TOWARDS A CONFUCIAN/MARXIST SOLUTION
GUO MORUO'S INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT TO 1926

DISSERTATION

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By

Xiaoming Chen, B.A., M.A.

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The Ohio State University
1995

Dissertation Committee:
Hao Chang
Yan-shuan Lao
Kirk A. Denton

Approved by

[Signature]
Adviser
Department of History
TO MY PARENTS
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VITA

March 17, 1956 . . . . Born – Beijing, People’s Republic of China

1981 . . . . . . . . B.A., Beijing Second Institute of Foreign Languages, Beijing, P. R. China

1985 . . . . . . . . M.A., Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, P. R. China

1988 . . . . . . . . M.A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1991–Present . . . . . Instructor, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: History
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INTRODUCTION

With a life of 86 years (1892-1978), Guo Moruo left a visible and significant mark on the history of twentieth-century China. Among other things, he has been remembered as a poet, playwright, novelist, essayist, translator, historian, paleographer, politician, and off-and-on Communist.

This dissertation examines Guo’s intellectual development to 1926, an intellectual journey that ended with his joining the Chinese Communists in their revolutionary action in the Northern Expedition (1926-1928).

Guo’s intellectual journey to Communism to a certain extent echoes the early development of the Chinese Communist movement itself. Well-known in China as a talented poet and highly productive writer in the latter part of the May Fourth period (1915-1925), Guo announced his conversion to Marxism in 1924, three years after the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was founded. He then further committed himself to Communist revolution by participating in the Northern Expedition in July 1926 and joining the CCP in August 1927. Like many other early Chinese Communists, he came to Communism directly from the May Fourth era, even though he was a few years junior to the generation that founded the CCP.
Guo Moruo's value for intellectual historians lies in a sense in his many creative writings. With his numerous poems, essays, plays, and autobiographical novels from this period, he has left us with an unusually detailed record of the major changes in his thinking from the May Fourth movement to Communism. By expressing himself so fully and in such detail, he might be seen to have served as a spokesperson for at least some of the mentalities of May Fourth intellectuals and early Chinese Communists.

There is a rich scholarship on the May Fourth movement. So far, the prevailing view is that the movement featured radical attacks on Chinese tradition, enthusiastic embrace of the modern Western concepts of science and democracy, and a strong drive for national salvation. Some scholars, however, have begun to see beyond these commonly accepted themes and delve deeper into the complexity of the thinking of May Fourth intellectuals. Lin Yusheng, for instance, has noticed that, despite their seemingly overwhelming attacks on the tradition, some of the May Fourth generation were not without traditional elements in their thinking.\(^1\) Chang Hao has also pointed out that May Fourth thinking transcended the themes of democracy, science, nationalism, and anti-traditionalism and featured such dichotomies as reason vs. romanticism, iconoclasm vs.

\(^1\) Lin Yusheng 1979, *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness*. 
"new religions," individualism vs. collectivist concerns, and nationalism vs. cosmopolitanism.²

There has also been impressive scholarship in the study of early Chinese Communism. Maurice Meisner and Stuart Schram, for instance, are among the scholars who have discussed or touched upon the subject.³ Instructive as some of this scholarship is, however, there has not been enough attention given to the relationship between Chinese tradition and the early Communist movement in China.⁴

On the study of Guo Moruo specifically, there exists some scholarship on his early life and thinking. David Roy, for instance, published a well-written narrative in 1971.⁵ Overall, while there has been an established view among scholars that Guo's thinking in the May Fourth era basically falls into the category of Westernization, romanticism, iconoclasm, and anti-traditionalism, few scholarly efforts have succeeded in satisfactorily explaining why Guo turned to

² Chang Hao. "Image and reality: an reexamination of May Fourth thinking."


⁴ In his analysis of Maoism, it should be noted, Jin Guantao has put forward a very interesting theory that Marxism and Leninism has been Confucianized by Maoist Communists. See: Jin Guantao. 1989. "The Rational Elements in Chinese Culture and their Defects."

⁵ Roy 1971, Kuo Mo-jo: the Early Years.
Communism in the mid-1920’s and systematically analyzing the complexity of his early Communist thinking.

Benefiting from the existing scholarship on the May Fourth movement, early Chinese Communism, and Guo Moruo, this dissertation, based on thorough research on currently available sources on Guo, goes beyond narrative description and delves into his intellectual development to 1926 to study the complexity of his early and May Fourth thinking, explain why he turned to Communism, and analyze the nature of his early Communist outlook.

The dissertation examines Guo’s early life and thinking as a process in which he interacted with his historical and intellectual milieus. The historical milieus with which he interacted included situational factors and problems in China such as the changes, chaos, darkness, humiliation, and crises that the country had been experiencing towards the end of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) and during the early Republican years. Many of these situational problems were to different degrees a result of the increasing penetration into the country by foreign imperialist powers after the Sino-British Opium War of 1839-1842. The historical milieus also included certain situational changes and crises in the world, such as the disaster of the First World War and various changes that the war had helped bring about. The intellectual milieus with which Guo interacted included the increasingly serious intellectual crisis and radical ideological changes in China
since the late Qing period. At the core of the intellectual crisis is the fact that, with their country beaten and bullied by foreign, mostly Western, powers and their tradition profoundly challenged by modern Western concepts, Chinese intellectuals increasingly found themselves facing the fundamental question of what modern Chinese should rely on, tradition or Western thinking, as their ideological guide in the struggle to survive and revive their country in the modern world.

Guo interacted with those historical situations and intellectual milieus largely in three ways. First, the changes and crises in his historical and intellectual environment affected his personal life giving rise to some major problems with which he had to cope and struggle. Secondly, as a social being, he was concerned with the situational problems and crises in China and the world and, as he grew up and matured intellectually, he made increasing efforts to help solve those problems. Thirdly, ever since his childhood he had been influenced by both traditional Chinese and modern Western values, ideologies, and concepts in his changing and complex intellectual environment and, to explain and solve the problems in his personal life and the crises in his historical situations, he increasingly searched among those values, ideologies, and concepts for solutions. This means that, in order to find a solution to the problems in his personal life and in his historical situations, he had to sort out his
confusing intellectual environment and solve the crises in that environment for himself and also for his fellow Chinese. As will be shown in this dissertation, it was Guo's search for solutions over the years that eventually led to the formation of his Communist thinking by 1926, which, based on both traditional Confucian values and modern Western Marxist ideology, promised to solve for him not only the problems in his personal life and his historical situations but also the intellectual crisis in modern China.

This dissertation also analyzes the development of such issues in Guo's thinking as Chinese tradition vs. the modern West, individualism vs. collectivism, nationalism vs. cosmopolitanism, reason vs. emotion, materialism vs. moralism, spiritualism, and idealism, and determinism vs. voluntarism. As they developed, these issues came to constitute the complexity of his May Fourth thinking and eventually became part of the ideological system that he formed by 1926 when he joined the Communists.

This dissertation will show that Guo's thinking during the May Fourth period was much more complex than the commonly accepted themes of anti-traditionalism, romanticism, science, democracy, and nationalism. For one thing, while rebelling against and denouncing lijiao, which Chang Hao refers to as Confucian waifan daode (outer virtues, ethics of social constraints), Guo in the May Fourth period maintained a strong faith in much of the non-lijiao part of Confucian values,
which Chang Hao calls Confucian neihua daode (inner virtues, ethics of virtues). As an influential figure who enthusiastically advocated such Western thinking as romanticism in the second part of the May Fourth era, Guo throughout the early and mid-1920’s consistently, openly, and at least equally enthusiastically defended and advocated Confucianism, which he interpreted as a system excluding the ethics of lijiao. The dissertation will also show that, while he had always been a Chinese nationalist, Guo had consistently demonstrated strong cosmopolitanist concerns. With this emphasis on the complexity of Guo’s May Fourth thinking, it is hoped this dissertation will not only add to the scholarship on Guo but also contribute to the understanding of the complex nature of the overall thinking of the May Fourth generation.

The dissertation will further show that Confucian ethics of virtues were a major part of the Communist ideological system that Guo developed from mid-1924 to mid-1926, the system that directly carried him into Communist revolutionary action in 1926. To a certain extent, the role that Confucian tradition played in leading Guo to Communist revolution suggests that the early Chinese Communist movement was not without substantial ties with Chinese tradition. By probing the nature of this link to tradition, this dissertation will both help explain Guo’s conversion to Communism and contribute

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to an understanding of the relationship between Chinese tradition and the origins of Chinese Communist movement.

The dissertation divides Guo's life and intellectual development to 1926 into four periods: 1) 1892-1913: his early years in Sichuan; 2) 1914-August 1919: his first years in Japan; 3) September 1919 to September 1921: his honeymoon period as a star May Fourth poet and writer; 4) September 1921 to July 1926: a period during which he was increasingly driven to radicalism and Communism by frustration, problems, and crises in his life, in China, and the world.

It should be noted that this dissertation focuses on Guo Moruo's intellectual development. His literary activities, works, and theories, therefore, are not covered unless they are relevant to the subject of the dissertation.
CHAPTER I
GROWING UP IN SICHUAN
(1892-1913)

I. CHANGES IN GUO’S HISTORICAL AND INTELLECTUAL MILIEUS

Guo’s hometown was Shawanzhen, a small town about 90 miles (145 kilometers) southwest of Chengdu, the capital city of China’s southwestern province of Sichuan. Born on November 16, 1892, fifty years after China’s defeat in the Opium War, Guo’s first twenty years of life were largely a story of being influenced and shaped by the profound changes and tensions in his historical and intellectual milieus.

The dominant issue at the time in the historical milieu was the conflict and tension between the deepening penetration into China by Western powers and Japan and the weakening state of Confucian China. After its loss to the British in the Opium War, China had undergone decades of reform efforts at self strengthening. These efforts, however, came to a humiliating end when the small country of Japan with its Meiji aggressiveness decisively beat China in the 1894-95 Sino-Japanese War. Shocked by the humiliation at the hands of the Japanese, scholar politicians such as Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, and Tan Sitong initiated the Hundred Day Reform in

1898, which was quickly terminated by the conservative forces at the Qing court. Then there was the Boxer uprising of 1900, which was a direct result of the modern time Sino-Western conflict and ended up with even further humiliation for the Chinese people.

Seeing their dynasty endangered, the Manchu rulers of the Qing Dynasty were finally willing to carry out some reforms in the beginning years of the twentieth century. These included the abolition of baguwen (eight-legged essays) in 1901 and changing China's old-style private academies (shuyuan) into public schools.⁸ In 1905, the Qing court took a further step in its reforms by abolishing China's old civil service examinations and starting a nationwide new school system. At the same time, the court and various local governments began to send more and more students to study in Japan and Western countries. Further, from 1906 on, the Qing court slowly worked towards the direction of a constitutional government in China, which gave rise to a nationwide movement of constitutionalism.

The late Qing reforms, however, came too little too late. Due to its increasing internal problems and external pressures, the Manchu dynasty was finally overthrown by the 1911 revolution, thus ending hundreds of years of dynastic rule in China. One thing worth noticing here is that one of the immediate factors which made it possible for the

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revolution to take place was the "railway protection" movement in Sichuan. Earlier in 1911, partially in an effort to develop China's railways with foreign loans, the Qing central government ordered the nationalization of the railway in various provinces. This move by the Qing government intensified the conflicts between the Manchu rulers and local Chinese people and was seen by many as a further step by the corrupt government to sell China to foreign powers. With their anti-foreign and anti-Manchu feelings, people in several provinces protested the order. This movement was the most wide-spread and violent in Sichuan, where people of all walks of life participated. In order to put down the rebellion in Sichuan, the Qing government sent troops from Hubei province. As a result, when the revolution took place on October 10 that year in the city of Wuchang in Hubei, there were simply not enough Qing troops nearby to stop the revolution.\textsuperscript{9}

With all the excitement and expectations that it had caused, however, the 1911 revolution did not bring progress, prosperity, social order, or national strength. Domestically, there were immediately political power struggles, corruption, wars, and social chaos. In its foreign relations, not only did China continue to be bullied by foreign powers, it seemed to have been even more weakened when Outer Mongolia and Tibet broke away from China's control right after the Chinese

\textsuperscript{9} Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 216-219, 237.
revolution and certain armed conflicts took place between China and Outer Mongolia along the border.\textsuperscript{10}

When China was going through these rapid historical changes in this period, there were also profound changes and tensions in the country’s intellectual world. First, when Guo was growing up, there were major developments within China’s ideological framework of Confucianism. For instance, even though the 1898 Hundred Day Reform was killed by the conservatives at the Qing court, the thinking of Kang Youwei (1858-1927), Liang Qichao (1873-1929), Tan Sitong (1865-1898), and other reformers did have far-reaching influence all over China. In an effort to make Confucianism adjust to the needs of modern time changes, some of the reformers reinterpreted Confucianism from what was called the \textit{jinwen} (new-text school) approach. Among other things, Kang Youwei had tried to deify Confucius and elaborate on the Confucian utopian idea of \textit{datong} (Great Harmony). At the same time, Tan Sitong was one of the first to start a significant trend in China’s modern intellectual history by attacking such Confucian ritual ethics as \textit{sangang} (three bonds) while promoting certain other Confucian values.

Closer to Guo’s hometown in Sichuan, a major development of Confucianism could be seen in the thinking and teaching of the famous late Qing scholar Liao Ping (1852-1932). Liao was a native of Sichuan’s Jingyan county which neighbors Guo

\textsuperscript{10} Guo Moruo 1982, \textit{Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi}: 95, 77.
Moruo's hometown area. Like Kang Youwei, Liao also interpreted Confucian teaching with a distinctive *jinwen* approach. In fact, as many historians have pointed out, Kang with his significant role in China's modern political and intellectual history might have plagiarized Liao's *jinwen* interpretation of Confucianism. Liao's influence could also be seen in the fact that he had over the years taught numerous students in Sichuan. Many of these students ended up being teachers themselves and as a result passed on Liao's *jinwen* Confucian thinking to later generations in the province.

The second change in China's intellectual setting at the time was the increasing impact of Western concepts and ideologies. After China's superficial attempts to learn from Western technologies during the Self-strengthening movement, some Chinese intellectuals in the 1890's had already begun to pay attention to more profound aspects of Western civilizations. Yan Fu, for instance, was translating and introducing to his fellow Chinese works by such Western thinkers as Herbert Spencer, Adam Smith, Thomas Huxley, and John Stuart Mill. With their Confucian background, the reformers of 1898 were to different degrees also attracted to Western and Meiji Japanese institutions and ideologies. Kang Youwei, for example, was interested in modeling China's political institutions after Japan and Russia. Liang Qichao,

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in his advocacy of the "new citizen," was also influenced by Western concepts.

One significant development that facilitated the spread of Western ideas was the abolition of the civil service examination system and the opening of new-style schools all over China in 1905. This historic development substantially undermined the influence of Confucianism and started a process in which generations of young Chinese students began to be systematically and institutionally exposed to subjects of Western and modern learning. At the same time, there began to be more and more books, magazines, and newspapers published in China which touched upon a variety of aspects of Western and Japanese civilizations. These publications were usually started in major cities, especially those in coastal areas where Sino-Western contacts were the most frequent, and they were increasingly reaching and influencing readers in other parts of the country.

The changes in China's intellectual world inevitably had their effects on Chinese society. On the one hand, people in the society were being increasingly influenced by modern Western ideas and concepts. On the other hand, the traditional social norms and values of the Confucian culture were still very much the basis of people's social life, even though these norms and values had started to be challenged and undermined by Western influence. The co-functioning of these two different value systems in Chinese society increasingly caused
confusion among Chinese people and resulted in social tensions and conflicts.

II. GROWING UP IN THE CHANGING WORLD AND STARTING TO INTERACT WITH HIS MILIEUS

1. Affected by his Milieus and Influenced by both Traditional and Western Learnings and Values

Guo Moruo’s original name was Guo Kaizhen. When he was born, his family was by local standards well-off. His father was a landlord merchant who supported the family by collecting rent and dealing in, among other things, opium and alcohol.\textsuperscript{12} His mother was a typical traditional Chinese housewife. She lost some of her children to early death and managed to eventually raise eight.\textsuperscript{13}

Though neither Guo’s father nor his mother had been well educated, they managed to provide him with some solid training in traditional Chinese learning. His mother, without any schooling, had taught herself to read and was able to teach him to recite quite a few Tang poems even before he started school.\textsuperscript{14} These old-style poems, which often express various Confucian, Taoist, or Buddhist thinking, had certainly influenced Guo with traditional Chinese values. Another source for Guo to be influenced in these values was Chinese popular


\textsuperscript{13} Guo had two elder brothers, two elder sisters, one younger brother, and two younger sisters. See: Guo Moruo et al 1923, \textit{San ye ji}: 109; Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Shaonian shidai}: 12.

culture. In his hometown there were often professional storytellers who told legendary stories of people who practiced Confucian virtues such as loyalty, filial piety, moral integrity, and righteousness. As he later recalled, in his preschool he could already understand the content of these popular stories.\textsuperscript{15}

For the education of his children, Guo's father opened a sishu (family private school) at home and hired a Confucian scholar. Guo started his sishu education at the age of four and a half in the spring of 1897. In his first few years at the family school, he was forced to memorize Confucian classics which he could hardly understand and was often beaten for failing to meet the teacher's requirement. With all his resentment against this traditional pedagogy, however, he ended up with some thorough early training in the classics and Chinese poetry.\textsuperscript{16}

Guo's education was soon affected by the changes in his historical and intellectual surroundings. As the Qing court decided in 1901 to abolish baguwen (eight-legged essays) and change the old-style private academies (shuyuan) into public schools, Guo no longer had to learn how to write the traditional formulaic essays at his family school and was introduced to new subjects concerning Western sciences and civilizations. Despite the fact that he himself had been

\textsuperscript{15} Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 29-30.

\textsuperscript{16} Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 31-35.
trained in nothing but traditional Chinese learning, Guo's teacher turned out to be quite open-minded and capable of adjusting to the changes of the time. Not only did he stop his old practice of beating students, he also managed to teach himself and then instruct Guo and other students in such subjects as geography, geology, the history of Western civilizations, and even mathematics. Such training, no matter how insufficient it might have been, gave Guo a "rather decent baptism in sciences" and started him on the road toward Western ideas.\(^{17}\)

The learning of these new subjects at the family school was also supplemented for Guo by the influence of his brothers. With the opening of new-style schools at the time, Guo's two older brothers went to the provincial city of Chengdu to receive a modern education. The oldest brother, who was to greatly influence the thinking of Guo in his youth, began to send home "a flood" of new books and magazines on Western civilizations and contemporary issues. These books and magazines served as Guo's extracurricular readings and gave him tremendous enjoyment. He was especially moved by stories about such Western historical figures as Napoleon and Bismarck. He was in tears, as he later recalled, when reading about Josephine's romantic love for Napoleon.\(^{18}\)

\(^{17}\) Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 72.

\(^{18}\) Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 36-38.
With his new Western concepts, the oldest brother was also instrumental in bringing about certain social changes in Guo’s hometown. Going to school in Chengdu, which as the provincial capital was exposed to Western impact, the oldest brother served as a messenger of new ideas for the Guo family and its neighbors. For instance, he pioneered the advocacy of unbinding women’s feet and encouraging women to attend school. As a result, even his mother unbound her feet in her fifties and Guo’s two younger sisters and his niece(s) started attending the family school. Thanks to his efforts, a new-style elementary school (mengxuetang) was also founded in his hometown. Even though Guo did not transfer from the family school to this new school, he was allowed by his teacher to participate in the yangcao (Western-style physical exercises) at the new school, since this was one of the new subjects that the teacher could not teach Guo and other students.\(^\text{19}\)

These changes in his intellectual and social settings played an important role in shaping Guo’s thinking. For one thing, they influenced him with certain tendencies to deviate from the social norms in China’s Confucian culture and thus had planted the seeds for his later rebellion against such social norms.

Social changes, however, did not come without major resistance, tension, and confusion. Even though people in Guo’s hometown were to different degrees changing with their

times, their traditional ways of living and thinking still remained very strong. Guo’s father, for instance, did not always agree with the new ideas, even though his own wife had unbound her feet. In one of his autobiographical writings Guo later recalled the following incident. One day Guo was having a casual conversation with his oldest brother and they came to talk about women’s bound feet. The brother asked about Guo’s preference and Guo said he preferred unbound feet for women. "Okay," the brother was getting excited. "you are very civilized. Unbound feet are civilized and bound feet are barbarian." This, to the brothers’ shock, immediately triggered off a burst of anger from their father who happened to be overhearing the conversation. "you ‘civilized’ shit!" shouted the father. "Are you saying that all your ancestors (who had bound feet) were barbarians?!" As Guo recalled, his brother, with all his new ideas and at the age of almost 30, was reduced to tears in front of the authority of the father.\textsuperscript{20} Such tension and conflict between the tradition and new ideas, as it turned out, was to greatly affect Guo’s personal life later in his youth.

When the Qing court abolished the civil service examinations and started a new school system in the nation in 1905, Guo got the opportunity to go to new-style schools away from home. He passed an entrance examination in 1905 and entered a new-style advanced primary school (gaodeng xiaoxue)

\textsuperscript{20} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Shaonian shidai}: 43-44.
in spring 1906 in the city of Jiading, about 25 miles northeast of his hometown.\textsuperscript{21}

At the primary school, which he attended for three semesters, Guo was further trained in both traditional Chinese learning and new Western-style subjects.\textsuperscript{22} A characteristic of China's educational system in this transitional period was that the new-style schools were still taught by teachers who had usually been trained through the old civil service examination system, even though some had also been trained in certain Western-style subjects in the beginning years of China's educational reforms. One such teacher for Guo was Mr. Shuai Pingjun at the primary school. Mr. Shuai was a native of Guo's county and had been sent to Japan to study Western-style subjects by the county government. His knowledge of the new subjects, however, was rather poor and the courses that he taught hardly satisfied Guo Moruo. What benefitted Guo the most was Mr. Shuai's teaching of Confucian classics. Before going to Japan to study, Shuai had been a student of the well-known Sichuan Confucian scholar Liao Ping. In his teaching at the primary school, Shuai naturally passed on Liao Ping's \textit{jinwen} school of Confucian thinking to young Guo Moruo and other students. Among other things, Shuai had taught Guo the "Wangzhi" (Kings' Regulations) section of \textit{Li Ji} (The Book of


\textsuperscript{22} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Shaonian shidai}: 93.
Rites) and some  jinwen version of Shang Shu (The Book of Documents).\textsuperscript{23} As Guo later recalled, Shuai's teaching was one of the reasons why he became interested in traditional Chinese learning.\textsuperscript{24}

Apart from his formal education, Guo also read on his own. Inspired by Mr. Shuai, he spent some time at home during the school's winter break in 1907 reading part of Huang Qing Jingjie, compiled by Ruan Yuan (1764-1849), a well-known  jinwen scholar. As Guo later recalled, it might also have been during this break that he read Shi Ji, which was to be a major source of stories and characters for his literary writings in later periods.\textsuperscript{25}

Guo graduated from primary school in May 1907 and went on to attend a middle school in Jiading City in fall of that year.\textsuperscript{26} Here he was taught such subjects as the Confucian classics, English, Japanese, geography, botany, and mathematics.\textsuperscript{27} As in the case of the primary school, most of the teachers at the middle school had not been well trained and Guo found this very disappointing. One teacher whose teaching did substantially benefit Guo was Mr. Huang Jinghua, who "was very fond of" Guo and loaned him quite a few books to

\textsuperscript{23} Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 64, 77.

\textsuperscript{24} Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 64, 65.

\textsuperscript{25} Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 82-85.

\textsuperscript{26} Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 93-94.

\textsuperscript{27} Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 95, 106, 110.
read. Mr. Huang was another student of Liao Ping and his teaching of the Confucian classics had made Guo further interested in the jinwen school of Confucian thinking. For one thing, Mr. Huang had "a strong tendency to deify Confucius" and this tendency was later clearly reflected in Guo’s worshipping of Confucius in the early 1920’s.28

At the Jiading middle school Guo was also further influenced by Western concepts, partially through extracurricular readings. As he later recalled, after reading some of Liang Qichao’s writings on Western civilization, he came to worship such Western historical figures as Cavour, Garibaldi, and Mazzini for their "ideals and integrity" and their patriotic contributions to their nations.29 He was also fond of reading the translations by Lin Shu (1852-1924) of Western novels. When reading Lin’s translation of Joan Haste by English novelist H. Rider Haggard (1856-1925), for instance, he was moved to tears by the love story and sometimes imagined that he himself was in the story in love with the heroine. He also read Lin’s translation of Charles and Mary Lamb’s Tales from Shakespeare, which "tremendously" interested and "greatly" influenced him. He was especially influenced by Lin’s translation of the novel Ivanhoe by Scottish poet and novelist Walter Scott (1771-1832), who was an important literary figure of the romantic period in Europe.

