

Historical Research Materials on Zhou Zuoren in the Possession of his Family

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论文摘要：本文以提交 2018 年 7 月日本早稻田大学《首届周作人国际学术研讨会——基础资料的钩沉与整理》会议的论文为基础，经文字修订和增补会上口头发言内容（参见：五.3.5. 传说辨伪）而成。笔者及家人存有若干可供文史研究的资料，如周作人的日记、手稿、书信、藏书等，其中部分内容已完成整理并发表。这些资料曾因 1966 年“文革抄家”被劫掠而遗失二十余年，部分内容已在社会上流传并出现侵权发表、人为取舍甚至篡改等情况。本文第一、二、三、四、五部分对上述情况进行了初步介绍。第六部分就日据时期有关伪教署督办和署长等几个问题，对周作人的日记、藏信及有关资料进行了摘录和汇集，从中可看到该时期地下抗日组织与周作人的联系和合作，可知周作人在该时期的情况有进一步研究的空间。本文采用的史料多为第一次面世。文后附有周作人日记节录。本文原文为中文，十分感谢英国剑桥大学三一学院 Susan Daruvala 教授翻译成英文发表。

关键词：周作人；周作人日记；周作人书信；张东荪；许宝騄；

Introduction

Research and evaluation of a literary figure is usually based on their literary works, whereas research on a historical figure cannot avoid looking at all the relevant historical materials. Since Zhou Zuoren was both an important literary figure and a controversial historical figure, both types of materials, especially original documents that can serve as historical evidence are essential to research on Zhou Zuoren. The authors of this article are descendants of Zhou Zuoren and are devoting themselves to making the historical materials in their possession available to academia.

Zhou Zuoren was born in 1885 and died aged 82 in 1967. He left behind diaries, manuscripts, books, his entire correspondence as well as documents and books that others had asked him to keep safe and these already constitute historical evidence about him and the people he was in contact with and the events of the past. Regrettably, thanks to historical shifts and social upheaval not all materials have survived. There were two when occasions it was impossible to prevent these losses, the first being 1945-1949 when Zhou Zuoren was imprisoned and a large number of letters and a small number of diaries went missing. The second occasion was in 1966 during the "Great Cultural Revolution," when Red Guards' "search and confiscation" and other savage acts resulted in the loss of all Zhou Zuoren's diaries, seals, manuscripts, correspondence, books, furniture, his home and eventually his life. Each time disaster loomed, Zhou Zuoren and his family struggled for fair treatment and to retrieve what was lost but with very little success. For example after the "Cultural Revolution search and confiscation" Zhou Zuoren's family worked persistently over 20 years to trace and recover these things, but only recovered a portion of the diaries, manuscripts, books and letters. These recovered items are extremely precious.

With the warm-hearted help of institutions and individuals in China and Japan, many of the manuscripts referred to above and some of the diaries and correspondence have been collated and published, or are about to be pub-

lished. Collation of the remaining items is still underway and we are at the same time seeking support and cooperation in the hope that not too far into the future the entire corpus of documents will have been collated and made publicly available.

In addition, the work of collecting materials is still continuing, and in recent years Zhou Zuoren's manuscripts, translations, letters and photographs (originals and digitised versions) have been brought together from China mainland, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Japan, the USA and Canada, and some of them have already been published.

As mentioned above, Zhou Zuoren's diaries, handwritten manuscripts, letters and so on were plundered and then lost for over 20 years and the whereabouts of many of them still remain unclear. However some of them have turned up at auctions of historical materials and then been reproduced without copyright approval in the China mainland and abroad, published or cited, in some cases with deliberate omissions and alterations, as will be shown below. The authors believe that these methods are, at the very least, reckless and irresponsible: lost property should be returned to the original owners and the publication of historical materials ought to take place strictly in accordance with the law, preserving the original appearance and with no deliberate excisions or distortions.

Given the complexities of the situation surrounding these materials, the authors wish to clarify what is meant by the following terms as used in this article:

1. "Original Manuscripts" (手稿) refers to manuscripts authored by Zhou Zuoren (including translations and hand-written documents (抄稿) but excluding letters, diaries etc.
2. "Diaries" (日记) refers to the volumes comprising Zhou Zuoren's original diaries, some of which are in the form of shop-bought, ready-made diaries and some of which consist of volumes which he himself had bound together.
3. "Books" (书籍) refers to the books in Mr Zhou's collection before the

1966 “Cultural Revolution.”

4. “Correspondence” (书信) refers to letters sent by Zhou Zuoren to others or by others to him, whether sent through the mail or hand-delivered to him and similar items including manuscripts, notifications, official documents, receipts, certificates etc., and also includes papers (信件) sent between others and forwarded to him as well as a small number of papers sent to members of the Zhou family.

The historical materials used in Section 6 of this article are all being made public for the first time and so the source will not be given for each document.

For ease of reading and in order to save space, honorific titles will not be used in the next section.

Section 1: Original manuscripts.

Most of the manuscripts referred to are translations, such as *Collected Dialogues of Lucian*, *Myths of Greece*, *Hecuba*, *Hippolytus*, *Andromache*, *The Children of Heracles*, *Alcestis*, *Medea*, *Complete Translation of Aesop’s Fables*, *Helen of Troy*, *The Suppliant Women*, *Orestes*, *The Madness of Heracles*, *Women of Troy*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Sad Toys*, *The Pillowbook of Sei Shōnagon*, *Bath-house of the Floating World*, *Barber-shop of the Floating World*, *Selected Japanese Kyōgen* etc.

In addition there are manuscripts of poetry including *The Past Continued: Six Poems* 往昔续六首, *Miscellaneous Poems of Tiger Bridge* 老虎桥杂诗, *Poems on Trivial Matters for Children* 儿童杂事诗 and also manuscripts of compilations and collections including *Shaoxing Nursery Rhymes* 绍兴儿歌集 and *Hawkers’ Cries Through the Year* 一岁货声.

There are also some original manuscripts which have come from the collections of other institutions or individuals of which we have collected digital images, such as the 1940s translation of *Myths of Greece*, Zhou Zuoren’s memoir *Zhitang’s Recollections* 知堂回想录 (hereinafter *Zhitang huixianglu*), *Idle Talk about bamboo shoots* 闲话 毛笋, *Bird song* 鸟声, *Myths of the Sun-*

flower 向日葵的神话, *Fish sashimi* 鱼脍, *The experience of foreign stereotyped writing* 洋八股的经验, *Greek Comedies* 希腊小喜剧, *Taking tea* 喝茶, *Poetry and Truth* 诗与真实, *Meat and Nuts* 肴核, *Dragons today* 现今的龙, *Idle talk on falling into poverty* 堕贫闲话, “Growing out of childish beliefs” “小大自休”, *The Parable of the Cicada* 蝉的寓言, *Opposing Han Yu* 反对韩文公, *Brief comments on fermented bean curd* 略谈乳腐, *People who like to lie*, 爱说谎的人, *Superstitions of Other Countries* 别国的迷信, *Japanese rice* 日本的米饭 and other writings.

The manuscripts of translations contain large numbers of deletions in red, most of which were annotations deleted by the publisher before publication. In the new editions brought out with the support of Mr Zhi An 止庵 the annotations have been completely restored.

As for the collation of original manuscripts, apart from publishing typeset versions, we are also in the process of digital publishing. So far not much has been published and we welcome those willing to work with us.

Section 2: Diaries

Zhou Zuoren began keeping a diary in 1898 when he was 13 and continued until August 1966, a period spanning 68 years during which he recorded his experiences under the regimes of the Manchu Qing dynasty and of the Beiyang, Guomindang, Japanese collaborationist, Guomindang and Communist governments that followed. Zhou Zuoren's diaries of the early period contain some breaks and on several occasions the diaries have been lost, with the result that the diaries that have survived do not form a continuous whole.

At the beginning of the 1960s when his wife became ill and he was in straitened circumstances Zhou Zuoren sold his diaries covering the period from 1898-1934 to the Ministry of Culture 国家文化部 which were then published under the title *Diaries of Zhou Zuoren* by Henan Daxiang Publishing Company in a three-volume photocopy edition. In this edition some images had been subject to cuts and piecing together so that in some places content was missing or placed in the wrong order. The originals of the diaries have

now been housed in the Lu Xun Museum.

The diaries for 1936-1966 which remained in Zhou Zuoren's possession were seized in 1966 at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution by Red Guards engaged in "search and confiscation" and then handed over to the Lu Xun Museum, after which unauthorised reproductions and excerpts from the text became publicly available. By 1988 Zhou Zuoren's descendants had managed to track down the original diaries and they are now in the keeping of the family.

The diaries for 1931 and 1935 were lost after Zhou Zuoren was arrested in 1945 but at the beginning of this century they were recovered and are now also held by the family.

Zhou Zuoren's descendants currently have possession of the following diaries: 1931, 1935, 1938-43, 1945, 1949-1966, which is a total of 27 years in 22 volumes.

The diaries are notable for the following characteristics:

1. They are written in brush or with a fountain pen, the handwriting is neat, usually without punctuation and with very few alterations.
2. The text includes ancient form characters, variant Chinese characters, the Mandarin Phonetic Alphabet (zhuyinzimu), Suzhou numerals and signs devised by the writer; in some cases Chinese and foreign scripts are used together (e.g. when Japanese kanji are inserted into Chinese text or when Japanese symbols for voiced and unvoiced sounds were marked above the Mandarin Phonetic Alphabet etc.)
3. Before going to study in Japan, Zhou Zuoren used Chinese methods of dating such as reign titles, the Sexagenary cycle and Year God Twelve Branch cycle designations, while after his return to China he used the Gregorian calendar.
4. Some of the diaries are written in standard diary notebooks, some are written on a high-quality paper manufactured in Xuancheng, Anhui and known as Xuan paper 宣纸 which he later had bound into notebooks according to year.

5. The early diaries were written like short texts, later what they recorded was simplified and the method of recording content was standardised, although sometimes there were exceptions and normally included notes were missed out.
6. At the end of some months and years there are detailed lists of works written, books received and bills, addresses, books read etc.
7. Mr Bao Yaoming 鲍耀明, based in Hong Kong, once borrowed part of the diary and then, without permission, cut out individual pages so that he could reproduce them and then glued them back with the result that the paper where it was glued has changed in colour and quality and some of the words have been obscured.

The following are the years for which there is no diary:

- i. Zhou started writing a diary in 1898 aged 13. There are no diaries before that date.
- ii. Zhou did not keep a diary between 1906-1911 when he was a student in Japan.
- iii. Diaries for 1928, 1936 and 1937 were lost as a result of his arrest in 1945.
- iv. The diary for 1944 was borrowed by Mr Bao Yaoming in Hong Kong and lost in the post.
- v. Zhou did not write a diary while in prison, between 1946 and 1948.

Section 3: Books

Zhou Zuoren loved reading and could read very fast and he accumulated a large number of books, as is clear from his writings, diaries and correspondence. However, a large part of his library was confiscated in the 1940s because he had served in collaborationist posts. In the 1950s, some tens of thousands of these books, both Chinese and foreign were handed over to Beijing Library, although concrete figures are not available. In the 1950s and 1960s, Zhou, who had always made his living by writing fell into straitened times, but he never lost his appetite for reading. While living frugally he

bought books to send abroad so that he could swap reading material with friends and at the same time did everything he could to earn through writing in order to ease financial difficulties. Sometimes he would exchange books and other things for money which he would then exchange for food and medicines from Hong Kong. As is evidenced by his diaries and correspondence from this period, he did this not only for his family but for neighbours who had come to him for help or to help his friends. During the “Cultural Revolution” his books were all taken by looters. Since that time about 1,000 have been recovered, most of them in Japanese, and to date they have not been collated.

