiqi's 梅貽琦 dinner party, Yang Zhensheng, Zhou Binglin 周炳琳, Luo Changpei, Zhang Tingqian, Qian Duansheng 錢端升, Chen Xueping, Lu Santai 路三泰, and others tried to persuade Zheng to remarry. He said:

> They expressed concern for my family many times. Although I could feel their goodwill, a sadness that I can't express is what they could not understand. It was once said, "The country to which I dedicated myself has cast me adrift. Year after year I dream of the poor children whom I miss so much." I could not pour these feelings out to others. (p. 808)
> 屢以余家事爲言，意固可感，然余別有傷心，非諸公所能喻也。舊有句雲"萬裏孤征心許國，頻年多夢意憐兒"，不足以語人也.

On May 26, 1946, his cousin Li Shudong 力舒東 tried to persuade him to remarry for reasons of physical and health needs (p. 1178). Not only did his friends and family try to persuade him, but he also had a suitor who adored him. In the early 1960s, my teacher Wang Yuzhe 王玉哲 chatted with our young teaching assistant about anecdotes from NSAU, saying that a female associate professor was Zheng's suitor. Zheng was unmoved by all this; he thought only of his "poor children" (*lian'er* 憐兒). He had heard that Chen Xueping's son was not in harmony with his stepmother (p. 179) and Jiang Menglin's daughter often quarreled with her stepmother, Tao Zenggu 陶曾穀. "The reason why I don't want to marry another wife is because many unfortunate things like this have happened" 有此類不幸事，此余之所以不敢談續娶也 (p. 293), he recorded. He was afraid that a new wife would not treat his children well enough, which would make his children suffer. So, at the expense of his new marriage, he did not consider remarrying, showing how much he loved his children. Another important reason was his deep love for Zhou Zhimei. February 6, 1938, was the first anniversary of Zhou's death. Zheng, who was immersed in sorrow, closed the door and refused to meet friends. Luo Changpei, Luo Yong 羅庸, Chen Xueping, and Wei Jiangong 魏建功 "knocked on the door several times," but he did not respond. Luo Yong went to his home three times in order to invite him to eat noodles. Luo Changpei invited him to have a dinner outside the school. But he declined all invitations (p. 17). On the second anniversary of Zhou's death, he was so sad that he could not write, and "chanted a sutra" for her at home alone. Wu Wenzao's 吳文藻 invitation to the teahouse and Zhang Tingqian's invitation to dinner were all declined by him. Jiang Menglin understood Zheng's mood and specially invited Luo Changpei and Chen Xueping to chat with him. But they played just two rounds of the traditional board game *shengguantu* 陞官圖 (lit. "advancing in officialdom") before leaving. "I felt their kindness, but no one can understand my sadness!" 盛意可感，然又嗚知余之傷心哉! (p. 135)

The Joys of Being Close to Nature

Zheng was very interested in gardening and travelling. He also quite felt the charm of nature. As a cultural worker, he would inevitably connect visits to places of interest with academic investigations, to obtain the joy of academic gains. Zheng planted many trees and flowers in the garden of his house in

Beijing. On May 14, 1940, he received a letter from his family, and learned that "all the flowers at home are in full bloom; what I especially care about are the two apple trees I planted in the garden" 家中諸花盛開，而余尤念念於庭前手植之蘋果兩株也 (p. 271). On May 19, 1939, he purchased two pots of stone lotus with green leaves shaped like lotus, which were tropical plants (p. 160). On April 3, 1940, Zheng's colleague Yu Tairan gave him a "Suzhou willow" purchased outside the park. Zheng knew that it was not a willow tree, and that "Suzhou willow" was its common name (p. 259). Obviously, because Zheng loved flowers and bonsai, Yu Tairan bought it as a gift. After returning to Beijing from Kunming, on April 7, 1946, he pruned the flowering branches and watered with the children. On the 17th, the lilac and begonia flowers in the yard were in full bloom. He urged his son to water, and to cut off the dead branches of the vine. On the morning of the 19th, he was "still busy with flowers and plants" 仍爲花事忙 (pp. 1160, 1164–65).

Zheng went sightseeing on Xishan Mountain, Dali Cangshan Mountain, and other natural landscapes while in Kunming. On January 24, 1939, he saw the scenery of Xishan Mountain on his way back to the dormitory after class: "Xishan Mountain in faint cyan has a special quality. / Afterglow covered the sky like drunk and dumped. / I came back late from outside the village, / and take a leisurely stroll and admire the beautiful scenery" 掩黛西山別有情，含暉如飲複如傾。勝因村外歸來晚，閑踏清畦看綺明 (p. 127). On October 27, 1939, he enjoyed the scenery at Chenggong Mountain: "I went around the mountain and observed Dianchi Lake in the distance. There are many colors overlapping, one cannot distinguish clouds, mist, glow, lakes, mountains, or fields" 繞山頭一周，遠望滇池，彩疊數色，不辨爲雲、爲嵐、爲光、爲水、爲山、爲田也 (pp. 203–4). On July 30, 1944, he ascended Dali Shengying Peak, where there are seven pools of water. He looked at the pools from Biyi Pavilion, recording, "The water is as clear as glass, with different shades and beautiful colors" 水色澄若琉璃，深淺不一，色絕美 (p. 878). From these sightseeing trips and their descriptions in the *Diary*, we know that he was familiar with scenery, good at portraying scenery, and praised the magical power of nature.

Scholars will certainly have a special interest in places of interest. Whenever he had the chance, Zheng would definitely appreciate such places, so as to increase his knowledge. Zheng passed Guilin in February 1938 and toured

Seven Star Cave on the 18th. He recorded the titles of almost all the stone carvings he saw. For example, "The stone carving inscribed by Fan Chengda in December in the first year of Chunxi (1174)" and "The stone carving inscribed by Fang Xinru in the seventh year of Jiading (1214)." In Longyinyan, he saw the inscription named "Song of the Song Dynasty" (*Song song* 宋頌) written by Li Shizhong 李師中. Li Shizhong was a *Shangshu duzhi yuanwailang chen* 尚書度支員外郎臣 (an official in charge of finance for the Department of State Affairs, or *Shangshu sheng* 尚書省), an official in the Ministry of Transportation of Guangnan Xilu (roughly equivalent to today's Guangxi province), and a local official of the Agriculture-Encouragement. The next day, Zheng specifically went again to copy the inscription, then purchased a rubbing of the "Yuanyou Dangji tablet" at the temple (pp. 23–25). On March 6 of the same year, he visited Kunming's prestigious Daguan Pavilion 大觀樓 and saw Sun Ranweng's 孫髯翁 extended couplet. Then he read *Kunming County Gazette* (*Kunming xianzhi* 昆明縣誌), *Brief Stories of Yunnan Local Sages* (*Yunnan xiangxian shilüe* 雲南鄉賢事略), and other books, from which he learned that Sun Ranweng, whose name was Ran, styled himself as "Ranweng." Ran was a native of Kunming, born in the Qianlong period. He was so talented and knowledgeable that all the ancient poems and articles he wrote were excellent. He was an ordinary person who relied on divination for others. He wrote *Yongyantang Essays* (*Yongyantang wenji* 永言堂文集) and *Jinsha Poems* (*Jinsha shicao* 金沙詩草), and edited *Guochao Poetry Collection* (*Guochao shicai* 國朝詩采) (pp. 34–38). Undoubtedly, Zheng combined the tour of historical sites with research into relevant history. His sightseeing reflected his historical knowledge and judgment, a type sightseeing particular to scholars and which is very different from that of general tourists.

Interest in Appreciation of Cultural Artifacts

In the early 1960s, our four graduate students majoring in history in the Ming and Qing dynasties often attended classes at Zheng's home. At that time, I had seen there were several stone seals next to a shelf of folding fans which was placed on the side of his desk against the wall. Now when I read the *Diary*, I realize that he had long been interested in collecting cultural relics. On June 8, 1946, he noted that, "When I sorted out the old boxes, I viewed the Chinese

fans, ancient ink, and stone seals collected by myself. Is it that my capacity for appreciation has grown? Or do I have better cultural relics than before?" 檢舊箱，出藏扇、藏墨、藏石觀之。墨與圖章罕有佳者，眼力勝於昔乎？抑今日所賞勝於昔乎? (p. 1184). Stone seals, Chinese folding fans, and ancient ink were the three treasures he collected and appreciated. In January 1938, he bought ink in Changsha, mainly for writing, but also for collection. For example, on January 22, he found two inks from the Ming dynasty but failed to purchase them because of a failure in bargaining (p. 8). On January 2, 1946, he went to Liulichang Street with Chen Xueping and bought ancient ink in many cultural relic shops. In the evening, he went to Chen Xueping's house to appreciate them together. The cultural relics obtained by Chen Xueping were in especially large quantities and were exquisite. On the 6th, he went to Liulichang Street with Chen Xueping and Pujin 溥伒 (Pu Xuezhai 溥雪齋), where he bought one ink produced in Jiaqing and one ink produced in Daoguang. On the 15th, he went to Liulichang Street with Pujin and Chen Xueping, where he bought two inks as gifts for the "Xiaohan Society" 消寒會 (meaning, "eliminating coldness society," see below). On the 26th, he bought an ancient ink at Liulichang Street with Huang Zijian 黃子堅 and Chen Xueping. On the 29th, he gave four of the ancient inks he bought a few days ago to Pujin and two to Chen Xueping. On April 20 of the same year, he bought two *ziyuguang* ink 紫玉光墨 at a stall in Dong'an Market (pp. 1126, 1128, 1132, 1136–38, 1165).

One of the seals that Zheng searched for was bought in an antique shop in Changsha in January 1938. Because Chen Xueping loved it, Zheng gave it to him immediately (p. 10). After coming back to Beijing, he became a regular visitor to Liulichang Street where he obtained a number of seals. On January 13, 1946, he saw two stamp stones in Liulichang Street and bought one of them according to Pujin's suggestion. On the 20th, he bought a stone seal at Liulichang Street, which was extremely lubricated, a little bit white in color, and had fine lines. The eight characters engraved on the stone seal said, "Do everything in accordance with the truth and laws of the world, say everything in accordance with the emotions and wishes of others" 天理出言，要順人情. He consulted Pujin, saying that it might be attributable to Bai Shoushan 白壽山. If so, its value was over one million yuan. On February 1 (Lunar New Year's Eve), he went to Liulichang Street with Pujin and Chen Xueping, where he bought a flat round seal with animal patterns. Pujin gave him a seal

with a dragon pattern, which made a pair. For the convenience of appreciation, Zheng entered the recently obtained seal into a "Qingyitang Stone Seals Catalogue" (*Qingyitang shizhang mu* 清懿堂石章目) on the first day of the first lunar month in 1946, in which there were nine kinds of seals in total (p. 1139).

There is only one record about collecting fans in the *Diary*. On May 17, 1946, Zheng "ordered a fan" from an exhibition of painted fans which was jointly organized by Pujin and Zhang Boju's 張伯駒 wife, Pan Su 潘素. The price of the fan was 30,000 yuan (p. 1176). The fan that he ordered was painted by a friend. On the 30th of that month, Pujin presented him with a fan bone and four fan faces (p. 1180).

Collection and appreciation are intended to satisfy the joy of appreciation. In the purchase of the seal mentioned above, Zheng paid attention to the quality of the stone and the content and the artistry of the carving; while choosing and appraising, he also discussed with his friends before deciding whether to buy. Zheng found out the reason why some ink made in the Qing dynasty was not marked according to dynasty and year. Inks that were marked with the years and dynasties included those of the Kangxi, Qianlong, Jiaqing, Daoguang, Xianfeng, Tongzhi, and Guangxu reigns. The Shunzhi reign did not have a mark, probably because the dynasty had yet to consolidate its rule over China. The reason why inks of the Xuantong reign did not have a mark may be that the reign of Xuantong was too short. The ink of the reign of Yongzheng was not marked, Zheng noted, because the emperor "did not advocate useless culture and rarely used ink, so it was very rarely passed down" 不尚虛文，均極鮮作墨之人，故傳世甚稀 (p. 1197). This was his judgment based on the historical characteristics of these emperors. In addition, he exchanged information with the engraver to obtain useful knowledge. For example, on April 30, 1946, he visited Jin Yumin 金禹民 with Chen Xueping and discussed the seals. Jin Yumin said that folks near Baoding often used Quyang stone 曲陽石[6] to counterfeit Qingtian stone 青田石, and passed sculptures off

[6] It is interesting to not that today a stone statue of Zheng Tianting is situated in the hall of the Faculty of History of Nankai University; it was donated by Wang Chengbin 王承斌, a friend of the department. The stone used is Quyang stone, which is commonly used to make statues in the north of China. During the sculpture process, Wang and I went to the site where it was being manufactured to look at the shape. Wang's righteous conduct left a distinct impression.

as products of the Kangxi reign. After hearing how the cultural relics were forged, Zhang felt himself to be at a loss and subsequently improved his appreciation ability (p. 1171). Zheng had a principle of appreciating cultural relics: Seeking pleasures will sap one's spirit. On January 28, 1938, he went to an antique shop with Luo Changpei and Chen Xueping and did not buy anything. He wrote in the *Diary*: "Seeking pleasures will sap one's spirit with greed and desire increasing. In the future I will no longer seek it for myself and friends. Do remember it! Do remember it" 玩物喪志，而貪嫉之念隨之，今後擬不再尋求，且不復爲友好尋求矣。念之，念之 (p. 14). His theory that "seeking pleasures will sap one's spirit" had two meanings: One was that it will wear down his spirit of professionalism and waste time, which is not worth it; the other was that he wanted to make money by collecting cultural relics. There are many aspects of Zheng's self-reflection, most of which can be restrained, but this point was not always realized. After returning to Beijing, there were many cases in which he would buy cultural relics and give gifts to friends, which were just for interest but not for profit.

Various Recreational Activities

Appreciating live performances and movies was an essential part of Zheng's life. Playing games also took up some of his leisure time.

Wherever he went, he would go to watch opera performances. In February 1938, he watched the Gui opera 桂劇 twice in a few days while waiting for the train in Guilin and said it was "similar to the Hunan opera 湘劇" (pp. 24–25). In late April, he watched Dian opera 滇戲 and Peking opera in Kunming five times in total, so he warned himself not to "take [his] desire to extremes" (*jiyu* 極欲) (pp. 55–56). On August 4, he went to the Xindian Peking Opera Theater 新滇京劇院 in Kunming, and on the 6th, he was quite disappointed with the acting performances in *Xiao He Drives Away Han Xin* (*Xiao He gan Han Xin* 蕭何趕韓信). On the 10th, 18th, and 22nd, he watched plays (pp. 82–86). On the evening of February 2, 1939, he watched a Dian opera performance:

> There is a drama called *Yuquan Mountain* [*Yuquanshan*] that depicts the capture of Lü Meng. It is excellent . . . I admire Wang Shuxuan the most among Dian drama actors. He plays the harlequin without being too funny,

> his movements and expressions are very serious, but he is old. Today, he was not bad in *Capture Sanlang Alive* [*Huozhuo Sanlang*]. (p. 129)
> 有《玉泉山》一出，演活捉呂蒙事，甚佳……余於滇劇角色，最賞識王樹萱。其人飾丑角而不以科諢見長，其動作表情處處不苟，惜垂老矣。今日演《活捉三郎》，亦不差.