As Guo later noticed, *Ivanhoe* with its "Romanticist spirit" played a "decisive" role in shaping his literary tendency in later years.\(^{30}\)

Guo's study at the Jiading middle school was terminated in October 1909 and he ended up going to Chengdu where he was accepted in February 1910 into the Fenshe Middle School, one of the best in the provincial capital city.\(^{31}\) At Fenshe, he continued to be influenced by both traditional values and Western concepts. The subjects that he was taught there included the Confucian classics, Chinese, history, physics, chemistry, mathematics, and English.\(^{32}\) By 1912, he also had read at least some part of such books as *Zhuang Zi*, *Chu Ci*, *Wen Xuan* (The Literary Selections), and *Shi Ji* for traditional learning. For Western learning, he had read at least some part of Yan Fu's translations of Thomas Henry Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* and Herbert Spencer's *Study of Sociology*.\(^{33}\) Fenshe Middle School, however, turned out to be another disappointment for him. He soon found out that the teachers at the famous school were as incompetent as most of his previous teachers.\(^{34}\)

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Guo graduated from Fenshe at the end of 1912 and was in spring 1913 admitted to a college called the Chengdu Higher School (gaodeng xuexiao) to major in sciences.\textsuperscript{35} He did not stay at this college for too long as in September 1913 he left Chengdu for a medical college in Tianjin.\textsuperscript{36} During his short stay at the Chengdu Higher School, however, he did continue to show interest in both Chinese and Western learnings. As he later recalled, he was at the time fond of reading poems written during the Six Dynasties period (222–589), many of which carry Taoist messages.\textsuperscript{37} For Western learning, he had read and been influenced by some poems written by the American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882).\textsuperscript{38}

2. Reacting to the Changing World as an Uneasy and Confused Youngster

While being affected and influenced by his historical and intellectual environments, Guo in this period also started to react to these environments. This can be seen in two parts of his life: first, his reacting to changes and events in his immediate surroundings and communities that directly affected his personal life; and second, his reacting to changes and


\textsuperscript{36} Guo Moruo 1978, *Shaonian shidai*: 308.


events in his overall milieus that concerned matters beyond his personal life and his immediate communities.

1). Reacting to Immediate Surroundings that Directly Affected his Personal Life

As he grew into his teenage years, Guo increasingly found that he had to react to and cope with the changes and chaos in his immediate surroundings and communities that were directly affecting his personal life. One of the early events in this regard took place at his primary school. Though one of the youngest students and not very hard working, he turned out to have the best grade among all the students for the final examination of his first semester. In their disbelief and jealousy, the students at the school rebelled and forced the teachers to lower Guo’s grade to that of third in the class.\(^{39}\) This incident, put into historical perspective, indicates the changes that were going on in China’s educational system. For one thing, in the old Confucian system of family private schools it was unlikely that students could challenge teachers’ authorities in such a manner. In the Confucian tradition, teachers were patriarchal figures who were supposed to be respected and obeyed. It was the abolition of the Confucian educational system, the opening of the new school system, and the influence of Western ideas over the students that made it possible for such incidents to happen. Coming from his family private school where he was used to obeying

the absolute authority of his teacher, young Guo Moruo learned from his humiliation in the new surroundings and quickly adjusted himself to such surroundings. Knowing that teachers could now be challenged and that it was quite a popular thing to do, he soon became one of the most active in the school to rebel against the authorities.  

One such rebellion took place during Guo’s second semester. Once a quarrel took place among some students over a meal. In his investigation of the incident, the school principal happened to have slapped a student on the face to show his authority, just as teachers used to do in the traditional education system. Guo and some other students were present when the principal beat the student and Guo shouted to the principal: "what you did is barbarian!" "Yes, barbarian!" other students followed. "You can no longer beat students in such a civilized time!" "You are inhumane!" "You have violated us students’ renge (dignity)!" The principal was overwhelmed by the students, even though he later managed to give Guo a demerit for punishment.  

One thing significant about this incident is that Guo and his fellow students were using the modern terms of "civilization" (wenming), "humanity" (rendao), and "dignity" (renge) to challenge the principal’s behavior. This demonstrates that Guo and the students had clearly been influenced by Western concepts that were

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fashionable at the time. Their confrontation with the principal, therefore, was to a certain extent a confrontation between modern Western values and tradition. As a participant of this incident, Guo was certainly experiencing the changes of his time and was being prepared on his way to further challenge certain traditional social norms.

Another incident took place during Guo's third semester at the primary school. During the first semester, the students did not have classes on Saturday afternoons. From the second semester on, however, they were forced to have classes all day on Saturdays. Students felt strongly about this policy change and during the third semester they began to petition to have the free Saturday afternoon back. Having been established as a student leader because of his previous challenges against teachers, Guo was made a representative by his fellow students to negotiate with the authorities. During their negotiations, the students threatened a strike and this angered the authorities. To control the situation and the students, they dismissed Guo from school as the leading trouble maker. Teachers at a nearby school, some of whom were friends of Guo's family, heard about Guo's dismissal and wrote a letter to Guo's school authorities to challenge the dismissal. Thanks to their efforts, the dismissal was reversed and Guo was allowed back in the school. This incident was a victory for
the young Guo Moruo and he once again found out that it was possible for him to challenge authority.  

Guo's conflict with school authorities continued in middle school. First, shortly before the summer break of 1909, a teacher at the Jiading middle school almost got Guo dismissed from school when Guo, after drinking, had spoken openly against this teacher. Two things saved Guo this time. First, students and some faculty members opposed the teacher's efforts to dismiss him. Secondly, and most importantly, the teacher suddenly died of some disease in the summer before he could actually get Guo dismissed.  

In October 1909, Guo was finally kicked out of the Jiading middle school. His fellow students had a fight with some local troops at a theater and they demanded that the school authorities negotiate with the troops for their compensation. This whole thing led to a confrontation between the students and the school authorities and Guo got dismissed from school for having served as a representative for his fellow students during this confrontation.  

To a large extent, Guo's resentment and rebellious attitudes against the teachers and school authorities in this

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44 Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 146-150, 159-162.
period was a reaction to the poor teaching and management at the new schools that he attended. Reflecting the chaos of the beginning years of the new school system, many of Guo's teachers at primary and middle schools did not seem to have been sufficiently trained. This was especially true with those who taught on the new subjects of sciences, foreign languages, and Western civilizations, since the teaching on such subjects had just been started in China and there simply had not been enough time to have teachers well trained on these subjects. Furthermore, the 1905 abolition of the long-practiced and well-defined civil service examination system was too sudden a change for many and the recently opened new schools were often too new to be well administered. In Guo's case, the worst example of such educational chaos seemed be in Chengdu where he attended the Fenshe Middle School. As Guo later recalled, the incompetence of the teachers at the school was shocking and he and his fellow students felt "very sad and angry" that such teachers were "shortchanging students" and "cheating China." 45 What made Guo even more disappointed and angry was that the whole educational system in the provincial capital city of Chengdu was "in a hopeless situation." Corruption was wide-spread in schools and the selling of school diplomas was "an open secret." A student with one or two years of primary school education, as Guo described it, could get a middle school diploma overnight if he had the

money to pay for it. A person with such a diploma was at the
time valued as the equivalent of the prestigious degree-holder
of juren in the old civil service examination system and would
naturally have access to wealth and power. Furthermore, the
person who bought the diploma was also qualified for colleges
and had doors opened for him to go to study in Beijing,
Shanghai, or even Japan and Western countries.46

With his resentment against the chaos at the new schools
and his conflict with the teachers and school disciplines, Guo
identified more and more with some "unhealthy" subcultures of
the students.47 From primary school on, he increasingly made
drinking, gambling, and causing troubles in theaters part of
the routine of his life. In an autobiography, he later
admitted that he in this period had followed others to visit
prostitutes, even though he never mentioned if he had actually
slept with them or not.48 He also had certain homosexual
experience, which was considered something "ugly" in the
Confucian culture.49 To a certain extent, his involvement in
the "unhealthy" student subcultures seemed to be part of a
vicious cycle in his personal life at the time: his conflict
with school authorities pushed him into the subcultures, then

his involvement in these subcultures got him further into disciplinary trouble.

Other factors also seemed to have led Guo to his "unhealthy" path in this period. For example, as he was dissatisfied with the teaching by the poorly trained teachers at the Jiading schools, he was dreaming of going to study in Europe, the United States, or Japan, or at least big cities in China like Beijing, Shanghai, or Chengdu. For him, to stay in his hometown meant that he was to live a life of "a frog at the bottom of a well whose view of the world was to be forever narrowed."50 His parents, however, refused to let him go. Even though he had thought of running away from home, he was at the time not courageous enough to break the Confucian social norm and disobey his parents in such a manner. As a result, he became increasingly depressed and anxious. This, as he later described it, had made him give himself up "as hopeless" and indulge more and more in the "unhealthy" habits.51 Another factor that added to his depression was that, at least during the period at the Chengdu middle school, he had already become somehow "afraid of" mathematics. According to the fashion of the time, mathematics was considered a must for students to be able to go into industry or commerce after graduation as a way to strengthen and save China. Guo, instead, was attracted to


literature, which was looked down upon as not being important for the fashionable nationalistic cause. As a sensitive youngster this made him "feel full of remorse" and "suffer tremendously."\textsuperscript{52}

In his confusion, depression, and anxiety, one could of course also see teenage psychology playing a role. In other words, in addition to the historical, intellectual, and social factors, his teenage anxiety should also be considered a factor which might have contributed to his rebellious attitudes and "unhealthy" behavior.

Years later when writing his autobiography in the late 1920's, Guo clearly regretted some of his "shameful," "degenerate," "disgusting," "stupid," and "meaningless" behavior at the Jiading and Chengdu schools.\textsuperscript{53} It is possible that the memory of this period in his life contributed to the sense of guilt and inferiority that he had in his pre-1919 years in Japan.

The event that was to cause the most suffering and guilt in Guo in his pre-1919 years, however, was the marriage that his parents arranged for him and the actions that he took in rebellion against this marriage.

Arranged marriages had been a part of the social norms of Confucian \textit{lijiao}. Behind the practice of arranged marriages there were the Confucian concepts of the Three Bonds and

\textsuperscript{52} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Shaonian shidai}: 176.

\textsuperscript{53} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Shaonian shidai}: 92, 93, 196.
filial piety, which required that the son should always obey his father and children should always obey their parents. In accordance with these Confucian concepts, the final decision on marriage was usually made by the parents for their child and it was to be obeyed by the child, even though sometimes the parents might consult the child when arranging the marriage. In Confucian society where social connections were highly important for a family to succeed, arranged marriages had their unique social functions. A well arranged marriage, one that matched the social status of two families, could benefit both families since it enabled them to join force and help each other in gaining power, wealth, and influence. To a great extent, such a marriage was not so much a union of two individuals but rather a marriage between two families. The individuals might find themselves having to sacrifice their happiness for the sake of their families if their marriage worked well for the families but not for themselves, which, not surprisingly, was quite often the case.

When Guo was growing up, arranged marriages were still very much in practice and, at a very young age, he found himself in a position of having to react to and deal with this traditional social norm. The first marriage arrangement was made for him before he was ten years old. This marriage, however, did not happen because the girl died when Guo was fourteen. As Guo later described it, he was actually glad that he had become a "widower." By that time, Guo said, "I had
already read some new (Western) and old (Chinese) novels and had been greatly attracted to the love stories in the old novels and the romance in the new novels. For me, of course, such romance at the time was simply beyond my reach. To dream for such romance was like trying to catch the moon by following its reflection in the water or trying to reach the sky by touching its image in the mirror." However, since he was now temporarily freed from the arranged marriage, he was somehow hoping that some miracle could happen so that he himself could someday have the love and romance that he had read about in the novels.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 266.} As a result, he kept expressing reluctance in the next two or three years when his parents talked to him about marriage. Because of this reluctance, his parents, who "had been very understanding," had to turn down marriage proposals for him from forty or fifty families in his home region. Some of those families were good matches for his family. Some families were even of higher social status than his family. Since there were not too many more families left in the locality that could match his family well, in the following two or three years there were few proposals for his marriage. This, for his parents, meant that he was running out of possibilities for a good marriage and they naturally became concerned. Their concern seemed to have been confirmed when a neighboring family of some low-life background and poor social image proposed to have Guo marry their daughter, whom he
described as ugly and possibly diseased. His mother, in particular, took this proposal as an insult. Further, by the time he was nineteen, his younger brother and a younger sister had both had their marriages arranged and it seemed to be a social norm that their marriages could not take place until he as an older brother got married first. His marriage was thus not only an issue of Confucian filial piety but also an issue of honoring his obligations of an older brother to take good care of his younger brothers and sisters.\(^5\)

It was with this background that Guo's parents hurriedly arranged in 1911 a marriage to a girl whom he had never met. This time they did not consult him. He was at the time studying in Chengdu and he was simply informed of the marriage decision in October of that year through a letter that his parents wrote to an older cousin of his, who was then working in Chengdu. According to the letter, the go-between for this marriage arrangement was a remote aunt and the girl was a cousin of this aunt. It was a good match between the two families and, as described by the aunt, the girl "had good looks," "was going to school," and had the modern "unbound feet." The aunt, according to Guo's mother, was trustworthy and her description of the girl should be credible. Guo's parents, who themselves had to a certain extent been influenced by the social change at the time, seemed to be making efforts to satisfy Guo's desire for a modern woman as

wife. It seemed to them that if the girl had unbound feet and was going to school then she should be modern enough for their son. What was beyond them as an old generation, however, was that the arranged marriage itself was fundamentally anti-modern. Such marriages, as proven so many times in China's history, could result in personal unhappiness and even tragedy.

Guo was somewhat caught by surprise by his parents' sudden decision. He was certainly not excited about this marriage arrangement. What he had dreamed of, under the influence of Western literature, was that someday he would have a Western style romance. He had the fantasy that he would be like a Western prince who ran into a woman of "unrivalled beauty" on a desert island during a hurricane. He had also imagined that he would be like a Western gentleman who "won the love of a beauty at a duel." If such Western style romance could not happen, he could still dream that his marriage would offer some beautiful and poetic experience. With all the Western influence that he had received, however, he had been brought up in the Confucian tradition and Confucian values, including the ethics of lijiao, were still very much the basis of his life. According to these values, he had no choice but honor his Confucian duty of filial piety and obey his parents' decision on the marriage. Besides, there were simply no other alternatives available to him at the time. Everybody around

him was having his/her marriage arranged in those days. It was simply a very natural part of life. Furthermore, there was also the curiosity of the unknown in such a blind arrangement. If the girl was said to be so good, maybe she would turn out to be an ideal wife for him? What got his attention was that his aunt had mentioned that the girl was as beautiful as one of his (cousin) sisters-in-law. Ever since his childhood, he had secretly admired the beauty of that sister-in-law. If the girl could be that beautiful, why not? With such mixed feelings, he obeyed his parents for the marriage arrangement.

Guo’s wedding took place on March 2, 1912. It was a rushed wedding. After the collapse of the central order of the Manchu Qing dynasty in 1911, Sichuan province fell into social chaos with numerous bandits becoming increasingly active. Furthermore, the radical change from dynastic rule to the brand new concept of a republic was too confusing a transition for many and they believed that such change would lead to greater chaos in China’s society. As a result, some people with unmarried grown-up daughters were in a hurry to marry their daughters, for they feared that, in the upcoming social chaos, their daughters would have the danger of being raped and losing their virginity. Once raped, their daughters would be devalued as unmarried women in Confucian society and would


58 Wang Jiquan and Tong Weigang 1983, Guo Moruo nianpu (1): 44. Note: Guo also said it was January 15 of China’s lunar year that year. See: Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 277.
have less chance of enjoying decent marriages. It was with such background that the parents of the girl wrote to ask Guo's family to have the wedding in a hurry.  

Guo was at home during a school break when the letter from the girl's family arrived. His parents this time consulted him. Since the marriage had already been arranged and was therefore going to happen anyway, and since Guo somehow still had some hope in this marriage, he agreed to the wedding. Years later when writing an autobiography in 1929, Guo noticed that his own agreement to the wedding, which amounted to his own agreement to the marriage, had been the thing that he had "repented the most" in his life.

The wedding turned out to be a complete nightmare for Guo. On the first day of the wedding ceremonies, the bride, whom he and his family had never seen before and had been described as very good looking and with unbound feet, shocked him with a pair of old-fashioned bound feet and, in his eyes, a very ugly nose! He was numbed and reluctant to go on with the rest of the ceremonies. Seeing him behaving like this, his mother gave him a talk. First, in an indirect way, she blamed the go-between aunt for having given a misleading description of the girl's feet and looks. Then she went on to say that Guo

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should not behave like this at the wedding. "We can ask her (the bride) to unbind her feet tomorrow and, as a man, you shouldn't concern yourself too much about your wife's looks."

"If she (the bride) has a good personality and is intelligent," said the mother, "I can teach her some (Confucian) ethics and you can also teach her to read poems and books. As long as she has these it's going to be OK."62 Guo kept his silence. Then the real lecture started. His mother began to blame him for his "lack of filial piety." After working very hard for the arrangement and preparation for this wedding, said the mother, Guo's father was heartbroken to see Guo looking so miserable. It was not right, said the Confucian mother, for Guo "as a son and as a human being" to break his father's heart like this!63

This, as Guo later recalled, finally and painfully woke him up from his numbness.64 He was, after all, a Confucian son with filial obligations. For the sake of not making his beloved parents suffer, who "had already overworked themselves in their life," he decided with great pains to carry on with the rest of the wedding ceremonies.65 The nightmare of this marriage arrangement, however, was simply too much for him to take as a young person who had already been influenced by

Western concepts of love and romance. What he had now was so strikingly different from what he had been dreaming for after reading those Western love stories! So he did the only thing that he could at the time: run away from the nightmare. Just a few days after the wedding, he found some excuse and left home for Chengdu, thus starting a passive rebellion against the arranged marriage.\textsuperscript{66} Apart from a very short trip back home in July 1913 to say good-bye to his parents before he left Sichuan that year, he was never to go back and see his wife again.\textsuperscript{67} As for the wife, even though Guo abandoned her, she was to honor the arranged marriage, just as many women did in the traditional Confucian society, and stay at Guo's parents home as his wife.

It is important here to note that in his resentment and rebellion against this arranged marriage Guo was not without certain sensitiveness and feelings of pity and guilt for what he had actually done to the woman that he had married. For instance, on his way to Chengdu right after the wedding, he wrote in a poem that he felt "sorry" for the wife that he was leaving behind, whom he believed was thinking of him at home.\textsuperscript{68} Years later when writing his autobiographies, he more than once pointed out that it was the woman who had been hurt

\textsuperscript{66} Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 290-292.

\textsuperscript{67} Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 304.

\textsuperscript{68} Guo Moruo 1982, Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi: 39.
the most in the "tragedy" of this arranged marriage. In fact, it was just such sensitiveness on the part of Guo that resulted in the pains and sense of guilt that he later felt for a long time when trying to morally justify for himself and society his rebellion against the arranged marriage.

Once Guo was back in Chengdu, the pains of the marriage, together with all the other frustration, depression and confusion that he had been suffering, led to "a most dangerous period" in his life. He "wildly" abused alcohol and further indulged himself in gambling and other "unhealthy" habits. His only hope now was to leave Sichuan and get farther away from his problems. However, his parents could not let him go. For one thing, he completely relied on his parents and elder brothers for his expenses and they were not rich enough to support his studies away from Sichuan. As a result, he continued his "disgusting" life style in Chengdu for another "long" period of a year and a half. It was not until September 1913, after he was admitted into a government-sponsored medical college in Tianjin with full scholarship, that he was finally able to leave his home province of Sichuan.

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There is one more thing worth mentioning here concerning Guo's reaction to events in his immediate surroundings. Since 1906, he had spent much of his time away from home attending schools in Jiading and Chengdu. In those years, his immediate communities were often his schools, his fellow students, and people around him in those cities. However, from time to time, he still went back home for school breaks and some of the community affairs back at home also affected his life. One such community affair was the conflict between different groups of families in his home town.

As Guo later described it, more than eighty percent of the residents in his home town were descendants of people who had migrated from various places outside of Sichuan province since the beginning of the Qing dynasty. As a result of their different backgrounds, these people had kept different communities and did not always get along with the "natives" in town. When he was little, such community affairs and conflicts did not seem to mean too much to him. As he grew up, however, he began to find that these things sometimes did affect and involve him. One example was an event that took place in his home town in early 1912 shortly before his marriage.

Right after the 1911 revolution there were numerous mutinies in Sichuan province. Many soldiers sold their guns

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for money. Some of these guns were purchased by lawful local residents for self protection but most fell into the hands of bandits. With these modern guns, bandits had become increasingly a serious threat to public safety and social order. In Guo's home town various local residents had bought about one hundred guns from nearby mutineers. In order to put these guns to better use for self protection and prevent local youngsters from misusing the guns for banditry, one of Guo's distant uncles initiated an effort to bring together all the guns in the locality and organize a community militia. Guo was at home at the time during a school break and he was very active in encouraging and helping his uncle to organize the militia. As a respected school student, he became an important member of the militia and drafted some of its documents.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 272-273, 292.}

The militia quickly grew into a group of over one hundred people and became a major force in the locality to fight against bandits. The growing power of the militia, which was controlled by the non-"native" residents in town like Guo's family, seemed to have posed a threat to the rival community of "natives." In their rivalry over the militia, some of these "natives" had organized their own military group and it did not take them too long to run into a military confrontation with the militia. Guo was at the time staying in his home town and as a key militia member he seemed to have participated in the fighting that took place between the two sides, which
ended with the militia losing two members but winning the battle by killing the leader of the "natives." This event seemed to be quite a memory for Guo, since years later in his autobiography he gave detailed and vivid description of the whole fighting and killing.\textsuperscript{77} The significance here is that, in reacting to and participating in such an event in his immediate community, Guo in his youth was exposed to the use of violence as a way to settle problems. As a result, by the time he was accepting the Marxist and Leninist theories of revolution and violence in the 1920's, he had at least already had some kind of first-hand experience and knowledge about blood and the use of force.

Apart from having to react to and cope with changes and events in his social, intellectual, and historical surroundings, Guo in this period also had to start to cope with a major disease and its sequelae as an existential problem in his personal life. In fall 1908, when attending the middle school in Jiading, he became ill with typhus abdominalis. The disease almost took his life and it took him more than a month to recover.\textsuperscript{78} This disease left him with a permanent semi-deafness and serious back problems, which, in his words, were his "worst physical handicaps" and were to "profoundly affect" his life. For one thing, his semi-deafness


later made it impossible for him to achieve his initial goal of practicing medicine and this for a long while made him "extremely depressed." 79

2). Reacting to Changes and Events that Concerned Matters beyond his Personal Life and Immediate Communities

As he was growing up Guo became increasingly interested in and began to react to changes and events in his environments that concerned matters beyond his personal life and his immediate communities.