Section 4: Correspondence

Zhou Zuoren always had the habit of keeping letters but a considerable number have been lost, damaged or destroyed, so that currently there are some 20,000 in the possession of his family, of which ten percent are Japanese. The letters date from 1917 to 1966 and are from around 3,000 correspondents who wrote in Chinese and 300 correspondents who wrote in Japanese and from around 500 institutions. This correspondence was also seized in 1966 at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution and handed over to the Beijing Lu Xun Museum. The family became aware of the whereabouts of the correspondence after the Cultural Revolution and managed to recover it in 1988. At that point the correspondence was stored in several old clothes trunks, cardboard boxes and large drawers, some were tied together with string but most had come loose and smelled of mildew. There were some envelopes with no letters, some letters with no envelopes and those that were still intact were completely mixed up with odd pages of letters, manuscripts, circulars and receipts. Some of the letters and envelopes showed signs of damage by insects and mice, mould and water or had been trodden on or torn. Many of the letters had been stamped in blue with a serial number while some had had a label attached summarising the content and marked “duplicate made” or other notifications. Some had been stored in

semi-transparent carrier bags tagged with a number, showing that these letters had already been picked out and examined.

In addition to Chinese, there were letters written in Japanese, English, German, Italian and Esperanto.

There are quite a large number of letters in this batch, rich in content and they are one of the focus points of our current collating work, although copyright and privacy issues surrounding these letters have imposed limitations. The aim of the work can be divided into three areas: building a catalogue, preservation of the original documents and collation of the contents. At present, a basic catalogue which can serve the work of collation has been set up and work is proceeding on the preservation of the originals and collation of the contents. Because the signatures and dates of many of the letters need to be established (as some letters are incomplete, some are hard to read or have no date, the postmark is unclear or because one person may have used many names) the basic catalogue still needs to be expanded and perfected, and only then will it be able to meet the need for provision of research categories and information retrieval. The task of collating the content will require large amounts of manpower and relatively long time. The main technical programmes for managing the collation of these materials are digitisation and computerised information management. We are also seeking and trying out all sorts of collaboration in order to solve the various questions and difficulties around the materials, funding, manpower, location, preservation and the release of the materials.

Section 5: The collection, collation and publication of the materials

The first stage of the work of collecting and collating Zhou Zuoren's writings has already been completed. As described above, after revisions and additions most of his translations have been republished in their original form and we hope that in future the original handwritten manuscripts can be published as photocopied reproductions. The materials being collected include

original documents, photocopies and digitised images and the work of collection and collation requires all kinds of support and cooperation. So far, the task of collection has benefitted from successful cooperation with, in China, the National Museum of Modern Literature, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Modern History Research Institute Library, Nanjing Library, Beijing Council International Auction Co. Ltd [北京匡时拍卖有限公司, Hangzhou Xiling Auction Company [杭州西泠拍卖有限公司] and the families of Shen Yinmo 沈尹默, Jiang Shaoyuan 江绍原, Yu Pingbo 俞平伯, Cao Juren 曹聚仁, Luo Fu 罗孚, Tao Kangde 陶亢德, Fang Jisheng 方纪生 and others. In Japan, we have cooperated with Kyushu University Library, the Waseda University Aizu Yaichi Museum, the Mushakoji Saneatsu Memorial Hall and the families of Matsueda Shigeo, 松枝茂夫 Anto Kosei 安藤更生, Satomi Ton 里见淳, Ichinohe Tsutomu 一户務, Shimizu Yasuzō 清水安三, Fujitsuka Chikashi 藤塚邻 etc. We have obtained the originals of Zhou Zuoren's correspondence and digitalised images of documents, letters, photographs and objects, as well as the authorisation from some individuals in China to publish letters. In the course of gathering together, collating and publishing the materials described above, we have been helped by many warm-hearted individuals in China and Japan including Zhi An 止庵, Chen Zishan 陈子善, Zhao Jinghua 赵京华, Yuan Yidan 袁一丹, Sun Yu 孙郁, Gu Weiliang 顾伟良, Nakazatomi Satoshi 中里见敬, Ogawa Toshiyasu 小川利康, Tokuzumi Sachi 德泉幸 and other experts and scholars. In particular Zhi An, Ogawa Toshiyasu and Gu Weiliang have given enormous help, as have individuals from other walks of life including the descendants of Li Dazhao, and some from institutions including the National Library of China, the Shaoxing Lu Xun Museum, Tsinghua University, Peking University Library and Renmin University who are not listed individually. We take this opportunity to express our heartfelt thanks to the individuals and institutions listed above and hope that we will continue to receive support.

(I) Already published materials (excluding works and translations)

1. Correspondence between Zhou Zuoren and Yu Pingbo 《周作人俞平伯往来书札影真》 colour lithograph edition 原色影印版 (Beijing: National Library of China); 《周作人俞平伯往来通信集》 Shanghai: Yiwen chubanshe.
2. Originals of Zhou Zuoren's letters to Jiang Shaoyuan 《周作人早年佚简笺注》 [Notes and commentary on Zhou Zuoren's lost letters from the early period] Sichuan wenyi chubanshe; 《江绍原藏近代名人手札》 colour lithograph edition (Zhonghua shuju).
3. Zhou Zuoren's hand copied manuscript 《一岁货声》 [Hawkers' cries through the year] Photocopied edition. Beijing chubanshe.
4. Zhou Zuoren's annotated and edited manuscript on children's rhymes 《知堂遗存: 童谣研究手稿》 Photocopied edition. Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe.
5. Zhou Zuoren's payment seals. 《知堂遗存: 周作人印谱》 [Zhitang's property: Impressions of Zhou Zuoren's seals] Photocopy. Fujian Jiaoyu chubanshe]
6. Zhou Zuoren's letters to Matsueda Shigeo [松枝茂夫] in 《中国现代文学研究丛刊》 Zhongguo xiandai wenxue congkan 2007 No 4-6; 《周作人致松枝茂夫手札》 colour lithograph edition published by Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe.
7. Matsueda Shigeo's letters to Zhou Zuoren in 《中国现代文学研究丛刊》 Zhongguo xiandai wenxue congkan 2014 no. 11.
8. Zhou Zuoren's letters to Shen Qiwu in 中国现代文学研究丛刊》 Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan 2016, no 7.
9. Correspondence between Zhou Zuoren and Anto Kosei 《中国现代文学研究丛刊》 Zhongguo xiandai wenxue congkan 2016 no 11.
10. Zhou Zuoren's diary for 1939 《中国现代文学研究丛刊》 Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan 2016 No 11.
11. Zhou Zuoren diary for 1949 《中国现代文学研究丛刊》 Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan 2017 No 7.
12. Zhou Zuoren diary for 1959 《中国现代文学研究丛刊》 Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan, 2018 No. 4.

(2) Books awaiting publication

1. Zhou Zuoren's correspondence with Zheng Ziyu 郑子瑜 (photolithograph and type set.)
2. Zhou Zuoren's memoir *Zhitang huixiang lu* 《知堂回想录》 (photolithograph and type set).
3. Zhou Zuoren's diaries (photolithograph editions)
4. Zhou Zuoren's diaries (typeset)

Of these, the third item, Zhou Zuoren's diaries in photolithographic edition, only includes the diaries for 1931, 1935 and subsequent years. The diaries for other years were sold in the 1960s and because we have been unable to obtain the support of the current owners, it has not been possible to include them in the planned photolithographic publishing plan. The fourth category is for typeset editions of all of Zhou Zuoren's existing diaries from 1898 to 1966 and would be based on the photolithograph edition published as 周作人日记 and the diaries in the possession of Zhou Zuoren's family.

After 1949, Zhou Zuoren was permitted to publish new works provided they had been subject to censorship and appeared under pseudonyms. After reform and opening his pre-1949 works could be published under his own name, subject to limitations which changed from time to time. It has never been possible to publish Zhou's diaries from the period of Japanese occupation and afterwards and, although in the last few years we have published some of them in journals, there are difficulties with publishing them in book form. Contracts that we signed for the publication of the diaries as mentioned above have now expired without them appearing. The signatories to the contracts hope that we will patiently wait and say they still want to take on the publishing and distribution of the diaries.

We are planning to continue publishing Zhou Zuoren's diaries in journals. As journals will only accept typeset documents, require standard characters and punctuation and also have limitations on length, the publication of the complete diaries is still some way in the future.

(3) Copyright infringements, tampering with historical materials and identifying falsehoods.

1. In 2004 Henan University Press published *Collected Letters of Zhou Zuoren and Bao Yaoming*. A court judged that the publication of Zhou Zuoren's diaries and of Zhou's letters to Bao Yaoming constituted infringement of copyright and Henan University Press was ordered to cease immediately.¹
2. A court ruled that the publication of Zhou Zuoren's letters etc. to Zhang Yiqu 张一渠 in *Lu Xun yanjiu yuekan* (2012:1), published by Beijing Lu Xun Museum constituted infringement of copyright and ordered the Museum to cease immediately.²
3. Example of alteration of Zhou Zuoren *Dairies*-1:

After the occupation of Beijing, Tang Erhe became the Minister of Education in the collaborationist Provisional Government and was also in charge of Beida. He wanted to engage Zhou as head of the Beida Library but met with refusal, whereupon he sent him a letter of appointment in the hope that Zhou would accept. Zhou recorded this in his diary for 12th January 1939:

This afternoon received a letter of appointment from Beida still to do with the Library and I really can't will have to reply. 下午收北大聘书，仍是关于图书馆事，而实际上不能去当函复之

This entry could be paraphrased as follows: Although I have refused the post of head of the Beida Library today they sent me a letter of appointment, I really cannot go, it seems that I will have to refuse in writing. (See Illustration 1)

However, the *Chronological Biography of Zhou Zuoren* (Chinese: *Zhou Zuoren Nianpu*, 周作人年谱 hereinafter *Nianpu*) puts it as follows: *This afternoon received letter of appointment from Beida, still has to do with library*

1 Verdict of Haidian District People's Court Beijing, case number: (2005) Haimin trial in first instance case number 10062

2 Verdict of Beijing Number Two Intermediate People's Court, case number: (2014) Second Intermediate Civil Court (Intellectual Property) Trial in first instance number 10697.

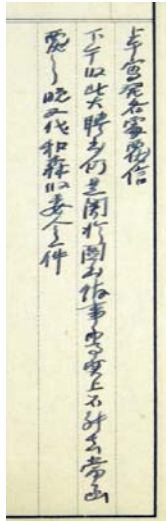


Illustration 1: Zhou Zuoren's diary

and I really can't not take it.³ 下午收北大聘书，仍是关于图书馆事，而实际上不能不当。In this book, the word 'qu' (go) in the last phrase of the original is changed into "bu" (not) and the word "dang" is incorporated into the new sentence, while the remaining three words "han fu zhi" (will have to reply) were deleted. These changes, apart from the deletion of three words, have completely changed the attitude to taking the post of Librarian found in the original text.

Because Zhou Zuoren's diaries were seized by Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution and then kept in the Lu Xun Museum for over twenty years and could not be seen by anyone outside, plus the fact Zhou's diaries have remained unpublished since the Cultural Revolution, this alteration remained undetected for a long time. It was only in 2013 that Zhou Zuoren's descendants, while working on the collation and cataloguing of the diaries,

3 Zhang Juxiang 张菊香, Zhang Tierong 张铁荣 eds *Zhou Zuoren nianpu* 周作人年谱 (Chronological Biography of Zhou Zuoren) Tianjin: Nankai University Press, 1985, p.411.

came across this by chance and then passed the information to scholars. In 2017 Professor Gu Weiliang of Hirosaki University Japan, wrote an article bringing this to public attention.

Recently another article has revealed the fact that as early as the 90s, or even earlier, someone who knew the facts pointed out this issue to the editors of the *Nianpu*⁴, but no correction was issued and it remained uncorrected in the revised edition⁵ as a result of which the general public is still uninformed and the academic world has been misinformed for over 30 years.