On March 4, having watched the Dian opera *Yuquan Mountain* performed by Liu Haiqing 劉海清, Zheng was amazed that the role was as similar as a painting (p. 136). In March 1940, he watched *Battle at Wan City* (*Zhan Wancheng* 戰宛城) in Kunming Theater. The characters were not better than what he had seen in Beijing before. In the opera he watched in Beijing Yang Xiaolou 楊小樓 played Dian Wei 典韋, Yu Shuyan 余叔岩 played Zhang Xiu 張繡, Hao Shouchen 郝壽臣 played Cao Cao 曹操, Xiao Cuihua 小翠花 played Mrs. Zou 鄒氏, and Wang Changlin 王長林 played Hu Che 胡車. "It's very different from what I saw today, but today's characters are still in line with the characters in the plot, which is also rare" 與今日所觀不啻天壤，然今日諸角色尚不失矩矱，亦難得也 (p. 254). For Zheng, a true lover of Peking opera, this is the second best. Quyi is a popular form of performance in northern China. Zheng has visited Quyi halls many times. On January 31, 1942, he went to a teahouse with Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 and others to watch storytelling. There was *Seven Heroes and Five Gallants* (*Qixia wuyi* 七俠五義) performed by a storyteller from Sichuan. He listened for one and a half chapters, then left. On February 7, he went to the teahouse again to "watch a chapter of storytelling" 聽說書一回 to relieve his boredom (pp. 511, 513). On March 11, 1944, he watched juggling with Luo Changpei and others at Kunming Storytelling House. On the 16th a few days later, he was invited by Hu Haiyu to watch juggling (pp. 802, 804). Zheng once had a chance to appreciate the "singing lantern" (*chang huadeng* 唱花燈) of Kunming folk entertainment. On March 25, 1945, in the north of Daguanlou, he heard string music from the other side of the lake, so he hired a boat to watch it:

> The villagers perform in their spare time in the spring. In the north it is called *yetaizi*, and here it is called the singing lantern. I stood for a long time watching it. (p. 1012)
> 鄉人春閑演戲，北方謂野檯子戲，此間曰唱花燈。立觀久之.

> I heard that the cost of renting costumes and curtains is 3,000 yuan per day. The actors are not paid but are provided with meals. The total cast, nearly 10,000 yuan, is donated by the villagers themselves. (p. 1012)
> 聞衣飾帷幕，日租 3000 元，演者無酬，但備飯，所需亦近萬元，均由村民自捐.

The joy of this accidental encounter is rare in life.

At that time, the residents of major cities were interested in watching movies. In October 1938, while helping to deal with Zhang Yaozeng's 張耀曾 funeral, Zheng watched two movies on the 9th and 16th in Shanghai (pp. 97–98). In Kunming, he often went to the cinema. On August 31, 1939, he watched martial arts movies in color (p. 184). On July 26, 1940, he watched a movie called *The Beauty* (*Juedai jiaren* 絕代佳人) (p. 293). On March 24, 1941, he watched the movie *Woman* (*Nüren* 女人) and regarded it as a "good film" (*jiapian* 佳片), but Luo Changpei, who watched it with him, disagreed (p. 399). On July 1, 1943, the British Consulate invited him to watch a movie. He learned that modern war is indeed a production war and a scientific war. Therefore, he concluded, after the victory of the Anti-Japanese War the country should promote heavy industrial production (p. 713).

He also watched vocal performances. On August 16, 1941, Zheng attended a concert held by the Music Education Committee of the Ministry of Education. The committee had invited the Chongqing Music Teacher Training Class to perform. At the concert, there was a tenor soloist, violin soloist, and the pipa solo *Ambush from Ten Sides* (*Shimian maifu* 十面埋伏), Zhang Chonghe 張充和 sang the Kun opera *Assassination of Li Zicheng* (*Ci hu* 刺虎), and Luo Changpei improvised five or six rounds of "tanci" 彈詞 (a kind of storytelling) (pp. 494–95). On October 7, 1945, during his flight in Nanjing, Zheng, Chen Xueping and Huang Zijian, "bored after dinner, went to the teahouse to listen to cappella . . . they were all poor young girls whose voices were miserable" 飯後無聊，至茶館聽清唱……皆貧苦幼女，其聲淒慘. On the 18th, they went to the teahouse to listen to songs after dinner (pp. 1112, 1114). Zheng sometimes listened to records. On January 1, 1941, he listened to a record after dinner; on the 2nd, he listened to a Liu Baoquan Chinese drum record after lunch (pp. 359–60).

Zheng's interest in board games is fully reflected through his activities during

the Lunar New Year Festival in Kunming in 1942. On New Year's Eve, he had dinner with six people including Wei Jiangong, Shao Xunzheng 邵循正, Sun Yutang 孫毓棠, Zhang Qingchang 張清常, guessing riddles on hanging lanterns, and playing cards. On the first day of the new year, he, Chen Xueping, Zhang Yunfu 章耘夫 and others went to Gangtou village to celebrate and play mahjong at Jiang Menglin's house. On the second day, he tossed dice in the morning, played pai gow (*tui paijiu* 推牌九) in the afternoon, and played mahjong in the evening (pp. 516–18). They also played *shengguantu*, etc. In playing *shengguantu*, playing mahjong, and guessing riddles on hanging lanterns, would also bet on winning and losing. Mahjong was called China's "national chess" (*guopai* 國牌), and had become a daily entertainment method for people. On May 20, 1939, Zheng played mahjong all night long with Chen Xueping and others, so he remonstrated with himself:

> Since Zhimei died I haven't played mahjong, let alone played mahjong all night. Today how absurd of me it was to play it all night long! I am sorry not only to myself, but also for the people who have passed away. (pp. 153–54)
> 自稚眉夫人之歿，余不作麻將之戲，通宵更莫論矣。今日荒唐至此，不惟無以自解，且無以對亡者也.

The next day, aware that that the country was in trouble, he thought that he should not have been so frivolous. On March 23, 1941, Zheng had dinner at Jiang Menglin's house, where he "won at cards" (p. 399). On July 23, 1942, he and his friend celebrated Yun Pu's 雲浦 fortieth birthday, and everyone played cards with great interest. In the evening, "the original intention was to play eight rounds, but we continued again and again until it was dawn" 本意相陪八圈，一續再續，竟天明矣 (p. 584). On the evening of August 26, Zhang Tingqian and others played mahjong at the home of Zhu Hong 朱洪. Zheng joined them and left at 11:30 p.m., while others played all night (p. 599). Although he could restrain himself, when everyone was in high spirits, it was inevitable that sometimes he could not stop playing mahjong. On Lunar New Year's Eve on February 1, 1946, "It was particularly interesting that after the meal the children danced, played games, rolled dice, and played pai gow. At two o'clock I went to bed and the children continued playing" 飯後兒輩跳舞，

做遊戲，擲色子，推牌九，極熱鬧有趣，二時就寢，兒輩繼續玩. During this, he played mahjong with his friends (p. 1139).

Playing *shengguantu* was a kind of pastime for Zheng and his friends. On May 28 and June 10, 17, and 21, 1939, Zheng and his friends met at Jiang Menglin's house and played it after dinner (pp. 155, 158, 159, 160). The *Diary* has more than twenty entries about playing *shengguantu*, most of which were during festivals, or when it was inconvenient to read and write when the power was out in the evening, or when he was tired. Zheng's *Diary* sometimes wrote the card game poker as *fanren yezi* 番人葉子 or *fanye* 番葉. He played poker more than ten times. On March 31, 1940, Zheng, Qian Siliang 錢思亮, Liu Jinnian 劉晉年, and others played poker at Yun Pu's house (p. 258). On May 10, he played poker with Luo Changpei and others. "It was ridiculous to play all night" 竟夜，可謂荒唐之至 (p. 270), he noted. On April 4, 1941, he played poker with Zhang Tingqian and Chen Xueping at Fan Jichang's house (p. 404).

As mentioned above, Zheng played a poem-guessing game after dinner with Wei Jiangong, Shao Xunzheng, and others during the Lunar New Year Festival in 1942. Zheng produced eighteen poetry riddles, Chen Xueping produced twenty, Wei Jiangong produced ten, and Shao Xunzheng produced thirty. Each person who guessed one got ten yuan, which was paid by the person who produced the riddle, and in the end Zheng won sixty yuan. Zheng deliberately came up with a difficult question: "Yuanshuo dynasty XX is coming" 元朔朝正(　)來，providing the choice words "*jinyou*, *haiguo*, *gongshi*, *chiyi*, and Japan [Chen Zhiguang]" 今又、海國、貢使、馳驛、日本(陳芝光), Shao Xunzheng guessed "Japan," Chen Xueping guessed "gongshi" 贡使, and Sun Yutang and Wei Jiangong chose "haiguo" 海国, which was the right answer (pp. 516–17). After this time, on the February 21, 28, 31, April 11, and May 23, he played a poem-riddle game with his friends. On June 16, in order to participate in the riddles contest, he "created more than ten poetry riddles and didn't sleep until midnight" 作詩謎十數條，十二時乃寢 (p. 568). After returning to Beijing, he also formed a "poem-riddles association" (*shitiaohui* 詩條會) with his friends, which will be explained in the next section.

In activities such as playing mahjong, playing *shengguantu*, and guessing riddles, winners got prizes and losers were penalized. As mentioned above, Zheng won sixty yuan through guessing poems. In September 1943, he lost

493 yuan playing cards and *shengguantu*. In that month, he spent 12,795 yuan and nine cents, in which the losses in gaming accounted for 4 percent (pp. 740–741). This may have the appearance of gambling, but it was only a game. In the past, playing mahjong among family members could also involve a form of "gambling" like this. The winner's money was included in the daily scheduled meal money, which was to increase the meal expenses. It was called *dayaji* 打牙祭, and was also merely to add fun. The professors of NSAU guessed riddles and won prizes, which was an interesting way to show their cultural literacy.

Nostalgia for Loved Ones

When Zheng was in Yunnan, he would worship his ancestors on the anniversaries of the death and birth of his parents and wife, on festivals, and on the birthdays of his children and himself. When he was limited by circumstances, he could only mourn and silently pray. For example, August 22, 1945 (July 15 of the lunar calendar), was "the eighty-third birthday of my dead father" 先考八十三歲冥壽. He ate noodles with Chen Xueping in a noodle house at night, expressing his nostalgia (p. 1085). After returning to Beijing, he was able to worship his ancestors and sweep the tomb during the Lunar New Year and Qingming festivals, which made him feel as if he had fulfilled his desire to commemorate. On Lunar New Year's Eve, February 1, 1946, he offered a sacrifice to the ancestors in the evening. On the afternoon of the first day of the lunar new year he worshiped his ancestors, and on noon of the second day he again worshiped his ancestors (pp. 1139–40). On April 5, the Qingming Festival (the fourth day of March of the lunar calendar), Zheng took four of his children to the memorial of Zhou Zhimei and his third brother, Shaodan 少丹, in the Guanyin Temple in Nanxiawa. "I held back my tears, not only worried that my children were sad, but also worried that the children would know that I was sad" 飲淚吞聲，畏兒輩之傷心，更畏兒輩知我傷心, he wrote. Then he went to the tomb of his parents in Yuquanying in Caoqiao to sacrifice. He saw that the pine tree circle next to the tomb was a foot taller, but some had been felled. There were only two of the four locust trees remaining. The pine tree behind the tomb was also gone. The middle cemetery was also stolen (and recovered a year later) (p. 1159).

Zheng also wrote an article to commemorate his parents. On September 13,

1942, he took a part of the article "Dialogues on the Geographical Position of Subsidiary States" (*Fuguo zhi di wang yu duiyin* 附國之地望與對音) and rewrote it as *Dialogues on Remote Areas in the Account of the Western Regions of the Sui Dynasty* (*Suishu Xiyu zhuan boyuan yi zhi di wang yu duiyin* 隋書西域傳薄緣夷之地望與對音) in memory of the eightieth birthday of his deceased father. Both articles are stenciled, the sixth and nineteenth stenciled papers of Peking University Institute of Liberal Arts (p. 606). On October 20, 1942, he wrote "The Passage to Yunnan in History" (*Lishi shang de ru Dian tongdao* 歷史上的入滇通道) "to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the death of my loving mother" 即以紀念我慈母 (p. 621). The article was published in *Travel Magazine* (*Lüxing zazhi* 旅行雜誌).

Zheng's earnest response to the absence to his loved ones was a reflection of his family's legacy. His grandfather Zheng Tinggui 鄭廷珪 was a *jinshi* 進士 (a successful candidate in the highest imperial examination) in the 20th year of Daoguang (1844). His father, Zheng Yundi 鄭允迪 (Shuchen 叔忱), was a *jinshi* in the 16th year of Guangxu (1890). His mother, Lu Jiakun 陸嘉坤, was the principal of Tianjin Girls' School 天津女校. His father had a collection of written works, and Zheng's desire to publish it had still not been realized in 1940, which caused him a great deal of regret. October 13 was the 35th anniversary of his father's death. In the *Diary* he blamed himself: "I have not been able to publish the collection, I am too ashamed" 遺集未刻，惶恐無地自容 (p. 324). Zheng was hired by Tsinghua University in December 1943 as a member of the examination committee for candidates intending to study in the United States and the sixth session of the research paper review committee. He, Lei Bolun, and Liu Chonghong 刘崇鋐 of the history group reviewed articles and examination papers of students seeking funding. A total of fifteen people took the exam, and the Ming and Qing history test papers had a total of five questions, each of which was given a different score, such as twenty-five points and fifteen points. Zheng's reading of the papers was extremely serious. He first read the fifteen papers roughly and then scored them according to the question. Every time he read a question he had to read through fifteen papers. Each question had to be read three times. When reading it, he did not dare to omit one word. He did this in order to compare the content of the test papers more fairly, so as not to wrong a talented person. He finished reading all fifteen test papers before giving a score. In a few days, he read all the test papers again, and

finally determined the score "to avoid grievances" (*yimian quyi* 以免屈抑). It was a family tradition to spend so much energy on reading test papers:

> When I was young, I read my father's notes as an examiner at Beiwei (Shuntian Township test) in 1898. He used blue pens to write very detailed records, including those who were recommended but smeared, and who were rejected but were later recommended again. From that I know he read each test paper many times. (p. 772)
> 幼時讀先君甲午（1898 年）北闈（順天鄉試）同考（官）筆錄冊，用蘭筆登錄極詳，有已薦而塗去者，有已棄而重薦者，知每卷蓋數閱焉.

> I remember this firmly. In 1928 and 1929, I took part in reviewing the examination papers of the Zhejiang county magistrate. In 1930, I was appointed as a committee member of the magistrate's exam in Zhejiang. I was very cautious and fair because of the fear of ruining the tradition of my ancestor. (pp. 780–785)
> 小子謹識之不敢忘。民國十七、十八年，兩次襄校浙江縣長考試試卷，十九年奉命爲浙江縣長考試委員，皆矢公矢慎，恐墮祖德.

An expression of Zheng's concern for his ancestors can be found in his attention to the experience of his ancestors in activities like reading test papers.[7]

Care between Members of the Clan

People's relatives and in-laws are valued and treated kindly in Chinese traditional culture. Zheng attached great importance to these cultures. In Kunming, he often relied on advance salary to pay for his daily necessities, but he still gave material assistance to his cousin's son, Dong Gang 董剛, who had come to Kunming to study. After returning to Beijing, Zheng's increased communication with his relatives became an indispensable part of his life.

[7] In 1980, Zheng Tianting hosted the Ming and Qing History International Symposium in Tianjin. After the conference, Zheng let Zheng Kesheng, Chen Zhenjiang 陳振江, Nan Bingwen 南炳文, and the author edit the proceedings of the conference. After our primary election, we were specifically instructed that the articles were not to be selected until Zheng had re-read them. This can be seen as a continuation of rigorous academic style.

He took in relatives and took care of them. His cousin's son Dong Xingye 董行佺 and his nephews Chai Zhicheng 柴志澄 and Zheng Weiqin 鄭维勤 all lived with the Zheng family (p. 1130). These three people, along with Zheng Yangfu 鄭楊富 and Zheng Shaowen 鄭紹文, spent New Year's Eve with the Zheng family; "It is very lively and interesting" 極熱鬧有趣 (p. 1139), Zheng noted. During his case of laryngitis in March 1946, Zheng Haiping 鄭海平 who was his sixth brother, his cousin Wang Yiru 王翼如 (who went to Zheng's home to celebrate his mother's birthday and therefore was presumably a relative, see p. 1141), Zhang Youqiao 張友樵, Huang Xiaoshu 黃孝紓, and Huang Xiaoping 黃孝平 (who named himself Kunzhong 昆仲), who may be his mother's relative, came to visit and stayed playing mahjong (p. 1153). In April, his cousin (his uncle's son) Lu Weixia 陸蔚霞 was interrogated. On April 7, he went to his house to learn about the situation and saw his wife, the seventh sister-in-law, and the cousin (p. 1160). On January 22, 1946, his cousin's husband, Peng Menglian 彭夢蓮, was critically ill. Zheng helped to choose the coffin and acted as an intermediary in the transaction. He went to express condolence the next day and performed *shuzhu* 書主 (writing a memorial tablet) and *dianzhu* 點主 (finishing a stroke of the character *zhu* on the tombstone with a red pen, which is a kind of traditional Chinese funeral custom) for him. In February 1939, Zheng's daughter Zheng Min wrote to tell him that on the second anniversary of Zhou Zhimei's death, her brother Zheng Haiping had asked her to pass the period of mourning, but his son had to wait until twenty-seven months had passed (p. 139). From this, it can be seen that the clan had taught the children to respect rituals.