Guo's interest in political issues seemed to have started fairly early. In one of his autobiographies, he recalls that during his middle school years in Jiading from 1907 to 1909 he had come to "greatly worship" Zhang Taiyan (1867-1936) for his being a "revolutionary" and "despised" Liang Qichao for his conservative political attitudes of "royalism," even though he liked Liang's writings. 80 He also remembered discussing with his fellow students "big national matters" during his middle school years in Chengdu, when the Manchu Qing dynasty was struggling in its last days of existence. 81 The idea that "dominated" the thinking of Guo and his friends at the time, he recalls, was that "the existence of the Qing government was


the reason for China's poverty and weakness."\footnote{82} China's future, as they believed, relied on "the overthrow of the Qing court."\footnote{83} Naturally, revolutionaries who had made efforts to topple the Manchu dynasty were greatly admired by Guo and his friends. Among the revolutionaries that they "worshipped" at the time were Zou Rong, Xu Xilin, Qiu Jin, Wen Shengcai, and the seventy-two "martyrs" who died in Tong Meng Hui's abortive uprising in Guangzhou in April 1911.\footnote{84} In his autobiography, Guo also describes how he and his friends fantasized about running into a revolutionary in their school. They had tried in vain to find such a revolutionary among their teachers and schoolmates. Then, since they had read about some Russian revolutionaries and got the impression that those people sometimes disguised themselves and mixed with the working class, he and his friends also tried in vain to search for them among people like school janitors.\footnote{85}

Without such revolutionaries and revolutionary activities around him, Guo got involved in certain political movements led by constitutional monarchists, which though not revolutionary by nature nevertheless contributed to the collapse of Qing rule.\footnote{86}

\footnote{84} Guo Moruo 1978, *Shaonian shidai*: 193.
First, as part of the nationwide constitutional movement at the time, some students in Tianjin in north China organized a movement in November 1910 to petition the Qing court to set up a national parliament in a timely manner. Even though this movement was soon put down by the government, its influence had reached Sichuan. About a month later, students in Chengdu echoed the Tianjin students and organized a similar movement. As a representative of his class at the Fenshe Middle School, Guo attended the initial meeting of this movement, at which he received "the first political training" in his life. At this meeting, student representatives from different schools in Chengdu decided on three things: a) they demanded that the Qing court open a national parliament in the next year; b) they asked the governor of Sichuan to convey that demand to the Qing court; c) and asked all students to start a strike until the government satisfied these requirements.87

Sichuan's provincial authorities reacted quickly to this movement. In order to intimidate the students, the government sent armed police and troops to their next meeting. Furthermore, three days into their strike, the students were told that if the strike continued both they and their school administrators were going to be punished. At Fenshe Middle School students eventually resumed classes. Guo, however, was dismissed from school for being a student representative and

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insisting on the strike. Even though he was later saved from this dismissal and was allowed to go back to the school, partially because of the influence of his oldest brother in Chengdu, this whole incident was his first experience of confronting the authorities over political issues.

The second political movement that Guo experienced in this period was the famous "railway protection" movement in Sichuan. The movement started with the founding of the Association of Railway Protectors at a meeting of Sichuan railway shareholders on June 17, 1911. Guo happened to have been at that meeting, because one of his older cousins at the time worked for Sichuan's Railway Company and took Guo to the meeting. It was quite a scene, as Guo later described it, when the issue of railway nationalization was brought up at the meeting. Everybody, Guo of course included, cried their eyes out for "about twenty or thirty minutes" because the Qing government was "selling Sichuan people's life and property to foreigners" and "there was no more future" for Sichuan's railway, Sichuan province, and all of China. To protest the railway nationalization program, the shareholders immediately formed their association and decided to call for province-wide strikes of merchants, workers, and students, and ask farmers

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89 Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 221-223.
not to pay their taxes to the government.⁹¹ After the meeting, Guo followed all the attendants at the meeting to march to the provincial government to petition against the nationalization policy.

What was first started at the railway shareholders' meeting soon developed into a province-wide movement in Sichuan. The leadership of this movement, the Association of Railway Protectors, attracted wide-based support for their two basic platforms: to promote public participation in politics and to protect the interests and property of Sichuan railway shareholders.⁹² Seeing the situation getting out of control, the provincial authorities arrested the chief leaders of the movement on September 7, 1911. This, as Guo recalled, angered "all the people" in Chengdu and they staged a mass petition the next day for the release of the movement leaders. The petitioners were shot at by government troops and some people were killed. This killing by the authorities then further angered Sichuan people and armed uprisings soon developed all over the province. In order to control this situation the Qing court sent some troops from Hubei and as a result made it possible for the Republican revolution to succeed on October 10, 1911 in the Wuchang city of Hubei.⁹³

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During this whole Sichuan "railway protection" movement Guo was in Chengdu, the center stage of all the events. He had participated in the mass activities and witnessed the government brutality. As many people, he was naturally overjoyed when, partially as a result of the Sichuan's movement, the republican revolution finally succeeded in China and the Manchu Qing dynasty finally toppled.⁹⁴ In an autobiography, he later describes how he and his friends happily cut off their Manchu-style cues right after the revolution and how they believed that the success of the revolution would quickly make China a number one power in the world.⁹⁵ He and many of the young people, Guo recalls, were at the time "nationalists." They had "very strong nationalist feelings" and had the goal of "making China a rich country with a strong military." With their "naiveness," they expected that China after the revolution would be as strong as an "awakened lion" and "swallow" Western and Japanese powers "like a few dumplings."⁹⁶ The earliest of such feelings expressed by Guo was found in one of the couplets that he wrote in 1912 for home town neighbors when he was staying at home during a school break for Chinese spring festival:

"With spring returning
we have got our old motherland back (*from the Manchus),

I want to use the sky as my paper,  
the Bo Hai Sea as my inkslab,  
and the Kun Lun Mountain as my pen,  
to write a big character 'Han'  
(*Chinese);  
With the movement for democracy  
rising as sea tide (*and strengthening China),  
it shouldn't be difficult now  
to make the whole world a Chinese empire:  
Europe and Africa will be our prefectures  
and counties,  
and America and Australia will be our cities."\(^{97}\)

The illusion about the revolution, however, was soon over for Guo. With domestic chaos and troubles in foreign affairs in the beginning years of the new republic, China did not at all seem to be turning into the strong power that he had expected. For him, this fact was vividly demonstrated in his home province Sichuan, where political struggles soon developed among new leaders after the revolution and for a while mutinies and a state of anarchy became part of people's daily life. Studying at the time in Chengdu, he saw and was certainly affected by the violence and disorder that was taking place in the city. For instance, in a poem that he wrote when mutinies occurred in Chengdu and violence dominated the streets, Guo describes that people like him in the city were at the time nervously staying up "late at night," not knowing "when the disaster was going to happen" to them.\(^{98}\) Later in an autobiography, he also recalls that he once

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\(^{97}\) * was added by this author as an interpretation. Guo Moruo 1982, *Guo Moruo jiutì shìcí xīnìán zhùshí*: 42.

volunteered to join a student armed force which was being organized in order to keep order on the street. As soon as he saw the actual hard living conditions of the student volunteer soldiers, however, he backed out.99

In the poems that he wrote at the time Guo expresses deep concerns for the various problems that his country was suffering after the revolution. He criticizes the new leaders in China for marring the republic with their fight against each other.100 He resents the fact that corruption was widespread, with politicians purchasing government positions and feeding on "the flesh and blood of the people."101 He was also seriously concerned with China's weak position in the world. In a poem written in 1912, for instance, he notices that China was still threatened by foreign powers who were surrounding China as "a group of tigers."102 He was alarmed by the fact that, with the involvement of the Russians and the British, Outer Mongolia and Tibet were breaking away from China.103 The loss of Outer Mongolia, in particular, reminded him of China's humiliation of losing control of Burma, Vietnam, and Korea to

100 Guo Moruo 1982, Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi: 68.
102 Guo Moruo 1982, Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi: 75.
foreign powers in modern times. Viewing the case of Outer Mongolia with such historical perspective, he was worried that China might someday end up like Poland, whose territory was "carved up" by Russia, Prussia, and Austria in the late eighteenth century. It was with these concerns for his motherland that, when military confrontations occurred between China and Outer Mongolia along the border in 1912, he wrote that he "was looking forward to dying" on the battlefield for his country against the Mongol "devils."

III. SOME OF THE ISSUES IN GUO'S THINKING DURING THIS PERIOD

This period was the initial stage of the formation of Guo's world view. As he grew up and increasingly interacted with the changes and events in his historical and intellectual milieu, the basis of his intellectual framework started to take shape and there was the beginning of some issues in his thinking.

First, we begin to see an issue of Chinese tradition vs. the modern West in his thinking. On the one hand, he was brought up with and solidly trained in traditional, especially Confucian values. On the other hand, he was substantially influenced by various concepts of the modern West, whose

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104 Guo Moruo 1982, Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi: 76.
modern achievements he highly admired. The modern West (and Japan), however, also meant humiliation and threat for him. He was living in a period when China had been constantly bullied by Western powers (and Japan). As a young Chinese nationalist, he naturally resented what these powers had done to his country. As a result, in this period he had started to develop some mixed feelings about the modern West and Japan, which were a combination of curiosity, admiration, and resentment and hatred. These feelings were to stay with him and contribute to his interest in Marxism and Leninism later in the 1920's.

Related to the issue of Chinese tradition vs. the modern West is an issue in Guo's thinking of moral and spiritual concerns vs. rebellion against Confucian morals and "unhealthy" behavior.

With his education in traditional values, Guo had a strong Confucian moral sense and moral awareness. A good example is the sense of filial piety that he always felt towards his parents, a sense that resulted from the moral teachings of Confucian lijiao. The most painful test for his filial piety, of course, was his arranged marriage. With his overwhelming disappointment and frustration at the wedding, he still completed the marriage process because he felt that it

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\[107\] Japan as a modernized, and to some degree Westernized, country was also an attraction to Guo.
was his filial obligations not to hurt the feelings of his parents.

Guo’s moral and spiritual concerns were also seen in a tendency that he had started to develop in this period to perceive and judge things with a Confucian moral and spiritual approach. For instance, when he and his friends criticized the incompetence and corruption of their middle school teachers in Chengdu, they blamed nothing but the teachers’ "lack of moral conscience" (liangxin), the corruption of "social morals," and, above all, the "degeneration" of China’s "spiritual civilization." "The only way" to cure these problems, they believed, was to have people "purify their souls" (gexin).\(^\text{108}\)

Another example was his criticism of his oldest brother, who after the 1911 revolution became Sichuan’s provincial minister of communications. In Guo’s eyes, his oldest brother, who had influenced him with various new ideas, became demoralized after he joined the establishment. Among other things, Guo was shocked to find that this fairly modern brother had picked up the habit of smoking opium, one of the evils of the old days!\(^\text{109}\)

Since his "corrupted" brother was in charge of Sichuan’s railway industry after the revolution and this industry was having various problems, Guo moralized the issue by blaming the problems on the "indulgence in a corrupt life"

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by his brother.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, *Shaonian shidai*: 297-298.} Years later, already influenced by the theory of Marxist historical materialism, Guo came to believe that these problems at his Sichuan schools and in Sichuan’s railway industry, as part of the overall problems of modern China, had resulted from the economic, social, and political changes in the modern world and could not simply be explained in moral and spiritual terms.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, *Shaonian shidai*: 172-173, 298.} However, as will be elaborated later in this dissertation, even after he was influenced by Marxist historical materialism, some of his moralism would still survive, causing a tension in his thinking between moral and spiritual concerns and historical materialism.

Apart from Confucian moralism, Guo was also profoundly influenced by Taoist, especially Zhuang Zi’s, concept of transcending mundane and material concerns. Among other things, Zhuang Zi taught people to free themselves from the noisy and corrupted life in civilized society, rid themselves of any purposes, and pay no attention to such things as wealth, status, fame, or success. He encouraged people to live a simple rural life, as close to nature as possible, so that they could become one with nature.\footnote{Chuang Tzu 1964, *Chuang Tzu*: 6. The idea of being one with nature was also part of Zhuang Zi’s universalism, which stressed man’s unity with everything in the universe.} Guo in his later
writings would clearly show that he had been influenced by these Taoist ideas.

Taoist influence on Guo can in a sense be seen in his love for works by poets during the Six Dynasties period (222-589), many of which convey strong Taoist messages.\textsuperscript{113} He was especially attracted to the poems and character of Tao Yuanming (Tao Qian, 365-427), who expressed Taoist anti-mundane ideas in his works and personified Taoist thinking in his care-free lifestyle and his seeking escape from society through drinking.\textsuperscript{114} For instance, in his early poems Guo referred twice to taohuayuan, a utopian village described by Tao Yuanming as a simple farming community which was away from society and enjoyed some peaceful and harmonious life.\textsuperscript{115} Such taohuayuan style utopian mentality was to be found as an element in Guo’s Communist utopianism in the 1920’s.

Guo also seemed to have been influenced by Buddhism. In three of the poems that he wrote in this period he demonstrates some knowledge of Buddhist literature and concepts.\textsuperscript{116} In one of these poems, he even notices that he had "long been tired of the mundane world," and "often thought

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{113} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Shaonian shidai}: 307-308, 325.
\item \textsuperscript{114} Guo Moruo 1982, \textit{Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi}: 5-6, 29, 39.
\item \textsuperscript{115} Guo Moruo 1982, \textit{Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi}: 29, 39.
\item \textsuperscript{116} Guo Moruo 1982, \textit{Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi}: 9-10, 13-14, 44-45.
\end{enumerate}
of" ridding himself of "worldly desires and mundane ideas" in a Buddhist manner.\(^{117}\) Later in his writings in the 1920's he was to reject Buddhism as being passive and negative about life.\(^{118}\) However, the Buddhist mentality against worldly corruption, like that of Taoism, could to a certain extent still be detected in his thinking.

With all his traditional moral and spiritual concerns, however, in this period Guo had also substantially deviated from some of the traditional ethics. The most visible example was the beginning of his passive rebellion against his arranged marriage and thus against the moral teachings of Confucian *lijiao*. To a great extent, this rebellion was a result of his being influenced by modern Western concepts of freedom of love, romance, and individuality. In fact, the tension between this rebellion and his own sense of filial piety was largely a direct confrontation between his modern Western thinking and the traditional ethics of social constraints with which he had been brought up. This tension and confrontation, as he painfully found out, resulted in a strong sense of guilt which was to be a heavy moral burden on him for long years to come.

Guo's involvement in the "unhealthy" part of mundane and material life was certainly also in tension with his Confucian morals and his spiritual concerns. To explain this tension,


the changes of the time and their impact on Guo should be taken into consideration. For instance, the co-functioning of traditional Chinese and modern Western value systems at the time tended to cause confusion for people, especially young people like Guo, in their moral judgement and social behavior. In a sense, with the tension and conflicts between these two different value systems, moral and immoral and right and wrong seemed to have become relative concepts and it is not surprising to find that Guo on the one hand had moral concerns and obeyed certain Confucian ethics and on the other hand in some aspects of his life behaved "unhealthily" and in material manners.

Guo's nonconformist behavior could also be explained by the fact that he had been influenced by poets like Tao Yuanming, who took pride in their Taoist retreat from society and self-indulgent life style. In an autobiography, Guo more than once describes himself as having had a life style like these people's and finding escape in "drinking and writing poems" and "wandering over mountains and rivers."\(^{119}\) It should be noted that, consistent with his admiration for the Taoist style of people like Tao Yuanming, Guo did not show much interest in such typical mundane things as wealth, status, or official positions. In other words, his drinking and self-indulgence, which were certainly part of material life, did not necessarily mean that he was a very material person. On

the contrary, in the Taoist style of certain nonconformist intellectuals in old times, drinking and self-indulgence were a way to escape from the corruption of material life in society.

Finally, it should be noted that Guo’s nonconformist and sometimes "unhealthy" behavior did not necessarily stop him from judging and perceiving things with a moral and spiritual approach. In fact, he even judged his own "unhealthy" behavior from such an approach, which was one of the reasons why he had the strong sense of guilt that he later so often expressed in his writings. In other words, with his Confucian values and spiritual concerns he was aware of and did not always like the fact that he was sometimes doing "unhealthy" and immoral things. For various reasons, among which teenage psychology might be one, he just did not seem to be able to stop doing these things.

Individualism vs. collectivism also became an issue in Guo’s thinking.

His individualist tendency was seen in his resentment and passive rebellion against the arranged marriage, which started his painful pursuit of personal happiness and individual freedom from the Confucian ethics of social constraints. This

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120 Guo Moruo 1978, Shaonian shidai: 85, 92, 93.
pursuit, it should be noted, was largely a result of the Western influence that he had received.\footnote{121}  

Guo's collectivist concerns were mostly towards his province and country. In his participation in the Sichuan "railway protection" movement and the constitutionalist movement of Sichuan students, one clearly sees his provincialism and nationalism. It should be noted that the reason why provincialism became an issue here was largely because of the historical situation in the last years of the Qing dynasty. In those years, the Manchu central government was losing its control over China and Chinese people were increasingly becoming active in political, economic, and social matters at the local provincial level. For many of the local Chinese people, including Guo, their provincialism was not only a way to protect their local interests from the central court, but it was sometimes also a Chinese statement of anti-Manchuism. In other words, in the provincialist feelings of Guo and other Chinese, there was sometimes a message of ethnic nationalism.  

Guo's nationalism, however, was not merely ethnic. It also included state nationalism. Guo as many other Chinese had certainly resented the fact that the Manchus as an ethnic minority group were ruling over the Chinese people. His anti-

\footnote{121} Guo had read such Chinese plays as \textit{Xi Xiang Ji}, which, as part of the heterodox literature in the Confucian tradition, also gave room for the imagination of personal happiness of love and romance. See: Mo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 5.
Manchu feelings, however, had also resulted from his belief that it was the Manchus who were ruining China and selling it out to foreign powers. As a young person living through the crises of China in modern times, he was at the time clearly concerned about the future of his country as a nation state in a world that was being dominated by Western and Japanese powers. As a result, when the 1911 revolution succeeded, he was overjoyed not only because the Chinese had gotten rid of the Manchus, but also because the evils that seemed to have weakened China as a nation had finally been overthrown.

Guo's nationalism seemed to have resulted from both traditional Chinese values and modern Western concepts of nationalism. As he was brought up in the Confucian tradition, the Confucian goal of "managing the state" (zhiguo) had naturally become part of his intellectual system. At the same time, when he was reading the works by such Chinese intellectuals as Yan Fu and Liang Qichao on the West, he was also influenced by certain nationalist elements in Western civilizations. For instance, when he "worshipped" Western historical figures such as Napoleon, Bismarck, Cavour, Garibaldi, and Mazzini, one thing that attracted him to these people was the fact that they had contributed to the nation building of their countries.\(^{122}\) It is true that Yan Fu and Liang Qichao in their works might have interpreted Western cultures with their own Confucian emphasis of collectivism and

nationalism. However, as Benjamin Schwartz points out, it remains a fact that with all their individualist emphases Western ideologies are not without nationalist and collectivist elements.\textsuperscript{123}

Despite his nationalist feelings, Guo in this period also started to experience certain conflicts between himself as an individual and the needs of his country. A ready example here is the conflict between his personal interest in literature and the fashionably perceived national needs for mathematics and natural sciences, which were believed to be the essential knowledge for developing China's industry and commerce and thus strengthening the country in modern times. Guo was greatly tortured by such a conflict because, as a person brought up with collectivist and nationalist awareness, he knew that he was supposed to be interested in the knowledge that his country needed for its survival and development in the modern world. As an individual, however, he was helplessly attracted to something that his country did not seem to need urgently and something that was not thought of highly at the time. This conflict in his life was to last and make him suffer for several long years until he was able to justify his personal preference for literature in the peak years of the May Fourth outburst of individualism.

Guo's experience with revolution and violence is also an issue to be noted in this early period of his life. As a

\textsuperscript{123} Schwartz 1964, \textit{In search of Wealth and Power}. 
youngster he had been attracted to the activities and thinking of various revolutionaries. He was especially overjoyed and impressed when the 1911 revolution took place, which, among other things, was a historic example of using violence for radical changes in modern China. In addition, his involvement in the activities of his home town militia and his witnessing the use of force in Sichuan during the days of the revolution all seemed to have exposed him to the power and effectiveness of using violence as a means to get things done. Despite the influence of revolution and violence on him, however, he did participate in the gradualist activities of the late Qing constitutional movement, which turned out to be his first serious involvement in political events. These early experiences with both revolution and gradualism, though they were at best just a beginning of his political awareness and activities, were to be some kind of a basis for the development of his political thinking in later periods.
CHAPTER II
FIRST YEARS IN JAPAN
(1914-August 1919)

I. CHANGES IN GUO'S HISTORICAL AND INTELLECTUAL MILIEUS

In 1914, the main setting of Guo’s life shifted from China to Japan as he finally got a chance to study and live in the foreign country. By this time, thanks to the various reforms and serious efforts to learn from the West during the Meiji period (1868-1912), Japan had already become a fairly modernized nation. Domestically, the Meiji efforts at industrialization had begun to bear fruit. First, the initial industrial success had enabled Japan to challenge and defeat its giant neighbor China in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895. The victory set off a major boom in Japan’s economic development and thus further strengthened Japan so that it could beat the Russians in the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese war. The victory over Russia, which was at the time a major power in the world, further boosted Japan’s confidence and started a bigger boom in its economic development. In foreign relations, with two convincing victories over China and Russia Japan had come out of the shadow of its humiliation by the West, which started when Mathew Perry arrived in Japan in 1853 with his American fleet and forced the Japanese to open their
country to Western powers. By the beginning of the Taisho period (1912-1926), only about half a century after the beginning of its unequal treaties with the West, Japan had proudly rid itself of all such treaties.

World War I also came as a golden opportunity for Japan. While Japan had only minimal participation in the war, its industries benefitted tremendously as demands for Japanese products increased in the world during the war time years. As Western powers were busy fighting each other and could hardly keep their attention on Asia, Japan seized the opportunity to further penetrate into China. It took over Germany's concessions in China's Shandong province and, in 1915, pressured the Chinese government to accept its notorious Twenty-one Demands. Even though Japan's effort to carry out these demands was frustrated because of resistance by the Chinese people, these demands had profound historical significance as they not only demonstrated Japan's aggressiveness in its overseas expansion but also gave rise to China's modern-time nationalism. When the First World War ended in 1918, with its aggressive policies and economic gains during the war, Japan emerged as one of the major powers in the world.

With these historical changes there were also major intellectual developments in Japan. First of all, in contrast to the isolationist policy of the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), after the Meiji Restoration Japan had demonstrated great
interest in not only Western sciences and technologies but also Western concepts such as democracy, individual liberty, natural law, and social Darwinism. This was climaxed in the advocacy of some wholesale Westernization by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), a leading and highly influential Meiji intellectual who had been influenced by European Enlightenment thinking which, among other things, emphasized reason and science. Among various Western schools of thinking, German ideas and philosophies seemed to have been especially attractive to many Japanese intellectuals during the Meiji and Taisho periods.

Along with Western liberal thought, Western radical ideas had also had their influence in modern Japan. At the turn of the century, there was increasing interest among Japanese intellectuals in Western theories of socialism, anarchism, and Marxism. Fukui Junzo (?-?), for example, in 1899 published his Modern Socialism (Kinsei Shakai Shugi), one of the earliest books to introduce socialist theories to the Japanese. The off-and-on publication of the leftist newspaper the Heimin Shinbun (Commoner's Paper) from 1903 to 1907 also played a certain role in spreading Western socialist and Marxist thinking among Japanese intellectuals. When Guo Moruo arrived in Japan in 1914, however, the Japanese leftist movement was at a low tide. The 1910-1911 High Treason Incident had just started a "winter period" for the leftists in Japan, which was

124 Fukui Junzo 1899, Kinsei shakai shugi.
to last until the end of the First World War when the 1917 Russian revolution contributed to a comeback of Japanese left-wing movement.

Despite their profound influence, Western ideas and concepts were far from completely taking over traditional Japanese values. In fact, Japan's history from the late nineteenth century to the end of World War I exemplified the Japanese ability to learn well from other civilizations without losing some essential part of their tradition. After the initial overheated enthusiasm for Westernization in the early Meiji, especially after the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890, the Japanese seemed to have found some functional balance between borrowing from the West and sticking to their own tradition. As a result, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shintoism continued to play important roles in the Japanese intellectual world.

Changes had also taken place in Japanese society after the Meiji restoration. Despite the fact that traditional values still functioned well in Japanese society, Western concepts such as individual rights, liberty, and equality between the sexes had begun to have their influence on the Japanese people, especially those who lived in urban areas. It is worth noting that such social changes in Japan came sooner than the social changes in modern China, at least until China reached its peak years of the May Fourth movement.
Although the main setting of Guo's life during this period was in Japan, he was of course still linked to his home country and was from time to time still affected by changes and events taking place in China. His parents in Sichuan, for example, still had influence over him through correspondence. Historical events in China, such as popular nationalist movements against Japanese imperialism, which reached a climax when the May Fourth incident took place in 1919, also had their effects on his life and thinking.

One other thing has to be mentioned concerning the surroundings of Guo's life in this period. Ever since the turn of the century, as a part of China's opening up to the outside world, more and more Chinese students like Guo had gone to Japan to study. These students had certainly benefitted in various ways from their experiences in a modernized country like Japan. However, as people from China which was being bullied at the time by Western powers and Japan, these students were also exposed to different degrees of discrimination in Japanese society.