Given that the characters and the handwriting in the original text are quite clear and that in addition to cutting out words the *Nianpu* has changed the meaning, plus the fact that it has been impossible to openly publish Zhou Zuoren's diaries from the period of collaboration, it is entirely to be expected that the general public has found it hard to understand the real situation (facts show that this is indeed the case.) The authors therefore believe that this was a deliberate attempt to tamper with Zhou Zuoren's diary.

(4) Example of alteration of Zhou Zuoren *Dairies-2*

At noon on 29th June 1949, Guomindang government military planes flew close to Shanghai. That date, Zhou noted in his diary, "...noon bandit planes again came and harassed for a long time..." (See Illustration 2)

However in 1976, when Zhou Zuoren's diary was published in Hong Kong without permission the word "bandit" (*fei* 匪) was changed into the word "country/nation" (*guo* 國) and the diary entry changed to "noon Nationalist planes again came to harass, lasted a long time."⁶

As everybody knows, Zhou Zuoren had always thoroughly detested Jiang

4 Gao Yuandong 高远东, "I raised the matter of this quote ...with one of the authors, Zhang Tierong, but it remains uncorrected in the revised edition of the *Nianpu*." See *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan* (2018:1) p. 119.

5 Zhang Juxiang, Zhang Tierong ed. *Zhou Zuoren nianpu* Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2000, p. 568.

6 Bao Yaoming 鲍耀明 ed. *Zhitang Yi chou riji*, 知堂乙丑日记 in *Qiyi* 七艺 first issue (Hong Kong, November 1976)

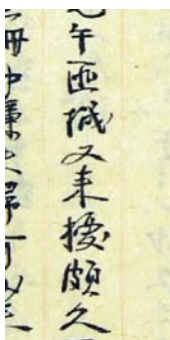


Illustration 2: Zhou Zuoren's diary

Jieshi and the Nationalist (Guomindang) government. At the beginning of 1949, when Hu Shi bailed him out of the Tiger Bridge prison in Nanjing he immediately wrote a poem that mocked Jiang Jieshi and the Nationalists with the line “withered wild rice and cattails fill the stream.”⁷ He refused Hu Shi’s 胡适 well-meaning invitation to go to Taiwan and instead urged Hu Shi to remain on the mainland. He himself actually stayed alone in Shanghai for seven or eight months before returning to Beijing. Zhou Zuoren’s political leanings, which are also a subject covered by “Zhou Zuoren research,” were truly manifested in the word “bandit” used in his diary entry. The switch to the word “country/nation” completely changed its meaning, and is completely different to an ordinary “typographical error.” An examination of the original document shows that from the viewpoint of legibility, the chances of misreading “bandit” as “country” are extremely slim. In terms of the meaning of the words the connotations of praise and blame make them opposites to each other. In 1976, when this diary was published in Hong Kong, Taiwan was ruled by the Nationalists and Hong Kong was a British colony, and the two had a close relationship. The Hong Kong publisher was either unwilling, or

7 Zhou Zuoren, “Ni tibi” 拟题壁, in Chen Zishan 陈子善 ed. *Zhitang zashi chao* 知堂杂诗抄, Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1987, p. 23

fearful of referring to the Nationalist government's planes disparagingly as "bandits." The authors see this as an example of tampering with historical materials and misleading readers.

(5) An example of false hearsay:

Here is a version of events: the employees of a certain office had once heard Zhang Tingqian 章廷谦 (Chuandao 川岛) describing the compound at No. 11 Badaowan and saying that beneath the window of the bedroom of Zhou Zuoren and his wife were many flowers and plants, so that it was impossible to get near. Probably because of Mr Chuandao's unusual status, this hearsay has spread far and wide. In fact, the hearsay is completely at odds with the reality. The authors have found old photographs, which when located on a map of the rear-courtyard can prove this. (See Illustration 3).

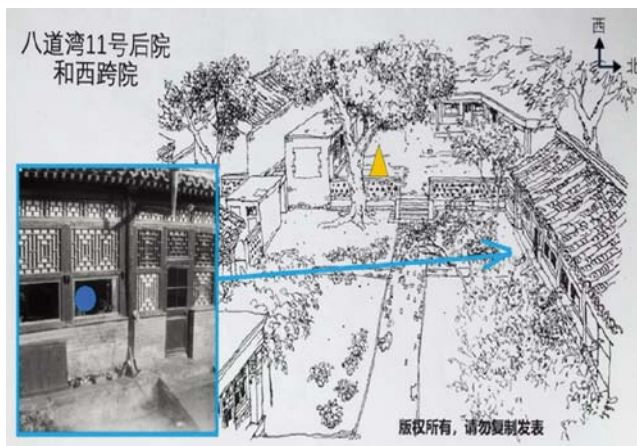


Illustration 3

The photo on the left of Illustration 3 shows the sleeping quarters of the Zhou couple at the time and its location on the map is shown by the arrow, while the triangle above the wall lattice indicates the position of the camera. The Zhou's bedroom was a three-sectioned room on the north side, with the

entrance in the middle section and the other two internal doors. The photograph shows the entrance and the west room (a tatami sleeping room) and the square above the glass window is a paper window. It was possible to put up a wooden shutter over it to keep out icy winds or freezing rain and that is what can be seen leaning against the wall on the stone platform beneath the window. The stone platform is about 30-40 centimetres wide and was used for walking or for standing on and putting up the shutter. Beneath the platform is a brick-built “apron” or raised panel about 30 centimetres wide (to avoid rain from the eaves from hitting the ground directly and causing erosion.) Clearly, it would have been impossible to grow flowers and plants on the stone platform or the brick apron.

In fact No 11 Badaowan was a large, walled compound with four courtyards in succession and one secondary courtyard attached to them on the western side; the parlour, studies and guest rooms were all found in the outer, second and middle courtyards, while the rear courtyard and the secondary courtyard were where family members, women and children lived. The bedrooms of Zhou Zuoren and Zhou Jianren’s wives, children and other female relatives and some of the servants were all here. Although the rooms of Lu Rui and Zhu An had windows looking into the middle courtyard, they had doors that went directly to the rear courtyard, in addition to which the dining room, kitchen, well, bathroom, lavatory and vegetable garden were all in the rear courtyard. To go from the middle courtyard to the rear courtyard it was necessary to go through a passageway some seven or eight metres long so the rear courtyard could not be disturbed by outsiders and there was a level of privacy. (In 1927 after Li Dazhao laid down his life, his son Li Baohua 李葆华 lived in the rear courtyard for over a month and managed to avoid being found and arrested by the military government’s special police.)

The vast majority of guests from the outside would go no further than the middle courtyard and normally there would be no opportunity for them to visit the rear courtyard, so did Mr Zhang Tingqian visit the rear courtyard or did he not? Would he have known where Zhou Zuoren’s bedroom was, or

would he not? Of course, there will always remain a question over whether Mr Zhang actually said those things. The authors do not intend to look into this matter any further but prefer to use this article to present it to the academic world as an example of “false hearsay.”

(6) Citation and analysis of material

(i) On Zhou's acceptance of the collaborationist Education Minister post

We know that on 8th November 1940 the Superintendent of the Bureau of Education (equivalent to Education Minister) in the Provisional North China Government, Tang Erhe, passed away; on 14th December the Japanese Legation in Beijing announced in a telegram to external bodies that it had decided to appoint Zhou Zuoren to succeed Tang in the post; on the 19th December the collaborationist Wang Jingwei 汪精卫 government in Nanjing passed a resolution to appoint Zhou to the post, and this was widely reported in the press on 20th December. Zhou took over the post in January 1941 and stepped down in February 1943. Because it has to do with Zhou Zuoren, this apparently simple historical narrative has long attracted much attention throughout society.

In 1986 Xu Baokui 许宝骙, the chief editor of *Tuanjie Bao* 团结报, published an article titled “How Zhou Zuoren came to take on the position of Education Bureau Superintendent in the collaborationist North China government” (hereinafter referred to as “Xu's article.”). The article drew on Xu's recollections of these events in which he had been involved to show how that year the underground anti-Japanese “Northern National Salvation Committee” 北方救国会 which had been organized by the Guomindang, Communist and the China National Socialist parties decided to mobilize Zhou Zuoren to take the post. In the article Xu explained how he had taken it upon himself to work on Zhou Zuoren and change his attitude from one of refusal to acceptance and the process by which Zhou took on the post. The article also made a positive assessment of Zhou's performance in the post. Xu Baokui was prompted to write the article by a series of articles based on interviews

authored by Shanghai Film Studio's Shen Pengnian,⁸ which said that Xu Baokui and Wang Dingnan 王定南, who at that time was Special Secretary of the Communist Party's Beiping branch and also one of the leaders of the Northern National Salvation Committee, decided to call on Zhou Zuoren to take the post. If this was really what happened, Zhou Zuoren's acceptance of a collaborationist post could almost be seen in formal terms as anti-Japanese underground work, which would have a huge impact on the evaluation of and research on him, and also overturn much of the assessment and research carried out over a long period of time. When these articles came out, they were met by a large amount of opposition and suspicion, whereupon Xu Baokui quickly wrote his account of what had happened; Wang Dingnan thereupon denied the interview with Shen and declared that he had had nothing to do with Zhou Zuoren's acceptance of the collaborationist post. With regards to the interview transcript signed by Wang Dingnan, which had been published by Shen Pengnian, Wang explained it away by saying that he had not paid attention and read it carefully and had signed it by mistake. The circumstances of this matter are very complicated and the authors of the present article do not intend to discuss it further. But there is one question that has for a long time remained unanswered: it comes from the fact that Shen Pengnian visited the Zhou family and showed them a photocopy of the transcript of the interview on which was written the following:

"Comrade Pengnian, if you meet Comrade Zhou Fengyi⁹ please say hello for me and tell him, "I do understand this matter of your father's."

According to Shen Pengnian, the words "this (matter)" and "understand" were written by Wang Dingnan himself to amend his meaning, and the original is in the archive of the Shanghai Film Studio. (See Illustration 4)

The authors believe that these words which clearly relate to the specific context showed that the person making the amendments attached impor-

8 Shen Pengnian 沈鹏年, Shanghai Film Studio Reference Room worker, specializing in literature and history.

9 Zhou Fengyi, 周丰一 son of Zhou Zuoren and research librarian at the China National Library.



Illustration 4: Wang Dingnan's changes to Shen Pengnian's interview transcript

tance to the interview, had read the transcript carefully and thought about it deeply. As the written words and the original document are in existence it would not be hard to check, and if the four words really were written by Wang Dingnan then it shows that his denial of having read it through properly and signed in error does not have a leg to stand on. Moreover, Wang Dingnan's reference to the "matter" and "I understand" clearly point to Zhou Zuoren's acceptance of the collaborationist post. Given that Wang Dingnan had never been in contact with Zhou Zuoren or his son Zhou Fengyi, the greeting and message he sent could mean that he, Wang Dingnan, was aware of something unknown to outsiders that was behind Zhou's acceptance of the post, and that Wang himself was still unable to directly explain it to others. These facts are clearly at odds with Wang's later attempt in his "statement" to absolve himself of any responsibility and are worth bearing in mind.

That Zhou Zuoren had refused to cooperate with authorities collaborating with the Japanese and had then gone on to accept the collaborationist post of Education Superintendent are historical facts. Everyone knows this, and pays great attention to the internal and external factors, and what he did once he was in post. The authors have examined Zhou's diaries for the two months between 8th November 1940 when Tang Erhe died of illness and the

1st January 1941 when Zhou received the document of appointment and have excerpted the following entries (complete entries for the period are given in the appendix in the original Chinese):

8th November: *phone-call this evening from Ministry of Education to say that Er Sou¹⁰ has passed away.*

9th November: *To Tang residence at 9:00am to express condolences. ... wrote a couplet for Er Sou: A life with so many successes that have benefitted the country/Achieving much with no thought of reward,/ Who would have expected you to be cut off in life's prime?/Now all is in the past and the cycle of life has moved on./You accepted that post just so as to be able to save the suffering people/Who would have known your good deeds would end when you went to the other shore?/The pain beats in my heart like a distant bell and all that is left are these feeble words for you.*

In the evening Ziyu¹¹ came, I asked him to find someone to write it for me and deliver it.