Zheng returned to Beijing in the winter between 1945 and 1946. In order to meet frequently with friends and relatives, he created a social society, the "Xiaohan Society," and divided it into Club A and Club B. Although the two clubs were both friends, their natures were different. In addition to eating and drinking, Club B involved the appreciation and exchange cultural relics, and its members were mostly cultural celebrities. (Club B is going to be described in the next section.) Club A started in December 1945. On New Year's Day in 1946, the second gathering of the society was held at the Zheng family home. Wang Yiru, Wang Shouyi 汪受益, Zhang Youqiao, Huang Xiaoshu, Huang Xiaoping, Lu Weixia, and Zheng Haiping attended the meeting until 10:00

p.m. At six o'clock on the 10th, the third meeting was held at Yang Junwu's 楊君武 home. The fourth and fifth meetings were held at Lu Weixia's house. The sixth gathering took place in the home of Hui Xiaotong 惠孝同. The seventh meeting was at Wang Shouyi's house, and the ninth party was at the Huang brothers' home on March 5, lasting until 12:00 p.m. (pp. 1126, 1130, 1133, 1137, 1140, 1143, 1148). When spring was approaching, the Xiaohan Society name was no longer used, but this gathering of relatives and friends continued. On April 4, they had dinner at the home of Zheng Haiping. Huang Xiaoping, Yang Junwu, Hui Xiaotong, Wang Yiru, Zhang Youqiao, Wang Yili, and Huang Xiaoshu participated. The meeting ended at 11:30 p.m. (p. 1159). On the evening of June 30, Zheng invited Wang Yiru, Wang Shouyi, Huang Xiaoping, Huang Xiaoshu, Yang Junwu, Hui Xiaotong, Lu Weixia, Zheng Haiping, and Zhong Lu 仲輅 to come to his home for a quick meal (pp. 1190, 1193). These parties were held in the evening and did not end until between 11:00 p.m. and 2:00 a.m. They were undoubtedly a reflection of family and friendship.

Writing Diaries

Zheng regarded the daily routine of diary writing with great earnestness. He kept writing every day. If something interfered with this schedule, he would compensate for that day's diary. What was included and what was emphasized in his diaries all depended on his own criteria. Then the diary has its relevant content, which is what we read, with full academic value as resources.

In the *Diary*, Zheng would at times write about his own diary writing, such as on August 7, 1940: "Finishing writing diary at half past twelve" 十二時半記日記畢 (p. 297). Sometimes, he would compensate for missing previous entries, like on October 20, 1940, when he wrote that he was "filling in my diary" 補日記 (p. 329). And like on July 10, 1942:

> After dinner I filled in the diary about the journey to Sichuan. On June 26 last year, without finishing writing that day in Luzhou, I packed up my luggage for leaving by ship. Then I visited Lizhuang, Xufu, Leshan, Emei, Chengdu, Neijiang, and Qingmuguan. Though I stayed at each place for several days, I had no spare time for writing diary entries at my leisure,

> only enough for setting down an outline in my notebook with pencil. Then I got back to Kunming, but there I still had no time for additional recording. One year has flown by now. Today I sorted out these notes and plan to add them in the order of time. Besides the notebooks, I will supplement the diary entries from my own memory. But I will not incorporate my later emotions, for the sake of fidelity to the truth of that time. (p. 578)
> 晚飯後補去年川遊日記。去年六月二十六日在瀘州寫當日日記未畢，遂收拾行李作上船計，其後至李莊、敘府、樂山、峨眉、成都、內江、青木關，雖各有數日勾留，故無從容作日記之機會，惟以鉛筆登大略於手冊而已。既歸昆明，亦無暇移錄，忽已一年余矣。今日檢出，擬逐日補之，除手冊而外，更就記憶所及補登一二，但絕不雜以事後之情緒，以存當時之真.

It is worthy of respect that he wrote down the situation and his opinions with a spirit of realism and according to facts of the time without incorporating his later cognition.

Zheng according to his experience of years, made a conclusion on what should be written in the diary and developed new guidelines for the practice. On June 27, 1940, reflecting on his reading of the diary of Li Ciming 李慈铭 from the late Qing dynasty and his own writing, Zheng thought that the diary should not only recording daily life, but be used as a tool for self-reflection and should be written with literary talent. He wrote:

> Recently I read *Diary of Yuemantang* [*Yuemantang riji*], which left me feeling that my diary should be destroyed. Not recording current affairs, not fully recording my sentiments, reading it I find nothing original, I only record my daily routine, which is insipid. Is my life really so dull that nothing interesting could be recorded? Chunke made his diary a tool of learning, I am no match for this, and I have no ability to reach this level. If I could narrate something which could help me improve myself besides daily routine, it might also be acceptable. Reviewing previous diaries, they are flat and boring. Though I have got terse writing skills, my works have no special and remarkable points. I am over forty years old but have not come into my own writing style. (p. 283)
> 近讀《越縵堂日記》，覺余之日記大可廢。時事不書，個人之胸臆感想不盡

書，讀書所得又別書，每日徒記起居行止，大無味也，況余之生活又無風趣余韻足述乎？然蓅客以日記爲學問，自不可及，亦不必及。苟能於起居外略有論述，以矯己弊，庶幾可也。檢舊作，平質無文，雖略得簡練之法，殊無跌宕藻繪之觀，年逾四十，文行未著.

Zheng always engaged in self-examination and accusation in his diaries. On March 30, 1938, he set up daily schedule of reading books and practicing calligraphy:

History texts, five to ten pages per day; miscellaneous texts, five to ten pages per day; practicing calligraphy, one hundred words per day. In terms of history books, start reading from the *The Old Book of the Tang* [*Jiu Tangshu*] and *The New Book of the Tang* [*Xin Tangshu*], and the *Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance* [*Zizhi tongjian*]; in terms of miscellaneous texts, begin with the *Material for the History of Yunnan* [*Yunnan beizheng zhi*], *Annotated Classic of Waterways* [*Shuijing zhu*], and *Reports on the Survey of Miao Nationality* [*Miaozu diaocha baogao*]. This course is far from extensive, and I hope that I can fix them [in my mind]. (p. 45)
史書，五葉至十葉；雜書五葉至十頁；習字，一百；史書，先讀‘兩唐書’《通鑒》；雜書，先讀《雲南備征志》《水經注》《苗族調查報告》。此課程可謂少之又少矣，望能持之以恆.

Zheng was so self-disciplined that he kept to these goals. He did self-checks every day and recorded them in his diaries. On October 17, 1939, he reproached himself that he had not been reading for days:

I talked with gentlemen living in the same apartment till midnight again. I have wasted a night in chatting instead of reading books for several successive days now, which has not happened since I came to the south. How could it be? How could it be? (p. 199)
與同寓諸君子又談至深夜，連日未讀書，唯快談消永夜，此南來所未有也。奈何！奈何！

This self-examination and reproach had three aspects. First was the vigilance against slacking. Entertainment should be kept in moderation. One should not let long sessions of card playing or chatting delay study and research. Second was the necessity of memorializing ancestors and sorting out their manuscripts. If their posthumous scripts were not published, it would be too late to recognize their death. Third was to perfect one's own characteristics and learn virtues from friends, like refraining from emotions and getting along with others benignly. On December 13, 1940, because of a peer's provocation, Zheng recorded: "Feeling angry that I reprimanded him seriously, which has never happened in my life. I feel deep regret after that" 不覺盛怒，厲色嚴斥之，此爲平生所未有也。事後深悔之 (p. 351). Self-cultivation through maintaining vigilance against anger recurs quite a few times. Zheng thought, "[Yao Congwu] is sincere and honest to others, which is really respectable and to which I cannot compare" 意甚誠懇而坦白，可佩之至，余不及也 (p. 724). His admiration toward Yao extended to his study habits. However, Zheng himself also laid out three points for reading books and study. On September 15, 1939, he wrote:

> I consider that without the help of teachers and friends to arrogate to me this high position I would not have achieved anything in the past thirty years. I thought up one quatrain when resting on my pillow: "No success achieved in study or martial arts, / I am borne to talent on the tides of the floating world. / Forty should be an age of no doubts, / I seek correct acts in the Middle Way." (p. 199)
> 思及三十年來百無一成，徒賴師友獎掖，致僭清位，枕上得一絕：“讀書學劍兩無成，浪得浮生才士名。四十已來應不惑，好從中道覓中行.”

This forty-year-old's introspection and diligence was, on other days, a spur to urge himself on in his study and research. It could be said that Zheng perfected himself and devoted himself to the writing of his diaries, a practice which bore fruit in the brilliance of his teaching and research. This made him the dean of general affairs with best reputation among all the universities of the country.

I have narrated the daily life of Zheng from nine aspects: Diet and daily life, family life, cherishing the memory of the deceased, contact with clan relatives and social groups, personal characteristics like keenness on being close to nature, elegant hobbies (like collecting seals, old fans, and Chinese ink),

watching various kinds of arts performances, spending leisure time in playing cards or solving poem puzzles, and recording these aspects of life in his diaries. These things were the daily life of cultural men, which all humans deserve. Eating food is always welcome. Drinking tea, coffee, and wine, watching art shows, playing cards and mahjong, appreciating paintings, calligraphy, and collecting antiques are constant emotions in human relationships and deserved feasts in one's life. Zheng's daily life observations recorded in the *Diary* not only reflect characteristics of his personal life, but occur in the general daily life of many intellectuals, and could be thought of as quite typical.

One of Zheng's biggest concerns in his daily life was contact with friends, which could have been listed as a special term in this chapter. However, in light of its rich content and great significance in Zheng's life, I will focus on this subject alone in the following section.

Friendship and Its Value to Life

Zheng made "seeking friends" (*qiuyou* 求友) one of his aims in life. He put his talent at making friends into practice and his popularity was unanimous. He had many close friends and they helped each other in times of difficulty and worry, which made his positive way in life advance more actively and more powerfully. This helped his life to be more colorful and made his teaching and study rich in achievement. How, then, did Zheng approach friendship and what was his practice in life like?

Pursuing Ambition and Seeking Friends

The *Diary* cites three instances in which Zheng spoke on successful ways of pursuing ambition and making friends. On July 17, 1938, at the farewell party for graduates of the Chinese Department of Peking University, Zheng "encouraged them on two things, pursuing ambition and seeking friends" 持志、求友兩事勉之 (p. 77). On February 19, at a party of senior students of the Department of History of NSAU, Zheng was invited to give a speech. He gave a lecture on the topic of "how to study and sustain oneself" (*zhixue lishen zhi dao* 治學立身之道), and presented four characters: "pursing ambition and seeking friends" (*yangzhi qiuyou* 養志求友) (p. 793). The third time in which

he talked about the same topic was on March 28, 1946, in Beijing, at a conference in celebration of Youth Day (March 29, the anniversary of the martyrdom of the 72 Martyrs in Guangzhou). At the invitation of a class he was tutoring, Zheng gave a lecture on the topic of "setting up ambitions and seeking friends" (*lizhi qiuyou* 立志求友). Zheng stated that "pursing ambition" (*yangzhi* 養志) contained the following elements: First was to "establish great, grand, lofty ambitions" 志願要遠大，要雄偉，要崇高; second was to "foster profound knowledge and strict practice" 要有深厚之學識，要有嚴格之訓練, which meant "to fight, to have the bravery to sacrifice, to be responsible, to not avoid difficulties" 要奮鬥，要肯犧牲，要負責任，不要避艱苦; third was to "cultivate and understand the trend of the times [keep pace with the time, and demand progress], to keep self-preservation [maintain a healthy body, self-cultivate, and have our own life]" 要知道時代潮流（要跟上時代，求進步），要保持不懈（要有好體格，要有修養，要有生活）. As for "seeking friends": "Firstly, make friends with the ancients. Secondly, make international friends to know the world circumstances. Thirdly, maintain a gregarious life" 一、以古人爲友；二、以國際爲友知世界大勢；三、要有群的生活 (p. 1155). Zheng thought that adolescents (and people in other age groups) should have high standards and worldly ideals. A pre-requisite of achieving life goals is proper management of interpersonal relationships. Because people live in the crowd, they should have "the life of the group" (*qun de shenghuo* 群的生活). This meant that Zheng held making friends in high regard and took pains to pursue it.

Friendship Makes One Blissfully Happy and Fulfils the Delight of Life

Living in the catastrophe of war, Zheng and his colleagues, to varying extents, fell into the shadow of worries over national affairs and domestic concerns. They separately adjusted their mentalities in light of this, but what was more important was that friends helped each other out, with an optimistic attitude toward a positive life.

1) Zheng kept a positive spirit toward life during the war. On September 3, 1939, Luo Yong 羅庸 invited Zheng to have cakes and asked him to invite Luo Changpei as well. Zheng visited Luo Changpei, and finding that he was serving guests, left a note for him: "Yu ling zhi gong yu lüe ju yi bi ying" 於陵

陟弓於略居乙必郢 (Yongzhong is making a date for having cake together). Luo answered: "Wu ke bei gu qie ju qi geng de gai ci ye" 五可背故怯句七梗的蓋此夜 (I will not come but please say thanks to Luo Yong on my behalf). They joked that this was a cipher telegram, while in fact there was no ulterior secret (p. 185). On October 13, 1940, Zheng had an appointment with Fu Sinian 傅斯年 to meet at Longtou village. But as it was overcast in the morning they cancelled the appointment. At ten o'clock, when it was sunny, Zheng sent a message to Fu with the joke "clouds just now dispelling, let's wait for the alarm warning [the air raid siren]" 此時雲散，靜候警報. At 11:15 a.m. the air raid siren really came (p. 324). These kinds of puns were relaxed jokes between close friends, which, accompanied by a positive attitude, tried to cause laughter and cheer each other up. It is obvious that this punning between close friends was a manifestation of the optimistic spirit under the specter of war, whereby they encouraged each other.

Conversation with friends made people happier. On July 2, 1941, Luo Changpei wrote of life in Lizhuang, Sichuan, in his *Difficult Times in Sichuan* (*Shudaonan* 蜀道難):

> In the evening, gathering at the front of the memorial archway hall, I chatted with several old colleagues of the Institute of History and Philology . . . we talked, laughed and sang; we were serious, humorous and elegant. (pp. 434–35)
> 晚上和史語所十幾位老同事在牌坊頭的堂前聚談，……大家有說，有笑，有唱；也莊，也諧，也雅.

From 10:00 p.m. to 12:00 p.m. on August 29, 1942, Zheng "chatted happily with Xiyu and Shentian" 與錫予、莘田談甚歡, then he went to sleep with residual positive emotions (p. 586). Talking about current affairs was one part of the party. On January 12, 1939, at Jiang Menglin's house, Luo Wengan 羅文幹, Luo Longji 羅隆基, Fu Sinian, Zhou Meisun 週枚蓀, Zhang Xiruo 張奚若, Tao Menghe 陶孟和, Qian Duansheng, Yang Zhensheng, and Zheng "discussed current affairs in considerable detail" 談時局極詳. At a tea party on the afternoon of January 14, more than twenty people, including Mei Yiqi, Li Runzhang 李潤章, Zhang Xiruo, Chen Daisun 陳岱孫, Xiao Shuyu 萧叔玉, Pan Guangdan 潘光旦, Luo Changpei, Zhao Naituan 趙迺摶, and Zheng,

also discussed current affairs (pp. 124–25).

2) At festival times, friends gathered to share their worries and their sorrows (of nation and family), thereby stabilizing their emotions. Professors whose relatives were at their sides would invite single colleagues and friends to celebrate festivals together. Luo Yong invited Zheng and Chen Xueping to have dinner at his home on February 19, 1939. Luo and Chen had made several poem puzzles in preparation. After dinner, they guessed together and Zheng "won quite a lot." He did not leave the dormitory until midnight (pp. 133–34). One the evening of second day of the lunar new year, the couple Wu Wenzao and Xie Wanying (Bingxin) 謝婉瑩 (冰心) invited Zheng for dinner (p. 134). Zheng and Bingxin were both natives of Fuzhou. Bingxin was very concerned about the living situation of Zheng's children staying in Beijing.