II. INTERACTING WITH HIS MILIEUS

In September 1913, Guo left Chengdu for Tianjin. As soon as he arrived in Tianjin, however, he found that the medical school did not match his expectations. First of all, with his worship of the advanced sciences and technology of Western countries and Japan, he was very disappointed to find that there was not a single instructor from those countries
teaching at the medical school. He also disliked the fact that there were few well-known experts among the school's Chinese instructors. What made him further dislike the school was a question in an entrance test that the school gave him and all other new students in early November. He and many students complained that the question was unfair. Since he believed that he had done very poorly in answering the question and was uncertain if he could pass the test, he left Tianjin the day after the test and went to Beijing to visit his oldest brother, whom he thought was at the time staying in Beijing. There was, of course, a deeper reason for him to leave the medical school. With his literary tendencies and possibly some Confucian idealism and Taoist anti-mundane mentality, he felt that it was simply too "practical" an idea for him to make a career in medicine. After all, it was not the study of medicine but a chance to leave Sichuan that had brought him to Tianjin. 125

It turned out that his brother was not in Beijing at the time but travelling in Japan and Korea. He waited there until his brother returned from abroad in mid December. Not long after his return, the brother decided to send Guo to study in Japan. Since his brother could only support him for half a year, Guo would have to study hard in Japan so that he could qualify for a scholarship by the Chinese government in half a year. Guo had no idea if he could succeed in getting such a

scholarship in such a short time. However, the chance to go to Japan, something that he had long dreamed for, made him very excited. Accompanied by a friend of his brother’s who happened to be travelling to Japan, Guo left Beijing on December 28 1913 and arrived in Tokyo on January 13 1914, thus starting his study and life in Japan.\textsuperscript{126}

1. Personal and Community Life: Struggling with the Arranged Marriage, Pains of Self Discovery, and living in Japan as a Chinese

Since he had to pass an entrance examination for a Japanese high school in half a year in order to qualify for the Chinese government scholarship, as soon as he got to Japan Guo started to "work desperately hard" to improve his Japanese and make up for whatever Sichuan schools had not taught him in science courses. Though he seems to have first failed the entrance examinations for Tokyo Higher Industrial School, his hard work on Japanese and sciences paid off when he passed the entrance tests for a one year preparation program designed for Chinese students at Tokyo First Higher School in June 1914.\textsuperscript{127}

Guo started his preparation program at the First Higher School in September 1914. When the program was completed in the summer of 1915, he was assigned to the Sixth Higher School


in Okayama to major in pre-medicine, a major that he had chosen for himself. After three years of study, in the summer of 1918 he graduated from the Okayama school and was admitted to the Medical School of Kyushu Imperial University at Fukuoka, from which he was to graduate in 1923.

Through Guo’s first years in Japan from 1914 to 1919, a major issue in his personal life was the burden of his arranged marriage and the pains and guilt he felt from his rebellion against this marriage. As a sentimental young man who had been both influenced by Western concepts and brought up with Chinese values, the pains of being deprived of love and romance and the guilt over his offence against Confucian morals seemed to have overshadowed many other aspects of his life.

Before he came to Japan, Guo had already passively rebelled against the arranged marriage by staying away from home and his wife. Now that he was in Japan, a foreign country which was distant from China and had been more Westernized than China, he was provided with a further opportunity to rebel against his nightmare marriage. In the summer of 1916, about two and a half years after he arrived in Japan, he fell in love with Sato Tomiko (1897- ?), a Japanese Christian girl whose father was a Protestant minister. Tomiko was at the time

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working as a student nurse in a hospital in Tokyo after graduating from an American missionary school. A friend of Guo happened to have stayed in Tomiko’s hospital for treatment of tuberculosis before he transferred to and died in a sanatorium. Guo had just finished his first year at the Sixth Higher School and was in Tokyo visiting his sick friend during the summer break. After the friend’s death, when handling the friend’s funeral affairs, he went one day to Tomiko’s hospital to ask for an X-ray taken when his friend was under treatment. The nurse he talked to about the photograph was Tomiko. Hearing of the death of Guo’s friend, Tomiko broke into tears and made conversation with him to share his sorrow over his friend’s death. About a week later, when mailing the X-ray to Guo, Tomiko enclosed a long letter in English in which she used "a lot" of Christian language to ease him of the pain of losing the friend. Guo was greatly moved by Tomiko’s sympathy and loving personality and felt attracted to her. He then started a regular correspondence with her. Before long, he persuaded her into moving from Tokyo to Okayama in December that year and the two soon started living together as common-law husband and wife.\(^{130}\)

Guo’s relationship with Tomiko brought him the love and romance that he had long desired. However, it also caused him tremendous suffering and a strong sense of guilt. For one

thing, after learning about his living with Tomiko, Guo’s parents stopped writing him until after Tomiko gave birth to Guo’s first son in December 1917. Even when they resumed correspondence, his parents still refused to accept Tomiko as their legitimate daughter-in-law. They would insist on addressing her as his "concubine" (qìe) and calling their sons "concubine kids." (shuzi)\(^{131}\) The main issue here was again filial piety and other Confucian lijiao ethics. Judged by lijiao, Guo’s living with Tomiko was a rebellion, done out of his own fleshy sexual desire, against the marriage formally arranged for him by his parents. Such a rebellion was a serious show of his lack of filial piety to his parents. In China’s traditional system, it should be noted here, men’s extra-marital sexual desire could be accepted in the form of their taking on concubines in addition to their legal wives. Guo’s oldest brother, for example, had at least for a while taken on a woman as a concubine.\(^{132}\) With such an accepted practice in the lijiao system, Guo could have to a certain degree made up for his lack of filial piety by nominally staying with his marriage arrangement and simply living with Tomiko as some kind of a concubine. Guo’s desire, however, turned out to be too modern for the old wife/concubine format to accommodate. With his modern thinking, he now wanted love,


romance, and, most importantly, personal freedom in finding and enjoying his romantic love. The old wife/concubine lifestyle did not interest him at all. As he later described it, he was "most heart-broken" and "most sick" when his parents called Tomiko his "concubine" and called his sons with Tomiko "concubine kids."\(^{133}\) As far as Guo was concerned, the old arranged marriage was completely over and Tomiko was now his wife of love.

It should be noted that Guo's having a son with Tomiko had made up a little bit for his misbehavior in the eyes of his parents, since infertility, especially to be without a son, would be an even greater offence against filial piety in the Confucian culture. As Guo later put it, Tomiko's giving birth to a son was a major reason why his parents eventually "forgave" him and resumed their correspondence with him.\(^{134}\) Guo's modern desire for love and romance and his insistence on dishonoring his arranged marriage, however, had and would always put him in profound and irresolvable conflict with his parents.

Guo agonized tremendously over his parents' disapproval of his conduct. He simply could not bear to see his parents be hurt like this by his own conduct. Yet influenced by such Western concepts as freedom of love, romance, and individuality, he could not overcome his desire for personal

\(^{133}\) Guo Moruo. *Guo Moruo xuanji*: 47.

\(^{134}\) Guo Moruo. *Guo Moruo xuanji*: 47.
happiness. He also felt guilty for what he had done to his wife back in Sichuan. According to Confucian ethics, not only should a wife obey her husband, a husband also had certain responsibilities to his wife. Brought up with such traditional concepts, he still found himself in certain ways connected to his arranged wife. During this period he sometimes received letters from his wife and in the letters that he wrote home to Sichuan he also from time to time referred to her. In fact, in a letter that he wrote home on July 20, 1915 in the tone of a typical Confucian husband, Guo even asked his wife to "take good care of" his parents for him. With all the Confucian obligations and connections that he felt towards his parents and his arranged wife, Guo suffered greatly in rebelling against the arranged marriage. During this period and later he "had decided several times" to write to his Sichuan home to "ask for a divorce" from his arranged wife, but every time he was stopped because he was certain that his divorce request would greatly anger his parents and such anger was very likely to kill them in their old age. He was also afraid that asking for a divorce would "surely" drive his arranged wife to commit suicide, because she had "an old-fashioned mind" of the ethics of lijiao which considered it a great disgrace for a woman to be divorced by her husband. If his arranged wife committed

suicide, Guo felt that he would really "be guilty of murder."
After all, he also felt sorry for her because she, like him,
was trapped in this marriage as a victim.\textsuperscript{137}

Thus began one of the most painful and tortured periods
in Guo's life. As he later recalled, 1916 and 1917 were "the
most confusing and dangerous years" for him. Sometimes he
"wanted to commit suicide." Sometimes he "wanted to be a
monk."\textsuperscript{138} In 1916, he wrote the first of his suicide poems:

"I went out of home to commit suicide,
there was the lonely moon moving in the sky.
Bitter wind had frozen my soul,
regret over my sin had torn me apart.
Where to go in this vast world?
I sighed with every step I took.
I have so far had no achievements,
and ended up being a nothing between heaven and
earth.
Since it is so hard to drag on like this in the world,
it shouldn't be a difficult decision to die!
Yet I can't help thinking of my family and country,
and came back to live in this world with pains.
When I returned home and saw my love,
she was all in tears. \textsuperscript{139}

It should be remembered here that 1916 was the year when Guo
fell in love with Tomiko and 1917 was their first year living
together. The end of 1917 also seems to be the point at which
his parents refused to write to him because of his living with


\textsuperscript{138} Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 185.

\textsuperscript{139} Guo Moruo 1982, \textit{Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi}: 114.
Tomiko. In other words, instead of fully enjoying his newfound love and romance with Tomiko, Guo was living through a mental hell. He was at the time constantly tortured between two choices: to follow all his human "instincts" and go after happiness in his personal life; or to suppress these instincts as required by the Confucian ethics of social constraints. What Guo chose to do was follow his instincts, but the ethics of lijiao kept haunting him and torturing him with the sense of guilt and immorality. On May 25, 1918, after his parents resumed correspondence with him, Guo wrote the following in a letter home:

Dear father and mother:
Since I have committed such a sin (*living with Tomiko) and can not atone for it and have thus made you greatly worried and concerned, I really regret and could do nothing but cry everyday in my heart. After receiving my brother's letter the other day which blamed me, I have tried several times to write home. But every time I tried I could not even write a single sentence because I felt very ashamed and could find no excuses for myself. Today I have just received a letter from Yu Ying (*his arranged wife). It describes how you have been hurt by me and this has made me suffer even more...

Later in 1918, after living with Tomiko for about two years and when their first son was about one year old, Guo wrote another poem expressing his wish to die:

I remember it was seven years ago,

---

140 After he recognized receiving a letter from his Sichuan home in early November 1917, Guo did not seem to hear from his parents again until March 1918. See: Guo Moruo 1981, Yinhua shujian: 135-136, 140.


my Seventh Sister was still a child.
She and I were both homesick,
and we both cried until we collapsed.
But now I am alone far away from home,
and I have cried with so many tears.
I have lost my soul and now only have an empty body,
I regret that I have not died to finish my misery.
I have a motherland but it amounts to nothing,
since the country is constantly suffering from wars.
I have a home but I can not return to it,
my parents are there sick and old.
I have my love but she has already been ruined,
like a bird without its nest. (*)
I have a son who is only one year old,
and it takes a lot to take care of him.
I thus have a life which is not happy,
so I often hope that I can die soon.
Overwhelming sadness and regret is tearing me apart,
and I have cried from morning till night.
I have such profound sadness in my heart,
which is hard to end even if I die ten thousand times.143

Clearly, this poem demonstrates Guo’s depression, sense of guilt, and his regret that because of his rebellion against his arranged marriage he could not go back home to see his beloved parents. As he later elaborates in an autobiographical novel in the 1920’s, he was afraid that if he went back home he would have to confront his parents and his arranged wife about his marriage. Such a confrontation, he worried, would anger his parents and might cost them their lives. As he saw

143 Guo Moruo 1982, Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi (I): 117-118. One reason why Guo refers to Tomiko here as a "bird without nest" is probably because their living together without her parents' permission ended their relations with her. This conflict between Tomiko and her family reflects the complexity of Japanese society, which on the one hand had been Westernized and, on the other, was still very much controlled by Confucian and other traditional morals. The metaphor of a "bird without nest" in this poem might also refer to the fact that Guo and Tomiko because of their low income had to move quite often in order to find rental houses at bargain prices.
no functional solution to the situation, the only thing left to do was to avoid going home and pay the price of not seeing his parents again. To his great regret, that turned out to be the reality that he had to live with. After he arrived in Japan and started to live with Tomiko, he indeed never went back home again to Sichuan to see his parents alive.

One thing needs mentioning is that Guo in this poem refers to his Seventh Sister, to whom he did not otherwise seem to pay special attention among his siblings. One reason why he thought of this younger sister in this 1918 poem was probably because he had heard that this sister was being married that year. Guo was strongly against this marriage arrangement for his sister, clearly because it reminded him of his own misery and made him very worried about his sister’s future. The sister’s marriage arrangement was first mentioned by Guo in a letter that he wrote home on July 20, 1915. In that letter, which gives major attention to his sister’s marriage arrangement, Guo notices that he had heard that his mother was going to visit a family to see if they and their son matched Guo’s family and sister. “I cannot say that I agree (with this decision by mother to visit the family) and

\[144\] Guo Moruo. *Guo Moruo xuanji*: 49.

\[145\] This sister was called Seventh Sister according to certain way of naming the children in Guo’s family. She was not really the seventh among Guo’s sisters.

\[146\] In a letter home in November 1917 Guo mentioned that this sister had been arranged to be married in 1918—see Guo Moruo 1981, *Yinghua shujian*: 135-136.
yet I cannot say that I disagree," says Guo in the letter. "It's hard to understand the marriage system in our country... Since father and mother despite their old age are willing to make a trip for their daughter, how dare I as a son say anything differently (on my sister's marriage arrangement)? After all, as the saying goes: 'marriages were determined in our previous lives and we cannot do anything about them in our current lives;' 'if you happen to be married to a chicken then live your life with this chicken and if you happen to have married a dog then live a life with this dog;' and 'if you are married to a stinking frog, nothing can be done except for eating a full meal.'"147 Guo goes on in the letter, however, to say that his Seventh Sister was still too young and was in no hurry to be married. "If mother has not yet made the trip (for the sister's marriage arrangement)," Guo petitions, "could mother and father please first try to learn more about that family and see if their son is good for my sister. Not only could this prevent my sister from potential misery, it will also reward parents' efforts to work for their children's happiness... With all said, however, I believe that if mother thinks a person is good (for my sister) then he must be good."148

147 It is not exactly clear what 'eating a full meal' means in this saying. The message here, however, is clear: no matter how bad a person's arranged marriage turns out to be, he or she should consider it fate and live with this marriage.

This 1915 letter clearly demonstrates the dilemma in Guo's thinking between his love and filial piety for his parents and his reservations about the marriage that they were arranging for his sister, the kind of dilemma that he had known so well. His parents were very angry at this letter and "severely blamed" him for it. Guo's sarcastic description of the possibility that his sister's arranged marriage might not turn out to be a happy one also led to his sister's several attempts to commit suicide, which was to a certain extent another example of the sometimes life-and-death seriousness of arranged marriages in Confucian society.\footnote{Guo Moruo. \textit{Guo Moruo xuanji}: 47.}

On November 7, 1917, Guo wrote the following in a letter home further petitioning for his Seventh Sister:

\ldots I remember that my brother mentioned in his last letter that Seventh Sister was to be married next year. I am afraid that she is still too young and such early marriage will be most harmful to her still growing body. The system of early marriages in our country is really no good. To reform it, people should start with their own families...My opinion is that my Seventh Sister's marriage could still wait for another two years...\footnote{Guo Moruo 1981, \textit{Yinghua shujian}: 135-136.}

Guo's concern and sympathy for his Seventh Sister's arranged marriage is clearly because her marriage had reminded him of his own marriage misery. As a Chinese saying goes, an ill person tends to sympathize with those who suffer from the same illness as his. (\textit{tongbing xianglian}). It is no coincidence, therefore, that Guo mentions his Seventh Sister in the above-
quoted 1918 poem, which is mainly an expression of the pains caused by his arranged marriage. In fact, several years later in the 1920’s when he wrote an autobiographical novel, Guo would once again be reminded of his Seventh Sister’s experience when mentioning his own pains of arranged marriage.\textsuperscript{151}

Guo’s depression and sense of guilt was a major factor that shadowed his family life with Tomiko and their first son during this period. There were, however, other reasons. For instance, after he started living with Tomiko as common-law husband and wife, especially after their first son was born in December 1917, Guo gradually became somewhat disillusioned with family life. The tedious and trivial daily routines in the household and the tiring work of taking care of his baby son were anything but romantic and colorful. Tomiko, whom he used to find so attractive, now seemed to have lost her "mysterious" beauty of "purity" and simply turned into an ordinary housewife.\textsuperscript{152} To be sure, Guo did sometimes find happiness and joy with Tomiko and his child and this was shown in some of the poems that he wrote during this period. What needs noticing, however, is that he had also from time to time written poems to indicate that life in his family was not happy. In a poem written in 1918, for instance, he began to

\textsuperscript{151} Guo Moruo. \textit{Guo Moruo xuanji}: 47.

\textsuperscript{152} Guo Moruo et al 1923, \textit{San ye ji}: 37.
describe Tomiko and his son as "burdens" for him.\textsuperscript{153} Then, in early 1919, he wrote the following poem

It is a cold day in spring,
I feel very depressed and unhappy.
I have profound sadness beyond description,
but I have to force a smile for my son.
The son is in my arms sick,
he does not talk yet and can only babble.
My wife (Tomiko) looks as miserable as withered grass,
she is doing laundry at the well.
I look into the vast sky with tears,
the sky is full of depressing clouds.
I want to fly but I have no wings,
I want to die but I can't move as if I am paralyzed.
It is I who have ruined my wife and child,
my heart is aching as if thousands of arrows are piercing it.\textsuperscript{154}

Another major factor contributing to his depression and unhappiness during this period was his painful process of self discovery and self affirmation. Ever since his years at schools in Sichuan, he had been interested in literature. However, literature was looked down upon as something that did not help much in China's modern struggle for wealth and power. Guo had been influenced by this fashionable concept and therefore did not think highly of his own interest in literature. He had tried to follow the fashion of the time and major in something that was of use to his country. When he took the entrance examination for the preparatory program at the First Higher School in Tokyo, he was required to choose a major for his high school. The three available choices for him at the time were a) literature, philosophy, law, politics, and

\textsuperscript{153} Guo Moruo 1982, \textit{Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi}: 122.

\textsuperscript{154} Guo Moruo 1982, \textit{Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi}: 128.
economics; b) science and engineering; and c) medicine. Guo disliked law, politics, and economics possibly because he had seen many people majoring in these fields simply for the purpose of getting a position in China's corrupt government. Despite his interest in literature, he considered literature and philosophy as something that "was not of much help to the reality" of China. Science and engineering were ideal according to the fashion at the times, but he had been "afraid of" mathematics and therefore "did not have the courage" to major in these fields. Hence his choice of medicine, which he believed would enable him to make some "concrete contribution to China and its society." 155 Medicine at this time also appealed to him as a fashionable and challenging profession, as even among "foreigners" (Westerners and Japanese) "only smart ones could succeed in medical studies." The study of medicine, as he said to his parents in a letter dated September 6, 1914, would also provide him with "skills" to make a living "without having to depend on other people." 156 This, as compared to his earlier reservation in Tianjin against medical profession, seemed to have indicated that Guo had become somewhat more practical in his career planning.

For several years in Japan, Guo seriously tried to do well in his study of medicine. During his one year at the Tokyo First Higher School and three years at the Sixth Higher

School in Okayama, which prepared him for college study of medicine, he did pretty well and his grades were fairly decent.\textsuperscript{157} Even though he had hearing problems as a sequelae of typhus abdominalis, he did not seem to have too much trouble listening to the lectures as the high school classes were relatively small and the classrooms were not too big. Once he entered college, however, things began to change. While the maximum number of students in his high school classes was forty or fifty, the classes he took for medical studies at college had at least a hundred students and classrooms were therefore too big for his weak ears to follow the lectures in Japanese, which after all was his second language. Since note-taking in the classroom was a vital part of Japanese college education, his weak hearing now had become a "very serious handicap."\textsuperscript{158} As he later recalled, this difficulty in his college medical studies made him "suffer both mentally and physically" and as a result he became "extremely depressed."\textsuperscript{159} As his frustration with his medical studies grew, he increasingly experienced self doubt and a sense of inferiority as an underachiever. Not too long after he entered college, in a poem written at the end of 1918 he

\textsuperscript{157} Guo Moruo 1981, *Yinghua shujian*: 65, 70, 77, 94, 106, 111, 126, 133.


\textsuperscript{159} Guo Moruo 1978, *Xuesheng shidai*: 64, 12.
sighs that he "had no talent to live in this world and yet cannot escape from the world." 160

Within one year after Guo entered college, his difficulty in medical studies made him "feel strongly" that he had made a wrong decision to major in medicine. In the summer of 1919 he seriously considered changing his major to literature. 161 It should be noted here that even though he had been influenced by the fashionable concepts of the time and did not think highly of his own interest in literature, he had never lost that interest. On the contrary, during these years of majoring in medicine in Japan his literary interest and tendency had actually kept growing. 162 The school education he had received in Japan also contributed to his increasing interest in literature. To major in medicine in Japanese schools, which had been under heavy Western influences, he had to take many courses in German and English and these courses usually used literary works in German or English as textbooks. Over the years, therefore, he had been exposed to works in European and American literature. As he later recalled, this exposure "took roots" in his "literary foundation" and would eventually contribute to his literary career. 163 The fame, glory, and admiration that literary talents such as

160 Guo Moruo 1982, Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi: 123.
161 Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 64.
Shakespeare, Goethe, Shelley, Heine, Schiller, and Tagore enjoyed in the West and Japan also seemed to be a major factor that was beginning to enable Guo to legitimatize his own literary interests against the contempt for literature.

Guo’s attempt to change his college major to literature, however, was frustrated, partially because it had its "strongest" resistance from Tomiko. With their shabby living condition at the time, Tomiko was hoping to have a better life for their family and she was convinced that medicine was a better profession than literature for Guo to provide for the family.\textsuperscript{164} Guo, however, was having major difficulty in his medical studies and was increasingly interested in literature. This disagreement between him and Tomiko added to Guo’s depression and pains and further shadowed his family life.

Guo was not without positive memories of the Japanese communities in which he lived during this period. However, as many of his fellow Chinese studying in Japan, he also experienced from time to time discrimination by some Japanese people. As he later more than once described it, he was "reading foreign books and being ill-treated by foreigners (Japanese)."\textsuperscript{165} On October 18, 1919, he published the following poem to recall two different incidents as a Chinese in Japanese communities

\textsuperscript{164} Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 64.

A
Five years ago I lived in Japan's Tokyo.
I was one day taking a walk on the street.
It was just at sunrise,
people still had their doors closed.
I ran into a boy and a girl on the street.
I saw them really enjoying themselves playing.
When I went passed them,
they eagerly greeted me as "older brother."
I then eagerly went back to hold their hands,
and together we played.
We were like two brothers and a sister--
It has been five years now,
but I am still hearing,
them calling me "older brother!"

B
Three years ago I lived in Japan's Okayama.
One day I was passing the Back Happy Park.
I was going east, on my way to school.
Many children were coming from the east, also on their
way to school.
I again ran into a boy and a girl on my way.
The boy took off his hat and saluted me,
I eagerly saluted back.
He then cursed me with his eyes popping out:
"who is saluting you?"
I eagerly apologized to him, saying: "brother..."
He then cursed me again: "who is your brother?"--
It has been three years now,
but his glowering is still like a needle
piercing and hurting my brain! 166

Guo and Tomiko were also despised by their neighbors when they
first started living together. When Tomiko came from Tokyo to
stay with Guo in Okayama at the end of 1916, the two somehow
believed that their relationship could be kept as that between
a brother and a sister and Guo actually told his neighbors
(landlord) that Tomiko was his sister. However, it was not
long before they became common-law husband and wife. As Guo
recalled, once his neighbors (landlord) found out about this

166 Guo Moruo 1978, Guo Moruo nushen jiwai yiwen: 58; Wang
they showed contempt for them. This reaction by the neighbors was in fact vary natural, considering the fact that Japanese society even with substantial Western influence was still very much controlled by Confucian and other traditional Japanese values. For Guo as a morally sensitive person, his neighbors' (landlord's) attitude of course added to his sense of immorality and guilt.