14 November: *Morning worked on memorial piece for Erhe, unfinished. 3:00pm went to Education Bureau for Mr Tang's funeral arrangements committee, back at 5:00pm.*

19 November: *8:00am to Beida waited for Wang Yitang¹² Qu Duizhi¹³ ... 4:00pm went to Tang residence. Literature Department had public memorial ceremony.Duizhi¹⁴ came to talk.*

20 November: *2:00pm to Education Bureau for Committee on Funeral Arrangements, back at 4:00pm*

23 November: *This morning to Beida. Waited for Qu Duizhi, he didn't come. Back at 4:00pm.*

10 Er Sou 尔叟 another name for Tang Erhe.

11 Ziyu 子余 refers to Luo Zhen 罗震, then head of the Beida Accounts Section. Ziyu is courtesy name.

12 Wang Yitang 王揖唐, then head of the collaborationist North China Administrative Committee.

13 Qu Duizhi 瞿兑之, another name for Qu Yikai 瞿益锴, then head of the collaborationist North China Administrative Committee Secretariat. Duizhi 兑之 is courtesy name.

14 Duizhi 兑之 refers to Qu Yikai 瞿益锴.

24 November: Morning, Wang Yitang¹⁵ came to visit.

26 November: Afternoon Duizhi came, on orders of Wang Yitang came to appeal to me to take the seat. (劝进).

2 December: Noon Matsue¹⁶ appointment for 2:00pm, to Literature Department to wait.

4 December: Morning Guo Jianfu¹⁷ came to visit.

9 December: Letter from Wang Yitang.

10 December: Morning Wang Yitang came to visit, 9:30 went to visit Mr Shou¹⁸

17 December: 4:00pm to Beida Office to see Daosun. Jiejun¹⁹ came to chat. 5:00pm went to Cultural Association in response to Yamaguchi's²⁰ invitation.

19th December: 6:00pm went to Hongtongguan at the invitation of Jiejun, the others who attended were Yin Tongsheng²¹ Wang Yitang²² Qian Daosun²³ five of us in all. Returned home after 9:00pm.

20th December: Guo Jianfu and Tsuji²⁴ from Yongbao newspaper office

15 Wang Yitang 王逸唐 same as Wang Yitang 王揖唐. Yitang 逸唐 is the courtesy name.

16 Matsui 松井 refers to Matsui Takuro 松井太一郎, Japanese, military rank of colonel, then Liaison Officer in Japanese Asia Development Board 兴亚院 (Japanese: Kōain) North China Liaison Bureau 华北联络部.

17 Guo Jianfu 郭健夫, later changed his given name to Gaoyan 高炎, underground member of Chinese Communist Party, at that time journalist for Yongbao 庸报.

18 Mr Shou 寿先生 refers to Shou Zhulin 寿洙邻, who had taught Zhou Zuoren as a child.

19 Jiejun 介君 refers to Xu Baokui 许宝騫 who was also known as Xu Jiejun 许介君. At that time, he was teaching in Beida. His younger sister was married to Yu Pingbo.

20 Yamaguchi refers to Yamaguchi Satsujō 山口察常, Japanese, at that time a professor at Beida and one of the leading group of professors in the East Asian Cultural Society.

21 Yin Tongsheng 殷桐生 refers to Yin Tong 殷桐. Tongsheng 桐生 is courtesy name. At that time, he was Supervisor of the collaborationist North China Construction General Office.

22 Wang Yitang 汪乙唐 same as Wang Shijing 汪时璟, courtesy name also Yitang 翊唐 (but note different characters.) At that time he was Superintendent of the collaborationist North China Financial Affairs Bureau. He was married to Yin Tong's 殷桐 younger sister. It is said that he took the post with the approval of Jiang Jieshi.

23 Qian Daosun 钱稻孙 was at that time President of Peking University.

24 Tsuji 辻 refers to Tsujida 辻田, a Japanese who worked at Yongbao 庸报, although it is not yet known what post he held.

came together, I heard that the newspaper is carrying the news that Nanjing has already passed a resolution approving the Education Superintendent post.

1st January (1941) Received letter from North China Government passing on letter of appointment from National Government.

From the diary entries above the authors believe that it is highly likely that the collaborationist side brought up the issue of Zhou Zuoren taking over the post of Education Bureau Superintendent ten days after the death of Tang Erhe, that is to say on 19th November, that on the 26th November he was still refusing, as the use of the expression “to appeal to take a seat” (劝进) shows that he had thus far refused. According to Zhou Zuoren the Japanese raised the suggestion on December 2nd when he had his appointment with Matsue.²⁵

The authors are also of the view that the entry for 10th December is particularly intriguing. It was on the morning of day that the Chairman of the North China Political Council Wang Yitang came to visit, but it would seem Zhou gave him very little time as at 9:30 am he said goodbye to his guest and left the house to see his old teacher. According to normal etiquette, people of status and who are not well-known to each other cannot visit each other on a whim²⁶, they have to notify the person of the visit and say what it is for, the visit cannot be too early in the day and provided that the person being visited does not have a very important matter to deal with they will leave plenty of time to entertain the visitor. There was something unusual about the visit on 10th December. Either the guest did not wish to stay very long and just needed to say a few words or ascertain something face -to-face with his host and then left as soon as he had finished; or the guest wanted a heart-

25 Zhou Zuoren, “From Literatus and Superintendent to Reactionary Old Writer,” 从文人督办到反动老作家 in *Selected Literary and Historical Materials* 文史资料选辑 (1962:151).

26 Some say that Wang Yitang’s niece was married to Zhou Zuoren’s son and that that was why Wang wanted to get Zhou to take the collaborationist Education Superintendent post but this is a rumour. Zhou Zuoren’s son’s wife was Zhang Tanfang 张葵芳, her father was Zhang Qingxi 张庆禧 and their ancestral home was in Dingzhou 定州, Hubei. They had absolutely no connection to Wang Yitang.

to-heart conversation with his host but the host had nothing to say: otherwise it is very hard to explain why the meeting terminated abruptly at 9:30am.

The authors hypothesize that if maybe Wang Yitang had come about filling the Education Bureau Superintendent's post, perhaps as soon as he entered the door, he received an unexpected commitment and happily departed. Or else he had not been seated very long before his host wished him goodbye on the grounds that he had to see his former teacher. In any case, there had been no time spent on "appealing" for him to accept a seat. Very likely the letter from Wang Yitang received on 9th December was to give notice of the visit the following day and it no doubt contained some clues about what happened on 10th December, but unfortunately this letter has not been found.

Recently material has emerged which says that on 14th December, Japanese officials sent a internal telegram to announce that the decision had been taken to appoint Zhou Zuoren as the successor to the post of Superintendent of Education. The authors believe that it is fairly likely that Zhou took the decision before the 10th December. And on 10th December Zhou Zuoren started to write an article that he was in no hurry to publish and in no hurry to get finished as shown in the diary entries below:

10th December: ...afternoon tried to write article.

11th December: ... continued writing

16th December: ... afternoon continued writing article.

17th December: Morning carried on writing article till noon...

The date given at the end of "Getting to know Japan again" 日本之再认识 is 17th December of the 29th Year [1940]²⁷ so we know that this must be the "article" referred to in the diary. The article was not published immediately after it had been written but almost a year later on 29th November 1941 when it appeared as a hard-cover offprint edition; it was then carried in the

²⁷ Zhou Zuoren, *Yao wei ji*, 药味集 Beijing: October Literature and Arts Publishing House, 2013, p. 138.

Zhonghe Yuekan 中合月刊 in January 1942 and in the same month included in Zhou's *Yaowei ji* 药味集 collection.

"Getting to Know Japan again" runs to about 6,500 characters. The first part which takes up about seventy percent of the article describes the good impressions that he had received from his observations of Japan in the past and the *Nianpu* criticizes it for "lavishing praise on Japan's culture and lifeat a time when the Japanese imperialists were trampling all over China."²⁸ But in fact this was Zhou Zuoren's frequently used humorous style and in the later part of the article his style suddenly became changed: "I've spoken above about many of my observations of Japan with the sole aim of crossing them out in one stroke now to demonstrate that the road I took was completely mistaken"²⁹. He then went on to look at Japan from a new angle. The article cautioned people to re-examine the good feelings and images they had of Japan and stressed the differences between the two countries, ending with a sober conclusion: there were some things about Japan that Chinese were unable to identify with.

It is not the aim of this article to pursue a deeper analysis of the piece but we feel that there is a need to focus attention on this article that was written while Zhou went through the process of considering whether or not to take on the collaborationist post. Zhou also recorded in his diary on 3rd December "in the afternoon copied out a short piece for *Chenbao*" while noting on 5th December "afternoon wrote short piece, unfinished" and on 16th December "Morning wrote a short piece." The authors would very much like to read the two other essays that Zhou was working on in the same period but up till now it has not been possible to identify them.

To return to the point made earlier, the Japanese official internal telegram on 14th December can be taken to show that at that juncture the Japanese had no objections to Zhou taking on the post, but that does not

²⁸ Zhang Juxiang, Zhang Tierong ed. *Zhou Zuoren Nianpu*, Nankai Daxue chubanshe, p.440; *Zhou Zuoren nianpu*, Tianjin renmin chubanshe, p. 600.

²⁹ Zhou Zuoren, *Yao wei ji*, Beijing: October Literature and Arts Publishing House, 2013, p. 138.

mean that Zhou himself had already agreed. At that time there were many instances of officials making unilateral decisions about hiring and even issuing letters of appointment without the agreement of the individual in question, and it was also fairly common for the letter of appointment to be rejected. Zhou Zuoren's diary entry regarding his appointment to head the Beida Library, mentioned above, and his declining to accept appointment letters from the Women's Normal College and the Normal College (not mentioned in this article) are all examples.

As to the diary entry of 17th December in which Zhou notes that "Jiejun came to talk" the authors are of the opinion that given his connections and his high level of attention to the issue of the next Education Bureau Superintendent, Xu Baokui would have known fairly early when Zhou had agreed to take on the post and the date that he knew about the Japanese decision could not have been much later than 14th December. Consequently, for Zhou to have met with Xu Baokui in Beida and talked to him could not have been fortuitous on Xu's part and from the wording "came to talk" in the diary we know that Xu's visit was prepared with the aim of talking. It can also logically be inferred that if Xu Baokui, as a core member of the Northern National Salvation Committee, had carried out mobilization work to "appeal to [Zhou] to take a post" and had then learned, or heard rumours that Zhou had already decided to do so, he would have to verify this face to face and also reaffirm all the requests and commitments in place. If he had not sought out Zhou Zuoren earlier to discuss these matters, then it is also reasonable to suppose, as he recalled in his article on the topic, that he took the opportunity to make the case for "stepping forward" on grounds of reason and sentiment. Another possibility is that as the Japanese side had internally unanimously agreed to Zhou's taking the position so that there was no obstacle on that front on the 14th, if Xu Baokui had managed on the 17th to convince a Zhou Zuoren who was still undecided and filled with misgivings, then the approval of the appointment issued by the Nanjing government on the 19th would also be an entirely feasible timeframe.

We see that Zhou in his diary entry for 19th December recorded having dinner at the invitation of Xu Baokui, along with Yin Tong, Wang Shijing, Qian Daosun and Zhou as the fourth guest. The time, place, number of people and their names completely match those in Xu's article. The authors believe that this is no accident but demonstrates that the Xu article is absolutely not just a case of empty talk.