3) Watching dramas altogether. On the evening of May 29, 1940, Zheng gave a farewell party for Chen Yinque 陳寅恪, inviting him to watch Peking opera at Kunming Theatre, accompanied by Tang Yongtong, Yao Congwu, Luo Changpei, Deng Guangming 邓广铭, and Yu Tairan. The drama was *A Calyx Cup like Snow* (*Yi peng xue* 一捧雪). "Its scenario was pretty wonderful" 劇本甚佳, Zheng noted. On June 12, Chen Yinque insisted on returning the gesture. He invited Zheng, Tang Yongtong, Deng Guangming, and Yu Tairan to Kunming Theatre to watch Peking opera (pp. 276, 279). Zheng's comments were limited to the good scenario and script, which might reflect that the actors were not famous (while the audience were really academic celebrities). These two instances in which Zheng, Chen, and others watched dramas reflect that the professors paid attention to friendships and considerate etiquette, which strengthened their friendship.

4) Different types of banquet and their function in fulfilling life. Zheng always received banquet invitations. Whether he invited others or others invited him, it would usually be multiply. Not only by one man but more men invited one or more people for "public banquet" (*gongyan* 公宴). The banquets were always held at restaurants or private homes. Sometimes they asked the staff dining hall to provide additional cuisine. There were various types of banquets with distinct features. A typology of the banquets to which Zheng and other professors in NSAU were invited is as follows:

(a) Banquets for chatting. On January 8, 1944, Lei Bolun and Zhang Jingyue 張景鉞 invited Luo Changpei and Zheng to have dinner with them and their

daughters. They "chatted happily" and returned at 9:00 p.m. (p. 777). On May 6, Li Yunzhang "invited guests to his home." Guests including Mei Yiqi, Yang Zhensheng, Zhou Binglin, Gong Zizhi 龔自知, Ye Qisun 葉企孫, and Zheng, who were principals and scholars of NSAU. They ate, drank, and chatted, enjoying "happy talk" (p. 829).

(b) Birthday banquets. On December 3, 1942, to celebrate Chen Xueping's birthday, Zheng, Luo Changpei, and others held a party. Luo specially sang some pieces of Kun opera for entertainment (p. 633). Without sincere emotion between close friends Zheng would not spring for guests, neither would Luo sing Kun opera, nor would Chen accept it. There were also some circumstances in which the person whose birthday was would organize a party without informing their guests as to why. On June 26, 1942, Lei Bolun invited Zheng for dinner. Only after dinner did Zheng learn that it was host's birthday. But he had not brought presents; he only had the host's wine to use for as toast. In his *Diary* he recorded that, "I had to use this wine to toast" 惟以其酒相祝耳 (p. 571). Toasting someone's birthday with their own wine was the kind of behavior which could only be understood and overlooked by close friends.

(c) Taking turns to organize banquets. On November 23, 1939, Zheng, Yang Zhensheng, Zhang Tingqian, and others attended a banquet. They undertook the method of taking turns to host banquets, drawing lots to decide. That day's hosts were Zhang Tingqin and Fan Jichang (p. 211).

(d) Amusement activities after dinner. On May 28, 1939, Zheng and Zhao Qiutuan played *shengguantu* in Jiang Menglin's home after dinner (p. 155). On January 5, 1941, when it was Mei Yiqi's birthday, Jiang Menglin hosted at his home. Besides Mei Yiqi and his wife, colleagues in NSAU living in Hill Head village also attended. Zheng specially came from Kunming for the banquet. After dinner they played the poker (p. 362). On August 11, 1940, Zheng, "at Tian Bocang and Tang Liguang's invitation, sang Kun opera after dinner with great passion. Back at 10 p.m." 應田伯蒼、唐立廣之招、飯後大唱昆曲。十時歸 (p. 298). Mr. Zheng seemed to not have been good at singing but it was obvious that the host enjoyed himself and entertained the guests.

(e) Self-catered banquets. On December 1, 1939, Li Xiaoyu 李曉宇 invited friends to have noodles with soybean paste at Bao Yinfu's 包尹輔 home in the evening. Bao modulated the side dishes and Li cooked the sauce. Liang Guangfu 梁光甫 rolled and made the noodles. The resulting dishes were a very

traditional taste of Beijing, which could hardly be found elsewhere. Zheng ate too much unconsciously. He then took a walk with friends around Cui Lake (pp. 216–17). Relishing food and doing such activities with friends in groups, only this could be truly be called harmonious happiness.

(f) Finding fault in the banquet. On the evening of December 17, 1940, at the conference for 42nd anniversary of the foundation of Peking University, as general secretary, Zheng prepared one hundred dishes of fruit and dessert for guests, but more than 130 people came. At the party, Jiang Menglin and others gave speeches, Zhang Qingchang played harmonica, and Luo Changpei sang Kun opera. After the party, some colleagues used Zheng's insufficient preparation of refreshments to "entreat me to serve sticky rice balls" 強求請食元宵. After this he invited ten guests for banquets (p. 353). Colleagues found fault with one another, but this was just for fun. They regarded it as an amusement.

(g) Public banquets. On November 23, 1940, the couple Wu Wenzao and Bing Xin would fly to Chongqing. On November 22, Zheng, Luo Changpei, and Chen Xueping saw them off together, and invited the couple Jiang Menglin and Yang Zhensheng and their daughter for dinner (p. 341). On January 22, 1945, Zheng, Zhang Tingqian, and Chen Xueping hosted Tao Zenggu, Mei Yiqi, and Han Yonghua 韓詠華 with their daughter, who was to join the army (p. 986). This presented celebration and encouragement with sincerity. On December 9, 1943, Zheng, Zhou Binglin, Qian Duansheng, Zhang Tingqian, and Luo Changpei publicly invited Gu Mengyu 顧孟余 for lunch; Gu would fly to India in the afternoon (p. 766). On April 1, 1946, colleagues in Peking University hosted their counterparts in Tsinghua University (p. 1163). The latter two banquets might be general social engagements.

5) Zheng's comments on drinking at the banquets of professors at NSAU. In the popular imaginary, professors are always living a simple life, not having tobacco or wine, and without bad habits. Moreover, being addicted to smoking or drinking is disreputable behavior from which the professors might steer away. In fact, this is not entirely right.

On January 7, 1942, the Standing Committee meeting was over at 10:00 p.m.; the weather was cold. Mei Yiqi wanted something warm to eat. He ate rice noodles at the street corner, then went back to the hotel. With Zha

Liangzhao 查良釗, he "bought wine to drink immediately, which was a romantic affair" 買酒立飲之，亦韻事也 (p. 503). So it was. The bottle shop did not provide wine glasses, so they borrowed one tea cup from the shop. The two men, one mouthful at a time, drank the wine. The two were alumni of Nankai High School. One of them was now the chairman of the Standing Committee of NSAU, the other was proctor in the same university. On very intimate terms they drank together; this became a prized anecdote among scholars and an interesting affair in academic circles.

On the 23rd, Mei Yiqi "invited [others for] drinking." Yang Zhensheng, Fan Jichang, Zhang Tingqian, Shen Lü 沈履, and Zheng came. "We had the banquet pretty joyfully and did not leave until ten" 飲宴甚歡，十時半散 (p. 508), Zheng noted. On March 26, Zheng, Yang Zhensheng, Chen Xueping, Zhang Tingqian, and Fan Jichang hosted guests including Jiang Menglin and Tao Zenggu, Mei Yiqi, Han Yonghua (Han's wife did not join), Wu Wenzao, Bao Yinfu, Yu Tairan, and Mei Yiqi with his four bottles of wine (p. 533). He might bring wine as appreciation, and drank them on the spot. At noon on May 1, Zheng, Yang Zhensheng, Luo Changpei, and Chen Xueping invited Mei Yiqi to Yajie Restaurant for a banquet. Mei Yiqi "brought a bottle of wine there" 取酒一瓶攜至. At that time the Kunming government was urging thrift, banning restaurants from selling wine. But "what starts as policy ends as negotiation" 上有政策下有對策. The restaurant gave a fake name for wine, "cool tea," making them look the same, not using wine glasses, but "drinking it with tea cups" 以茶盞飲之. Hence, Mei Yiqi brought wine by himself. This substitution of wine for tea was used for amusement by Yang Zhensheng. He wrote a poem to scoff at the current circumstances: "Treating everywhere as home but none are home, / in the street the erythrina are blossoming. / Wherever I go no way to satiate the thirst of yearning, / under drizzle behind curtains I take wine as tea for drinking" 到處爲家不是家，陌頭開遍刺桐花。天涯無奈相思渴，細雨疏簾酒當茶. On May 7, these friends again gathered at Yajie Restaurant. Mei responded to Yang's poem: "Travelling the world without home, / in spring rains admiring flower blossoms. / Having wine at the banquet are you and I, / in the world no one makes tea alone" 寄跡天涯那是家，春來閑看雨中花。筵前有酒共君飲，月下無人自煮茶. And Mei, by the same rhyme scheme, furnished one more poem: "Three years in Guangdong it has become home, / romantically we talk about the past as flowers blossom. / Who

could be as talented as Yang Jinfu, / nice wine rather than tea to imbibe" 三載羊城亦是家，前緣豔說一枝花。風流誰似楊今甫，好酒當前不飲茶. Yang urged Luo Changpei, Fan Jichang, Zha Liangzhao, Zhang Tingqian, and Chen Xueping to respond with their own poems. They did not leave until 11 p.m. (pp. 551, 553).

Zheng recorded many details about drinking in his *Diary*. Here is another case: On the evening of June 26, 1944, Gong Zizhi 龔自知 hosted a dinner for the arrival of Wu Junsheng 吳俊升. Zheng was invited to be present. The guests "talked until 10 p.m., and were drunk same as the host. When I got to the dormitory, I got to sleep quickly" 談至十時乃散，賓主皆醉。歸舍未久亦寢. Zheng was not good at drinking, and must have drunk heavily, because when he got back to the dormitory he soon fell asleep (p. 852). He stopped recording instances in which he was drinking thereafter.

Chinese traditional cultured men (certainly not only intellectuals) forged a dissoluble bond with wine. Therefore, Cao Cao's 曹操 "When drinking sing, / who knows how long life is" 對酒當歌，人生幾何 became a popular saying. People honor Li Bai 李白 as the "immortal wine master" (*jiuxian* 酒仙). Poor Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 "used the money from selling paintings to pay the wine store" 賣畫錢來付酒家.[8] At the same time, there were such popular stereotypes at the "winebibber" (*jiugui* 酒鬼), "the dead head" (*jiunang-fandai* 酒囊飯袋), and being "as drunk as a fiddler" (*lanzui-runi* 爛醉如泥). Those who "ate, drank, whored, and gambled," gained a bad reputation for drinking wine and making friends with immoral and mercenary people (*jiurou-pengyou* 酒肉朋友). Drinking wine is bad for health, this has been indisputably identified by science. However, wine is always been used as a representation of career success. For example, when one wins the champion in a sports match, people will open a bottle of champagne for celebration. Many kinds of parties begin with toasts as a symbol of gathering. It seems that people can not get away from wine. Actually, drinking wine depends on whether you have the "limit" (*du* 度) to prevent the body from being injured. One has to restrain oneself and keep the "ethic of drinking" (*jiude* 酒德). If one drinks too much and talks nonsense, it will leave a bad impression on others. In a word, drinking within limits would improve the interest of one's life.

[8] Yisu, ed., *Gudian wenxue yanjiu ziliao huibian, Hongloumeng juan*, 7.

After talking about alcohol, let us talk about smoking. It is said that "smoking is always accompanied with drinking" (*yanjiu bufenjia* 煙酒不分家). On June 2, 1944, Zheng, Liu Jinnian, and Luo Changpei chatted for a long time. Liu wrote Luo a humorous couplet: "One's temper rises with their fame, / many guests, many letters, much tobacco" 人大名大肝氣大，客多信多煙絲多. Zheng said how the top scroll was "in vain getting a bad reputation" 徒攤惡名. They all "laughed" and did not go to sleep until 12:30 a.m. (p. 841). From the joke we know that Luo smoked and liked to use a pipe to smoke tobacco. On October 18, 1945, Zheng bought a box of cigars in Nanjing, preparing to present it to his old friend Pujin after returning to Beijing (p. 1118). The *Diary* recorded less on smoking than drinking. Perhaps this was because there were fewer smokers around Zheng. However, it might be that there were more banquets together and drinking was for livening things up. Alcohol was absolutely necessary.

Encouraging One Another and Promoting Self-Development

Zheng established reading and study as his life aims. His morality and his talent for dealing with official affairs resulted in him becoming the dean of general affairs of NSAU, so he was always busy with administrative affairs. In this situation, how did Zheng deal with the relationship between academic and administrative work? He gained encouragement for academic work from friends who were willing to discuss it with him. This helped him gain the approval of academic authorities, institutes, and scholars for his academic work. It could be said that in action Zheng placed his administrative work first and in ideology he placed his study first. Striving like this on two fronts made him achieve outstanding success, as both a famous historian and educator.

Zheng had a strong desire for reading but this was hard to put into action because of the administrative affairs of the university. In his daily life, Zheng considered himself to be at peace when reading and not to be wasting time. On August 11, 1939, Zheng recorded in his *Diary*: "These days I have read less, but today I read a lot. When I read I feel at ease" 連日少讀書，今日讀較多，顧覺心安理得 (p. 111). Research made him happy. As he wrote, "talked [with Fu Sinian] about the history of the Ming and Qing, feeling comfortable" 談明清史，甚暢 (p. 295). From these things we can know that he longed for reading

and study. The original dean of general affairs in NSAU, Shen Lü, recommended Zheng to take over his position. Zheng said to himself: "I read books day and night, which still is not enough. How can I save time for such affairs?!" 吾日夜繼晷，讀猶不足，安有余暇此事哉？！(p. 222) These words showed that he wanted to devote himself to study and academic work. His administrative work for the university distracted him from his goal. He was in a distressed mood.

Encouragement from friends helped Zheng to rid himself of worry and troubles, which propelled him forward in his history work. An obvious case is the composing of *Studies in Qing History* (*Qingshi tanwei* 清史探微). Zheng's administrative work required going to the office. Sometimes he did study and research in the office. This was first discovered by Tang Yongtong and he encouraged Zheng. They also had the experience of "reading together under the window" 同讀窗下. Tang invited Zheng to read his research plan on Wei and Jin dynasty metaphysics. Zheng showed great admiration. This kind of academic communication made Zheng develop "a feeling of confidence" in Tang. On April 30, Zheng was in the process of editing *Investigation on Suspects in the Qing Dynasty* (*Qingshi jiyi* 清史稽疑), the draft name of *Studies in Qing History*, the title under which it would finally be published. He discussed with Tang and found them to be in agreement. Zheng invited Tang to provide the preface for the book, with the hope of paying back the confidence he had shown in him (pp. 244, 810). Luo Changpei encouraged Zheng to build his confidence for academic research. In January 1940, NSAU unanimously consented to appoint Zheng as the dean of general affairs. Luo Changpei disagreed with his assuming the duty. He asked Zheng: "Would you like to be an expert in general affairs or a specialist of Ming and Qing history?" 君欲爲事務專家乎？爲明清史專家乎？; he wanted Zheng to be a specialist of Ming and Qing history. Zheng said that his words were "most tempting" 最誘人 (p. 232). Finally, Zheng had to take the position. However, this made him to be a "tempting" specialist of Ming and Qing history firmly. Luo's attempting to rally encouraged Zheng to go on the way of study and research. As Luo was close to finishing his *The First Collection of Tianchang's Chinese Treatises* (*Tianchang yuwen lunzhu jiaji* 恬廠語文論著甲集), on December 11, 1942, he asked Zheng to write a preface for the book. This was a reflection of their close friendship. Also, we can see that Luo admired Zheng's academic

status. Despite being unwell at the time, Zheng still wrote the preface on January 16 of the next year (pp. 635, 650, 658–59). Regarding Luo's encouragement, Zheng, in "Mr. Luo's Help to Me" (*Luo Changpei xiansheng dui wo de bangzhu* 羅常培先生對我的幫助), wrote with appreciation:

> I do not like to write essays, and I don't want to publish them after finishing. Mr. Luo kept on advising and encouraging, and finally persuaded me. That I was able to demonstrate some academic ability begins with Mr. Luo's encouragement. Sometimes I have written essays but not wanted to publish them, and Mr. Luo would urge me to do so. This was the case with "Dorgon Call me Emperor" [*Duo'ergun cheng huangfu*].[9]
> 我不喜寫文章，更不願寫成後發表，羅先生不斷地加以勸勉，說服了我。我能在學術上稍稍有所表現，是由羅先生鼓勵開始的。有時寫了文章不願發表，羅先生常常強迫拿去。關於《多爾袞稱皇父》一篇，就是這樣的.