Guo sometimes also interacted with the community of Chinese students in Japan. One event that took place in the Chinese community and affected his life was an anti-Japanese movement in May 1918. In their protest against a Sino-Japanese military convention which demonstrated Japan's imperialistic interest in China, Chinese students in Japan started a strike.167 In addition, some of these students organized an "anti-traitor club," which was aimed at Chinese students with Japanese wives. As Guo later described it, this club was at the time very active. It asked those Chinese students to divorce their Japanese wives immediately. If they failed to comply, it threatened to "treat them with violence." "Quite a few" Chinese students in Tokyo did divorce their Japanese wives. Guo had already lived with Tomiko as his common-law wife for a year and a half and their first son was already five months old. Despite the pressure from the Chinese

167 The convention was called the Sino-Japanese Military Mutual Assistance Convention. It was concluded by Japanese and Chinese governments on March 25, 1918. See: David Roy 1971, Kuo Mo-jo: the Early Years: 70.
community, he found it hard to give up his love and family life and therefore kept living with Tomiko. Naturally, he was considered a "traitor." Luckily for him, the "anti-traitor club" was not as active in his countryside location as in Tokyo and he was thus spared the "violence" that the club had threatened.\(^{168}\)

The Chinese students' strike lasted for about two weeks. Then, a decision was made within the Chinese student community that all the Chinese students should return to China as a further protest against Japanese imperialism. As Guo later remembered, some of those who had money did return to China, while he had to support his wife and son with his limited scholarship money and could not afford to go back. Not being able to perform the "patriotic" act of returning to China, then, made him a double "traitor" among the Chinese students. For a sensitive person like him, this discrimination against him within the Chinese community had greatly added to his depression and pains. As he later described it, being treated as a "traitor" had made him "weep with many tears."\(^{169}\)

Guo was also bothered by poor health during this period. Apart from the hearing and back problems that he had as a result of his 1908 typhus abdominalis, he had begun to suffer from severe neurasthenia by the summer of 1915 after he finished his one year preparation program at the First Higher


School in Tokyo. His symptoms at the time included irregular and rapid heart beats and serious chest pains which made it hard for him to walk even slowly. He was also suffering from insomnia. He could only manage to have about three or four hours of sleep each night and in his limited sleep he was "constantly" bothered by nightmares. In addition, he seemed to have "completely" lost his memory and for some time he found it very hard to memorize anything he was reading. It was also from this time on that he began to complain that sometimes he had severe dizziness and his head "burned like a furnace."\textsuperscript{170} Though the severeness of his neurasthenia did not seem to have lasted long, some of its symptoms did stay with him and he was to complain about them in some of his later writings.

The immediate cause of Guo's neurasthenia was exhaustion from overwork. When he first arrived in Japan, he was under great pressure to pass the entrance examinations for a Japanese school and obtain the Chinese government scholarship within half a year. As he later recalled, he felt that if he failed to get the scholarship as expected by his oldest brother, who had managed to send him to Japan, he would be too ashamed to face this brother again. If he failed, he had thus sworn to himself, he would "jump into the East China Sea" and "drown" himself.\textsuperscript{171} When he first failed the entrance tests for the Tokyo Higher Industrial School in early 1914 this

\textsuperscript{170} Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 55.

\textsuperscript{171} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Shaonian shidai}: 338.
pressure seemed to have become even greater. In a letter home written on June 6, 1914 he says that his failing the tests made him feel that he was "incompetent" and had disappointed his parents.\textsuperscript{172} His hard work finally paid off when he passed the entrance examinations for Tokyo First Higher School. However, such hard work, which he seemed to have continued during his one year study at the First Higher School, turned out to have cost him his health.

There is no doubt that his neurasthenia and general poor health were also a result of the depression and sense of guilt, immorality, and inferiority that he felt during this period because of his rebellion against the arranged marriage and the other problems in his life. It should be noted here that Guo did not seem to have continued the "unhealthy" habits in which he had indulged back in China. He seemed to have stopped heavy drinking and smoking and there is no convincing evidence that he in any way seriously violated the rules and discipline of his Japanese schools.\textsuperscript{173} There seem to be several ways to explain this. First, some of the conditions which had led him to the "unhealthy" habits back in China were no longer present in his life in Japan. For example, he no longer complained about teachers' incompetence at his schools as the Japanese educational system was clearly better and more orderly than that of China. His dream of going abroad, which

\textsuperscript{172} Guo Moruo 1981, \textit{Yinghua shujian:} 22-23.

had tortured him so much back in Sichuan, was now also realized. Secondly, being alone in a foreign environment and without the family connections that had often rescued him when he fell in trouble back in Sichuan, he now had to behave himself at the Japanese schools. Thirdly, as he himself mentioned, with the limited scholarship money he simply could not afford to indulge himself in those "unhealthy" habits as a way to escape from the problems in his life.\footnote{174}

Largely as a result of the various problems in his personal and community life, Guo's mood during this period was often very gloomy. Around the summer of 1918, he wrote the following as his first new-style poems

\textbf{THE TEMPTATION OF DEATH}

(1)

I have a small knife
she is leaning on the window and smiling to me.
She says to me with a smile:
Moruo, stop worrying yourself!
Come here quickly and kiss my mouth,
so that I can free you of your so many worries.
(2)

The blue water of the sea outside my window
also keeps calling me.
She shouts to me:
Moruo, stop worrying yourself!
Come here quickly into my arms,
so that I can free you of your so many worries.\footnote{175}

Then in early 1919, he expressed his gloomy mood in a poem entitled "Worries in Spring"

Is it because I am sad and bewildered?
or is it because the weather is bleak?

\footnote{174} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 54.

\footnote{175} Guo Moruo 1983, \textit{Nushen (huijiao ben)}: 138-139.
How come the spring-time sun
looks so sad and does not shine?
... 176

In another poem written in 1919 he further signed:

Alas!
    The only way to get real salvation
    is to die!
Death!
    When can I finally meet you?
... 177

2. Reacting to Changes and Events that Concerned China and the World

Guo also continued to pay attention to changes and events that concerned his motherland China and the world. For instance, some of the letters that he wrote to his Sichuan home from Japan clearly demonstrate that he was keeping up with what was going on in China’s national politics and foreign relations and events taking place in the world during the First World War. In these letters, he mentions and sometimes comments in detail on such events as Japan’s Twenty-one Demands on China in 1915, Zhang Xun’s attempt to resume dynastic rule in China in 1917, Japan’s declaring war on Germany in 1914, Germany’s using submarines during World War I, and the victories of the Allied powers towards the end of the war. 178 As a Chinese student in Japan, he was especially


concerned when tension arose between China and Japan in 1915 as the Japanese government was forcing China to accept the notorious Twenty-one Demands. In March 1915 he wrote the following in a letter to his parents:

The recent negotiations between China and Japan have been a knotty issue... Even though these negotiations have caused serious tension between China and Japan, they will not necessarily lead to war... But in case things cannot be worked out between the two countries and war does break out, then I am really concerned about the survival of our motherland and feel scared for my personal future... However, if our country has to fight the Japanese, it is not impossible for us to beat them. According to our ancient teachings of military strategy and tactics, an army with arrogance is bound to lose in war. And the devil country of Japan is now extremely arrogant...! These days people in our country, from leaders to commoners, are all united... And Japan, the devil country, has also been recently troubled by some serious conflicts in its own internal politics and thus could not fully concentrate on its foreign affairs. Therefore, if we go to war with the Japanese, we may not necessarily lose to those short devils...\(^{179}\)

On May 7, 1915 when the Japanese government gave China a 48-hour ultimatum to accept the Twenty-one Demands, Guo took a patriotic step and returned to China with some friends in protest against Japanese imperialism.\(^{180}\) As one of these friends later recalled, at the time they felt they could not go on with their education in Japan when China was being humiliated and bullied by the Japanese. They had thus decided


to "sacrifice everything and return to China." With such patriotic feelings, Guo wrote the following poem

Japan has already presented its ultimatum to China,
    hearing this I have flown into a towering rage.
The Japanese are going to invade China's borders,
    and I want to go back to China to fight the invaders.
The Chinese authorities have had illusions about the Japanese,
    now they should have been disillusioned.
It is common for a man to take up arms,
    I am ready to die on the battleground against the Japanese.\(^{182}\)

The crisis of the Twenty-one Demands incident, however, was soon over when Yuan Shikai's government basically accepted the Japanese demands on May 9, 1915. Guo stayed in Shanghai for only three days and then returned to Japan.\(^{183}\) The interesting thing here is that, despite his strongly demonstrated patriotic feelings at the time, Guo soon deeply regretted that he had made this trip back to China which had taken him ten days and had cost him financially. He was also criticized for this trip by his family, especially his oldest brother.\(^{184}\) In a letter home written on June 1, 1915 Guo had this to tell his parents

I went to Shanghai once when the Sino-Japanese negotiations were at a tense moment, because at the time it seemed that China and Japan were going to war against


each other. I stayed in Shanghai for just three days and then returned to Japan. The whole round trip took me ten days and I deeply regret that I made this mistake of acting rashly. Oldest Brother has also written to criticize me..."^{185}

Then, after his Sichuan family also blamed him for his costly trip, Guo wrote the following in a letter dated July 5, 1915:

It is just as my younger brother pointed out in his letter: the reason I committed the mistake of going to Shanghai is that I was too naive and blindly followed others. I am so ashamed and regret it so much! I regret so much and am so ashamed! I hope that my younger brother will help me ease Parents' anger over my mistake. It took me ten days to make the trip to Shanghai and back and it was obviously a waste of time. However, I was lucky in that there was no school during these ten days and I didn’t miss any lectures. In addition, these ten days also gave me some experiences and lessons. In material sense, I have inexcusably wasted money by making this trip. In short, even though I am wildly arrogant, from now on how dare I be careless and rash and get my parents and brothers worried again?...^{186}

Guo’s nationalist and anti-Japanese feelings could also be seen in a short story that he wrote towards the end of this period. Soon after the First World War was over, world powers met at the Versailles Conference in January 1919 to make deals concerning post-war arrangements. Among the deals they negotiated was the idea of handing over to the Japanese the imperialist privileges that Germany had in China’s Shandong province. This deal among imperialist powers, which would eventually trigger the May Fourth incident, angered many Chinese and resulted in strong anti-Japanese sentiments. To express his feelings against Japanese imperialism, in February


and March 1919 Guo wrote a short story entitled *The Sad Tale of a Shepherdess*, in which through an imaginary story set in Korea he "transplanted" his own anti-Japanese sentiments.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, *Xuesheng shidai*: 54.}

Then, in June 1919, to "respond to" the anti-Japanese movement in China after the May Fourth incident, Guo and a few of his Chinese student friends at Fukuoka formed a club called the "Summer Club" (xiasha).\footnote{Guo Moruo 1983, *Nushen (huijiao ben)*: p. 204.} It was Guo who came up with the club's name, whose word "summer" (xia) in Chinese carries the meaning of China (as in "huaxia"). As Guo put it, this anti-Japanese club was organized to collect materials published in Japan's newspapers and magazines which expressed Japanese imperialist attitudes towards China. The club planned to translate such materials into Chinese and mail them to China's schools and newspapers for the purpose of informing people in China of Japanese imperialist tendencies. With their own personal savings, Guo and other club members even bought a mimeograph as their "propaganda weapon." Once the club was formed, however, it turned out that Guo and another person were the only members who could write well for the club's purpose. Since this other person had written only once for the club and soon left for China during school's summer break, Guo ended up as the only writer for this anti-Japanese organization. As Guo recalled, during that summer break he had produced "quite a few" pieces of writing for the club. It was
a one-man operation. The writing, stencil cutting, printing, and mailing he did all by himself.\(^{189}\)

Finally, it should be pointed out that Guo’s long suppression of his own literary interests and his study of medicine were also evidence of his nationalist concerns. As he later recalled, when he first went to Japan he was "determined" to "overcome" his own literary tendency and major in medicine which was "practical learning" and could be of help in China's modern drive for national wealth and power. As "almost every youngster" of his age, Guo said, he was a "nationalist" at the time.\(^{190}\) It was "really a pity," he later noted in the 1940’s, that for reasons such as his hearing problem he had not been able to study medicine well and practice it as a way to make some "concrete contribution" to his country and society.\(^{191}\)

3. Trained in Sciences, Influenced by Eastern and Western Thinking, and Searching for Solutions to his Problems

In Japan Guo was trained solidly in the natural sciences. This actually started when he worked "desperately" hard on sciences in order to pass the entrance examinations to qualify for the Chinese government scholarship.\(^{192}\) Then in his high school years in Japan he was thoroughly educated through the

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Japanese high school system which had been substantially Westernized in its curriculum of natural sciences. For his study of pre-medicine at the Sixth Higher School at Okayama, he was required to do both course and laboratory work for physics, chemistry, zoology, and botany. He also had to learn advanced mathematics, including analytic geometry, advanced algebra, differential calculus, and integral calculus.¹⁹³ Then, at the medical school of Kyushu Imperial University he was solidly educated in what he described to be "a serious and complete system of learning." His first two years of medical study at the university focused on preclinical courses such as anatomy, histology, physiology, medical chemistry, pathology, pharmacology, bacteriology, and psychopathology. As Guo later recalled, even though he was having increasing difficulty in his study because of his hearing problem, during his first two years at the medical school he had been "very interested" in these courses in preclinical medicine, which had taught him "pure natural sciences" and had enabled him to discover "the secret of the human body."¹⁹⁴ In fact, years after he gave up medicine and became a literary celebrity in China, Guo noticed that thanks to his medical training in Japan he still felt that the "foundation" of his knowledge of medical science was better than the foundation of his literary knowledge. "I am a person," he said in the 1940's, "who wholeheartedly respects


medical science." As will be mentioned in the following part of this dissertation, Guo's solid training in the natural sciences in Japan was to contribute to his familiarity with and faith in sciences, which was one of the factors that later made him attracted to the "scientific" theory of Marxism.

Guo also continued to be influenced by both Eastern and Western thinking. More importantly, as he was having more and more problems in his interaction with the objective world, he had by this period begun a process of consciously searching in various Eastern and Western concepts for solutions to the problems that he had in his life.

Guo was first influenced in this period by Sir Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), who among other things was known as an Indian Hindu poet and winner of the Nobel Prize in literature in 1913. As Guo later recalled, the first time he read Tagore was in early 1915 when he was in his second semester of the one-year preparatory study at the First Higher

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195 Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 12-13. Note: Guo once did recall that when he was having learning difficulty in his first year of medical study at college he had for a while "rejected" sciences. Judging from all the evidence available to us, the reasons why he "rejected" sciences at the time seemed to be that he had been highly frustrated in his study of medical science as a result of his hearing problem and that he was increasingly more interested in literature. In other words, his "rejection" of sciences at the time was not necessarily because he was without interest in those sciences, even though he was definitely more interested in literature. Therefore, when he said that he was "very interested" in sciences during his first two years of college, we should take him at his words. See: Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 64.
School in Tokyo.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1983, \\textit{Nushen (huijiao ben)}: 202.} He was then living with a relative who was also studying in Japan and one day this relative showed him mimeograph copies of some English poems written by Tagore, who was at the time very popular in Japan. The poems were "Baby’s Way," "Sleep-Stealer," "Clouds and Waves," and "On the Seashore." Guo was immediately attracted to these poems. He was "surprised" to find that they were easy to understand and their prose style was different than other English poems he had read and the old-style Chinese poems he was so familiar with. As he later described it, reading these poems by the Hindu poet "especially" made him "feel purified, refreshed, and free from mundane worries." Tagore’s poems, he said, made him "joyful" with something "beyond their poetic beauty." "From then on," he recalled, he had become a "worshiper" of Tagore and developed a "indissoluble bond" with the poet’s works. He had thus started "eagerly" looking for Tagore’s books to read.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1984, \\textit{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 184-185; Guo Moruo 1978, \\textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 57; Guo Moruo 1983, \\textit{Nushen (huijiao ben)}: 202.}

Because of their popularity, however, Tagore’s books were usually sold out the moment they reached book stores in Tokyo. It was therefore not until after he graduated from the preparatory program in Tokyo in the summer of 1915 and went to the Sixth Higher School at Okayama that Guo was finally able to purchase a copy of Tagore’s \textit{The Crescent Moon}. Then in the
fall of 1916 he "suddenly" found Tagore's *Gitanjali*, *The Gardener*, *The King of the Dark Chamber*, and *One Hundred Poems of Kabir* at a library in Okayama. As he later described it, the discovery of these books made him "really" feel that he had found the "life" and "fountain" of his life. Everyday, as soon as school was over at about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, he would hurry to a "very quiet and dimly lit" reading room at the library and read these books facing the wall in a corner. "From time to time," with "tears of gratitude," he would try to memorize the books' contents. Reading these works, which conveyed Hindu moral and spiritual messages, he "enjoyed the happiness of Nirvana" and felt a "quiet and pure sadness rippling both inside and outside of" him. It was usually not until evening that he could finally tear himself away from these books and "walked back slowly" to his "lonesome" dorm.¹⁹⁸

It should be remembered this was the time when he was falling in love with Tomiko and was soon to live with her, thus taking a major step in his painful rebellion against his arranged marriage. In his own words, the needs for religions were a result of people's "loneliness and pains" and he was at the time suffering from the "pains" of the "unhappiness" of his arranged marriage.¹⁹⁹ During these worst days of his struggle with the arranged marriage, Tagore served as a

"spiritual teacher" for him.200 Through Tagore, especially through Tagore's One Hundred Poems of Kabir, he further came to be attracted to Kabir (1450?-1518), who was a major religious figure in India's Hindu tradition. Tagore's works had also made him interested in and "fond of" the philosophy of the Upanishads, the Indian classic which gives spiritual and moral teachings on human souls and the world soul.201 As Guo later recalled, he had "reveled in" Tagore's poems for about two or three years and had read "almost all" of Tagore's early collections and dramas.202

Soon after Guo's interest in Tagore started in early 1915, he also began to be attracted to the moral teaching of China's Neo-Confucian master Wang Yangming (1472--1528), whose thinking had also been influential in Japan. In September 1915, the time when Guo was suffering from neurasthenia, "in the depths" of his "soul" he felt a desperate "need for spiritual cultivation" and bought himself a Complete Works of Wang Wen Cheng Gong (Wang Yangming) at a used book store in Tokyo.203 From then on he started a routine of reading ten pages of Wang's works everyday. Every morning after getting up


and every night before bed he also practiced thirty minutes of "quiet-sitting," a method of self cultivation taught by Wang's mind-heart school of Neo-Confucianism. 204 Thanks to Wang's teaching and the quiet-sitting, Guo soon began to see "remarkable" improvement in his health. Within two weeks, the quantity and quality of his sleep both began to get better and his irregular heart beating had become less serious. 205 Further, "spiritually," he found that he had been "thoroughly" enlightened by Wang Yangming to a "world of wonders." While the world in his eyes had been nothing but a "dead and flat picture," Wang's philosophy now brought the world "alive" and "three-dimensional" and thus enabled him to clearly and "thoroughly" comprehend this world. 206 As he later described it, even though he had been "fond of" reading Zhuang Zi before, he could hardly understand Zhuang Zi's thinking. Now, through the teaching of Wang Yangming, who had been influenced by Taoist philosophies, he had begun to "really" appreciate and understand the thinking of Zhuang Zi. 207 The enlightenment that he had found in Wang's Neo-Confucian philosophy had also contributed to his interest in the metaphysics of Lao Zi, Confucius, Indian philosophers, and various thinkers of "early

204 For specific methods of quiet sitting he had followed the instructions of a Japanese book. See: Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 56.


modern European" schools of idealism, especially Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677). In his words, Wang Yangming's teaching had started his discovery of a clear and "solemn" world of metaphysics.\textsuperscript{208}

Guo's interest in the Taoist philosophy of Zhuang Zi, as indicated above, kept growing during this period. As he later recalled, he had "discovered" that Zhuang Zi's philosophy had "radiance" that could enable him to see and understand everything "penetratingly and thoroughly."\textsuperscript{209} In fact, his interest in Zhuang Zi was such that he once had the "ambition" to write a Commentary on Zhuang Zhou (Zhuang Zi) when he was still during his third year of study at the Sixth Higher School at Okayama.\textsuperscript{210} To carry out his ambitious plan he had written to ask his younger brother at his Sichuan home to gather certain information for him on Zhuang Zi.\textsuperscript{211} He had also informed his oldest brother "in detail" of his purpose of writing on Zhuang Zi. However, this oldest brother, at the time in Beijing, disapproved of his plan.\textsuperscript{212} Partly because of the disapproval by his oldest brother, who seemed to have certain authority over him, Guo's plan was not carried out.

\textit{Zhuang Zi}'s importance in Guo's life could also be seen in a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{208} Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wenyi lunji} (huijiao ben): 56.
\item \textsuperscript{210} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 58.
\item \textsuperscript{211} Guo Moruo 1981, \textit{Yinghua shujian}: 122.
\item \textsuperscript{212} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 58.
\end{itemize}
poem that he wrote in 1918, in which he suggests that with Zhuang Zi's philosophy as his supporting system he could handle any situations in any place. 213 A further example of the Taoist tendency in Guo's thinking is the fact that he had in this period continued to be interested in the works of some poets during China's Six Dynasties period. For instance, in his effort to suppress his literary interest and concentrate on medical study, he decided to give up all his personal collection of literary works when he left Okayama in 1918 for medical school at the Kyushu Imperial University. After giving most of his books to friends, however, he found it "really" hard to get rid of his two favorite books: The Complete Works of Tao Yuanming and The Complete Works of Yu Zishan (Yu Xin, 513-581). Even though he finally ended up donating them to a local library the night before he left Okayama, years later in the 1920's he would still "deeply miss" these two books and write an essay on his experience of giving them to the library. "My old friends," he says to the books in his essay, "your lives are going to be longer than mine. After I die and my bones turn into ashes and my flesh becomes dirt, my spirit and soul will still stay with you and thus become eternal." 214

Guo during this period also showed interest in Christianity and one of the factors contributing to this


214 Guo Moruo 1931, Ganlan: 204-209.
interest was very possibly Tomiko's influence over him.\textsuperscript{215} In fact, together with Wang Yangming's Neo-Confucianism, Zhuang Zi's Taoist philosophy, and Tagore's Hinduist messages, Christianity had at least for a while served to meet his needs for spiritual and moral comfort and guidance. In 1916 and 1917, the time when he seemed to be tortured the most by his sense of guilt and immorality as result of his falling in love and then living with Tomiko, he had made it a daily routine to practice quiet-sitting and "read Zhuang Zi, Wang Yangming, and the New and Old Testaments" as his spiritual and moral lessons. It was also during this period that he read many of Tagore's works. As Guo put it, the pains in his life at the time had suppressed his "liveliness" as a youngster and pushed him to the pondering of the metaphysical issues covered in the Eastern and Western philosophies and religions.\textsuperscript{216}

Despite some effects and comfort on Guo, however, the moral and spiritual messages of Wang Yangming, Zhuang Zi, Tagore, and Christianity had in a way made it even worse for him to cope with his pains and depression. He had turned to these messages for comfort and help largely because he had been tortured by his sense of guilt and immorality as a result of his rebelling against his arranged marriage. These moral

\textsuperscript{215} David Roy believes that Guo's \textit{Luo Ye} is evidence that Guo once converted to Christianity--See: David Roy 1971, \textit{Kuo Mo-jo: the Early Years}: 188. This author, however, does not think that \textit{Luo Ye} is credible evidence in this regard. See: Guo Moruo 1985, \textit{Guo Moruo quanj}i (wenxuebian 9): 67-.

\textsuperscript{216} Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 185-186.
and spiritual messages, however, told him nothing but that he should purify his soul, keep away from human desires, and, above all, live a moral life. In other words, all these philosophies and religions from which he was seeking help were actually telling him that he was morally wrong in following his human and mundane feelings and desires and living with Tomiko as a married man. Wang Yangming, for example, especially emphasized in his works the moral importance of practicing filial piety and "ridding oneself of human desires" such as men's desire for women.217 Using Wang Yangming's teaching to ease his sense of guilt and immorality, which was largely a result of his living with Tomiko and disobeying his parents, Guo was actually doing nothing but adding fuel to the flames. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that with all his efforts to seek spiritual and moral help he had never ceased suffering from his strong sense of guilt during this period.