However there is one problem with the Xu article, in that it has not given detailed information about the dates, such as the date of his conversation with Zhou about "coming out of retirement." Nonetheless, this is rather a harsh demand given how long ago the event took place. The authors have noted that although there is nothing in Zhou's diary about Xu in the days prior to the 17th December, in the course of collating the diaries they have discovered that there are some "unusual" instances when some things have not been recorded such as what happened on 26th August 1943 when Xu sent him an important report and they met to discuss it, as will be discussed later in this article. There is no mention of this in Zhou's diary, but because something has not been recorded that by no means implies that it did not happen.

Some are of the opinion that Zhou's diary entry on 17th December that "Jiejun came to talk" refers to Xu's attempt to work on Zhou mentioned in Xu's article, and that given the Nanjing government issued its approval on the 19th, it must already have been a foregone conclusion on the 17th that Zhou would take the post, in which case Xu's "appeal" was a belated effort. According to this view, what Xu's article is actually describing is a hypocritical performance to evade responsibility being acted out by Zhou as he took advantage of the platform that Xu was giving him with the visit. The authors consider that, leaving all other matters aside, if Zhou had already decided to take the position there would be no realistic or logical reason for him to deceive Xu into thinking the opposite. From a factual point of view, without historical materials this argument is without foundation and so there is no need to discuss it further. Logically it also does not hold water for the following reasons:

The first reason is that it would be impossible to hide. The post of Education Superintendent was an open position and many on the Japanese and collaborationist sides had hoped that Zhou Zuoren would take the post, so that as soon as he agreed it would have “come true” and be known by all and a temporary deception would have been pointless.

The second reason is that there was no need for him to do so. If he had already decided to take the post, in a few days it would be announced and become public knowledge so there seems no reason why there would be any reason for him to hide it temporarily from someone from the younger generation who was close to him as a friend. The argument that he did so in order to shirk responsibility in the future also does not seem credible. As Xu's 1986 article shows, if that year Zhou had put on an act in order to set a trap for him, not only did Xu believe it was real at the time, he remained in the trap for several decades afterwards, and in those decades Zhou Zuoren never once made use of this “trap.” The fact is that from the time Zhou stepped in to the post, to when he appeared at his trial to be cross-examined and right until he passed away, he always said that the decision to serve in a collaborationist post was taken by him but he had never betrayed his country or his people. As to the process and the reasons for his decision, he merely said that “it was neither coerced nor voluntary.” At a time when it was commonly thought necessary to use this “trap” he did not use it and whether from his writings, or appeals to national leaders or in his private correspondence it is clear that he never planned to make anyone else take responsibility for the decision. On the contrary there were a number of people in the know who felt he had suffered injustice, and from 1946 on there were those who argued his case and over 40 years after that the then elderly Xu Baokui wrote his article to set out what had happened.

(ii) Zhou Zuoren decides Xu Baokui is the right person to work with

In the course of collating Zhou Zuoren's correspondence the authors came across a letter from Xu Baokui, part of which is excerpted below (origi-

nal unpunctuated):

Respected Mr Qiming:

[Yu] Pingbo has told me that you thought I should take the post of head of the Education Bureau General Affairs Office 教育总务局 (at least until someone better is found.) On the matter of your taking the post of Education Superintendent I myself have always been in favour from the very beginning and worked very energetically thereafter, and in the course of this process perhaps I spoke in a way that overstepped the boundaries for someone of my position. In the same spirit of frankness, I should not find it shameful to put myself forward and offer my services. If you were to order me to take the post and I did not, would it not seem totally unjustifiable? However, I have grounds for doing so and must beg you to hear me out. You have my unreserved and unfailing trust and support, but examining myself I feel that I would be most useful outside rather than inside [the Bureau] and without a post rather than holding one. Of course, in the end I might be no use, even if I were outside and held no official post. But if I were to take on an internal post, from that moment on I would be totally useless and also lose the possibility of being useful in other areas, by which I mean in an individual capacity. After some thought I have come to the conclusion that even if I worked as hard as I possibly could, firstly my ability is not up to it, and secondly my character is unsuitable: I am not good at relationships with higher and lower levels. I am not saying this out of false modesty. I am saying it because I am absolutely clear about what I am or am not capable of, and in view of this, how could I be so rash as to take on the post? There is another reason, which is that over the last few years I have not been focussed on just one matter, nor have I interacted only with one group of people, and as a result I believe that for the time being I should not accept any posts.

It is for these three reasons that I feel unable to accept your request

that I take on the post of the Education Bureau General Affairs Office. However, in all other matters apart from this one, I can promise you that I will give you my unstinting help. If you insist that I take the post then I will drop everything else. Now that I have told you everything on my mind, I hope you will give it your judicious consideration. Tomorrow I will be teaching all day so thought I would write now and in a few days we can meet to talk over things, Pingbo is aware of everything and can discuss things with you... (See Illustration 5)

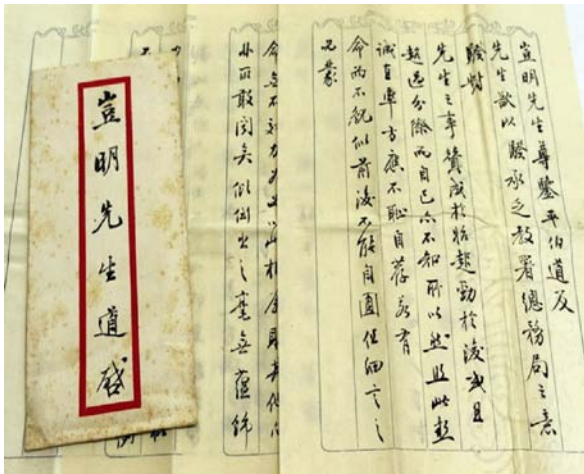


Illustration 5: Letter from Xu Baokui to Zhou Zuoren dated 26 December 1940

This was a hand-delivered letter Xu Baokui wrote in response to Zhou Zuoren's request that he take the post of Head of the Education Bureau's General Affairs Office. The letter is dated the 26th, but the month and year are not given. Zhou Zuoren's diary for 27th December 1940 (Friday) mentions that he received a letter from Xu Baokui and that Yu Pingbo came to visit. At that time Xu Baokui was teaching at Beida, which accords with his statement that "tomorrow I will be teaching all day," so he must have written it on the 26th and it was taken by his brother-in-law Yu Pingbo (who was mar-

ried to Xu's older sister) to Zhou.

Zhou Zuoren's diary entry for 27th December can be excerpted as follows (original unpunctuated):

Letters received: Jiejun.... Morning Pingbo came, asked Daosun to come, both stayed for lunch, afternoon Pingbo went... (See Illustration 6)

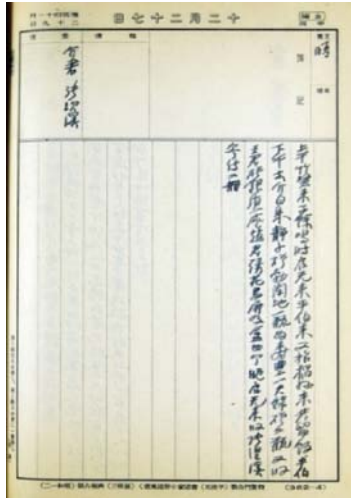


Illustration 6: Zhou Zuoren's diary entry for 27 December 1940

The authors have discovered that this letter written by Xu Baokui in 1940 fits in many places with what he said in his 1986 article and serves as supplementary evidence for its veracity:

From the passage “on the question of your taking on the post of I myself have always been in favour of this from the beginning and worked very energetically thereafter” we can see that the account in the 1986 article of how he lobbied Zhou to take the post of Education Superintendent fits in with “on the question of your taking the post” and “have always been in favour of this from the beginning” while his subsequent work on the Japanese and collaborationists fits in with “worked very energetically thereafter.”

From his suggestion that “perhaps [he] had overstepped the boundaries” we can tell that Xu Baokui must have used very strong arguments while trying to persuade Zhou, perhaps both in the form of persuasion and pressure. From “I should not find it shameful to put myself forward” we know that when trying to get Zhou Zuoren to agree Xu must have put forward ideas such as that mentioned in his 1986 article that it was “for the sake of culture and education” and “for young students.”³⁰

If his talks with Zhou had only been about the need to block Miao Bin 缪斌³¹, then based on his qualifications and record of service and prestige he would not have “put himself forward” against Miao, so there would be no need for him to blame himself for not doing so. However, Xu was certainly qualified to put himself forward for lower-level posts in the Education Bureau but he did not take the initiative to do so, hence he was expressing his shame at cutting himself off from plans for “the sake of culture and education” and “young students.”

From his sentence “If you were to order me to take the post and I did not, would it not seem totally unjustifiable?” we can tell that Xu Baokui himself understands that if he does not take the initiative in putting himself forward so that they both “fall into the water” (ie collaboration) together and just limits himself to expressing regret, and still wants to decline even if his superior comes to ask him then this really is too far from the attitude he took when working on Zhou, hence it is “unjustifiable.” This provides circumstantial evidence for the ideas in Xu’s article about acting for “culture and education” and “young students.”

From this letter we can tell that the most important facts covered in Xu’s 1986 article are genuine and some historical details can be weighed up

30 Xu Baokui, “How Zhou Zuoren came to take on the position of Education Bureau Superintendent in the collaborationist North China government,” 周作人出任华北教育督办伪职的经过, in *Tuanjie bao*, 团结报, 29-9-1986.

31 Miao Bin 缪斌 the deputy head of the collaborationist New People’s Society (新民会), was a keen supporter of Japanese militarist policy in North China and fought hard to win the post of Education Superintendent.

and verified.

In the letter Xu Baokui raised three reasons why he should not take the post of head of the Bureau of Education's General Affairs Office. The authors have noticed that although this is covered at some length in the text, the vagueness of the language used would have made clear to Zhou Zuoren that some things were clearly politically sensitive and could not be written on paper. At the end of the letter Xu says that he will come as soon as possible to discuss what he has not been able to say in the letter and or will ask Yu Pingbo to tell him. (From this we know that Yu Pingbo was very much aware of the situation of Xu Baokui, his wife's younger brother.)

Zhou Zuoren's diary for 27th December notes "*Morning: ...Pingbo came... Pingbo left in the afternoon*" and also "*Letter's received: Jiejun.*"

Clearly, early in the morning after it was written Yu Pingbo took the letter entrusted to him to deliver to Zhou Zuoren's house, leaving only in the afternoon, which gave the two of them plenty of time to talk and Yu must have been able to explain Xu's position in detail, but whether or not this convinced Zhou we are not in a position to know. As for why Zhou invited Qian Daosun to come and join them for lunch, up until now we have no historical materials to provide an answer. We have also noticed that though Xu's letter says "in a few days we can meet up to talk about things," there is no mention of this in Zhou's diary, but we do not know if it was because the visit did not take place or because Zhou did not record it.

Another thing we learn from the letter is that Xu was someone that Zhou hoped to "work together with" in the Education Bureau. The authors believe that the choice of government employees to a certain extent reflects what the person in charge want to do and their success in deploying those employees decides how much they can achieve. In terms of the jurisdiction of the collaborationist Education Bureau, if Xu had become head of the General Affairs Office this would have benefitted the maintenance of normal education in North China while resisting the education aimed at forming a slave mentality put forward by the Japanese militarists.

(iii) Zhou Zuoren decides Wang Zhucun 王竹村 is the right person to work with

Zhou Zuoren's diary entry for 26th November 1943 reads as follows (original unpunctuated):

Clear skies. Morning 9:00am to Beida to open the Cultural Association conference, stayed till 11:00 am then returned started to draft resolution, after midday went back to show my face. Afternoon 2:00pm went to Literature Department for literature section special meeting. 4:30 to Beijing Restaurant for Cultural Association tea party, asked Yang Nanke³² to translate my speech. Went home before 6:00pm, evening Wang Xianchu 王献芻, Zhang Dongsun (张东荪) came to talk about getting Wang Zhucun to the Education Bureau. (See Illustration 7).