As previously mentioned, on December 24, 1943, Tsinghua University employed Zheng to be a member of the examination committee for candidates intending to study in the United States at state expense, and of the sixth session of the research paper review committee (p. 772). This was a position with academic honor, which showed that Tsinghua University respected the academic position of Zheng. It also indicated that a friend of Zheng, Tsinghua University president Mei Yiqi, encouraged him to advance on the way of academic research. Fu Sinian later appointed Zheng to compile the history of Ming dynasty. On June 24, 1939, they drafted twenty-four volumes of *Records of the Ming Dynasty* (*Mingzhi* 明志), and later changed it to *Thirty Volumes of Books on the Ming* (*Mingshu sanshi zhi* 明書三十志). Fu Sinian drafted the catalog. On July 10, he left a note for Zheng saying that "little brother was strong in will but weak in power. So I wish that you could keep on it" 弟有心無力，公其勉之, which was used to encourage Zheng. Zheng recorded the following in his *Diary*: "Many friends have expectations for this work that are beyond what I have achieved. Why did I not strive to achieve more?" 諸友相期，遠逾所勝，可不黽勉以赴之耶？(pp. 161–67). The support and encouragement of Tang Yongtong, Luo Changpei, Fu Sinian, Mei Yiqi,

[9] Zheng Tianting, "Luo Changpei xiansheng dui wo de bangzhu," in *Jishi xueren tancong*, 562.

and other friends built up Zheng's confidence in historical study, and motivated him to advance on the path of academic research with courage.

At the same time friends also engaged in academic discussion with Zheng, which contributed to the formation and publication of his works of academic research. Zheng wrote some essays which were later collected into *Studies in Qing History* in Kunming. Luo Changpei provided handwritten cards of Manchu language and Mongolian resources for Zheng. Zheng transcribed them into the *Diary*, using them to discuss the history of the Manchu royal family, and composing theses (p. 945).[10] On September 19, 1939, Zheng finished writing the first draft of "Dialogues on Subsidiary States in the Account of the Western Regions of the Sui Dynasty," later successively revising and enlarging it. On June 29, 1940, Zheng noted examples of revisions in the article: "As to Dulai, etc., there was still dissent on whether the ancient accent should be open or closed. I took Mr. Luo's opinion and revised it. Finally, on the 30th, I finalized the scripts" 都賴之類，古音上開合尚有異議，聽取羅氏的意見，加以改正，於 30 日定稿 (pp. 185, 284). Zheng invited Zhang Zhenglang 張政烺 to give revision advice on a draft of "Dialogues on Subsidiary States." On September 12, 1940, Zhang had read it three times and sent a letter to Zheng with great praise. On the 27th, Zhang transcribed the resources on subsidiary states from *Miscellanea in Kunxuezhai* (*Kunxuezhai zalu* 困學齋雜錄) for Zheng. Zheng again searched in *Chronicles of Paintings* (*Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記), *The Xuanhe Painting Catalogue* (*Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜), and other books, adding material to the article (pp. 312, 317). On January 22, 1939, Zheng completed a draft of "High School Curriculum Standard Issues" (*Gaozhong kecheng biaozhun wenti* 高中課程標準問題). He invited Qiu Danian 邱大年 and Chen Xueping to "weigh in on it" 斟酌之 (p. 126). These cases showed that Zheng acquired assistance and advice on his compositions from Luo Changpei, Zhang Zhenglang, Qiu Danian, and Chen Xueping. These friends played a positive part in his works.

The title of *Studies in Qing History* was the outcome of discussion with friends. At the beginning, Luo Changpei suggested using the name of

[10] In "In Memory of Mr. Luo Changpei" (*Daonian Luo Changpei xiansheng*), Zheng wrote, "Because his notes were detailed and precise, we always borrowed his to copy." See Zheng Tianting, "Daonian Luo Changpei xiansheng," in *Jishi xueren tancong*, 588.

"Discrimination of Qing History" (*Qingshi ranyi* 清史然疑). Zheng had no interest in "discrimination," so he proposed "Investigation of Qing History" (*Qingshi jiyi* 清史稽疑). On April 25, 1945, he was prepared to change the name to "Identifying Suspicions of the Qing Dynasty" (*Qingshi zhengyi* 清史证疑). On May 22, he discussed with Mao Zhun 毛准. Mao thought that the name "identifying suspicions" (*zhengyi* 證疑) might be hard for people to understand and suggested that "indexes" or "detailed investigation" (*bianwei* 辨微) could be used. Finally, they came to an agreement on "Studies in Qing History" (p. 1039). Mao's knowledge was always admired by Zheng. In early 1938, Zheng had said of Mao that he "has deep roots in Sinology, and has read numerous books, the depth and amount of which far exceeds my own" 國學根底之深讀書之多，非吾所及 (p. 7). Therefore, Zheng was willing to hear from Mao and finalized the book's name based on his advice. The publisher of *Studies in Qing History*, Lu Daizeng 盧逮曾, was Zheng's old friend. In the first half of 1938, Lu wrote to Zheng from Beijing, discussing moving to the south. Zheng was in extreme agreement about moving south. Lu later went to Chongqing and established *Journal of Literature and History* (*Wenshi zazhi* 文史雜誌). He time and again collected manuscripts from Zheng. He also frequently advised Zheng to publish treatises as well (p. 810).

Friends Always Give Forthright Admonitions

Close friends must always give forthright admonitions, helping each other to overcome weaknesses or other disturbances, and making each other's lives go smoothly. Regarding Luo Changpei's relationship with Zhang Qinghui 張清徽 and Luo Yong's family relationship, Zheng and Chen Xueping, as close friends, used artistic language and effective solutions to successfully help Luo out of his predicament. Zheng also helped Luo build a harmonious family. Together with Zhang Qingchang, Zheng contributed to the reconciliation between Luo Changpei and Chen Xueping.

Zhang Qinghui was a graduate student under the guidance of Luo Changpei. The two had a close relationship. At that time, public opinion was quite unfavorable to Luo: "He was always ridiculed and slandered by his colleagues" 最爲儕輩所譏誹. Because Luo had a temper, no one was willing to explain the above situation to him in person. Zheng understood Luo's temper, and knew

that he could understand and accept good-natured persuasion. Knowing that Luo and Zhang were purely friends and had no other relationship, he persuaded Luo to end their relationship: "I often used sublime words to influence him, euphemistic words to persuade him, and alarmist words to alert him" 每微言以感之，婉言以規之，危言以聳之. Luo understood Zheng's meaning and also wanted to cut ties with Zhang, so he asked Zheng to "make a good plan" 畫一善策 for him (p. 285). Zhang and Zheng also had contact. She knew that Zhou Zhimei's birthday was on February 2, 1941. The next day, she sent Zheng many plums. Zheng borrowed a vase from Luo Changpei, inserted the plums and placed the vase on the side of the seat (p. 375). Zheng also thought about Zhang's future and hoped that she could have a good career and family. Zheng and Chen Xueping had identical views on this point. It happened that someone introduced Zhang to "Gong," who worked at the Bank of China in Chongqing. Zheng and Chen hoped to facilitate their relationship. Luo also agreed. On March 12, Chen came to visit Luo, and Zhang happened to be there, so he took the opportunity to say, "it's not easy for a woman to dedicate herself to her career. I intend to help you get married. Xintian agrees, Chen seems to have some sense" 女子終事獻身事業之不易，意促其有所歸，莘田和之，似可有所悟也 (p. 393). Zheng and Chen asked Jiang Menglin to write a recommendation letter for Zhang, and Jiang agreed. The matter was resolved with Zhang going to Bank of China in Chongqing to work, and Luo was able to get rid of the rumors that had damaged his reputation.

Luo Yong and his wife were for some time in discord and separated. Zheng explained the traditional virtues that "A mother's loving children will be filial to their parents" to Luo's mother. Then he persuaded Luo: "You should be filial to the elders, be gentle to those who are younger, and be chivalrous to those of the same generation" 上爲孝子，下爲慈父，中爲義夫. Luo was seriously ill in 1936, and Zheng persuaded him to reconcile with his wife. When his wife returned of her own volition, Luo quickly recovered. In the following years, Luo always practiced filial piety, gentleness, and chivalry. Zheng thought that it was "the greatest pleasure" 最大快心之事 for him (p. 393).

In mid-May 1944, Luo Changpei and Chen Xueping became estranged, and Zheng and Zhang Qingchang tried their best to mediate. Eventually, they

restrained their emotions and reconciled. The story is as follows: Luo Changpei published the article "Interpreting the Mandate of Heaven" (*Shi mingling* 釋命令) in *Republic of China Daily* (*Minguo ribao* 民國日報) on May 14. The last section, satirizing the Central Training Group, was deleted by Chen Xueping. Luo was very annoyed when he discovered the incident on the 15th. When Chen learned of Luo's dissatisfaction, he immediately wrote to explain the situation. However, before seeing the letter, Luo had written angrily to *Republic of China Daily*, asking them to publish the deleted part and apologize. There was a speech by Zhu Ziqing that night, and Luo took the opportunity to announce in public that his article had been deleted. Zheng went to talk with Luo that night and told him that it was not appropriate to betray friends. Luo claimed that he was easily angry recently, and they chatted until 12:30 at night before going to bed. On the 16th, Yao Congwu discovered that Chen was "quite unhappy" and told Zheng. Zheng suggested to Chen to talk with Luo. Chen said that Luo was in a fit of anger and he was going to visit him after a bit. Zheng thought that the two had to talk face-to-face immediately; they would regret it if they acted on impulse for the sake of being comfortable for a while. On the 17th, *Republic of China Daily* published Luo Changpei's letter and the deleted paragraphs. Chen was very sad when he saw it and wrote another letter to Luo. Zhang Qingchang was afraid of making things worse and wanted to stop Chen from sending the letter, so he asked Zheng to dissuade him. After reading the letter, Zheng thought it was okay for Chen to send the letter. There was a rumor that Luo wrote to *Republic of China Daily* after reading Chen's first letter, which made Chen very dissatisfied. Zheng asked Luo about the rumor. Luo explained that he had not seen Chen's letter before writing to *Republic of China Daily* and said that he would write to Chen to explain the situation. On the 18th, Zhang wrote to Luo, thinking that he had gone too far. Zheng agreed with Zhang's opinion but advised him not to send the letter. Zheng said: Because of your identity as Luo's junior fellow apprentice, doing so is probably not beneficial. I have been friends with Luo for tweney-five years, and I will talk to him. On that day, Chen visited Luo. After hearing this, Zheng praised his act: "How delightful! How virtuous! What an admirable thing this is" 甚善，甚善，可佩之至 (pp. 833–34). The reconciliation between Chen Xueping and Luo Changpei depended on their cultivation. However, the persuasion of Zheng and Zhang encouraged their emotional restraint and

helped them eliminate misunderstandings. In this matter, Zheng and Zhang played a big part.

Friends in Adversity

As the saying goes, "misfortune tests the sincerity of friends" (*huannan zhong jian zhenqing* 患難中見真情). People are most likely to distinguish true and false friends in times of difficulty. When encountering difficulties, true friends will solve one another's worries, while fake friends will hide far away. The *Diary* shows the true feelings of friends in adversity. Mutual concern among friends can help people overcome difficulties, live a normal life, and work hard.

When Zheng was sick, his friends showed selfless and fearless care. As mentioned earlier, Zheng, who had always been in good health, was suffering from overwork. He became ill for more than twenty days between 1942 and 1943, and he was nursed by his friends. Friends took care of his diet, bowel movements, and helped him visit doctors to be prescribed medicine. Luo Changpei, Yuan Jiahua 袁家驊, Xu Baolu 許寶騄, and Liu Jinnian were particularly eager to volunteer to take care of Zheng. Qian Jinhua 錢晉華, the wife of Yuan Jiahua, made congee and soup noodles for several days, and Zheng was particularly moved. Zheng was overwhelmed by the fact that his friends were taking care of his urine. Ren Jiyu and Han Yuwen 韓裕文 came up with a way to hire co-workers to help them and give them more money. After that, the school guards sent a member, Tang Ronghua 唐榮華, who was sincere, to serve him. Zheng was at ease.

When he was sick, Zheng could only eat liquid food. At that time, his friends came and gave him a lot of food. Bao Yinfu gave two cans of milk, Jiang Menglin gave milk powder, Lei Bolun gave chicken soup, Peter Misch (a German) gave biscuits and oranges, He Pengyu 何鵬毓 gave biscuits, Wei Mingjing 魏明經 gave lotus-root powder, sugar, and eggs, and Li Jingshi 李鯨石 gave condensed milk. For the convenience of care, friends suggested that Zheng be moved to a suitable place. Yu Tairan came to inform him on the 18th that he had negotiated with Jiang Menglin and wanted to invite Zheng to move to Jiang's residence in Caisheng Lane so that everyone could take care of him. Zhang Tingqian was to pick up him in a car at ten o'clock the following day, but Zheng firmly refused. On the 27th, Chen Xueping suggested that

Zheng move to Gangtou village, in the countryside, where there was no air raid siren and no need to evacuate. Luo Yong, who lived in Gangtou village at that time, came to visit and invited Zheng to live in his house so that he could take care of him. Fan Jichang came to visit, and then wrote a letter inviting Zheng to move to his home in Xishan Huating Temple so that he could rest and recuperate. At that time, there were often Japanese air raids. On the afternoon of the 25th, an air raid siren sounded. Zheng could not get out of bed to evacuate. Luo Changpei "did not leave and kept chatting with him" 遂亦不走，相伴而談. Misch also "stayed indoors because he saw that his colleagues were not hiding" 見吾輩不走避，亦留室中. When the siren sounded on the 26th, Zheng was again accompanied by Luo Changpei; Chen Xueping also visited that day and did not leave as well. Under the same circumstances, on the 29th, Luo Changpei was again accompanied, and Xu Baolu was also with him for a long time. There were a lot of friends coming to visit; Li Xiaoyu came to visit from Ciba, Mei Yiqi, Feng Youlan, Huang Zijian, and Cha Liangzhao visited four times, Yang Shixian 楊石先, Wang Ganyu 王贛愚, Feng Wenqian 馮文潛, and Lei Bolun three times, Jiang Menglin, Chen Xujing, Tang Yongtong, and Bao Jueming 鮑覺明 twice. Yao Congwu, Hu Mengzi 胡蒙子, and Ren Jiyu would come every day. Ren would also purchase food for Zheng.

The precious care of his friends made Zheng very grateful and he deeply understood the importance of friendship. On the 18th, he wrote a poem to express his emotions: "Occurrences in human life have the order of priority, / but there are no fixed criteria to rank the friendship between people . . . How great Confucius's ideology and morals are, / the principle of loyalty and forgiveness is being widely practiced!" 人事有急徐，情誼無親疏……大哉夫子道，忠恕有坦途. He also wrote: "When I turned on the lamp and saw the vessel of medicine, / I dared not recall my loved ones" 張燈藥鐺見，不敢憶親人. Zheng said of these poems: "I don't know what my real meaning is" 不自知命意之所在. But in fact, the core idea of these poems is clear: To praise friendship and the principles of loyalty and forgiveness that exist widely in the world. In disaster, people will be touched by friendship. Although there is no blood relationship between friends, friendship is undoubtedly related to family. Zheng really felt the warmth of friendship and realized that friendship is beyond life. Of Luo Changpei, Peter Misch, Chen Xueping, Xu Baolu, and

the others who chose to stay beside him in the air raid alert, Zheng said that, "they are really people who would give up their lives to maintain friendship, the ancients lived for nothing less" 此真舍生命以維交情者也，古人生死交情不過是也 (pp. 636–44). All of these are manifestations of the fearless spirit. These people who made good friends with Zheng had noble morals.