Apart from Christianity, Guo was also influenced by the thinking of such Western figures as Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe (1749-1832), and Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677), mostly through their works which he read in his language courses at his Japanese schools. As Guo recalled, it was after he fell in love with Tomiko in 1916 that he became interested in Heine and what attracted him were

mostly Heine's love poems.\textsuperscript{218} With the "rich this-worldliness" that they expressed, Guo said, Heine's poems appealed to him as being "closer to nature" than the "other-worldliness" of Tagore's works.\textsuperscript{219} In 1918, after he had translated some of Heine's poems into Chinese, he tried but failed to have these translations published.\textsuperscript{220} A few of the poems that he wrote in 1919, which he later published in China, were written under the influence of Tagore and Heine.\textsuperscript{221} It is also possible that Guo had to a certain extent been influenced by Heine on matters other than poetic styles. For one thing, Heine's Romanticism, his interest in revolution, and such dichotomies in his thinking as ethical emphasis vs. the joy of life and nationalism vs. cosmopolitanism all remind us of comparable elements in Guo's thinking in later periods.

Guo's interest in Goethe seemed to have started when he began to be exposed to his works in his German classes at the Sixth Higher School at Okayama. One of the texts that he read for German in his third year at the higher school, for instance, was Goethe's \textit{Dichtung und Wahrheit}.\textsuperscript{222} By about

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{218} Guo Moruo 1983, \textit{Nushen (hui jiao ben)}: 203; Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 57-58.
\item \textsuperscript{219} Guo Moruo 1983, \textit{Nushen (hui jiao ben)}: 203.
\item \textsuperscript{220} Guo Moruo 1983, \textit{Nushen (hui jiao ben)}: 203.
\item \textsuperscript{221} Guo Moruo 1983, \textit{Nushen (hui jiao ben)}: 204, 141, 135; Guo Moruo 1982, \textit{Guo Moruo jiuti shici xinian zhushi}: 125.
\item \textsuperscript{222} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 57; Wang Jiquan and Tong Weigang 1983, \textit{Guo Moruo nianpu (1)}: 68-69.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
1918, he also seemed to have read Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* for he had by then already thought about translating the novel into Chinese.\(^{223}\) While it was still too early to tell its influence on Guo, the celebration of love and personal freedom expressed in *The Sorrows of Young Werther* and some other works was to be of significant help for Guo in his eventually justifying his living with Tomiko and thus rebelling against *lijiao*. At the end of this period, in the summer of 1919, Guo also started his off-and-on translation of parts of Goethe's *Faust*, some of which were later published in China. According to Guo, *Faust* attracted him at a time when he was painfully choosing literature over medicine as his career.\(^{224}\) Apparently, the message of individualism in *Faust* served to help him justify his following his long suppressed personal literary interest regardless of the social pressure and contempt against literature. In a sense, Goethe and Heine had also started Guo's interest in German schools of thinking, which later were to include those of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1900), and Karl Marx (1818-1883).

Largely through the works of Goethe, who had been influenced by Spinoza, Guo during this period also came to be


\(^{224}\) Guo Moruo 1978, *Xuesheng shidai*: 64.
interested in the works and philosophy of Spinoza.\textsuperscript{225} As Guo later recalled, he had read and read about such works by Spinoza as \textit{The Ethics}, \textit{Theologico-Political Tract}, and \textit{On the Improvement of the Intellect}.\textsuperscript{226}

One of the major attractions that Guo found in Spinoza, Goethe, Tagore, and Kabir during this period was their philosophies and tendencies of pantheism. He was attracted to such pantheism to a certain extent because he himself had already had "some pantheist tendency," which could be traced to his earlier influence by Zhuang Zi, whose thinking, broadly defined, was also a pantheist philosophy. As Guo put it, he felt that he could "suddenly see things thoroughly and in a clear light" when he discovered that the Taoist thinking in \textit{Zhuang Zi}, which had been a "favorite" of his, was in common with the pantheism of Spinoza, Goethe, Tagore, and Kabir.\textsuperscript{227} Such a discovery of the compatibility between \textit{Zhuang Zi} and the foreign philosophies, especially those of the fashionable West, had in turn made him more appreciative of and interested in \textit{Zhuang Zi}'s ancient Chinese thinking. It is very important to note here that Guo later in the 1920's was to make more such discoveries of similarities between philosophies of Chinese tradition and certain ideologies of Western


\textsuperscript{226} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 58.

\textsuperscript{227} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 58.
civilizations. The most significant among them, of course, was his discovery that the Western ideology of Marxism was in common with China’s Confucianism.

Pantheist tendency, again broadly defined, could actually also be found in the thinking of Wang Yangming. In Wang’s Neo-Confucian school of mind-heart learning (xinxue), the concept of principle (li), which Wang identified with the mind-heart (xin), carried certain god-like features and could be identified with everything in the world. With such pantheist tendency, Wang Yangming’s philosophy in its influence over Guo should also have contributed to Guo’s pantheist thinking. Further, the fact that Wang’s philosophy shared certain pantheist tendencies with the thinking of Zhuang Zi, Tagore, Kabir, Spinoza, and Goethe should also have made Guo more interested in Wang’s Neo-Confucianism.

Guo’s being influenced by the pantheist philosophies and tendencies of Tagore, Kabir, Spinoza, Goethe, Zhuang Zi, and Wang Yangming had significance for his later intellectual development at least in two senses. First, when applied to affairs in the human world, pantheism, which in its own way believes in certain commonality of everything in the universe, could lead to the conclusion of cosmopolitanism. The influence of pantheist thinking, therefore, later contributed to Guo’s interest in the cosmopolitan thinking of Marxism. Secondly,

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the pantheistic identification of everything with God could lead to the conclusion that all the things in the world, including human beings, carry some God-like features. Such conclusion was certainly reached by Guo Moruo after he was influenced by the pantheist philosophies and tendencies of Spinoza, Goethe, Tagore, Kabir, Zhuang Zi, and Wang Yangming. As Guo put it, pantheism means that "everything in the nature is nothing but an expression of god. I, too, am merely an expression of god. I am god and everything in the nature is an expression of me."\textsuperscript{229} It should be especially noted here that Guo's pantheistic belief in people's god-like power could be traced to his being influenced by Wang Yangming's emphasis on the moral and spiritual power of human beings, which was an essential part of Wang's Neo-Confucian school of mind-heart learning. The influence of pantheism in this second sense was to play a significant role in Guo's later revising the theory of Marxist historical materialism. For instance, in his interpretation of Marxism in the 1920's Guo came to believe that, regardless of the country's lack of industrial development and a decent economic and social class of proletarians, China could have a Communist revolution simply by relying on the power of people who had been intellectually enlightened by Marxism and were thus morally and spiritually ready to launch such a revolution. He was also well known later in the 1950's for the major role that he played in the

\textsuperscript{229} Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wenyi lunji} (huijiao ben): 228.
advocacy and expression of Chinese Communist voluntarism during the movement of Great Leap Forward. Both of these cases strongly remind us of his earlier influence by pantheism and by Wang Yangming’s moral and spiritual emphasis.

Overall, in his search for solutions to the problems in his life, especially the pains and sense of guilt and immorality that he felt in his rebellion against the arranged marriage, during this period Guo seemed to have largely turned to Wang Yangming’s Neo-Confucianism, Zhuang Zi’s Taoism, the Hinduist thinking of Tagore and Kabir, Spinoza’s philosophy, and Christianity for moral and spiritual comfort and guidance. It is important to note, however, that the emphasis on and affirmation of love, individual rights, and personal freedom as found in the Western Romanticism of Goethe and Heine had also begun to have profound influence on him. Gradually, such Romanticist influence was already undermining the influence on Guo by the moralism and spiritualism of Wang Yangming, Zhuang Zi, Tagore, Kabir, and Christianity. In the next few years, this Romanticist influence was soon to grow and overshadow the influence of the moralism and spiritualism on him and thus finally provide him with the ideological sources that he had badly needed to justify his rebellion against his arranged marriage and against lijiao. Guo during this period did not seem to have been influenced in a major way by Leftist ideologies, even though the influence of such ideologies might have already started on him towards the end of this period
when the influence of the 1917 Russian revolution began to reach Japan and the Japanese Leftist movement started to get out of its "winter period." For one thing, Guo later noted that before he read Kawakami in 1924 he had already read Fukui Junzo’s *Modern Socialism* which was published as early as 1899. Even though all the available information so far suggests that this period was still too early for Guo to be significantly interested in socialism, it is not completely impossible that he might have read Fukui Junzo’s book during this period.

III. Some of the Issues in Guo’s Thinking during this Period

First, in Guo’s thinking there continued to be an issue of tradition vs. the modern West. Studying in Japan, he was being solidly trained in modern Western science and continued to be influenced by various modern Western concepts. Largely because of this Western influence, he took the step of living with Tomiko and thus began to openly rebel against *lijiao*. Guo, however, still had very strong ties with the tradition. For one thing, the pains and sense of guilt that he suffered in his rebellion against *lijiao* shows that he was still under heavy influence and control of those Confucian ethics of social constraints. Further, while starting to challenge *lijiao*, he continued to be deeply influenced by Confucian ethics of virtues. The best example here is his starting to

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230 Guo never said exactly when he read the book.
worship Wang Yangming and rely on his Neo-Confucian mind-heart thinking for moral and spiritual guidance.

This brings up the issue of the tension between his rebellion against lijiao and his moral and spiritual concerns. While the influence on him by modern Western concept of freedom of love and romance had led him to openly rebel against lijiao, his strong moral awareness, which was now greatly added to by the influence of the moral and spiritual teaching of Wang Yangming, the Hinduist thinking of Tagore, Kabir, and the Upanishads, and Christianity, continued to torture him with the strong sense of guilt and immorality over his rebellion. This sense of guilt and his painful struggle with it had been a focal point of his life during this period.

Individualism vs. collectivism also continued to be an issue in Guo's thinking. Though his life centered on the struggle for personal happiness and individual freedom from the Confucian ethics of social constraints, in this period he was not without collectivist concerns for his country and for the world.

Guo's nationalism in this period can be seen in his feelings against Japanese imperialism over China. For example, his returning to China in 1915 to protest Japan's Twenty-one Demands on China and his organizing the anti-Japanese xiashe (the Summer Club) in 1919 clearly demonstrated his anti-

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231 He also continued to be influenced by the Taoist concept of transcending mundane and material concerns.
Japanese sentiments. In some of the letters that he wrote to his parents during this period he had also used such scornful terms as "devil country" (guiguo) and "Japanese lackeys" (wony) when referring to Japan and Japanese people.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1981, Yinhua shujian: 31, 57, 60. It should be noted that, with his nationalist feelings against Japanese imperialism, Guo was not without admiration for Japan's modern achievements. After all, one major reason why he had come to study in Japan was because he had been attracted to the country's modern success.}

There continued to be some tension between Guo's interest as an individual and his nationalist concern for China. The first example in this regard was the conflict between his personal literary interest and the nationalist fashion to study sciences. On the one hand, he as an individual saw his literary interest keep growing. On the other hand, he as a patriotic Chinese shared the common belief at the time that it was sciences, not something as unpractical as literature, that could revive China in modern times. For the most part of this period, it seemed that his nationalist concerns had been a more dominant factor in his thinking and that was why he had chosen to major in medicine and suppress his interest in literature. Towards the end of this period, however, thanks to the influence of Western literature and his difficulty in medical studies at college, he began to become more assertive about his personal literary interest. It should be noted here that Guo was not without interest in sciences. It was just that his interest in sciences was based on a nationalist
fashion and was not as deep-rooted as his literary interest, which was based on his personal love for literature ever since his childhood. Another example is his short trip to Shanghai in 1915. In this case, his nationalist feelings made him take the trip in protest against Japan’s Twenty-one Demands on China. However, soon after the Twenty-one Demands incident was over and he returned to Japan, he seemed to have deeply regretted that his patriotic trip to Shanghai had cost time and money for him as an individual. A third example is his reaction to the Chinese student communities’ pressure on him in 1918 to divorce his Japanese wife and return to China for the cause of Chinese nationalism. On the one hand, he as an individual simply could not give up his personal happiness with Tomiko and their son, something that he had searched and struggled for so hard and with so many pains. With his financial status, neither could he afford to go back to China at the time. On the other hand, as a young Chinese with nationalist feelings and pride, he was deeply hurt by the fact that his personal happiness and financial difficulty had made him a "traitor" in the eyes of his fellow Chinese. Such tension and conflicts between his individualism and nationalism had greatly added to his depression and pains during this period.

233 The tension in this period between his love for literature and his interest in science would later help develop a tension in his thinking between emotion and reason.
CHAPTER III

OUTBURST OF LITERARY ENERGIES AND EMANCIPATION OF MIND

(September 1919-September 1921)

I. CHANGES IN GUO'S HISTORICAL AND INTELLECTUAL MILIEUS

Guo lived continuously in Japan during this period until April 1921, when he started moving back and forth between Japan and China. It should be noted here, however, that from the very beginning of this period, from the moment Shanghai's Shi Shi Xin Bao (The China Times) started publishing his poems and making him famous as a modern Chinese poet, Guo's life became more associated with situations and events in China. As a result, both Japan and China should be taken into consideration as important milieus for his life and intellectual development.

At this juncture, Japan had just come out of the First World War as a victor. The war had been a boon for Japan. This emergent imperialist power had taken advantage of the wartime situation by further expanding into other parts of Asia, penetrating into markets previously dominated by some of the European belligerent. Politically, Taisho Japan (1912-1926) saw development in two directions. On the one hand, there was by and large a continuation of the Meiji pattern of oligarchic control. On the other hand, based on the limited experience of
parliamentary politics of the Meiji period, the Taisho years also saw certain development toward Western parliamentary politics.

In conjunction with such political development was the rise of interest among certain Japanese intellectuals in Western democracy and various ideas of Western liberalism. Japan thus went through a period of so-called "Taisho Democracy." During this period, Japan also continued the Meiji enthusiasm for Western science and technology. The interest in and enthusiasm for the West, however, had not taken place at the expense of Japan's own tradition. In fact, in contrast to May Fourth China, Japan in modern times had never experienced any large-scale uprooting of its traditional Confucian, Buddhist, and Shintoist values. While learning effectively from the West, Japan managed by and large to keep a balance between Western influence and its own tradition.

Partially thanks to the influence of the 1917 Russian Communist revolution, which in a sense was a product of World War I, Japan also saw the revival and development of left-wing movements and thus the ending of the so-called "winter period" for Japanese leftists. Marxism, anarchism, unionism, and some other leftist ideologies began to attract public attention. It was during this period, in 1919, that Kawakami Hajime (1879-1946), a well-established and influential scholar, converted to Marxism and started contributing significantly to the spreading of Marxist thinking in Japan. It was also during
this period that various leftist publications came into existence, one of which was Kaizo (Reconstruction), a monthly founded in 1919.

China meanwhile was profoundly affected by historical changes taking place in the world after the First World War. Soon after the war was over, the Allied Powers met in Paris from January to June 1919 for post-war settlement. In their effort to redistribute spheres of influence among world powers, these victors of the war agreed to give pre-war German concessions in China’s Shangdong province to the Japanese. Such an imperialist agreement on China’s territory among the powers outraged many Chinese people and thus triggered an anti-imperialist movement in China starting on May 4, 1919. With its strong nationalist theme and mass participation, this movement came to symbolize a larger and more comprehensive movement in China from 1915 to 1925 which is often referred to as the May Fourth movement, a movement that was to profoundly shape China’s history in most part of the twentieth century.

Another historical change for China around this period was the deepening of its semi-colonization. After its door was forced open by the West during the Opium War of 1839-1842, especially after it was forced to give the Japanese and later Western powers the privilege to open factories on its territory after the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895, China by this period had already seen significant economic and cultural penetration by Western and Japanese powers. It should be
noted, however, that during the First World War when Western
countries were busy fighting each other and their economies
were being ruined, there was for a while less Western economic
interest in China, fostering a relatively favorable
environment in which to develop China's native industries.

Warlordism was also a major factor in China during this
period. After Yuan Shikai's death in 1916, the country's
central control had further fallen apart and various warlords,
many of whom were backed up or associated with different
foreign powers, kept competing with each other for power and
territory. Political chaos ensued and many people suffered from
the wars fought between the warlords.

Intellectually and socially, China was right in the
middle of the May Fourth movement, which was to profoundly
influence China's historical development in later periods. It
should be noted that, after he began having his new-style
poems published in Shanghai in 1919, Guo Moruo increasingly
became an influential figure during the second half of the May
Fourth movement and the complexity of his thinking began to be
part of the complexity and subtlety of May Fourth thought.

II. INTERACTING WITH HIS MILIEUS

1. Literary Career and Personal and Community Life: Success as
a Modern Poet and Freedom from lijiao

Guo had started writing new-style vernacular Chinese
poems as early as the summer of 1918. Though he had heard

about the vernacular movement in China during the first half
of the May Fourth period, before September 1919 in Japan he
seemed to have seldom read Chinese newspapers or magazines and
thus never read any new-style poems published in China.235 His
new style poems written prior to September 1919, therefore,
were not likely a direct result of the influence of this new-
style poetry. He did not seem to have tried before September
1919 to have his poems published. He did, however, send to a
journal in China his first short story, entitled "Skeleton"
(kulou) (October and November 1918), based on some fantasies
he had when taking anatomy courses at medical school. It did
not take the journal long to reject his story, which he burned
when the journal returned it to him.236

The turning point came for Guo in September 1919. In
order to facilitate their activities in "the Summer Club"
(xiashe), the anti-Japanese organization that they had formed
at Fukuoka in June 1919, Guo and other club members began
subscribing to Shanghai's newspaper Shi Shi Xin Bao (The China
Times) in September of that year. It was in this newspaper's
literary supplement, Xue Deng (Lamp of Learning), that Guo
first came to read Chinese new-style vernacular poems. As he
later recalled, after reading one particular poem whose
language was very plain and simple, he said to himself: "if
this is a Chinese new poem, then some of the poems that I have

written in the past may also be publishable." Feeling encouraged, he mailed two of his new-style poems to Shi Shi Xin Bao. Soon, on September 11, the newspaper published both of his poems in Xue Deng.\(^{237}\) As Guo later noted, he was overjoyed and "greatly stimulated" by this first publication of his works. As a result, there came an "outburst" of his poetry from September 1919 to the first half of 1920 and Shi Shi Xin Bao's Xue Deng seemed to have published all the poems that he had sent during this period.\(^{238}\)

Such success as a modern poet fundamentally changed Guo's life in at least two ways. First, the success meant that he had finally discovered himself in literature. Just about a year earlier, when he was struggling with his medical studies at college, he had painfully considered himself to be a man without talent. Now, however, he was being well published and recognized as a talented modern poet. Secondly, and more importantly, the publication of his works was a recognition and encouragement not only of his new-style writings but also of the thinking and feelings that he was expressing in his writings. With such encouragement, he went through a period of what he later referred to as the "emancipation" of his

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"feelings." In other words, it was in his writings that he was getting published that he finally found an outlet to let off his "pent-up feelings" over his "personal and national problems." The most serious problem in his personal life, of course, had been the pains and sense of guilt that he had suffered as a result of his rebellion against his arranged marriage and against lijiao, well recorded in San Ye Ji (Cloverleaf), a collection of letters between him and two friends, Tian Shouchang (Tian Han) (1898-1968) and Zong Baihua (1897-?). In a letter to Tian in mid-February 1920, for instance, Guo told his friend about his love story with Tomiko. After describing in detail how he had met Tomiko and how they started living together as brother-sister, Guo wrote

Alas! Brother Shouchang! I was after all too confident in my weak soul! Shortly after living together with Tomiko, my soul completely collapsed! I ruined my Tomiko!...If my sin were merely the violation of the sacredness of love, or more directly, merely having sex with Tomiko, then my sense of guilt would not be as strong as it has been. The truth is that I have another painful experience which is really hard for me to tell. In 1913 I was married according to my parents’ arrangement... Shortly after my


241 The collection was published in May 1920, only eight months after the first publication of his poems and the beginning of what he called the "emancipation" of his feelings. (Wang Jiquan and Tong Weigang 1983, Guo Moruo nianpu (1): 99) In fact, his first letter to confess his "guilt" to Zong, then the editor of Shi Shi Xin Bao's Xue Deng, was written on January 18, 1920, just four months after his first publication. (Guo Moruo et al 1923, San ye ji: 21.
wedding I left home and finally came to Japan in January 1914. After the marriage I already had a profound flaw in my heart which was beyond cure. Then, unexpectedly, I met my Tomiko. When we started as friends I was already a married man and she knew that. And it was because that I trusted myself as a married man that I felt that I could safely live with her as brother-sister. Alas! I ended up ruining her!...I have written so much in this letter to you and I feel that I am really like a convict waiting for his death sentence. You said that we should make known our character, but my character is almost too bad to be known...I am literally the quintessence of sin.\textsuperscript{242}

To Guo's great relief, his confession was understood and accepted by both Tian Shouchang and Zong Baihua. Most importantly, these two friends further offered him the help and encouragement that he had badly needed in his struggle to justify his rebellion against his arranged marriage and against lijiao. Tian, for instance, told Guo

...I do not consider what you have done as your personal sins. Instead, I see them as sins of all mankind, or at least of those who feel strongly for romantic love. Further, they are sins that are more likely to be committed by geniuses...Goethe had at least nineteen lovers in his life...If we talk about sin, then Goethe in his later years was really 'the quintessence of sin.'

...My radical opinion is that what you have done is very natural. Even though you were married—married, as you said, according to your parents' arrangement—once you fell in love with (an)other woman you already have less and little love, if not no love at all, for the woman to whom you are married. Once that happens, your marriage is no longer a marriage in its complete sense. No! It should no longer count as a marriage. Such being the case, it's completely alright for you to follow the idea of 'you go your way, we go ours.'...If someone should prosecute you for your sins on the Day of Judgement, I would bravely step forward and serve as your apologist!...\textsuperscript{243}

\textsuperscript{242} Guo Moruo et al 1923, \textit{San ye ji}: 33-43.

\textsuperscript{243} Guo Moruo et al 1923, \textit{San ye ji}: 57-65.
Guo was greatly relieved and overjoyed when he received such help and understanding from his friend. In a reply to Tian he noted that Tian's words had made him "really feel like a convict who had been awaiting his death sentence but was eventually pardoned."\(^{244}\)

As Tian Shouchang, Zong Baihua also helped free Guo from his pains and sense of guilt. In a letter to Guo in late February, for instance, Zong wrote

...In all fairness, it should not be considered a grave sin if a man and a woman live together as a result of their pure and serious love for each other. Further, since you have the sincerity to confess and the vigorous improvement of yourself, your sin is merely Mephistopheles in your mind, something that can help make you improve your character! I am very glad to see that you have developed sincerity and the courage to confess thanks to the influence of Western literature, such as the influence of Rousseau and Tolstoy. It shows here that this is something unique to Western literature, something that Eastern literature lacks...\(^{245}\)

Zong Baihua's help for Guo can also be seen in his preface to *San Ye Ji*. In that preface, Zong sets aside all other issues that the collection of letters covers and focuses solely on the issue of rebelling against arranged marriages, as raised by Guo's case

Readers! Why do we want to publish this small book (*San Ye Ji*)?...Our purpose is to raise a serious and urgent social and moral issue for you to discuss and judge in public!

...This issue is a very comprehensive one. Generally speaking, it is 'the issue of marriage.' More specifically, it covers a) the issue of the freedom of romantic love; b) the issue of the system of arranged

\(^{244}\) Guo Moruo et al 1923, *San ye ji*: 73-76.

\(^{245}\) Guo Moruo et al 1923, *San ye ji*: 76.
marriages; c) the issue of free romantic love under the system of arranged marriages; and d) the issue of whom to hold responsible for the serious consequences of the conflict between the system of arranged marriages and free romantic love... 246

Clearly, as far as Zong was concerned, the single most important purpose of publishing San Ye Ji was to direct the public's attention to problems caused by the conflict between the Western concept of free romantic love and China's long established system of arranged marriages, a system under which Guo had been victimized.

For Guo Moruo, the help from his friends Zong Baohua and Tian Shouchang meant a lot. Zong was then editor-in-chief of Shi Shi Xin Bao's Xue Deng and editor of Young China monthly (shaonian zhongguo), both influential publications at the time. 247 Tian Shouchang was also known to the May Fourth reading public for his published works. 248 Further, both Zong and Tian were members of Young China Association (shaonian zhongguo xuehui), an influential organization of May Fourth intellectuals which was founded in 1919 by such major figures as Li Dazhao 249 As active and influential members of May Fourth intellectual circles, Zong and Tian's understanding,

246 Guo Moruo et al 1923, San ye ji: prefaces.


248 Guo Moruo et al 1923, San ye ji: 35.

sympathy, and support for Guo’s rebellion against his arranged marriage was certainly of significance for Guo.