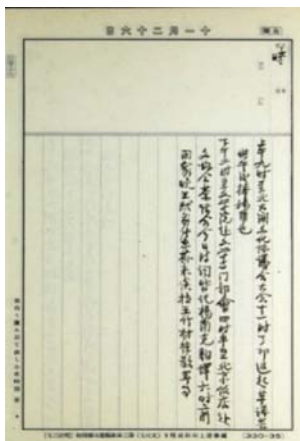


Illustration 7: Zhou Zuoren's diary for 26th November 1943

The authors believe that apart from “presenting the resolution” which shows how Zhou handled his official role in a “passive” way, the final sentence on Wang Xianchu etc. is worth attention.

32 Yang Nanke 杨南克 was Zhou Zuoren's secretary.

Wang Xianchu is Wang Mo 王谟, Xianchu is his courtesy name and at that point he had not been long in the post of Education Superintendent, which he had taken over from Zhou. A passage in the final section of Xu Baokui's article reads:

This article will end here. As a comment on a bygone time, it is necessary to mention in passing one additional matter of historical fact. After Zhou Zuoren left the post of Superintendent of the Education Bureau the person most likely to succeed him was one He Tingliu 何庭流, a hooligan in cultural circles who seemed to be a second Miao Bin. At this time Wang Dingnan had been arrested for the second time and was being held by the Japanese Military Police. The only thing I could do was contact Zhang Dongsun and get Comrade Wang Zhixiang 王之相 (courtesy name Shumei 叔梅) to come along and plan how to stop him. Comrade Shumei suggested we should recommend Wang Mo, who was then head of the collaborationist Beida Engineering Department to take the post as a way of stopping He Tingliu. Wang Mo agreed after discussion and after I spoke to Wang Kemin 王克敏³³ and put in a good word for him, the decision went through. I have never heard that he made any big mistakes while in post.³⁴

Zhang Dongsun was a professor at the American missionary-run Yanjing University and one of the leaders of the China Democratic League 中国民主政团同盟 (predecessor of the contemporary 民盟) and was one of the three leaders of the Beijing-based anti-Japanese Northern National Salvation Committee mentioned earlier. After Tang Erhe died in 1940, Zhang advocated that Zhou Zuoren succeed Tang in the post of Education Bureau Superinten-

33 Wang Kemin 王克敏, courtesy name Shulu 叔鲁, was then head of the collaborationist North China Political Council 华北政务委员会.

34 After Zhou stepped down as Education Superintendent he was succeeded firstly by Su Tiren 苏体仁 and then by Wang Mo 王谟.

dent in order to resist Japanese attempts to enslave education in North China. When the United States declared war on Japan in late 1941 Zhang was arrested by the Japanese military police but released on bail in June 1942 and remained under house arrest until the end of the war. After 1949 he held a number of posts including member of the Central People's Government, of the Political Consultative Conference and member for Culture and Education of the Government Administrative Council Culture and Education Commission.

Wang Zhucun, also known as Wang Jiuling 王九齡 (courtesy name Zhucun 竹村) was from Yunnan and had studied in Japan as a youth. He had been a member of the Tongmenghui and was one of the founders in 1922 of Yunnan Donglu University (forerunner of Yunnan University). In 1923 he became head of the Yunnan Finance Board and in 1924 was appointed as Minister of Education in the Beiyang government, but never took the post. After 1949 he was a member of the Yunnan Provincial Government committee, head of the Provincial Buddhist Association and held a number of other posts.³⁵

The records show that Wang Zhucun came into the post of Education Bureau Director shortly after Wang Mo had become Education Bureau Superintendent.³⁶

We know from Zhou Zuoren's diary that Wang Zhucun's appointment to the post was planned by Zhang Dongsun on behalf of the Beiping anti-Japanese group, by the newly appointed Education Bureau Superintendent Wang Mo, who had been involved with anti-Japanese groups, and by Zhou Zuoren, and that Zhou was the person who took the lead. This can be seen from Zhou's diary for 1943:

35 Zhou Chuan 周川, *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Chinese Higher Education* 中国近现代高等教育任务辞典 (Fujian: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 2012) p. 30.

36 Xie Zhonghou 谢忠厚、Zhang Ruizhi 张瑞智、Tian Susu 田苏苏, *Dossier of Crimes from the Japanese Invasion of North China: Cultural Aggression* 日本侵略华北罪行档案：文化侵略 Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2005, p.5.

26th November: ... This evening Wang Xianchu and Zhang Dongsun came to talk about pulling Wang Zhucun to the Education Bureau.

28th November: Evening... Wang Zhucun... came to visit.

30th November: Morning 9:00am went to Research Unit³⁷ to see Zhucun.

3rd December: Morning 9:00 am to Research Unit, since Zhucun left Qishan³⁸ is temporarily replacing him.

From these diary entries we know that Zhou met with Zhang Dongsun and Wang Mo on 26th November to decide on a plan, on 28th Wang Zhucun came to Zhou's home for a chat and that by the 3rd December, Wang Zhucun had moved to the Education Bureau as Director.

The materials show that during the collaborationist period in the 1940s Zhou Zuoren received many direct and indirect requests for help with finding a job and was successful in helping to solve their employment and livelihood problems. But this and the previous example reveal a different situation: it was not a question of solving issues of livelihood and those moving into the posts had not actively requested anything. Those involved in the planning and in taking the jobs all had special positions and backgrounds and the posts that they were taking were all crucially important in the collaborationist Education Bureau (i.e. Director 署长, General Affairs Office Commissioner 总务局长). These arrangements were clearly intended to foil the attempts of the Japanese aggressors to enslave education. From currently available material we know that there were two occasions when Zhou took part in this kind of move, the first being after he took on the post of Education Bureau Superintendent in late December 1940 and tried unsuccessfully to get Xu Baokui to take on the post of head of the Education Bureau General Affairs Office 教署总务局 and the second at the end of November 1943, after he had stepped down as Education Bureau Superintendent and Wang Zhucun took over as

37 Research Unit 综研 abbreviation for North China Comprehensive Survey Research Unit 华北综合调查研究所

38 Qishan 岐山 refers to Li Qishan 李岐山 who at the time worked for the North China Comprehensive Research Unit, exact position not clear.

Education Bureau Director 署长.

The materials show that there was also someone called Guo Zeyun 郭则澐 (who was the husband of Yu Pingbo's older sister and a maternal cousin of Xu Baokui) and who refused to take a post in the Education Bureau. This happened in 1942, when although Guo had not made any requests for employment Zhou Zuoren wanted to engage him, and there are similarities with his attempts to get Xu Baokui and Wang Zhucun to take posts in the Education Bureau. However, as the currently available materials are inadequate, this article will make no further comment.

The authors are of the opinion that the sentence from Zhou's diary cited above (*This evening Wang Xianchu and Zhang Dongsun came to talk about pulling Wang Zhucun to the Education Bureau.*) is extremely important. Apart from the fact it gives us a clue about Zhou's activities under the Japanese occupation it also proves that what Xu Baokui says in his article about the process by which Wang Mo took on the Education Bureau Director post is basically in accordance with historical facts (see earlier part of this section.) It also explains why Wang Zhucun had to take the post. From this we also know that persuading and urging upright individuals of an anti-Japanese bent to enter the Education Bureau and hold high positions within it in order to resist Japanese militaristic plans to enslave education in North China was a concrete tactic of the underground anti-Japanese resistance involving both the Communist and Nationalist parties, and was many times implemented.

Separately we note that the sentence just discussed (on Wang Xianchu, Zhang Dongsun) has not been recorded in the *Zhou Zuoren Chronological Biography* (Nianpu) or other research materials. We believe that for all sorts of reasons it is common for some historical materials or details to be overlooked or discarded in research, but these materials and details can be of particular significance and should not be omitted from compilations of historical data and material for any other than scholarly reasons.

(iv) About Zhang Dongsun

The authors have come across a letter from Zhang Dongsun to Zhou Zuoren, dated 27th July 1942, which says that not long after being released from prison he had received a letter and books from Zhou, and agrees that when the weather is a little less hot, he will pay a visit. The complete text is given below (original unpunctuated):

Mr Qiming:

Your visit not long ago brightened my day and now in addition I have received your letter and books, I am truly honoured. Not long ago I was in prison and I never imagined that in what remained of my wretched life I should be able to write to you and discuss your work in person with you. Recently the hot weather has made it very difficult for people to go out, but as soon as it becomes cooler, I will certainly come and visit you so that we can have a long conversation. Wishing you well, respectfully, Dongsun. 27th. (See Illustration 8).

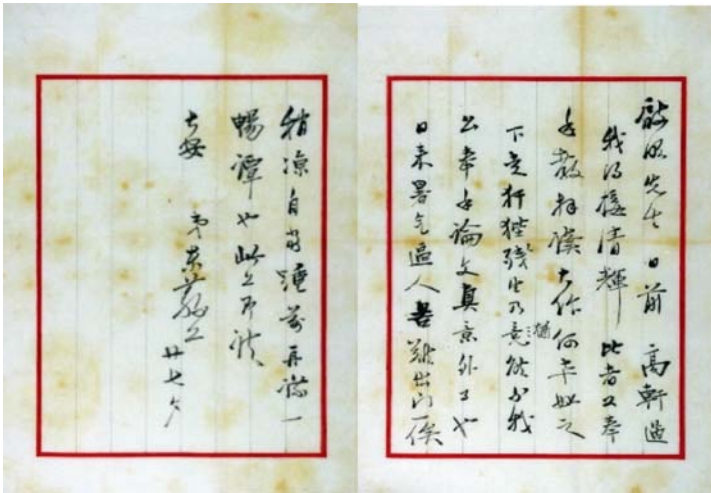


Illustration 8: Zhang Dongsun's letter to Zhou Zuoren dated 27th July 1942

Not long afterwards Zhang Dongsun also sent Zhou Zuoren a volume of his own writings together with the following letter (original unpunctuated):

Since moving back into the city, I have not yet put my books in order but yesterday I started to put them on the shelves and suddenly discovered that I have several copies of my works. I am respectfully sending you some and would be honoured to receive your comments and criticisms, and if, I may, make some small recompense for your kindness. Wishing you well, Zhang Dongsun (written this very day.)

There is no mention in Zhou Zuoren's diary of Zhang Dongsun's letters or their exchange of books, nor is there any record of a visit by Zhang until the entry for 26th November 1943 mentioned above when Wang Mo and Zhang Dongsun came to discuss how to get Wang Jiuling (Zhucun) to join the Education Bureau. This is the first time that Zhang Dongsun appears in Zhou's diary. The authors believe that this was not the first time Zhang had been to Zhou's home at Badaowan, at the very least the promise in Zhang's letter of 27 July the previous year to visit "as soon as it becomes cooler" would not have been an empty one. We can also tell from Zhang's letter that he and Zhou Zuoren had had other interactions. The fact that Zhang's name does not appear in the diary is the result of an omission, either deliberate or unintentional. Materials exist which show that when in 1944 Long Muxun 龙沫勋³⁹ wanted to get Hao Pengju⁴⁰ to switch his loyalty from the Nanjing government to the anti-Japanese forces, Long, Zhang Dongsun, Hao Pengju and others held their meetings in Zhou Zuoren's house. The authors have also seen a letter sent by Long Muxun to Zhou Zuoren in 1944 which asked Zhou

39 Long Muxun 龙沫勋, courtesy name 榆生 was a specialist in the phonology of Chinese metrical poetry who was at that time a member of the Legislative Yuan in the collaborationist Wang Jingwei government and head of the Nanjing Central University Literature Department.