Zheng also accompanied sick friends when the air raid siren sounded. On May 19, 1943, Liu Jinnian, Xu Baolu, Bian Zhilin 卞之琳, and Yuqiu 雨秋 could not evacuate when the air raid siren sounded because of illness. Zheng accompanied them and soon Ren Jiyu also returned (p. 691). Not only serious illnesses but also minor illnesses caused concern among friends. On March 15, 1946, Zheng suffered a cold, and Yang Zhensheng sent a thermometer. The next day he visited again with Zheng Huachi 鄭華熾 (p. 1152).

Family members of friends were also taken care of. On the evening of June 27, 1942, Zheng hosted a graduation dinner with Zha Liangzhao 查良釗 and Luo Changpei for Jiang Menglin's daughter Yanhua and son Renhao, Mei Yiqi's daughter Zushan, Zhang Tingqian's daughter Zhang Yan 章淹, Gao Renshan's 高仁山 son Gao Tao 高陶, Luo Changpei's niece Luo Jingxian 羅靜嫻, and others. The banquet had a more important purpose, that Zheng had discussed with Zha beforehand; Zheng wanted to discuss with the late Gao Renshan's son Gao Tao the details of his father's life and other family matters, so Zheng and Gao Tao had a long conversation until 10:30 p.m. (p. 572). This kind of care for friends' children, especially when friends were away on business trips, was an everyday matter. For example, when Luo Changpei went to the United States to give lectures, and Qian Duansheng went to Chongqing, Zheng and Luo Yong helped them handle household chores and accompanied their family members to see the doctor. In April 1945, Luo Jingxian suffered from tuberculosis, requiring the excision of two of her ribs, but she was temporarily too weak to be treated. On the 30th of the month and the 8th of the following month, Zheng and Luo Yong went to the hospital to visit her. Luo Jingxian was discharged from the hospital at the end of the month and moved to Luo Yong's house. Zheng went to see her. Luo spent a total of 150,000 yuan on treatment while in hospital, which was paid by Hu Haiyu on her behalf. That was quite a huge sum of money so Luo suspected that Hu might have designs on her. Zheng then raised enough money for her and returned it to Hu. Hu felt that Luo Jingxian was repaying his favor with

resentment. This incident also caused Hu and his wife to quarrel. Luo and Zheng mediated between them. Hu's wife then moved to Luo's house too (pp. 1028, 1045, 1057). On June 17, 1946, Zheng went to see Luo Changpei's wife in Beijing in order to discuss the marriage of her daughter Kunyi (p. 1187). Qian Duansheng wrote a letter to Zheng in Chongqing asking him to help to look after his family income. To this end, Zheng went to see his wife, Chen Gonghui 陳公蕙, on July 9, 1945, and sent money to her house on the 16th. On the 19th, because Chen Gonghui was going to the hospital, he discussed with Zhang Xiruo about borrowing money. Zheng went to visit her on the 20th, and Qian Duansheng returned to Kunming on the 24th. Chen Gonghui would be admitted to the hospital on August 1. Zheng and Yao Congwu immediately found Mei Yiqi's wife, Han Yonghua, to borrow a car to facilitate her transportation. Han Yonghua tried to find a driver but failed, so she went to Qian's house to explain the situation (pp. 1060–1072). Zheng, Zhang Xiruo, Yao Congwu, and Han Yonghua were all concerned about Chen Gonghui's illness. They thought of others' business as their own and tried their best to resolve their problems.

Zheng also helped those he did not know. On March 6, 1943, someone incorrectly delivered the notice of Luo Shiwei's plane ticket to him; because he did not know this "Mr. Luo," he ignored it. However, the flight was at five o'clock the next morning. Zheng believed that the person must be notified immediately, but he did not know him; after making inquiries in Yunnan University, he still failed to find the person. Zheng then went to Zhang Jingyue's house to inquire, and finally got Luo Shiwei's exact address, so he sent someone to deliver the message. The message was not delivered until 10:30 in the evening; after receiving Luo's personal receipt, Zheng felt relieved (p. 670). Zheng regarded helping others as what he should do, fully demonstrating his noble morality.

Distinguished Common Interests of Elegant Friends

When Zheng was in Beijing, he often participated in the Xiaohan Society. After the ninth gathering, the event was renamed "poetry club" (*shitiaohui* 詩條會). The name reflected that this was an elegant gathering for literati to appreciate and exchange antiques, calligraphy, paintings, and poetry, and it was

a kind of cultural life of a small group. The following will take the second and third gatherings as examples to describe its activities. The first gathering was held at 6:00 p.m. on January 6, 1946, at Chen Xueping's residence. Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 brought a banner of self-written clerical script and a silver coin; Shen Jianshi 沈兼士 brought a volume of Wang Xizhi's 王羲之 copybook printed on glass plate; Pujin brought a self-painted ink landscape painting; Puquan 溥佺 (Pu Songchuang 溥松窗) brought a self-painted ink horse painting and an album of paintings; Zhang Zhuzhong 張柱中 brought four ink cakes made by Hu Kaiwen 胡開文 (a famous craftsman in Huizhou); Qi Gong 啓功 brought a self-painted ink *dou fang* (square paper for painting and calligraphy), two paintings of rocks from Jigu ge (a famous private library in Ming dynasty), and a big ink brush; Dong Xifan 董洗凡 brought a brush rack made from Taoyuan stone; Zhang Beiling 張北靈 brought a porcelain bottle; Chen Xueping brought an ink cake and an album of paintings; and Zheng brought an ink cake made during the Daoguang period of the Qing dynasty. After the meal, they distributed the gifts. For example, Zheng got the painting of Pujin, and Chen Xueping got the ink cake brought by Zheng. They then enjoyed a traditional entertainment, to write and reply in poems. Chen Xueping put forward the rhyme sequence. Zheng composed "The timely rain in spring nourishes the first month of summer" 時雨數春滋孟夏; Zheng said modestly that he hardly been able to make it rhyme. The poetic rhyme sequence opened with Zhang Zhuzhong's poem, "The half window of crescent moonlight moves out of the pillow" 新月半窗移枕外. The party continued until ten o'clock in the evening (p. 1128).

The Xiaohan Society was held every nine days. The third gathering started at 6 p.m. on the 15th, in Zhimeizhai. Zheng got an ink rest and a stone seal from Qi Gong, Yu Jiaxi got an ink cake from Zheng, Zhang Huai 張懷 got a painting and a fan rib from Yu Jiaxi, Endi 恩棣 got four pieces of ancient paper made during Qianlong period of the Qing dynasty and two ink cakes from Zhang Huai, Fu Jin got a painting from En Di, Zhang Zhuzhong got four paintings from Chen Xueping, Dong Xifan got four paintings from Zhang Zhuzhong, Chen Xueping got a pot from Dong Xifan. Later, Chen Xueping presented Zheng with a pot, Zheng gave back a stone seal, Zheng also presented Pujin with a pot, and Pujin thanked Zheng for his paintings (p. 1132). The seventh gathering was held at the residence of Shen Jianshi on

February 15. They played a quiz game centered on verses after dinner (p. 1143). On March 2, the ninth and the last gathering was at Wang Shixiang's 王世襄 home, and Zhang Zhuzhong, Shen Jianshi, Zhang Huai, Yu Jiaxi, Pujin, and Zheng attended. "I got the items I prepared" 余抽得自備之物, Zheng noted. There were very few people attending the party. Zheng therefore expressed emotion,

> The Xiaohan Society, held every nine days, will be successfully concluded today. Only Xuezhai, Yu Jiyu, and I have not been absent from the nine gatherings. Others, some because of urgent affairs, some because of illness, and some because there are no items to take, have been absent several times. How difficult it is to successfully accomplish one thing is visible here. (p. 1147)
> 消寒乙會每九一集，今日完滿，九集未缺者，惟雪齋、余季豫及余三人而已，余子或以事，或以病，或以限於攜品，有半途而退者，有中間加入者，有時缺時到者，天下事之難，於此可見.

The poetry club which succeeded it was conducted many times, but Zheng's *Diary* only recorded that there was a gathering on a certain day and lacked specific content. However, a dinner party and quiz games were included. For example, on March 30, they gathered at the Senlong Hotel. After dinner, "they played quiz games" 諸公尙有詩謎之會. On July 13, Zheng and Chen Xueping went to Pujin's home to attend the poetry club meeting (pp. 1156, 1197).

Principles to Adhere to in Making Friends

Zheng was deeply aware that no matter how close friends are, they are also independent individuals, different from family. Therefore, there should be principles for getting along with friends.

First, do not make decisions for friends. On March 9, 1941, Chen Xueping asked for Zheng's opinion on whether he should serve on the Central Committee of the Three People's Principles of the Sun Yat-sen Youth League. Zheng analyzed the pros and cons for him from two aspects, without giving any affirmative opinions. He said: "It is good for the Youth League if you go to

work. From this perspective, you can go. But from your personal point of view, I don't support your going. After serving in the Youth League, your life will be completely changed" (p. 391).

Zhu Jiahua 朱家驊 urged Chen Xueping to serve in the Ministry of Education. Zheng talked to Yao Congwu about this on March 9, 1944:

> I don't think it's advisable for us to make decisions for him. From the perspective of the university, it would be more beneficial if he doesn't leave. But his joining will be more conducive to assisting Mr. Zhu. I don't believe this has anything to do with his future and career. Moreover, we have no cliques or political climbers! Therefore, the choice of going or staying all depends on Xueping's personal interest. (p. 800)
> 余意去否吾人不便代謀，以就學校言，不去爲宜；就輔佐朱公言，以去爲宜。余不信對事業前途有何關係，況吾儕無所謂徒黨，無所謂政治企圖者耶！故惟視雪屏個人之興趣而決定去否.

Zheng only analyzed the advantages and disadvantages of Chen Xueping's taking up an administrative position from the perspective of the department and of Chen himself, for his reference. In this way, he responded to his friend's concern and did not interfere with Chen's final decision. This approach reflects Zheng's true respect for his friends. Respect the friend's personality in all matters.

Second, Zheng attached great importance to etiquette; even in the *Diary*, when referring to friends, he usually did not write their names: "Xintian" 莘田 and "Yingzhong" 膺中 appeared frequently to refer to Luo Changpei and Luo Yong, Jiang Menglin was always written as "Master Menglin" 夢麟師, Zhu Jiahua was "Mr. Liuxian" 騮仙先生, and Mei Yiqi was "Mr. Yuehan" 月涵先生. Similarly, Zheng's friends also respected him. For example, Jiang Menglin wrote to him, calling the recipient "Older Brother Yisheng" 毅生兄, and calling himself "Younger Brother Menglin" 弟夢麟 (p. 407). Minister of Education Zhu Jiahua sent a letter to the secretary general of Beijing University, Zheng Yisheng 鄭毅生, on June 9, 1945. Before the main name he wrote "My brother Tian Ting-Great Mirror" 天挺吾兄大鑒, "In order to let you know my sincerity so that I can meet and chat with you soon" 備聆款懷，快同晤對. In the letter, Zhu asked about the expansion of Peking University after

the resumption of classes, "I wonder what you think about it?" 未知高見雲何？ The letter was signed: "with a ceremonious nod, brother Zhu Jiahua" 弟朱家驊頓首 (p. 1050), which reflects the high respect for the recipient.

Courtesy calls for reciprocity. The foreign Professor A. W. Grabau of Peking University presented a signed photo of Zheng on February 1, 1946, to celebrate Chinese New Year. Grabau died little more than a month later. During this period, Zheng did not visit him, so he felt "very sorry, but now it is irreparable!" 心甚歉，然今無及矣 (p. 1154). Zheng blamed himself for his faux pas.

The third point was not to make friends go to too much expense. In the *Diary*, Zheng repeatedly wroted banquets for his friends, thinking that it was too delicate, rich, and luxurious, which always disturbed him. For example, on June 6, 1943, Zheng had lunch at the home of Zhang Yunfu 章耘夫. "The meal was sumptuous . . . it must have caused a lot of hassle for the host and this made me deeply uneasy" 膳甚豐……厚擾主人矣，不安之至 (p. 705), he recorded. This is really a mood "to decline would be disrespectful but to accept is embarrassing" 卻之不恭受之有愧. On the evening of December 7, 1943,

> Xu Junshu hosted a banquet, which was sumptuous and full of flavors, such as shark fin, abalone, scallop, and squid. All of them are very difficult to obtain today. When they were in front of us for a time, the eaters were all troubled, the host had spent a lot. How can eating alone compare to eating together? Rather than eating it all in one day, why not eat it slowly over several days? (p. 765)
> 徐君恕設宴，甚豐腆，有魚翅、鮑魚、干貝、魷魚諸海味，此今日所難至者。一時雜陳，食者甚不安，而東道主人更不貲。一人食，何如大眾食？一日食，何如分日食.

Most of the people attending the banquet were "troubled" 甚不安 because the host spent too much money, so Zheng even thought about people's livelihoods. Do not be extravagant and live a decent life. It is truly a noble sentiment that, as the saying goes, "Be the first to worry about the troubles across the land, the last to enjoy universal happiness" 先天下之憂而憂，後天下之樂而樂.

Everyone lives in various groups. However, how to live a good collective

life and improve the quality of life is very particular. Not everyone understands it and handles it properly. Zheng's practices provided beneficial experiences and enlightenment for people: True friends are to be found with heart, and one should consciously make friends with those who share similar interests, those with similar personalities, and those who are positive. There are different types of friends, general friends and close friends, friends who always give forthright admonitions are in the highest state of friendship. Friends should care for, encourage, and persuade each other, to bring joy and a sense of self-improvement, which is the only right way to make friends. One needs to choose friends carefully and be vigilant about making fair-weather friends and toxic friends.

Compatibility with the Social Morality of the Times and the Preservation of the Fine Etiquette of Traditional Society

Zheng's personal life and the life he spent with his friends were, of course, formed by his personality. However, this was not his own unique lifestyle; he was part of society at large. Because of this, we need to understand the social environment and social mentality of the time in which he lived. Zheng's life was in harmony with the social morality of the times. Three aspects of consistency are identifiable: the common experience of war and the patriotic spirit, with the confidencein China's victory; the benevolent spirit of traditional morality, and the inheritance of the so-called "be concerned about the country and the people before anything else" spirit of scholars; and the spirit of the times to maintain the new independent personality and consciousness.

The Common Experience of War and the Patriotic Spirit, with the Confidence in Victory

In February 1938, Luo Yong at Changsha Temporary University was about to go to Yunnan, so he wrote a poem to show his ambitions. On the 6th, Zheng went to visit him with Luo Changpei, Chen Xueping, and Wei Jiangong. Luo took out his new work, a poem:

> On the deserted and barren road, / it is difficult to march in the fog. / I have been dragging out an ignoble existence in the state of ruin, / enduring tears in anticipation of the motherland's rejuvenation. / We are separated from loved ones, / even the family need to hide the name. / I was awakened by the song in a lonely night, / at this moment the army of justice must be on the path of bloody conquest. (p. 17)
> 寂曆蠻荒道，間關犯霧行。偷生余半璧，忍淚望中興。親舍空雲海，家書匿姓名。歌聲驚獨夜，萬馬正東征.

Luo was full of worries about his homeland, but he viewed the Anti-Japanese War with optimism and enthusiasm, looking forward to the country's "rejuvenation" (*zhongxing* 中興), cheering the "bloody conquest" and striving for victory. Luo used this poem of national sentiment to encourage himself and to inspire friends. After the reading, Zheng said, "I liked the phrase 'even the family need to hide the name' most" 最喜其"家書匿姓名"一句. This sentence best reflected Zheng's personal experience, because those sending letters to Beijing could not write their real names at that time. Zheng has the same understanding of Luo's anticipation of "rejuvenation." He wrote in his *Diary* a few days later,

> Since the crisis of the country is becoming more and more urgent, scholars are increasingly interested in reading poems written by adherents of a former dynasty. I advocate reading the anthologies of famous ministers during the period when the dynasty turned from prosperity to decline, thinking that the poems written by adherents of a former dynasty can certainly inspire righteousness, but the latter's works, in addition to encouraging righteousness, can also inspire confidence. At the critical moment, how can a revival be achieved without the technique of salvation? (p. 18)
> 自國難日急，學者好讀遺民詩文，余則主讀中興名臣集，以爲遺民詩文固可以激勵正氣，而中興名臣之所作，于激勵正氣外，間可以振發信心。當千鈞一髮之際，不有匡濟之術，嗚可以復興哉?