What was probably of greater significance for Guo was the success of *San Ye Ji*. After its initial publication, the book sold very well and was reprinted several times.\(^{250}\) To a certain extent, the publication of *San Ye Ji* was a turning point in Guo’s justification of his rebellion against his arranged marriage and against *lijiao*. Among other things, the public’s acceptance and reception offered him further understanding, sympathy, and support from the May Fourth reading public. Greatly encouraged, in May 1921, one year after the initial publication of *San Ye Ji*, Guo further emancipated his thinking and made his first explicit written attack on *lijiao*.\(^{251}\) It was in his preface to a new edition of Romance of the Western Chamber (*Xixiang Ji*), punctuated and edited by himself, that he made the attack

*...Xixiang Ji* is a triumph song and memorial tower for the victory of a lively humanity over the lifeless *lijiao*.

*...Our nation has always taken pride in its *lijiao* and kept especially on guard about the relationship between men and women. Sexual desire has been regarded as a flood or wild beast and young men and women have been treated as criminals...The great China, which has been proud of its *lijiao* for thousands of years, has actually been nothing but a huge hospital of millions of patients with suppressed and abnormal sexual desires... Nowadays, the sex education has gradually started; the awakening of young men and women to their individuality has taken place like the eruption of volcanoes; and the old and


unreasonable system of *lijiao*, which has done nothing but drive people to sexual abnormality, has already been quickly burned to ashes like withered branches and dead leaves caught on fire...\(^{252}\)

Then, in the summer of 1921, soon after writing the preface to the *Xixiang Ji*, Guo started translating Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* into Chinese. His translation of the German classic, which features a celebration of romantic love and individual freedom, was to a certain extent an expression of his conflict between his romantic love with Tomiko and the Confucian ethics of *lijiao*. The translation later turned out to be another great success for him. It was published in April 1922 and was to be reprinted at least 15 times by 1932.\(^{253}\)

Among other things, the success of the translation was to reassure Guo that China’s modern reading public was in favor of and enthusiastic about the Western concepts of romantic love and individuality, the concepts that he had relied on as a major basis for the justification of his rebellion against his arranged marriage.

To a great extent, Guo in his struggle with *lijiao* was rescued by the May Fourth movement. First of all, if China had not been in the midst of the overall May Fourth attacks on Confucian tradition, or if there had not been the May Fourth enthusiasm for Western concepts such as individual freedom and celebration of romantic love, Guo’s rebellion could hardly


\(^{253}\) Wang Jiquan and Tong Weigang 1983, *Guo Moruo nianpu (1)*: 120, 130.
have received the kind of reception it did. Also, without the overall atmosphere of emancipation of thinking, Zong Baihua and Tian Shouchang might never have been able to fully develop and express their modern ideas and provide Guo with the understanding and encouragement that he had badly needed from friends. Finally, without the May Fourth vernacular movement, there might never have been the modern poet Guo Moruo to begin with. It was the vernacular movement that had made it possible for him to discover himself in modern poetry and literature and "emancipate" his feelings as a modern writer.

In his interaction with his milieu, it should be pointed out, Guo had in turn also contributed significantly to May Fourth’s attacks on lijiao and May Fourth’s dissemination of Western ideas. For one thing, the very fact that both San Ye Ji and his translation of The Sorrows of Young Werther sold so well shows that his experience of rebelling against lijiao and his advocacy for romantic love and individual freedom had made an impact on China’s reading public at the time.

Thanks to the help from his friends, Guo in this period also seemed to be getting rid of his sense of guilt and immorality over his "unhealthy" behavior back in Sichuan in his earlier years. Zong Baihua, for instance, wrote the following to Guo after being told about Guo’s earlier behavior by one of Guo’s former schoolmates in Sichuan, a man named Shi Zhen

Shi Zhen visited me and told me about the things that you did in the past. In my opinion, no man is perfect. People
in their youth are especially likely to go astray when their emotions go out of control. It has always been my belief that a man can make up for his mistakes with confession and some good deeds. All human beings make mistakes. As long as you are motivated and improve yourself, you are a good man. Shi Zhen also thinks so and he has been deeply moved by your long letter. That's why he expects you to have a very bright future!\textsuperscript{254}

In his reply to Zong's letter, Guo writes

...from your letter I know that Shi Zhen already told you about what I did in the past. Since you and Shi Zhen have forgiven me for my old bad conduct, I must from now on work hard to improve myself so that I will be able to make up for my past bad behavior and be worthy of the deep friendship and trust that you good friends have given me...\textsuperscript{255}

Both Zong's letter and Guo's reply here were published in San Ye Ji. Though neither Zong nor Guo elaborated on what exactly Guo had done in his earlier years back in Sichuan, their letters here did convey the message to the public that Guo used to be involved in some "bad conducts" but now his friends forgave him because of the sincerity of his confession and his determination to improve himself.

Guo's health remained poor during this period.\textsuperscript{256} However, his success as a modern poet and writer and the excitement of his emancipation of feelings seems to have made poor health less of a problem in his life. Overall, his spirit during this period was high. For one thing, suicide poems,

\textsuperscript{254} Guo Moruo et al 1923, San ye ji: 28, 11.

\textsuperscript{255} Guo Moruo et al 1923, San ye ji: 43.

\textsuperscript{256} Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 69; Guo Moruo 1983, Nushen (huijiao ben): 136, 140.
which were seen in his writings before 1919, were seldom found in the works that he wrote during this period.

There continued to be tension and conflicts in Guo’s life between the needs for him to support his family and his personal interest in literature. After his initial success as a modern poet and writer in late 1919 and early 1920, he had become less and less interested in his medical studies. In July 1920 he almost left his medical school to return to China. What he had in mind at the time, as he later described it, was to go back to China and teach Chinese in a middle or primary school. Tomiko, according to Guo, was against his leaving medical school and going back to China. For her, medicine would be a stable profession to provide for the family, which now had a second son, born in March 1920. Fortunately for Tomiko, Guo was stopped from making the trip to China by a letter from Zhang Dongsun, then the editor of Shanghai’s Shi Shi Xin Bao. In that letter, Zhang said a certain Cooperative Study Society (gongxueshe) organized by himself and a few others intended to introduce foreign classics to China’s reading public and for that purpose he offered to pay Guo to translate the whole of Goethe’s Faust into Chinese. Guo was overjoyed and decided to take the offer.


258 Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 75.

and stay in Japan to translate Faust.\textsuperscript{260} The translation project, however, ended in a disaster for Guo. After spending almost the whole summer break of 1920 on translating the first part of \textit{Faust}, he came to realize that it would be too much of a challenge for him to go on and translate the book’s second part, whose language seemed to be more difficult for him than the first part and some of whose ideas were not to his taste. He wrote to the Cooperative Study Society to suggest that they allow him to translate only the first part of \textit{Faust}. Because of either loss of mail or the Cooperative Study Society’s rejection to his suggestion, Guo never received a reply from the society. To make the whole thing much worse, not too long after the summer Guo found in despair that rats at his house had damaged a substantial portion of the only copy of his translation of \textit{Faust}’s first part! As for Tomiko, her comment to the heart-broken Guo on this disaster was: "this suggests that literature is not your cup of tea..."\textsuperscript{261}

Such frustration, however, did not stop Guo’s enthusiasm for literature. As he later recalled, in January 1921 he again seriously intended to leave his medical school and this time he wanted to go to a university in Kyoto to major in the liberal arts.\textsuperscript{262} Tomiko was certainly against such plans.\textsuperscript{263}

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\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{260} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 64-66.
  \item \textsuperscript{261} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 66-67.
  \item \textsuperscript{262} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 71-72.
  \item \textsuperscript{263} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 75.
\end{itemize}
Her opposition may have played a role in eventually stopping Guo from going to Kyoto, though Guo later noted that the major reason he did not go was that he had been convinced by his friend Cheng Fangwu (1897--?) that it was not necessary for him to major in the liberal arts in order to study literature.\textsuperscript{264} Having given up his plan to go to Kyoto, Guo simply stopped going to classes for two months, staying home to study on his own such subjects as literature and philosophy.\textsuperscript{265} The more he read on these subjects, the more he further "resented" his medical studies in Japan. Once again, he started thinking of going back to China.\textsuperscript{266}

This time, Tomiko gave in. Seeing that Guo "was acting crazy and staying home for months without going to school," she finally came to agree that Guo should give up his medical studies and go back to China. She and Guo now planned for him to go to China first by himself. Once he found a job in China that could support the family, Tomiko would follow him with their two sons. It turned out that Tomiko, having made up her mind, was more determined than Guo in carrying out the plan. Just as Guo was setting off for China on March 31, 1921, their landlord came to inform them that they had to move out of their rented house within a week. This meant that if Guo left as planned Tomiko would have to, all by herself and within one

\textsuperscript{264} Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 72.

\textsuperscript{265} Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 74.

\textsuperscript{266} Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 74.
week, find a new place to live and move there with two small children. This made Guo worried and hesitant to leave. It was Tomiko who encouraged Guo to go on with the plan. Guo left Fukuoka on the night of March 31, 1921. This was the first time he had left Tomiko after living with her for four years and three months.\textsuperscript{257} It was also the first time he had gone back to China since 1915.

Much of the community with which Guo interacted from September 1919 to September 1921 was the May Fourth Chinese literary circle. Within that community, Zong Bihua and Tian Shou-chang were among the most important in influencing his intellectual development. As seen in \textit{San Ye Ji}, in addition to helping him justify his rebellion against his arranged marriage, Zong and Tian had also helped stimulate his thinking on a variety of intellectual, literary, and historical issues.

Another important community in Guo's life during this period was the Creation Society, a literary society that was officially formed in July 1921 and was to last till 1929. Informal planning for this society started as early as 1918 in Japan when Guo and two friends, Zhang Ziping (1893-1947) and Cheng Fangwu, became interested in starting a Chinese literary journal. The journal, however, remained a dream until the summer of 1921, when Guo was already established as a modern Chinese poet and writer. As Guo later recalled, after staying

in Shanghai for over two months, he returned to Japan from late June to mid July 1921 to seriously discuss with his friends about the journal. It was at a meeting in early July, according to Guo, that he and his friends finally decided on the details of the journal. They named it *Chuang Zao* (Creation) and agreed to publish it as a quarterly. It was this meeting, as Guo later said, that marked the founding of the Creation Society. Core members of the society included Guo, Cheng Fangwu, and Yu Dafu (1896-1945). Tian Shouchang also joined the society after he returned from Japan to China in 1921, even though he later broke with it partially because of some conflict with Cheng Fangwu. The Creation Society was to be an essential part of Guo’s literary career and his community life on into the next period of his life.

Guo’s relationship with the Tai Dong Book Company (Tai Dong Tushuju) in Shanghai was also an important part of his community life with China’s literary circle during this period. Tai Dong was a major publisher of Guo’s works during this period and was to continue to publish his works in later periods. It was Tai Dong, for instance, that first published in August 1921 Guo’s book *The Goddesses*, which was a landmark

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in establishing him as a major modern Chinese poet. Tai Dong during this period also published a Chinese version of Theodor Storm’s Immensee, co-translated by Guo and another person, and the new version of Romance of the Western Chamber, edited by Guo Moruo. Further, Tai Dong also promised Guo that it would publish the journal Chuang Zao. This promise came at a time when Guo and his friends seemed to have great difficulty in finding a publisher in Shanghai willing to publish the journal. For this, as Guo recalled later, he was “grateful.”

Despite the positive roles that Tai Dong played in his literary career, Guo seemed to have considerable bitterness about his relationship with the publishing company. Tai Dong, for one thing, never signed any contracts with him and never gave him a regular salary. He worked for the company for about four months from April to mid September 1921, except for a trip to Japan from late June to mid July. During these four months, he edited at least two books (The Goddesses and Romance of the Western Chamber) and co-translated one book (Immensee) for Tai Dong to publish. Further, for those

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books and other projects, he had to take care of the proofreading and run to printing house all by himself.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 115.} For all his work in those four months, however, Tai Dong’s payments to him, apart from free room and board, seemed to be no more than a total of 203 yuan and two ship tickets.\footnote{For reference to show how much 203 yuan meant at the time: a school in Shanghai once offered a monthly salary of 200 yuan for a position to teach English.--Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 113.} The money and tickets were given to him as Tai Dong’s gifts for his two trips to Japan, one being the above mentioned round trip, the other being his one-way trip to Japan in September 1921 to continue with his medical studies there.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 93, 121. In fact, not all the 203 yuan and ship tickets should be counted as Tai Dong’s payments (or gifts) to Guo. For one thing, Guo’s round trip to Japan was made largely for matters concerning Chuang Zaq, the journal that Tai Dong was to publish. (Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 92-93) Such being the case, the money and ticket that Tai Dong gave Guo for that trip were at least partially for the company’s business.} Not only were Tai Dong’s payments to him relatively shabby, but they were also given to him in a manner that hurt his sensitive ego. For instance, Guo never seemed to have gotten used to the idea of receiving free room and board as part of his payments. Such an arrangement, as he later more than once noticed, made him feel like a "hanger-on" (shike), receiving "free meals" from Tai Dong.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 84-85, 115.} Further, given as gifts, the 203 yuan and ship
tickets did not look like payments that Guo deserved for his hard work. Instead, they looked like some alms that Tai Dong gave him out of its kindness and generosity. Once such gifts were given to him, even though they were less than what he deserved for payments, Guo was supposed to be grateful for Tai Dong's special treatment. In fact, Guo was sometimes made to feel that he did not even deserve these gifts.\textsuperscript{278} Needless to say, Tai Dong in its non-contractual relationship with Guo always had the right not to be so kind or generous and not to give him any gifts. This ambiguous relationship with Tai Dong, as Guo later described it, made him feel that he was somewhat "like a slave" and somewhat "not like a slave."\textsuperscript{279}

Guo was also frustrated with the fact that there had not been satisfactory progress in organizing the literary journal that he and his friends had been planning.\textsuperscript{280} After his arrival in Shanghai in April 1921, Tai Dong had initially demonstrated an intention to let him replace the editor of a literary journal that the company had already been publishing. Guo seemed to have counted on turning this journal into his ideal journal and he even started informing his friends of his anticipated editorship of this journal.\textsuperscript{281} Tai Dong's intention, however, never materialized as the journal's editor

\textsuperscript{278} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 93.

\textsuperscript{279} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 115-116.

\textsuperscript{280} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 114.

\textsuperscript{281} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 95, 93.
at the time refused to be replaced by Guo.\textsuperscript{282} As a result, Guo had to work hard to start a brand new journal, which was to turn out as \textit{Chuang Zao}. Even though Tai Dong came to promise that it would publish \textit{Chuang Zao}, preparation for this new journal dragged on for some time.

Guo's frustration with his inability to produce his literary journal and the awkwardness and financial uncertainty that he had experienced in his relationship with Tai Dong made him increasingly realize that "it seemed too much" for him "to have dreamed of making a living and supporting a family by having a literary career in Shanghai." In part as a result of this, despite his love for literature and his reluctance to study medicine, he decided to go back to Japan to continue with his medical studies, as it now seemed to him that he would have more "security" in "making a living" in the medical profession.\textsuperscript{283}

Guo left for Japan in mid September 1921.\textsuperscript{284} Before he left, he had arranged to have his friend Yu Dafu come to Shanghai to, among other things, take over the preparatory work for \textit{Chuang Zao}. Guo planned to keep writing literary works and contribute to \textit{Chuang Zao} while finishing his medical

\textsuperscript{282} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 85, 92-93.

\textsuperscript{283} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 114.

studies in Japan. Even though Guo was certainly not giving up literature, his returning to medical studies marked the end of the honeymoon period in his life as a literary celebrity.

2. Reacting to Changes and Events that Concerned China and the World

Guo’s decision to return to his medical studies may also have been influenced by his overall disillusionment with historical situation in China.

As in the previous periods in his life, Guo continued in this period to demonstrate concerns for changes and events that were taking place in and affecting China. For instance, after the May Fourth incident in 1919, which was among other things a Chinese nationalist protest against Japan’s imperialist penetration into China, he showed strong patriotic and anti-Japanese sentiments and made much effort to contribute to the anti-imperialist and anti-Japanese movement back in China. As mentioned above, he and a few Chinese friends at Fukuoka had formed the anti-Japanese organization xiashe (the Summer Club) in June 1919. Several months later, after the publication of his early poems, he used "Xia She" as his pen-name and published an anti-Japanese article in Hei Chao (Black Tide), a Shanghai monthly. The article, entitled "On Boycotting Japanese Goods," was clearly written in response to the boycott of Japanese products which had been going on in China as part of the nationalist movement since

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the May Fourth incident. Guo wrote at length to explain to his fellow Chinese people that long-lasting boycott of Japanese goods should and could be carried out in China. First, he notices somewhat sarcastically that, since China's armed forces were only good at killing Chinese people and could not defend the country against the Japanese, boycotting Japanese goods turned out to be "the only weapon" for the Chinese people to fight against the Japanese.286 The Chinese people could live without Japanese goods and therefore could afford to carry on their boycott. He notes also that among the Japanese products consumed in China three quarters were actually unnecessary "luxuries" and only one quarter were "necessities."287 He points out that China had consumed so many of those luxuries because the Chinese had a bad habit of indulging in luxury and extravagance. Living without those "luxurious" Japanese products, therefore, was not only possible but would actually help cure their bad habit. As for the Japan-made "necessities," he argues that China could also do without them since they could be replaced with China's own products or products made by Western countries. Seeing it as a feasible and "vital" way to save China, he strongly urges his fellow Chinese to continue with their boycotting Japanese goods.288 To encourage his countrymen and to further express

his patriotic feelings, Guo also writes a poem at the end of the article

As a young man I have worries and concerns
as deep as the sea,
waves of blood are beating my chest
and I am about to burst into tears.
Let's start everything with ourselves,
China is us and we are China.289

Guo's anti-Japanese feelings were expressed in another article published in October 1919, entitled "A Criticism of the Theory that the Chinese and Japanese Share the Same Language and are of the Same Race." In it he argues mostly against those Japanese who, with their imperialist interest in China, advocated a closer relationship between China and Japan on the theoretical basis that the Chinese and Japanese shared one language and were of one race. Guo makes a great effort in a scholarly style to prove step by step that the Chinese and Japanese languages were different from each other and the Chinese and Japanese peoples were of different races. Further, he suggests in the article that, in order to enjoy friendly relationship with other countries, a country (such as Japan) needed a policy of "benevolence and justice" and it did not matter that much whether or not this country shared a language with others or belonged to the same race as others.290

At the end of 1919, Guo also wrote a poem entitled "Ode to the Bandits." As he later noted, the poem was written with


the purpose of protesting Japanese media's using the term "bandit students" to describe China's students who had been playing active and leading roles in the anti-imperialist and anti-Japanese movement in China since the May Fourth incident.\textsuperscript{291}

Further, in a letter written in March 1920, which was later published in San Ye Ji, Guo tells his friend Zong Baihua that he had been upset when he saw in Japan at an industrial fair how the Japanese treated Taiwan and Korea as their colonies. What was most unbearable for him was that the Japanese at the fair had set up a section on China's Manchuria and Mongolia which they treated as Japanese colonies.\textsuperscript{292} He tells Zong that he felt that what the Japanese were doing at the fair on Manchuria and Mongolia was "humiliating" to China. "Do you think that we should report this to our embassy in Japan and demand that the Japanese close down their section on Manchuria and Mongolia at the fair?" he asks Zong in the letter. "Studying here in Japan," he continues, "we are actually reading books by Western foreigners and being bullied by Eastern foreigners (the Japanese)..."\textsuperscript{293}


\textsuperscript{292} At this time, both Inner and Outer Mongolias were to different degrees under China's control. Inner Mongolia had been part of China for quite a long time. As for Outer Mongolia, after its independence from China during the 1911 revolution, China had re-controlled it in 1919. In 1921, however, Outer Mongolia was to be invaded by the Soviets.

\textsuperscript{293} Guo Moruo et al 1923, San ye ji: 165.
In April 1921, Guo published another major anti-Japanese article, entitled "Coal, Iron, and Japan." In that article, he points out that Japan depended on China's coal and iron in the development of Japanese militarism. He urges China to stop the development of Japanese militarism by cutting the supply of coal and iron to the Japanese. At the same time, according to Guo, China should make good use of its own resources and develop its own coal and iron industries.\(^\text{294}\)

For a major part of this period, that is, between late 1919 and April 1921 when he returned to China, Guo's strong anti-Japanese sentiments were also accompanied by a great excitement about and high expectation for the seemingly promising changes that China had been experiencing in the peak years of the May Fourth era. As he later put it, "After the May Fourth (incident) China appealed to me as a very beautiful girl with promising signs of progress. I had simply fallen in love with her."\(^\text{295}\) Among the works that he published at the time, quite a few express such love and expectation. For instance, in his poem "Good Morning," which was published in January 1920, Guo writes the following "eulogy" to May Fourth China\(^\text{296}\)

Good morning! My youthful homeland!
Good morning! My new-born fellow Chinese!
Good morning! My mighty Yangtze River in the south!


\(^\text{295}\) Guo Moruo 1978, *Xuesheng shidai*: 64.

\(^\text{296}\) Guo Moruo 1978, *Xuesheng shidai*: 64.
Good morning! my frozen Yellow River in the north! Yellow River! I hope the ice in your chest will soon melt! Good morning! Ten-thousand-li Great Wall!

As Guo once noted later, in his long poem "The Nirvana of the Feng and Huang," published in January 1920, and in his "The Rebirth of the Goddesses," published in February 1921, he was also expressing his "strong longing for China's national rejuvenation." The Nirvana of the Feng and Huang," he said on another occasion, "symbolized" the rebirth of China.

Guo's love and hope for his country during this period was probably best seen in the following poem, written in early 1920:

Coal in the Grate
--My love for my country*
Ah, my fair young maiden,
I shall not betray your care,
Let you not disappoint my hopes.
For you my heart's delight**
I burn to such a heat.

Ah, my fair young maiden,
you must know of my former life.
You cannot shrink from my coarseness:
only in such a breast as mine
could burn a fire so bright.

Ah, my fair young maiden,
certain it is that in my former life
I was a trusty pillar
buried alive for years on end:
not until today do I see the light of day again.***

Ah, my fair young maiden,

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299 Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 64.
since I see the light of day again
I think only of my native home:
for you my heart’s delight**
I burn to such a heat."^300

As Guo later noted, with his love and expectation for May Fourth China, he in 1920 was already thinking of going back to his home country. "After the May Fourth (incident)," he recalled, "young people in China were driven by their desire for knowledge and vied with each other in rushing abroad... At that time, however, I was thinking of running back to China and thus running to the embrace of my lover (China)..."^301

It should be mentioned that, though before his returning to China in April 1921 Guo was mainly excited about May Fourth China, he did occasionally show that he was to certain extent aware of the dark side of the reality in China. For instance: in his "The Rebirth of the Goddesses" he refers to the civil war at the time between warlords in southern and northern China. With the Goddesses in the poem as his symbol of hope,

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^300 Guo Moruo 1983, Nushen (huijiao ben): 58-59; Guo Moruo 1958, Selected Poems from the Goddesses. 19. Note: the above English translation of the poem is basically the version in Guo Moruo 1958, Selected Poems from the Goddesses., except for *, **, and ***. Sentence* in the 1958 version is "--Dedicated to my native land," which to certain extent loses Guo’s original meaning. Sentences** in the 1958 version read "for her my heart’s delight," whose using "her" instead of "you," according to this author, is not good translation. Sentence*** in the 1958 version is "today must I see the light of day again," which is a translation of one of Guo’s later revisions of the poem and is different than Guo’s early version. See Guo Moruo 1983, Nushen (huijiao ben): 58-59; Guo Moruo 1958, Selected Poems from the Goddesses: 19.

he wants to build a new China, "a China of beauty," on the ruins of the ugly wars between the warlord forces.\textsuperscript{302} His awareness of the ugly side of China's reality, however, was superficial, which he was soon to discover when he finally went back to his country in April 1921.

Guo's ship arrived in Shanghai on April 3, an experience he would later describe in the following terms:

My ship sailed into the mouth of the Huangpu River and the scene on the banks of the river was indeed beautiful...This was the homeland that I had longed for in the past few years and this was the lover for whom I had a burning desire. This, after all, was the place where my soul could be comforted. I leaned on the ship's rail and fell into a trance: I badly wanted to jump into the embrace of my lover—the center of the Huangpu River...\textsuperscript{303}

On that day, he also wrote a poem to describe his feeling:

\textbf{Estuary of the Huangpu}

Peaceful village,
Land of my fathers,
so green those grassy shores,
so straw-pale the flow of the water.