40 Hao Pengju 赫鹏举 was a general in the collaborationist Wang Jingwei army and was at that time head of education at the Central Army Military Officer Training Corps 中央陆军将校训练团。

to keep silent about Long's activities in Beijing and also to pass the contents of his letter on to Zhang Dongsun. From this we can tell that Zhou Zuoren had an unusual relationship with Long that went beyond normal friendships. Unfortunately, Zhou Zuoren's diary for 1944 has been lost which makes text-based research into some historical issues difficult.

The earliest extant letter to Zhou from Zhang Dongsun dates to 1921 when he was editor of *Current Events* 时事新报 and wrote a letter jointly signed with Zheng Zhenduo to solicit an article for the "Double Tenth" issue (marking the Wuchang Uprising of October 10th 1911.) Zhang wrote him another letter on 4th December the same year soliciting an article for a special edition marking the 5,000th issue of *Current Events*.

In 1945, Zhang's name appears twice in Zhou's diary:

18th January: Noon invited Zhu Puzhi 朱樸之⁴¹, Yang Qishan 杨琪山⁴², Zhang Dongsun and Wang Gulu 王古鲁⁴³ to lunch.

7th October: ...wrote to Zhang Dongsun, received reply...

This was not long after the end of the anti-Japanese war and Zhou Zuoren must still have been thinking about the "direction" he had been in. If Zhang's reply had touched on this matter then given his status, political background and the fact he and Zhou had thought about political cooperation, it would be well worth examining. Unfortunately, this letter has so far not been recovered.

There are a few other letters from Zhang Dongsun, the latest of which was written in March 1945, thanking Zhou Zuoren for his condolences on the death of his brother. After 1945 the two men probably never had contact

41 Zhu Puzhi refers to Zhu Shengzhai 朱省斋, courtesy name Puzhi 朴之. The founder of the Shanghai journal *Past and Present* (古今) he moved to Beijing at the end of 1944.

42 Yang Qishan refers to Yang Yuxun 杨毓珣, courtesy name Qishan 琪山. His wife was the daughter of Yuan Shikai and at that time he was a member of the Nanjing collaborationist Central Political Committee, becoming the governor of Shandong Province the following month.

43 Wang Gulu 王古鲁, also known as Wang Zhonglin 王钟麟, courtesy name 仲廉 was a scholar, translator who was at that time a professor in the Department of Literature at Peking University.

again as at the end of the year Zhou Zuoren began his prison sentence for collaboration. In 1950 Zhou noted in his diary a third-party account of something Zhang Dongsun had said, afterwards Zhang was imprisoned on charges of “passing information to the United States.” During the Cultural Revolution Zhang was imprisoned again and died in jail.

(v) About Xu Baokui

In the course of collating materials, the authors have come across another letter from Xu Baokui dated 26th August 1943, an excerpt of which is given below (original unpunctuated):

...there is something on which I did not have the time to get your agreement, I had mentioned early on the need to tell venerable old Shu 叔老⁴⁴, for the sake of the matter I simply had to do this, I hope you will forgive me. I still do not know what the result will be, external forces can also not be ignored, I can only hope that you can deal with it. There is no need to say much about myself, it is just a matter of livelihood, the rest I hope we can discuss face-to-face ...

The letter is short but rich in implications. The authors believe the overall meaning of the letter to be as follows: something which could not be clearly referred to in the letter, but which had already been discussed with Zhou Zuoren had now come to pass; Xu Baokui had previously suggested liaising with Wang Kemin and now the situation was intensifying he could not wait to get instructions from Zhou Zuoren but had taken the matter in hand himself, and asked Zhou to forgive him. There was no way to predict what the results would be; he alerted Zhou to the fact that he thought other forces might become involved and could not be ignored; he begged Zhou to act to deal with the fallout; Xu Baokui's own affairs were of no consequence,

44 This is a reference to Wang Kemin 王克敏, see footnote 33.

just money problems and they could talk about the details face-to-face.

The authors understand the letter as follows: There was a principle or interest which both men identified with (the “matter”) for the sake of which Xu Baokui could risk offending Zhou Zuoren by failing to report and taking matters into his own hands when an incident unexpectedly occurred (the “something”) and Xu could count on Zhou to deal with the fallout. In dealing with the problems arising from the matter there was no need to think too much about Xu Baokui’s personal interest. This matter was sensitive and could not be written about in a letter, Xu would wait until they met face-to-face to discuss it.

It would seem that something which had political implications had occurred and although we have no concrete knowledge of what it was, we can see that Xu Baokui and Zhou Zuoren saw each other as on the same side politically and in terms of mutual trust. This relationship had only grown stronger, not weakened, after Xu Baokui met with Zhou in 1940 to get him to take the post of Education Bureau Superintendent.

It is worth noting that this letter of Xu Baokui’s was “missed out” in Zhou’s diary, and there is also no mention of a meeting so they could talk face-to-face. From this the author’s deduce that as Xu’s letter objectively exists and the face-to-face meeting must have happened (it could not *not* happen) and yet is not mentioned in the diary, we can see that Zhou Zuoren’s diary can be used as proof that something happened, but not as proof that something did not happen: the fact a matter is not noted in the diary does not equal proof that it did not take place, even if it is an important matter.

Two months later a negative view of Xu Baokui began to appear in Zhou’s diary.

On 8th November 1943 Zhou noted, “*Evening Xu Jiejun came to talk about the Literature Department, seems untrustworthy, must belong to a certain faction, does not seem upright.*”

Less than a month afterwards on 6th December Zhou wrote in his diary about Xu Baokui, “*this man is also a fox.*” The authors believe that Zhou’s

unhappiness with Xu started when Xu became involved in internal matters of the Literature Department, but from the use of words like “does not seem upright” and “fox” it would seem that Zhou’s doubts were about Xu’s character and moral standing. Although these doubts were serious, they were not related to politics. After this on December 18th Xu Baokui paid another visit, which was recorded in Zhou’s diary simply as “Xu Jiejun came” with no judgments attached, so we have no way of knowing how his doubts may have changed. After this Xu Baokui’s name does not occur in the extant diaries and the collation of correspondence is still ongoing, so at present there is no way of knowing whether this topic can be taken further.

(vi) About He Qigong 何其巩⁴⁵

The authors have noticed that apart from working with, and gaining the approval of, Zhang Dongsun and Xu Baokui, Zhou Zuoren also won positive assessments from others working in anti-Japanese organizations and in the occupied areas. Much of this external response must have helped Zhou in building and maintaining a positive sense of himself. For example, President of China University, He Qigong, who was also a member of the Northern National Salvation Committee wrote to Zhou Zuoren in the 1940s expressing his respect. In a letter dated 13th February 1942 he said, “For a long time I have not been to see you and benefit from your thought and teaching and I miss you most painfully. I am moved by the fact that, in order to protect education [in North China], you did not hesitate to sacrifice your good name as a

45 He Qigong 何其巩, courtesy name Kezhi 克之 was at that time president of the Beiping China University and one of the leaders of the Northern National Salvation Committee representing the Guomindang. The China University was one of the universities in the occupied areas supported by the Nationalist government in Chongqing. He Qigong became president with the approval of Jiang Jieshi and the university was supported with funds from Chongqing. After the victory of the anti-Japanese war, China University was not listed as a “collaborationist school” and had the same political position as universities in the areas resisting the Japanese. Moreover Jiang Jieshi gave He Qigong the title of “National Government Military Commission’s long-term representative in Beiping.” Later he was pushed aside and 1949 contributed to the peaceful liberation of Beiping.

leading scholar aloof from political and material pursuits by taking on a collaborationist post. As the ancient saying goes, “the benevolent man is of necessity brave” and in this matter [from your taking the post] we have seen that you are just such a man.” Although the letter contains formulaic politeness, in view of He Qigong’s status and position its references to “the good name of a leading scholar” and “protecting education” and his positive assessment of Zhou’s work as Education Bureau Superintendent go beyond simple flattery. The same line of thinking can be seen in another letter in which He Qigong refers to Zhou’s “The Issue of Chinese Thought” 中国思想问题 when he says, “I have received “The Issue of Chinese Thought”, its benevolent words benefit all, apart from its eloquence it is full of profundity which I deeply admire so I am writing to thank you.”

There are several other letters from this period, from people of all sides, all of which touch on Zhou Zuoren’s newly published article. We will not discuss them here, but up to the present we have not come across one which is negative.

(vii) The Protection of Beijing Library

The authors have seen a copy of a document submitted to the court in 1946 by Song Lin 宋琳, formerly the accountant at the Beijing Library, which is included below:

XX Submission to higher authorities; serving to the best of my abilities I, Lin, have worked in the National Beijing Library for over 30 years, cautiously keeping to myself and never having been privy to external matters. Recently, because he is stained by holding collaborationist posts, the former Peking University professor Zhou Zuoren has been arrested and escorted to the capital. An ordinary, lowly person like me would simply never dare to support him in the face of the law of the land, it is just that I remember that during the anti-Japanese war Zhou Zuoren did have some small achievements in safeguarding national cultural objects.

For instance after the July 7th Incident [of 1937] when the enemy Asia Development Board 兴亚院 repeatedly wanted to take them, thanks to Zhou Zuoren's tireless efforts they were kept intact. When on 8th December 1941 the library was suddenly surrounded by a Japanese military police cordon and people taken prisoner, the head of the collaborationist North China Political Council Wang Yitang hoped the Japanese invaders wanted to use the opportunity to destroy and scatter our library. At that time Zhou Zuoren was Superintendent of the Education Bureau and after great efforts he managed to get the library under the jurisdiction of the Education Bureau and because he feared further intrusions from enemy forces, he made himself head of the library so that no one else would have to be appointed. He kept all of us on to work in the library and said it should be kept running as it was before the catastrophe, and not one book was lost. During the war almost all cultural organizations in the occupied areas were destroyed by the enemy and the fact that our library alone was able to survive completely intact was really because of the strength of support we got from Zhou Zuoren. At that time the Japanese military and the collaborationist New People's Society saw our library collection as the best in the country, and many times sent people to inspect it with the aim of identifying a large number of books that could be transferred to the New People's Society. Zhou Zuoren steadfastly refused to approve any books being moved out of the library and in the end had them locked away in a separate room. These examples all prove that although Zhou Zuoren held a collaborationist post, when his actions to safeguard the national culture are considered, he was different to other traitors. For this reason, I respectfully request that you consider halving his sentence. With gratitude and respect. Addressed to the Capital High Court by Song Lin, Accounting Department, National Beijing Library. (See Illustration 9).

The National Beijing Library is China's largest library. It was founded in



Illustration 9: Statement by Beijing Library employee Song Lin

the late Qing as the Imperial Library of China and after the founding of the Republic was renamed the National Beiping Library. In 1937 as North China was in crisis the head of the library Yuan Tongli 袁同礼 moved some rare books to the south and the administration was entrusted to J. Leighton Stuart, President of Yanjing University. When at the end of 1941 the Pacific War broke out, Japanese troops surrounded Yanjing University and the Library, Leighton Stuart was arrested and the Library fell into difficulties. According to the *Official History of the National Library of China*:

On 2nd January 1942 the Education Bureau of the collaborationist North China Political Council took on the National Beiping Library and changed its name to “National Beijing Library.” On 4th April, Zhou Zuoren in his capacity of Superintendent of the Education Bureau took on the position of Head of the Library. On 21st April the Education Bureau ordered the implementation of the “National Beijing Library Provisional

Organizational Framework” which established the post of Library Director and Chief Secretary and established separate general affairs, cataloguing, reading and rare books offices, each office having its own director.

The then Education Bureau Superintendent Zhou Zuoren gave himself the post of Library Director and appointed Wang Gulu 王古鲁 as Chief Secretary and kept in place all the existing staff of the library, speedily rebuilding order and restoring the library’s normal business. In summer 1942 the Japanese discovered a cache of books from the former Beiping Library in Shanghai. Zhou Zuoren sent people to Shanghai to search for them and make an inventory and in August 1943, some 128 chests containing 2,094 rare books were sent from Shanghai and returned to the Beiping Library.