The adherents wrote poems after the fall of a dynasty, to confess the emotion of not forgetting the old country, which represents a kind of noble morality. Zheng's proposal to read the anthologies of famous ministers during the period

when the dynasty turned from prosperity to decline was intended to inspire ambition and strengthen confidence in difficult times, which is obviously more meaningful. Luo Yong and Zheng were close friends, and their common political sentiments linked them even more closely together with other friends. Sharing bitter hatred against the enemy was the common wish of intellectuals at that time. On April 17, 1942, Zheng discussed current affairs with Pan Jiaxun 潘家洵; he believed that "the Allied forces will win, China will win next summer" 明年夏，同盟軍必勝，中國必勝. Facing Pan's doubts, Zheng said: "I do have this conviction. As for the specific reason, I can't say. I will write it down, and trouble you to testify to it" 余確有此信念。其理由則說不出也，乃寫一條，煩爲證之. The text said, "Zheng Tianting says that the Allied forces and the Republic of China will win in the 32nd summer of the Republic of China. The witness: Pan Jiequan [Jiaxun]" 鄭天挺曰中華民國三十二年夏同盟國必勝，中國必勝。證明人：潘介泉. Zheng also said, "This banner can be hung on the national gate. I will not change a word even for 1,000 pieces of gold" 此條可懸之國門，願千金易一字 (p. 542). Zheng's conviction that "China must win" was also expressed in his couplet: "When the maple leaves of Xishan are red, / the drum music of the restoration of Beijing will be resounding through the sky" 海天急鼓收京近，爲結西山紅葉期 (p. 1196). This confidence is also shared by many of his colleagues. For example, on the 19th, when the Allied aircraft bombed Tokyo, Japan, and other places, Shao Xunzheng 邵循正 told Zheng: "Your prediction may be fulfilled soon" 君昨日之預言或可驗矣 (p. 543). In May, the Chinese Expeditionary Force lost in Myanmar and Japanese invaders captured Yunnan. On the 17th, Zheng and his colleagues discussed current affairs: "Everyone's mood is different, but they are still very calm. Especially [Zhang] Jingyue, who holds a similar point of view to me, believes that Kunming can be kept" 各人心境雖不同，但均甚鎮定，尤以（張）景鉞與余意最近，以爲昆明必無問題 (p. 556). Under the unfavorable situation of the war, Zhang and Zheng firmly believed that China would win. There are many colleagues of Zheng's in the *Diary* who had the same consciousness and firm belief in victory. Hu Mengzi of Peking University told Zhang Yixing 張宜興 that a prophecy had said that the Japanese invaders would gradually decline in mid-May and would be defeated in September. On the 28th, Zhang relayed this statement to Zheng; Zheng did not believe the timing of such predictions, but it was an expression of confidence in victory and could play an inspiring

role, so he said,

> Although such remarks are exaggerated, they are sent out of desire, which is enough to inspire morale. Today, only if everyone is not panicking or discouraged can we achieve a complete victory. (p. 561)
> 凡此雖不免出之誇張，出之願望，然亦足以振我士氣也。今日惟上下不慌張，不氣餒，然後可以操全勝.

Undoubtedly, firm confidence in victory in the Anti-Japanese War was the consensus of the professors of the NSAU. Opinions differed on when that victory would come, however. For example, on June 26, 1942, Lei Bolun discussed the current situation after dinner with Zheng; Lei believed that "Africa is very worrying, Egypt may fall, and the Allies will have no chance to win, but the Allies will eventually be the winner, and it will be decided by this time next year" 頗以非洲爲憂，謂埃及不保，同盟國將無勝利機會，但謂同盟國必勝，明年此時可以決定 (p. 571). The prediction of Zheng and other professors of NSAU, that "victory will come in the summer of 1943," was proved to be inaccurate by historical facts. However, the victory of the Allies, the victory of China, and the unconditional surrender of Japan was a much bigger and more essential fact. The confidence in China's victory was shared by other knowledgeable people in China, with whose support China finally achieved victory in the Anti-Japanese War.

The Benevolent Spirit of Traditional Morality, and the Inheritance of the So-Called "Be Concerned about the Country and the People before Anything Else" Spirit of Scholars

Scholars in the period of the Republic of China preserved the excellent elements of traditional morality, absorbed modern spiritual civilization, and formed a new moral code in the bringing together of old and new morals. The gathering of friends to alleviate the personal sorrow of losing family and homeland, and thereby living with optimism, was a reflection of traditional virtues.

1) The spirit of benevolence manifested in gatherings during traditional festivals and life celebrations. During the Anti-Japanese War, the personal

sorrow of losing family and homeland was difficult to completely eliminate until the final victory. For this reason, people had to stabilize their emotions and live optimistically. Especially during festivals and anniversaries of happy days in the past, when sorrows were greatly increased, the comfort of friends was needed to create a happy atmosphere, so there were many parties and celebrations on holidays and birthdays.

Professors from NSAU were around no shortage of people who had travelled to the southwest alone, such as Zheng's close friends Luo Changpei and Chen Xueping. These professors were more worried about their homeland and families on holidays and birthdays. This kind of sadness was difficult for one family to resolve, so families and friends always got together and lived through the festival together.

Let's see how Zheng spent several festivals of the lunar calendar in 1944 with his friends. On the Dragon Boat Festival of June 25, 1944, Zheng, Luo Changpei, and Chen Xueping jointly invited 16 colleagues to a banquet. "It can be said that it was very lively" 可謂熱鬧矣 (p. 851), Zheng recorded. The word "lively" shows that the people who participated in the banquet were very engaged. Everyone had a lively conversation, they toasted all around, and dined and wined to satiety; everyone enjoyed themselves very much. On the fourth day of July, Zheng, Tian Rukang 田汝康, and others were on their way back to Kunming from Dali. Colleagues knew that it was Zheng's birthday so they "ate chicken and drank" 食雞、飲酒 (p. 918). During the Mid-Autumn Festival, Zheng's daughter Zheng Min and Luo Changpei's daughter Luo Kunyi 羅坤儀 cooked and invited Dong Shigui 董式珪, Wu Xueshu 吳學淑, and Luo Zexun 羅澤珣 to celebrate the festival together (p. 936). On the Laba Festival, Zheng was invited to eat Laba congee at Luo Yong's house (p. 986). More than twenty days later, at noon on Lunar New Year's Eve (February 12, 1945), Feng Wenqian invited relatives and friends, including Zheng and his daughter, Luo Changpei's family, Liu Jinnian and his sister, Mao Zhun, Bian Zhilin, and Feng Chengzhi's 馮承植 family, over to celebrate. In the evening, at Zhang Tingqian's residence, more than ten people had dinner together and dispersed at twelve (pp. 995–96). On several festivals and birthdays in 1944 Zheng accepted the invitation of friends or invited friends to celebrate together, which was very pleasant.

Jiang Menglin, the president of Peking University and one of the heads of

NSAU, and his wife, daughter, and young son were all around. Because of his higher position and older age, Jiang always consciously invited his colleagues to come to his home for festivals. On Lunar New Year's Eve, February 18, 1939, Jiang invited the fellows who lived in Shihua Lane to eat New Year's Eve dinner at his home. After dinner, they played *shengguantu*, and Zheng did not leave until five o'clock the next morning (p. 133). During the Dragon Boat Festival on June 20, Jiang Menglin once again "invited peers to eat and drink, and played *shengguantu* after the meal, to celebrate the festival" 約公舍同人食節飯，飯後擲陞官圖 (p. 160). On the day of the Mid-Autumn Festival (September 27 of the Gregorian calendar), Zheng, Zhang Tingqian, and Chen Xueping did not want to set Jiang Menglin back so they jointly hosted a feast at his house. On the afternoon of the same day, the school held a training session and sent three moon cakes per person to celebrate the festival in the name of the school (p. 192). On Lunar New Year's Eve, February 7, 1940, Zheng went from the city to Jiang Menglin's home in Gangtou village to celebrate the festival. He felt that the hostess, Tao Zenggu, was "excellent at hospitality, more attentive even than during a New Year at home" 招待極優，平時在家過年無此周到也. The next morning, he ate lotus date congee and rice cake noodles. Tao Zenggu said that this was the custom of Wuxi (p. 243). This is undoubtedly an expression of the feeling of homesickness in making and eating one's hometown diet, and it is also an effective way to relieve homesickness.

Spending holidays together is an expression of the traditional virtue of practicing mutual love. As a head of the school and the elder (or teacher), Jiang felt that he must care for subordinates and juniors, that he should invite guests during the three major festivals of the lunar calendar. Everyone spent the festival together to deepen their friendship. However, Zheng, Chen Xueping, and Zhang Tingqian could not bear to set Jiang back all the time, so they chose to celebrate the Mid-Autumn Festival at Jiang's house instead of a restaurant, with the intention of respecting elders and not embarrassing him. We must be aware that there were always a lot of social engagements for Jiang, which caused him a great deal of expense, so his salary was simply not enough. Mei Yiqi, another person in charge of the NSAU, also often faced the embarrassment. The dilemmas of these two people are mentioned in the *Diary*. A superior's care for their subordinates does not mean giving charity and grace, but means emotional exchange on the level of equals.

2) Taking care of each other in daily life reflects the spirit of benevolence. Based on the unanimity of moral concepts, moving stories about mutual respect and love between professors of NSAU frequently happened, especially in the unfortunate moments of life.

Bereavement and unemployment are great misfortunes in life. Meanwhile friends always provide a timely source of sympathy. Tang Yongtong's 22-year-old eldest son was hospitalized after the removal of his cecum. On June 19, 1939, when Zheng and Luo Changpei visited him in hospital, he was already in a coma, which really got to them. On the morning of June 21, Tang's son passed away. As soon as he received the news, Zheng immediately called on his school colleagues to help buy him a coffin and manage affairs without letting Tang Yongtong know. After learning of his son's death that night, "Tang grieved and sobbed for his son, but did not lose control" 乃坐垂泣，而不失其常，which touched Zheng; Zheng commanded his great admiration as well as his sympathy. Zheng wrote in the *Diary*: "The gentleman's tranquility is extraordinary, his considerable moral culture really lives up to his reputation" 此老寧靜真不可及，不愧修養素蘊 (pp. 159–60). Zheng's command of his colleagues to help handle such a big matter not only saved Tang's worry but also relieved his grief and pain. All this demonstrates the spirit of benevolence.

On October 26, 1942, Zheng was informed of the death of Zhang Yinlin 張蔭麟 in Zunyi. "Mr. Zhang was such a sincere and intelligent young man. His unexpected death really shocked me, I felt a deep pang of sorrow for him" 年少篤敏之士，竟爾奄化，不勝悲愴 (p. 622). As a matter of fact, Zheng and Zhang did not have much personal contact. Zheng's sorrow was derived from sympathy and an appreciation for his talent. On December 4, Zheng attended Zhang's memorial service (p. 633).

In July 1943, Gong Xiangrui 龔祥瑞 was dismissed from Tsinghua University, which was an unfortunate event. On the 7th, Zheng, Xu Baolu, Yuan Jiahua, Liu Jinnian, Luo Changpei, Chen Xueping, Sun Yutang, and others hosted a banquet for the couple and gave them comfort. The next day, Zheng went to visit again to express his sincere solicitude (p. 715). All this undoubtedly made them feel the warmth of friendship. Yu Tairan was a teaching assistant at Peking University. When at NSAU he gave Zheng quite a lot of care. Yu passed away unfortunately on May 27, 1946. Zheng had gone

to visit him when he was ill at one point. On the day of his death, Zheng happened to visit his house. He was surprised to learn that at that time Yu had already passed away. Zheng was "inconsolable," because he deemed that "Yu was an enthusiastic and upright person." As he recalled, "When I was sick in Kunming in the winter of 1942, Yu often cared for me, and would visit me almost every other day." Ever since they arrived in Beijing, Zheng had entrusted Yu to take care of all his items, which Yu regarded as his own, and handled comprehensively and meticulously. Because of this, Zheng assisted Yu's wife, Mrs. Liu, and others to organize the funeral, and helped to borrow 400,000 yuan from Peking University. In addition, Zheng himself gave another 40,000 yuan to Yu's family to express his solicitude (pp. 1179–80). The concern of Zheng and his colleagues for these unfortunate people went beyond the so-called "compassion that is common to average men" 惻隱之心人皆有之 and embodied the spirit of philanthropism advocated by Sun Yat-sen.

Those who receive comfort and encouragement from friends when life turns sour can be helped to get out of trouble. For a while, Fan Jichang was isolated because of his damaged reputation, which made him very depressed. At that time, Zheng and Zhang Tingqian still understood him. On January 17, 1938, the day before Fan Jichang's birthday, Zheng and Zhang invited him to eat noodles in a restaurant. In the face of Zheng and Zhang's willingness to remain friends with him, Fan got drunk. Zheng sent him back to the dormitory, and he vomited very badly. The next day, which was Fan's birthday, Luo Changpei and Chen Xueping also hosted a birthday banquet for him, accompanied by Zhang Tingqian, Zhao Naituan, Wei Jiangong, and Zheng (pp. 6–7). These two dinner parties to celebrate his birthday must have made Fan feel that there were still some friends who would always be there and he likely felt psychologically comforted and balanced as a result. Zheng, Zhang, Luo, and Chen were all tolerant people, they were able to understand the difficulties and grievances of others. True friends are like them! Luo Yong's concern and care for the sick Luo Jingxian was far beyond what ordinary friends would do. At that time, Luo Jingxian got tuberculosis, which is contagious. However, Luo Yong took the patient to his home for recuperation. Hu Haiyu was willing to pay Luo Jingxian's medical expenses. Luo Jingxian doubted Hu's motives for doing so, which led to a quarrel between Hu Haiyu and his wife. Luo Yong

also took Hu's wife, who was running away from home, into his home. Luo was really helping people to the end.

Friends offer assistance out of their loving hearts; self-respecting and self-loving people emphatically refuse. Zheng and Luo Changpei heard people say that "Wu Wenzao is very poor, and Bing Xin is sick," Wu and his wife were both in Chongqing at that time. Zheng and Luo each remitted 1,000 yuan for them to help Bing Xin cure the sickness. However, Wu and his wife knew that none of them was well-off during such a special period, so they did not accept the money, and asked Li Youyi 李友義 to return it on November 23, 1943 (p. 760). The assistance from Zheng and Luo was sincere. The rejection of Wu and his wife reflected that they could still respect and love themselves even under the conditions of poverty and illness. All these convey the spirit of self-reliance, which is extremely valuable.

Mr. Zheng keeps the virtue of living a low-key life, and attributing credit to others. The income of the faculty of NSAU could not withstand the soaring prices, so everyone hoped to be subsidized. He Lian 何廉 managed to acquire rice sold by the authorities (*gongmi* 公米). But then he asked Zheng to meet with Miao Yuntai 繆雲台, an official of Yunnan province, nominally to "ask for his help," but actually he "wanted to transfer the merit to Miao." On April 22, 1940, Zheng, together with Yang Zhensheng, Fan Jichang, and Zha Liangzhao, went to the office of Miao Yuntai. Miao took advantage of the opportunity to implement this thing. It turned out that rice was imported from Vietnam at fifty-eight yuan per *dan* 擔 (a traditional Chinese unit of measurement, roughly equivalent to 125 kg), and sold to NSAU for only fifity yuan, so there was no problem for the colleagues and students of the university to afford it. Faculty and students received rice at a price below cost, as if they were receiving a subsidy (p. 264). He Lian not only did not take pride in his merits, he instead passed the credit to others. What a worthy virtue! It should also be said that he was farsighted. Will it be convenient to buy rice in the future!

After the victory in the Anti-Japanese War, Shen Jianshi, who was in charge of taking over the affairs of Beijing's cultural and educational circles, had his fiftieth birthday on July 9, 1946. He left Beijing on the afternoon of the 8th, in order to "avoid a birthday celebration in Tianjin" (p. 1196). "Avoiding a birthday celebration" (*bishou* 避寿), so that others could avoid spending

money and troubling themselves, and he himself could also escape from bothering to cope with it. All this shows Shen's modesty and integrity. Shen really deserves the name of "modesty."

Maintaining the New Independent Personality and Consciousness of the Times

The concepts of freedom, equality, fraternity, and freedom of association and expression enjoyed popular support during the period of the Republic of China. Progressive individuals were fighting for, practicing, and maintaining them. Among them, individual independence and dignity were expressly emphasized.