After the victory over Japan a survey of the library was carried out and although some courtyards and sheds had been put to other uses and the internal heating pipes in the stacks had frozen due to lack of fuel “the most fortunate of all was that the collections have for the most part survived intact. There were no losses at all to the *Siku quanshu* and the other collections left in the library and the Chinese and Western book collections returned from Shanghai were all complete with no missing volumes.”⁴⁶

When compared together, Song Lin’s letter and the National Library’s own account of its history published over 60 years later fit perfectly with each other, although Song’s account is slightly more vivid and his detailed descriptions make the historical Zhou Zuoren a little clearer.

46 Li Zhizhong 李致中 *Official History of the National Library of China* 中国国家图书馆馆史 Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2009, p. 134.

(7) Conclusion

The authors are of the opinion that “Zhou Zuoren research” touches on many areas which could be summarized as research on “the person” and research on his “academic” work, two independent but also closely linked aspects. Materials on Zhou Zuoren’s writings are already fairly complete but materials on other areas still need to be collected, collated and published. Of these the context in which Zhou found himself and the situation of those he interacted with is very important but there are insufficient materials and solid historical materials are particularly lacking. From the viewpoint of research on Zhou Zuoren “the person,” the details of the historical process and the details of historical materials need to be given adequate attention. Logical thinking and historical materials are both equally important, and perhaps it is precisely those places where logic runs into obstacles that need the most multi-dimensional attention. Owing to limitations of time and space, Section 6 of this article has merely introduced some of the materials the authors have come across while going through Zhou Zuoren’s diaries and correspondence, and their reflections about them. We regret that it has not been possible to report them all individually. As the process of collation continues, perhaps new materials related to this article will be discovered giving rise to different reflections. We welcome criticism and comments on any mistakes and shortcomings.

This article has been made possible thanks to the family’s efforts over a long period of time to collate the materials and to the support and help of family and friends, to all of whom we offer our heartfelt gratitude.

APPENDIX: Zhou Zuoren's diary from 8th November 1940 to 1st January 1941 (original unpunctuated)

1940年11月8日 晴，发信：纪生，晨40° 华氏

上午宋女士来。得纪生赠书一册。

下午内田以诸桥介绍来访，池田、吉田同来。晚得教部电话云尔叟病故。

岩波文库 民俗学方法論 寄赠

1940年11月9日 晴，受信：芸子，肇洛

上午九时往汤宅致弔，又往文院，午返。

下午入浴。撰一联以挽尔叟云，一生多立经国事功不图华发忽萎回首前尘成大梦，此出只为救民苦难豈意檀度中断伤心轻打牘微言。晚子余来，即托其觅人代写送去。

1940年11月14日 晴，受信：平白，午前32°

上午作尔和祭文未了。

下午三时往教署赴汤公治丧委员会，五时返。收中文社稿费二十元。子余来，交来中南存折一扣。得山本书店寄书一册，王仲廉代买者也。

1940年11月19日 晴，受信：芸子复，晨34° 午54°

上午八时至北大候王揖唐，瞿兑之来，又至文学院一看，午前回家。托金禹民买笔，付十元。

下午四时往汤宅，文学院公祭，即返。管翼贤、王君时、林、藤澤四人来访，嘱写文。改订倪文正遗稿为二册。晚七时后犀海、范村来。兑之来谈。十一时睡。

1940年11月20日 晴，风，发信：赤羽，宇野，受信：俊瑜复，午前46°

上午以禹民刻印二，畫一帧送给赤羽。

下午六时往教署赴治丧委员会，四时回。平伯、肇洛来，不值。收中和稿费十五元。入浴。

1940年11月23日 晴，下午风，晨 38°

上午往北大与鸣歧、稻孙谈。候瞿兑之不来。午返。收重久寄小包，内海苔等，又名取书店寄英文日本六册。

下午入浴。公颀、鸣时先后来。葵芳持蒲陶酒四瓶来，云其父叔贤所赠。

1940年11月24日 晴，阴，午后 40°

上午王逸塘来访。启无来。十一时至文协会赴瞿兑之之招，来者王、瞿、钱、吴、方、张、庞、阮、文、鲍，共十一人，下午一时返。憩之来。光甫来。子馀来。铭珍斋来。

晚六时往北大办公处与钱、吴、文、阮、鲍、庞共宴坂本等一行、各院名誉教授，主客共到十六人，至九时半回家。

1940年11月26日 晴，发信：宋女士，仲廉，早 - 1°

上午宋女士来还馀款五角。子馀来，又来赠菜包子一大盘。

下午兑之来，以王逸塘之命来劝进。收编审会款。信子为理发。丰二为取文学院款来，扣还面粉价一二六元。十时前睡。

1940年11月27日 晴，豫记：周作人印，午后 42°

上午商鸿逵来。

下午入浴。作五律二首，因和森来说贺同乡周衡峰银婚也。启无来。收金禹民刻赠小印一方。

1940年11月28日 晴，发信：张次溪，午前 38°

上午紫佩来。和森来。东雅堂来。

下午黄辅臣来谢，赠金百元，未见。启无来。子馀来。六时往庞君处，来者钱、吴、张、文、鲍、阮、刘共九人，九时顷回家。

1940年11月29日 晴，午前 38°

上午九时半至文院与稻孙、鸣时谈。十时半为国文系学生讲话一小时，午返。

下午铭珍斋来。

1940年11月30日 晴，发信：绍虞，晨 02°

上午竹贤来。抄小文给晨报。

下午张大夫来。子馀来。因腹常不适从筐间取药服之，云有阿弥巴也。未入浴。

1940年12月1日 晴，受信：芳贺，麀名

上午十时半往访稻孙，赠以酒坛。午同至全文学会应瞿兑之之招，来者王逸塘、朱伯渊、王孟群、稻孙、鸣岐、介藩、范村、梨青、敦敏，共十一人，下午二时半返。启无来。令扬、秉雄、炳华、家伦同来访。公颀来。姚太坚来未遇，留赠邯郸考古旅行写真帖一册。

1940年12月2日 晴，发信：平伯，受信：光甫，午后 44°

上午十时至文院邀稻孙谈，午返。收金禹门代买笔二支。

下午松井约谈二时，又至文院相候。又访稻孙於北大，遇见松井、兑之，四时返。收人人书店书二册。

菅竹浦，近世狂歌史。萩原朔太郎，阿带。

1940年12月3日 阴，受信：苏瑞成，午前 36°

上午福岡日日岡枝、田中二人来访。宋女士来。松筠阁来。

下午抄小文给晨报。启无来。

1940年12月4日 晴，发信：晨报，宋经楼片，姚太坚，午前 44°

上午郭健夫来，托写字。子馀来。德友堂来。

下午岡枝送色纸来，先为报社写一枚予之。入浴。托丰二往取款四百元。

1940年12月5日 阴，发信：松枝，受信：芸子，仲廉，绍虞，午前 38°

上午托德顺木厂制小儿玩具木架凡六层。

下午写小文未了。晚十时睡。

1940年12月6日 阴，晴，晚风，发信：芸子航信 人人书店片，受信：濱一衛，午前 37°

上午写小文了。古屋女史来访。

下午鸣时来。竹贤来。

1940年12月7日 晴，风，发信：羨季，受信：平伯，玉英堂片，晨0°（F32°）

上午枕上成诗三章，抄示启无、平伯、羨季。

下午入浴。佩韦、庾年同来。编审会黄旭求题书签，即寄予之。

1940年12月8日 晴，发信：野口米，晨04°

上午为庸报写小文。近文斋来，托代订硕邁集抄本为二册加套。铭珍斋来。

下午信子往看母亲，因生日将近，赠二十元。稻孙来。启无、平白来，平白赠短册、色纸箱各一。纪生赠书一册。收金禹民代买笔十支，图章皮袋四个。缪光甫来。

竹久梦二，九十九里へ。（寄赠）

1940年12月9日 晴，受信：王逸塘，晨03°

上午收文院交来代印稿纸一千枚。子馀来。

下午和森、梦秋来。

1940年12月10日 晴，受信：纪生，复，佩韦，次日复，晨0°

上午王逸塘来访。九时半往看寿先生，赠以火腿一只，回赠酱鸭一只，火腿一块，黑枣、核桃等，往文院与稻孙，又见鸣岐、鸣时。午返。

下午试写论文。

1940年12月11日 晴，午40°

上午憩之来。子馀来。

下午入浴。续写文。

1940年12月12日 晴，发信：山室，午前01°（F28°）

上午函山室辞饮。张大夫来。福岡日日新闻田中来照相，又赠稿费五〇元，又收中文社稿费三十元。

下午日华洋行引今関来谈。启无来。六时往文协会赴招，来者森島、奥田、赤间、那须、永井、傅、方、侯、张、钱、冯、梁、吴、周共十四人，九时前回家。

1940年12月13日 晴，发信：东京堂片，受信：王俊瑜，晨0°

上午买六郎庄米二包，一六二元。

下午托丰二取款五百元。往邮局寄重久金百円，东京堂三元，定购月报。平白来还前托其购梅菱糖之款，因往荣太楼买不到也。

1940年12月14日 阴，微雪，发信：玉英堂，受信：毕树棠，午前1°

上午子馥来。遣人往邮局寄纪生金廿円，取来濱一衛寄小包，内书一册也。以酱油一赠子馥，米一袋赠和森。

下午入浴。竹贤来。六时往赴稻孙之招，来者森島、赤间、奥田、那须、吴，共七人，九时后回家。启无来不值。

1940年12月15日 晴，午前01°

上午十一时往怀仁堂，赴北大公祭汤公，即返。

下午二时又往怀仁堂，赴文化协议会公祭，与文、庞诸公略谈，即回家。鸣时来。启无来。得宋经楼寄书二册。托近文斋代订抄本硕蕙集成二册一函付二元讫。

1940年12月16日 雪，下午霁，发信：纪生，平，快，芸子，受信：宋经楼片，午前1°

上午信子往看小柴，以後周天和造象赠之。子馥来。

下午续写论文。

1940年12月17日 晴，阴，晨08°，F18°

上午续写论文至午了。今日吉明诞辰吃面。

下午平伯来，赠所书麻姑仙坛记，以语石一部赠之。四时往北大办公处看稻孙。介君来谈。五时后至文协会赴山口之招，来者文学院同人共二席，九时后回家。

1940年12月18日 晴，受信：张叔贤，晨午前09°

上午信子同丰一、葵芳往附属医院求武永诊察。

下午入浴。少铿来。子馥、启无先后来。六时同丰一往赴小柴之招，来者大久保、石桥、管、吴、颜、韩及小柴父子共十人，九时返。李曼茵、道静来索文稿。

1940年12月19日 晴，发信：毕树棠，受信：光甫 复，千寻 复，晨同前
上午信子同芳子、葵芳、吉春往附属医院。介白来，赠楷木彫八仙如意一柄为寿。
予生夫妇来。

下午六时往弘通观赴介君之招，来者殷桐生、汪乙唐、钱稻孙共五人，九时后回家。十一时睡。

1940年12月20日 晴，受信：仲廉航空

上午子余来，以奇楠香朝珠一串见赠。郭健夫与庸报馆迂同来。知报载南京已议决任教育督办事。东亚新报及福冈、满洲、蒙疆各报记者，中华通讯社施均来访。松井大佐来谈。托丰二往戴月轩买笔五支。

下午孙金波来。平白来，以纪生信见示。

1941年1月1日 晴。

上午来客徐雁如、刘小波、紫佩、憩之、肇洛、介白、文蔚、述修、平白等。得京都寄醉翁谈录二册。

下午来客仲廉、召贻、炎秋、博宣、周禹川、张叔贤、和森。收政委会交来国民政府任状。

晚子余来，收款五五八元。