As mentioned above in the section "critical friends" (*zhengyou* 諍友), the friendship between Luo Changpei and Chen Xueping had once been broken because of the "text deletion" event, in which Zheng and Zhang Qingchang thought that Luo had overreacted. In fact, what Luo really valued was the issue of freedom of speech. His behavior was also undertaken to protect his personal dignity. The passages that Chen Xueping deleted without his consent were a satire aimed at the Central Training Group and were intended to criticize the authorities. Chen's deletion was undoubtedly for the protection of the authorities. On the other hand, the reason why Luo insisted on their retention and supplementary publication was to maintain the freedom of speech and his right to criticize the authorities, which was a major issue, rather than simply as the result of a dispute caused by personal feelings. Therefore, Luo's ideology and behavior were the embodiment of the spirit of the times. Coincidentally, soon after, on June 1, Wu Han 吳晗 asked Luo Changpei if he was willing to write for *Democracy Semi-Monthly* (*Minzhu banyuekan* 民主半月刊). Luo Changpei said that if articles from Luo Longji, Pan Dakui 潘大逵, Li Gongpu 李公樸, and others were included in the publication, he would refuse; Wu Han replied that they were included. Luo then stated his reason for not wanting to contribute: "I advocate freedom of speech, and I do not want to be constrained by others" 我主張言論自由，不願有人在後牽線; he also advised Wu Han to act prudently (p. 833). All this shows that Luo held a strong concept of freedom of speech and was unwilling to interact with the heads of publications who could

not make their own decisions and were not able to exercise freedom of speech.

At NSAU, there were many scholars like Luo who were supporters of liberalism, and Tang Yongtong was one of them. In 1944, Peking University was going to select a professor to "give lectures and do publicity in the United States" 赴美講學兼宣傳. On April 18, Jiang Menglin organized a meeting to discuss the matter. Jiang recommended Qian Duansheng to go, but Qian refused. Subsequently, Zhou Binglin was recommended to go, but Zhou also declined on the grounds that his wife was sick and could not travel. When Tang Yongtong was asked he "recused himself for the reason that he was sick." When Luo Changpei was mentioned, Luo said his English was too bad to go. Everyone in the meeting thought that Yang Zhensheng could go to the United States without any worries. Yang also refused at first, but in the end he was compelled by everyone's strong demands and he had to agree. In fact, most people thought that Tang Yongtong was the most suitable person. The next day, Zheng and Luo went to meet with Tang, intending to persuade him to go to the United States, but Tang insisted on not going. After some investigation, Tang confessed to his friends what he did not want to say the day before yesterday: "The first reason is that I am unwilling to be trained; the second is I am unwilling to do publicity work. The other reason is physical struggles" 一不願受訓；二不願去宣傳。體力乃其次也 (pp. 820–821). It turned out that one had to be trained before going to the United States at that time, which Tang thought was an insult to scholars. Being used as a propaganda tool was also a personal disgrace to Tang, so he resolutely rejected the so-called official dispatch to the United States. All this reflects the reservations that a scholar has a right to.

At that time, professors generally held themselves aloof, thinking that scholars should stay away from politics, and especially should not participate in party politics. Yao Congwu scored in the Three People's Principles Youth League (Sanqingtuan 三青團) of the NSAU. On March 9, 1941, he received a "commendation" from the Central Committee. However, Tang Yongtong, Luo Changpei, and Chen Yinque all disagreed with his enthusiasm for this matter; Yao accepted their opinion and refused to accept the commendation. Undoubtedly, Zheng's views were consistent with those of Tang and others, so he recorded the whole story in his diary (p. 391).

Inspiration and Experience

The aspects of the *Diary* that are about Zheng's life history let us understand the daily life of Zheng and other professors of NSAU, and can give us a lot of inspiration about life: What kind of life should people have? Under what kind of concept can one have such a life?

Life Should Be Varied and Abundant

The scenes of daily life of Professor Zheng and other professors of NSAU make us realize that although there was a great pressure of national sorrow during the Anti-Japanese War, their optimistic spirit and positive attitude toward life enabled them to have a colorful life. As the Chinese idiom goes, "People regard food as the equal of heaven" 民以食爲天. As far as repast is concerned, there were meals at home, group meals in school cafeterias, meals in restaurants, and dinners among colleagues and friends. The dining places were varied, such as private homes, cafeterias, and restaurants. The type of food was determined by the dining environment, but one could also make appropriate choices to achieve their own eating habits and preferences. There were many ways of arranging for a dinner party: As a personal treat, a banquet, or to "go Dutch."

Entertainment is an indispensable part of life. No matter how busy one's career is, they must also be good at handling leisure time. Professors are all culture-rich people whose recreations were nevertheless the same as the public. They played mahjong, pai gow, *shengguantu*, and poker, and enjoyed artistic performances, such as Peking opera, Dian opera, Yue opera, Gui opera, Pingchang opera, Qingchang opera, storytelling, sideshow, and the "singing lantern." These were of interest to them. If the opportunity presented itself, for example, Zheng would watch movies in Shanghai, and he went to concerts in Chongqing. Professors often entertained themselves by singing Kun opera, playing harmonica, and other activities that could be carried out anywhere, not only entertaining people, but also entertaining themselves. The popular quiz game in the professor group always centered on verses, even a special kind of "society" was produced for this activity, which showed their strong interest in this pastime. Appreciation of antiques and antiquities, such as calligraphy and painting, ancient seals and ink cakes, and Chinese fans, was a hobby of scholars. For those things, the professors always appreciated while seeking, and

enthusiastically discussed these matters among themselves.

There are two points worth noting about how the professors of NSAU could have such a colorful life. One is an optimistic attitude toward life. They believed that the Anti-Japanese War would surely be won by China. Even if they were poor, they had "joy in the midst of poverty" (*qiongzhong zuole* 窮中作樂), as Zheng said. For example, on August 27, 1942, the Teachers' Day, Zheng, Xu Baolu, Yuan Jiahua, and others who lived in Dianhua Alley had discussed and decided how to spend that day. On the night two days before the festival, Zheng went out with Xu Baolu and Yuan Jiahua to buy food for the day after tomorrow. On the day of the festival, Zheng invited colleagues who lived in the Yulongdui dormitory, as well as Chen Xueping and Sun Yutang, and the party that day continued until ten o'clock in the evening. Zheng recorded this in his *Diary*, saying that what they had was "the so-called joy in the midst of poverty" (p. 599). On February 5, 1945, Zheng spent 1,950 yuan to buy an ancient ink cake made by Hu Kaiwen. He deprecated himself in his diary, saying that "extravagance in the midst of poverty, may lead to laughter from my peers" 窮中豪舉，可發一笑 (p. 993). It is this kind of "joy in the midst of poverty" and "extravagance in poverty" (*qiongzhong haoju* 窮中豪舉) that created a diverting life.

Another noteworthy point is the distinction between entertainment and gambling. When the professors played mahjong, a quiz game centered on verses, and *shengguantu*, the money won and lost by them in these games was usually small. The main purpose was to test one's luck and to increase the interest of the game. So those recreations were essentially different from gambling. Generally speaking, the daily life of professors of NSAU was both individual- and group-oriented, both public and literary, both tacky and elegant, which can be described as a colorful life with personality.

From the above, I recognize that: 1) People's daily life should be individualized, which makes it a blend of personality and commonality. It should be colorful rather than rigid, monotonous, and puritanical. A personalized life included having some pet passions, such as being picky about food, drinking, gambling at cards in order to increase the interest, and buying antiques with insufficient money. Judgment of those hobbies should be based on a thorough analysis, total affirmation or negation may not be appropriate. 2) In history, the literati's elegant taste has experienced three major changes: In

ancient times, literati possessed Four arts,[11] which shaped their calm state of mind and romantic way of thinking; as a result they produced works of profound mood, such as the poetry of the Tang and Song dynasties, which could be passed on to future generations. Modern literati inherited the legacy of the ancients; many of them were proficient in Four arts, and at the same time possessed a sense of modern democracy. But the tranquility of the ancients largely disappeared at the time, making it difficult to create poetry that was as artistic as that of the ancients. Contemporary literati live in an impetuous social atmosphere, quite a few of them take "making money as their life goal" (*xiang qian kan* 向錢看); traditional literature, art, and elegant culture can be lost as a result. Stimulating culture prevails. With the unprecedented development of China's economy, can the mainstream literati culture become the "past tense"? Can men of letters who have accumulated some wealth and those who are rich and want to be "arty" work toward the direction of elegant culture? Maybe so. Of course, the literati's elegant taste came about with the change of the objective social environment, and it is not something that a certain person or a certain group can contribute to, but it seems that working toward the direction of elegant culture will not change.

The Daily Life of Scholars after 1949

Some things in life during the period of NSAU, such as going Dutch, and the implementation of daylight savings time in areas administered by the government of the Republic of China, are recorded in Zheng's *Diary*. The daylight savings time that we have all experienced in recent years first appeared as early as half a century ago. Similarly, going Dutch became a common occurrence among the professors of the NSAU, and once again became popular after the 1980s. All this is a manifestation of China's coming out of closure.

The costs of dinners for professors at NSAU were sometimes shared evenly by each person, and sometimes were shared by a few hosts. Of course, it was also common for individuals to host, which is beyond the scope of this section. A few friends would often eat light meals in restaurants and diners paid for their

[11] Four arts, *siyi* 四藝. They are *qin* 琴 (the *guqin* 古琴, a stringed instrument), *qi* 棋 (the stategy game of Go), *shu* 書 (Chinese calligraphy) and *hua* 畫 (Chinese painting).

own meals, but instead of ordering their own meals, they ordered food and ate together. On the evening of September 29, 1942, Zheng, Yang Zhensheng, Zhang Tingqian, Dai Xiuzan 戴修瓚, Cai Shuheng 蔡樞衡, and another person "went to eat rice noodles together, each of us sharing twenty-five yuan, which is terrifying" (p. 612). It can be inferred from "each of us sharing" several yuan that the six people ordered food together and ate together. On February 20, 1943, Zheng, Chen Xueping, Liu Jinnian, and Sun Yutang went to a restaurant for dinner. They ordered four bowls of noodles, twenty buns, a plate of scallion fish, a bowl of congee, and four cups of tea. A total of 189 yuan was spent, and Zheng gave fifty yuan (p. 665). They also ate together and shared the costs. On October 2, Zhang Tingqian, Cai Shuheng and Zheng went for lunch. They ordered three bowls of noodles, 11 Mandarin rolls, and a plate of meat. A total of 200 yuan was spent, and Zheng gave sixty-seven yuan (p. 741). In addition to meals, people also went Dutch on other common items. For example, on April 11, 1943, Zheng, together with Lei Bolun and Wang Xinzhong 王信忠, flew from Chongqing to Kunming. Along the way, Zheng shared a third of the cost of breakfast, totaling 135 yuan, and a third of the baggage handling costs, totaling twenty yuan (pp. 675–76).

On June 7, 1943, during the Dragon Boat Festival, "In the evening, the whole house held a feast together" 晚，全舍公宴過節; Zheng's *Diary* did not record at whose expense this was. The record says they "held a feast together," that is to say, everyone paid together to celebrate for themselves (p. 705). This is going Dutch to eat together. In January 1944, Zheng, together with Yang Zhensheng, Zhou Binglin, Qian Duansheng, Zhang Tingqian, Zha Liangzhao, and Jiang Menglin entertained Li Runzhang, Yan Muguang 嚴慕光, and their wives; Zheng paid 418 yuan (pp. 778–79). In the same year, on February 17, Chen Futian 陳福田, Deng Yizhe 鄧以蟄, Zhang Zigao 張子高, and Chen Daisun were invited to a feast at Chen Xueping's residence, hosted by Zeng Zhaoluan 曾昭掄, Yang Zhensheng, Zhao Naituan, Zheng Huachi, Foquan 佛泉, and Zheng (p. 1144). This was an example of going Dutch when more than one person entertained more than one person. If a single person ordered both staple food and non-staple food at the restaurant, it was acceptable to do so occasionally, but not cost-effective to do so frequently. If several people ate together, a variety of staple and non-staple foods could be ordered, making the meal interesting and tasteful. Dining in this way is affordable, convenient, and easy to accept. This is probably why Zheng and his colleagues were willing to

adopt the method of going Dutch. This method is economical and applicable. It is based on the principle of averaging, which is a good criterion for human life. As for the feasts that they held together, it was everyone's friends that were invited, so everyone paid for the guests together, which saved both time, money, and unnecessary trouble. Therefore, going Dutch was a normal phenomenon and an embodiment of the principle of fairness. However, there is a conceptual problem that Zheng's *Diary* does not cover. Maybe he thought that it was an extremely normal thing, so there was no need to record it. In fact, in the decades after the 1940s, people did not think so and did so. In the 1980s, in the north, it was an embarrassing thing that no one was willing to do to pack away the leftovers from the personal treats. Only after some time, the act of taking away leftovers began to become normal. However, we often see several people competing for payment in restaurants. Everyone is polite and wants to be a host, not to take advantage of others. (If someone actually pays, may they feel that they suffered losses?) A few people went to the restaurant together and shared the money later. Isn't that a matter of losing face? Holding feasts together was originally intended to entertain friends, but everyone shared their expenses together, which making it not only a shame for whom attending the banquet lose face, but also seemed that they are "not good friends for each other" (*bugou pengyou* 不夠朋友). Treating by one person is a matter of honor and "what a best friend should do" (*gou pengyou* 夠朋友). Face is what Chinese people care about most. In the 1940s, the views of the NSAU professors on treating others should not be lost. Nowadays, changing the mindset is the primary premise.

The emergence of daylight savings time in the 1940s was also new to Zheng, so it is specifically explained in his *Diary*. On October 1, 1945, Zheng was in Chongqing and was about to depart to Nanjing. The *Diary* records: "The daylight savings time stopped from today, it is one hour later than yesterday." When he arrived in Nanjing, he wrote, "Since the victory in the Anti-Japanese War, Chongqing time has been used, which is called 'standard time'" 此間自勝利後概用重慶時，號曰 "標準" (pp. 1104–6). On May 15, 1946: "Beijing uses summer time today, and today's 7:30 a.m. is 6:30 a.m." (p. 1175). China's implementation of daylight savings time is not the subject of this article. However, because of the occlusion of knowledge, no one knew that daylight savings time had once been implemented in the 1940s. Such things in the history of the Republic of China have nothing to do with the evaluation of the

regime and are just general historical knowledge. Therefore, it is necessary to continue to come out from the closure.

Professors with Both Fine Elements of Traditional Morality and a New Sense of Democracy Realized Their Desire to Be Their Own "Masters"

Tang Yongtong and Luo Changpei's behavior of resisting domination, striving for, preserving, and realizing freedom of speech, and firmly maintaining their independent personality and their willingness to sacrifice their personal interests rather than to accept the domination of administrative volition, are the embodiment of being upright and despising those who are kneeling and prone on the ground. Because of the principles of democracy and liberalism, Tang Yongtong and Luo Changpei of NSAU became who they were. Together with many democratic professors, they also created an outstanding university. Their descendants admire both their ideology of democracy and freedom, and their commendable independent personalities. To commemorate them and NSAU is justified!

References

Fu Bolun. "Zheng Tianting xiansheng xingyi" (Zheng Tianting's character and morality), in *Zheng Tianting xiansheng xuexinglu* (Records of Zheng Tianting's academic attainments and deeds), edited by Feng Yuejian and Sun Weiguo. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009.

Yisu, ed. *Gudian wenxue yanjiu ziliao huibian, Hongloumeng juan* (Collection of classic literature research resources, volume of *Dream of The Red Chamber*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963.

Zheng Tianting. "Daonian Luo Changpei xiansheng" (In memory of Mr. Luo Changpei), in *Jishi xueren tancong* (Current talk of academic scholars), 558–60. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002.

———. "Luo Changpei xiansheng dui wo de bangzhu" (Mr. Luo Changpei's help to me), in *Jishi xueren tancong* (Current talk of academic scholars), 561–621. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002.

———. *Zheng Tianting Xinan lianda riji* (Zheng Tianting's diary of National Southwest Associated University). Punctuated and collated by Yu Guolin. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2018.

Translated by Ren Liang, Nankai University. The Chinese version was published on Journal of Hebei Normal University [Philosophy and Social Sciences] 1 [2020]: 1–21.