I lean on the rail and look into the distance:
level like an ocean is the great country,
but for a few heaving willows
not a hill or cliff hinders the view.

The little craft ride up and down,
the men might be in a dream.
Peaceful village,
land of my fathers.\textsuperscript{304}


\textsuperscript{303} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 77.

\textsuperscript{304} Guo Moruo 1983, \textit{Nushen (huijiao ben)}: 164; Guo Moruo 1958, \textit{Selected Poems from the Goddesses}: 64.
This peaceful and beautiful illusion, however, was soon shattered by the semi-colonial reality of Shanghai. As he later recalled: as the ship sailed along, the picture of beauty soon changed before his eyes into an ugly scene of "noise of factories, coal smoke, steam whistles, cranes, and cigarette commercials..." "If those factories were owned by the Chinese..., or if I were not born a Chinese in China," Guo noted, "I might have enjoyed those things as scenes of modernity. Unfortunately, I was a Chinese, just like those beggar-like coolie brothers who were moving about on the banks of the river...Nobody could keep dreaming with his eyes closed when seeing his fellow countrymen groaning under the whips of foreigners, unless he was a running dog of those foreigners. The beautiful scenic picture was ruined by those foreigners!"305

Guo was further depressed after he landed in Shanghai. As he later described it, the people that he saw on the streets of the semi-colonial city, the Chinese men and women with their "malnourished faces" and somewhat Western-style dresses, looked in his eyes like "walking corpses" and caused him great repugnance. He felt that he had arrived in a "foreign country."306 On April 4, one day after his arrival in the city, he wrote the following poem

My Impression of Shanghai

305 Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 78.

I have been awakened from my dreams!
   Alas! The sadness of disillusion!

The corpses that are idling about,
   The flesh that is loud and lascivious,
The long robes of men,
   The short sleeves of women,
I see human skeletons everywhere,
   I see streets full of coffins,
People rushing aimlessly,
   People walking aimlessly.
My eyes are weeping with tears,
   My stomach is throwing up.

I have been awakened from my dreams.
   Alas! The sadness of disillusion! 307

Then, on April 8, Guo and his friend Cheng Fangwu, with whom he had returned to China, went on a trip to visit the tourist attraction West Lake in Hangzhou, which is not very far from Shanghai. On their train to Hangzhou, Guo and Cheng shared a second-class coach with some Westerners, a few Japanese, and a group of Chinese who looked like Shanghai politicians and were accompanied by prostitutes. According to Guo, the Chinese in the coach, especially the two prostitutes, were very annoying. They were loudly eating, drinking, smoking, teasing, playing poker, and gambling. The Western passengers, in contrast, were all "quiet" and seemed to be seriously reading some documents. As for the Japanese, they were making conversations among themselves and were sometimes looking "very scornfully" at the Chinese politicians and their prostitutes. 308 Guo was greatly disgusted by his fellow


countrymen's behavior before the foreigners. He wrote the following in a poem that day to express his feelings:

Alas! My rather pathetic fellow Chinese!
Some of you are just gambling like crazy,
Some of you are wildly smoking,
Some of you are drinking cup after cup,
Some of you are eating dish after dish,
Some of you are just loudly laughing,
Some of you are just loudly talking.
look please!
Those serious Westerners over there
are concentrating on reading their manuscripts!
Those arrogant Japanese
are over there laughing at you!
Ah! My eyes hurt! They hurt!
My bursting tears are about to break my eyes!
My rather pathetic fellow Chinese!

What he witnessed on the train reminded him of the large picture of the dark reality at the time in China's politics and the humiliating status that China had in the international community. Overall, during his several months' stay in China from April to early September 1921, Guo was disillusioned and depressed by the reality in his country. "Wherever" he went in China, he "felt decadence and oppression" around him. Among other things, he found it difficult to do his literary work under such depressing conditions and that was one of the reasons why he finally decided to go back to Japan in September 1921. His profound disillusion with China's reality, it should be pointed out,

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also seemed to be the beginning of a turning point in his thinking about China and its future. From then on, he was to be increasingly dissatisfied with the situation in China and such dissatisfaction was to be one of the factors that would eventually lead to his turning to Communism, the seemingly quickest and most effective way to change and save his motherland.

While concerned about China, Guo also continued to set his eyes on events in the world and on matters and issues of relevance to the whole of mankind. For instance, he reflected often on the First World War as a major event in the world. In the article "Coal, Iron, and Japan," published in April 1921, he takes time to point out that, in his opinion, the result of the world war was simply a case of "having one tyranny replaced by another." The victors of the war, as he describes it, were nothing but another group of "robbers" in the world.\(^{313}\) In this article, which overall is not well or logically written, he also notices that some people had claimed that the disaster of the war symbolized the "bankruptcy of scientific civilization" in the West or the failure of the German culture. With his faith in modern sciences and his fondness for German culture, Guo strongly disagrees with those assessments. There was nothing wrong with "scientific civilization" itself, what was wrong was

"scientific civilization under capitalist system."

Guo's reflections on the First World War and his vague criticism of capitalism here was a significant factor in his intellectual development. In the next period in his life from late 1921 to 1926, he was to further develop his thinking along the lines of such reflections and criticism and eventually conclude with clarity that it was the capitalist system that had misled "scientific civilization" in the West and resulted in the massive and ruthless fighting among greedy imperialist powers during the First World War. As an evil and destructive system, Guo was to further conclude, capitalism should be eliminated by Communist revolution.

In "Coal, Iron, and Japan" we also see Guo's cosmopolitanist perspective in the way that he makes his argument about China cutting its supply of coal and iron to the Japanese. "If Japan purchases our coal and iron for industrial development and for the benefit of mankind, then in broad perspective it could be our obligation as part of mankind to forever supply Japan with those materials."

After all, China should use its rich coal and iron resources to "greatly contribute to mankind and world civilization." The Japanese, however, were not using China's coal and iron "to benefit our whole human race," they were using those

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materials to "build warships and make weapons to satisfy their militarist ambitions" and bully the Chinese and jeopardize peace in East Asia. It was for the purpose of safeguarding "long-lasting peace in East Asia" and "contributing to the happiness of the whole of mankind," as well as for protecting China's national interest, that China should make good use of its own natural resources and cut the supply of coal and iron to militarist Japan.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1988, \textit{Guo Moruo yiwenji (1)}: 58, 53, 42-66.}

In some other works that he wrote and published in this period Guo also frequently refers to the whole of mankind, the world, and the universe. In a letter written to Zong Baihua in January 1920, for instance, Guo tells his friend that he and others intended to organize a medical society in order to contribute to the ultimate goal of "saving the whole of mankind."\footnote{Guo Moruo et al 1923, \textit{San ye ji}: 21.} In the previously mentioned poem "Good Morning," which was also written in January 1920, Guo again demonstrates his cosmopolitanist perspective. In that poem, in the same manner that he greeted May Fourth China with love, Guo also expresses greetings to a world way beyond the boundary of his motherland: a world that ranged from vast geographic areas around the globe to people and historical figures in other cultures.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1983, \textit{Nushen (hujiiao ben)}: 64-65.} In April 1920, then, he wrote a poem entitled "The Lessons of the Cannons," in which he imagines that once
in a dream he had a conversation with Russian novelist and thinker Count Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy (1828-1910). In this dream conversation, Guo affirms his faith in Tolstoi's cosmopolitanist idea that "the whole world is our family" and "all mankind is our kinsfolk." 320 Further, in August 1921, he wrote a poem entitled "A Wild Song for Revolution of the Universe" where, instead of merely talking about a revolution for his motherland China he enthusiastically praised and advocated a revolution of the whole "universe." 321

Guo also paid attention to some specific events that took place in other countries and concerned other peoples, especially oppressed peoples whose experience might have in one way or another reminded him of Chinese people's modern struggle and suffering. For at least two weeks in October 1920 his attention was greatly and emotionally occupied with the hunger strike of Terence MacSwiney, a leader of the Irish Republican Army who had been arrested and imprisoned by the British government since the middle of August 1920 and, for 73 days, refused to eat in British prison until he died on October 25 that year. From October 13 to 27, closely following Japanese media's coverage of MacSwiney's condition in prison and his eventual death, Guo wrote "with hot tears" a four-part poem, entitled "Victorious in Death," to express his admiration for MacSwiney's patriotism and heroism and his

anger over the British government's treatment. The major portion of the poem's last part, written on October 27 after MacSwiney's death, reads as follows

The mighty ocean is sobbing its sad lament, 
the boundless abyss of the sky is red with weeping, 
far, far away the sun has sunk in the west. 
Brave, tragic death! Death in a blaze of glory! Triumphal procession of a victor! Victorious death! 
Impartial God of Death! I am grateful to you! You have saved the MacSwiney for whom my love and reverence know no bounds! 
MacSwiney, fighter for freedom, you have shown how great can be the power of the human will! 
I am grateful to you, I extol you; freedom can henceforth never die! 
The night has closed down on us, but how bright is the moon...

Another event in October 1920 also caught Guo's attention. At an international convention in Tokyo, an elderly Korean Christian pastor was rudely cut short in his speech when he talked about the suffering and misery of his fellow Korean people under the colonial rule of the Japanese. Guo was greatly angered by this incident and wrote a poem, entitled "A White Sheep amongst Wolves," to express his feelings. In that poem, he describes the Korean pastor as a peaceful sheep and referred to the international participants at the convention who had ill-treated the Korean pastor as a group of wolves, who represented the imperialist powers at the time in the international community. With great emotion, Guo cries that the imperialist powers, the "wolves" of the international

community who were bullying others, should be dealt with by "bombs," "rifle(s)," "swords," and violence.  

3. Influenced by Western and Eastern Ideologies and Concepts, Searching in these Ideologies and Concepts for Solutions to his Problems, and Starting to Influence China with his Thinking

During this period Guo continued to be influenced by various Western and Eastern thoughts and search within these thoughts for answers to the problems in his life and in China and the whole world. Meanwhile, in the second half of the May Fourth era, his works and thinking began to have significant impact on China's reading public.

The most important Western influence that Guo received during this period was from Goethe. His interest in Goethe, as mentioned in the previous chapter, started as early as his high school days in Japan. By the beginning of this period, then, he already had substantial knowledge about Goethe and was a worshipper of his life, works and thinking. Guo's interest in Goethe was partly a product of the tendency in Taisho Japan to favor German culture and German thinking in the learning from the modern West. His love for Goethe, of course, also reminds us of May Fourth China's enthusiasm for Western cultures and Western ideologies.

One of the best examples to show the extent of Goethe's influence on Guo during this period is San Ye Ji, in which

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Goethe was one of the focal points of discussion in the correspondence between Guo and his two friends in early 1920. In his letter dated January 18, 1920, for instance, Guo tells Zong Baihua that he believed that there had been only two all-round "geniuses" in human history: China's Confucius and Germany's Goethe.\textsuperscript{325} Goethe's versatility, Guo says in the letter, was demonstrated in his expertise in anatomy, his research in theoretical physics, his "sweeping" knowledge of painting and music, his opinions on bankruptcy law ("konkursordnung"), his "instinct and experience" of as a politician and diplomat, his philosophy, his ethics, and his pedagogy. Goethe was "a giant pillar of German culture" and "a pioneer of modern literature and art." For Guo Moruo, Goethe was also a highly sophisticated person who was "the hardest to understand" because he was "Faust, God (Gott), superman (Uebermensch), Mephistopheles, the devil (Teufel), and dog (hund) all in one person." "Both his soul and flesh had developed into perfection" and that was why he was "the best of all human beings."\textsuperscript{326}

Guo intended to organize with his friends a Goethe research society and, within one or two years, translate all important works by and on Goethe into Chinese. In his words, he wanted to "transplant all of Goethe to China."\textsuperscript{327} Even

\textsuperscript{325} Guo Moruo et al 1923, \textit{San ye ji}: 12.


\textsuperscript{327} Guo Moruo et al 1923, \textit{San ye ji}: 75, 136.
though Guo's plan on the society never seemed to have been carried out systematically, he did make serious efforts to translate Goethe's works. As mentioned previously, he spent most of the summer of 1920 translating the first part of Goethe's *Faust*. According to Guo himself, the influence of Goethe was felt in, among other things, his writing of poetic dramas such as "Wild Cherry Blossoms" (*tangdi zhi hua*--written in September 1920), "The Rebirth of the Goddesses" (*nushen zhi zaisheng*--published in February 1921), "The Tragedy at the Xiang River" (*xiang lei*--written in December 1920), and "The Two princes of Gu Zhu" (*guzhujun zhi er zi*--written in November 1922).\(^{328}\) In summer 1921, one year after translating *Faust*, Guo also started his translation of *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, which was later published by the Tai Dong Book Company in 1922.

Guo was attracted to Goethe for several reasons. First and most importantly, in Goethe he had found a solution to one of the most painful problems in his life: the sense of guilt and immorality that he suffered as a result of his living with Tomiko and rebelling against his arranged marriage. For years, under the heavy moral burden of *lijiao*, he had been greatly tortured by the idea that his desire for love and romance and his living with Tomiko was morally base and wrong. Now, however, he had discovered with delight and relief that human desires, love, and romance were actually highly celebrated in

the life and works of Goethe—a glorified figure in the modern West and one of the only two all-round "geniuses" in human history! Guo was enlightened: if "flesh," desires, love, romance, and the qualities of "Mephistopheles," "devil," and "dog" were all part of what made Goethe a "genius" and "the best of all human beings," then why should he be ashamed of the same qualities in his own life?! If Goethe could live as a free soul and did not hesitate to break social and moral norms, why couldn’t Guo himself?! Goethe’s Romanticist celebration of love, romance, and individual freedom greatly helped Guo justify his romantic experience with Tomiko and his rebellion against lijiao. Further, the complexity that Guo saw in Goethe’s life and personality might have also helped him ease his sense of guilt over the "unhealthy" habits that he had engaged in in his early years in Sichuan. Guo’s friends, it should be added here, also helped influence Guo through allusion to Goethe. In a letter to Guo, Tian Shouchang specifically uses Goethe’s numerous romantic relationships with women to help justify and glorify Guo’s romantic love for Tomiko.329

Guo was attracted to Goethe also for his achievement in poetry. "Even though Goethe was not simply a poet," Guo once told Zong Baihua, "in the halo (strahlenkranz) around his whole personality it was the light of poet that shined the

With his own status as a rising-star poet in May Fourth China, Guo certainly found himself able to relate not only to the "devil" but also to the poet in the complex genius of Goethe.

In the preface to his translation of *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, Guo himself notices several other attractions that he had found in Goethe's thinking. In Guo's words, he found himself "in agreement" with the following concepts expressed by Goethe through the character of Werther, who may be seen to represent Goethe himself:

First, "emotionalism." Goethe (Werther) did not "analyze" the various things in the universe with "reason." Instead, he relied on his emotion to "comprehend and create." With his heart and emotion, he could create "paradise" "anywhere around him." His heart and emotion was the light that could produce "various pictures on a blank wall" and "create a universe with feelings" out of "death and ruins."

Second, "pantheism." When interpreting Goethe's pantheism, Guo notes that pantheist thinking actually led to atheism. "All nature," Guo notices, "is nothing but the expression of god. I, too, am nothing but the expression of god. I am god and all nature is the expression of me." "Once a man reaches the condition of being selfless," Guo continues,

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"he becomes one with god and transcends time, space, life, and death." It was the ultimate meaning of man's life, Guo notes, to "pursuit" the "eternal happiness" of being identical with god. To find such happiness, he further emphasized, one must first become "selfless." Goethe's way of being selfless was not through "tranquility" but through "action." In The Sorrows of Young Werther, Werther was selfless through an effort to "expand" himself and, "with all his vigor," he "loved," "reveled," "sorrowed," and reached his "sad ruin." With his pantheism Goethe "praised" suicide because the suicide of "the completed self" was the "ultimate virtue."333

Third, "the praise of nature." Goethe considered nature as "expression of god." "He took nature as a loving mother, a friend, a lover, and a teacher." "He loved and worshiped nature and nature gave him endless love, comfort, inspiration, and nourishment. As a result, he was against techniques, against established ethics, against class systems, against existing religions, and against all learnings. He thought books were waste materials and written languages were skeletons. Further, he almost considered arts as redundant.334

Fourth, "the admiration for primitive life." "The life of primitive people," Guo notices, "was the simplest and purist and it was the most harmonious with nature." People like Goethe who "worshiped and praised nature," therefore, were

"bound to admire the primitive life." Goethe also greatly admired the simple, self-sufficient, and rewarding life of farmers. Only people like farmers and those of primitive times, Guo says, "had the utmost integrity, made the most reverent efforts, and experienced the most passionate love," only they "could completely go all out in doing everything." They were "models" of the philosophy of concentrating on "the instant" and of "the life of the complete self." ³³⁵

Fifth, "the worship of children." Guo notes that Goethe believed that adults should take children as models and learn from them. Children should be worshiped because "during the day they always go all out to create and express and enjoy themselves. Their behavior, therefore, is the epitome of the life of genius and the model of the life of the complete self." His worship of children was shared with the thinking of both Lao Zi and Meng Zi in China and Christianity in the West. Lao Zi, Guo notes, taught people to control their breath "gently like a baby." ³³⁶ Meng Zi once said that "a great man is one who retains the heart of a new-born babe." ³³⁷ As for Christianity, he quotes the followings from the Bible: a) Isaiah in the Old Testament: in the peaceful kingdom, "the wolf shall live with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with


the kid, the calf and the lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them." b) Matthew: "whoever becomes humble like this child is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven."338

Guo was interested in Goethe also because he seemed to have found in Goethe some solution to China's problems in modern times. The fact that he was making efforts to "transplant all of Goethe" into China means that he was not simply enjoying Goethe for himself. Instead, he wanted to share Goethe with his fellow country people. Goethe should be introduced into China, he once wrote, because "Goethe's time, the Sturm und Drang period" in German history, was "very similar to our time" (the May Fourth era) and "we can learn so much from him!"339

Among other Western figures who influenced Guo during this period were St. Augustine (354-430), J. J. Rousseau (1712-1778), and Count Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy (1828-1910). As shown previously, the confessions written and published by these three Western figures seemed to have served as an inspiration for Guo to confess his own sense of guilt to his friends and to the public and thus make a major step to finally justify his rebellion against the ethics of lijiao.

331 Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 231; The Holy Bible: 641, 19--Note: the quote from Matthew is the closest to what Guo said in Chinese, which seemed to be a loose Chinese translation.

Guo was attracted to Tolstoy also for his cosmopolitanism, his pursuit of a simple life, his concept of universal love, his belief in non-violence, his anarchist thinking, and his favoring peasants.\textsuperscript{340}

Oliver Goldsmith (1728-74) and Charles Baudelaire (1821-67) also seemed to have helped Guo to get rid of his sense of immorality. With his past and his literary success, Guo seemed to have discovered that he could relate to Goldsmith’s "degeneration" and Baudelaire’s "decadence" as well as their achievement as established Western literary figures.\textsuperscript{341} This discovery, as his discovery in Goethe, contributed to his justification of his rebellion against \textit{lijiao}. Goldsmith’s Romanticist tendency, it should be added here, might also have been an attraction to Guo.\textsuperscript{342}

When later talking about the changes in the writing styles of his poems during this period, Guo also mentioned the influence that he had received from some other Western figures. Some of his earliest new-style poems, as Guo noted, were written under the influence of Heine as well as Tagore.\textsuperscript{343} Then, he came under the influence of Walter Whitman.

\textsuperscript{340} Guo Moruo 1983, \textit{Nushen (huijiao ben)}: 112.

\textsuperscript{341} Guo Moruo et al 1923, \textit{San ye ji}: 9.

\textsuperscript{342} Roy 1971, \textit{Kuo Mo-jo: the Early Years}: 92 and index. Note: Guo in his writings sometimes just mentioned the last names of Western figures and the best we can do is guess from the contexts who these people really were. Goldsmith and Baudelaire fell into this category.

\textsuperscript{343} Guo Moruo 1983, \textit{Nushen (huijiao ben)}: 188, 191.
(1819-92). As a result, there was the production of some his "rough" and "long" poems from late 1919 to mid 1920. 344 After his translation of Faust in the summer of 1920, then, Guo saw his poetic style further changed under the influence of Goethe as well as "neo-romanticism" and German "expressionism." 345 He specifically mentioned Ernst Toller’s Die Wandlung and Georg Kaiser’s Die Burger von Calais as what he "admired the most" among the works of German "expressionism." 346

Guo was not merely influenced by Heine and Whitman in writing styles. He continued to be interested in Heine also because of Heine’s romantic quality as being "faithful to his feelings." 347 What attracted him to Whitman, as he later noted, also included what he saw as a pantheist tendency in Whitman’s thinking. 348

As Guo later described it, he was also influenced by the Western "bourgeois" concept of democracy. 349 His interest in democracy, it should be pointed out, was typical of his generation’s enthusiasm for "Mr. Democracy" and, to a certain degree, was a result of his living in Taisho Japan, which was

347 Guo Moruo et al 1923, San ye ji: 133-134.
experiencing limited democratic development during the period of "Taisho democracy."

What is interesting here on the issue of democracy is the non-bourgeois way in which Guo understood and interpreted this "bourgeois" concept. For example, in 1919 he wrote the following poem

Night

Night! Dark night!
Only you are "democracy!"
You embrace the whole of mankind:
there are no longer differences between:
the poor and rich,
the noble and humble,
the beautiful and evil,
or the wise and foolish,
you are a huge furnace that smelts all:
poverty and wealth,
nobility and humbleness,
beauty and evil,
and wisdom and foolishness,
--all causes for chaos and suffering.
You are a giant engineer for:
emancipation, liberty, equality, and peace,
--all sources for harmony and happiness.

Dark night! Night!
I truly love you,
I no longer want to leave you.
What I hate is the light that comes from outside:
it causes differences in this world,
which used to be without differences.350

Here, among other things, Guo was clearly interpreting democracy with an egalitarian approach, which was anything but "bourgeois." Guo's such egalitarianism told us that, while he was being interested in the Western concept of democracy, there was clearly another side of his thinking that can be traced to Western Leftist and radical ideologies and concepts,

which had increasingly attracted attention in Japan and China after the 1917 Soviet revolution.

As Guo later recalled, he had been "very much" influenced by Japanese Leftist journals such as *Kaizo* (*Reconstruction*), whose publication started in 1919, and *Tane maku hito* (*The Sowers*), which was published from February 1921 to August 1923. Among the radical ideologies and concepts covered by these Leftist publications Marxism and Leninism seemed to be an attraction for him.

By late 1919 Guo already included Lenin as one of the "bandits of social revolutions" that he had been admiring. In his poem "The Lessons of the Cannons," written in early April 1920, he also pays substantial attention to Lenin. In that poem, after imagining having a dream conversation with Tolstoy, Guo further imagines that he had been awakened from his dream by Lenin's shouting the following

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My fellow human beings!
Let's fight for liberty!
Let's fight for humanism!
Let's fight for justice!
The final victory will belong to us!
The loftiest ideal lies only in peasants and labors!
My fellow human beings!...
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In his article "Coal, Iron, and Japan," published in April 1921, Guo again shows a certain interest in "socialism" and openly criticizes capitalism and imperialism as part of his

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reflection on the disaster caused by the ruthless fighting between capitalist and imperialist powers during the First World War.\footnote{354}

His most overtly Marxist use of terminologies was seen in his preface poem to The Goddesses, written in May 1921:

\begin{quote}
I am a proletarian:  
because, apart from myself,  
I have no private properties at all.  
The Goddesses is my own product,  
it may then be said to be my private property,  
but here I am making it public,  
because I want to be a Communist.  
\end{quote} \footnote{355}

His use of such terminology certainly indicates that he had been influenced by Marxism. However, during this period, he still did not have enough interest in or knowledge of Marxism to be considered a Communist. As he himself later recalled, even though in this poem he had expressed the willingness to be a proletarian and Communist, even though at the time he did consider Marx and Lenin as "great figures," he really did not understand "the concepts" of "the proletariat" and "Communism" and he knew little about the "detailed contents of Marxism and Leninism."\footnote{356} In fact, when in late June 1921 a Chinese student of Kawakami Hajime tried to persuade Guo to educate himself on Marxism by reading Kawakami’s works, Guo showed

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little interest. The student also tried but failed to make Guo understand such Marxist concepts as "the law of historical materialism," "the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism," and "the dictatorship of the proletariat." As Guo later described, he "did not have a clue" what the student was talking about.\(^{357}\) An interesting footnote here is that, a few days later in early July 1921, when a group of Chinese intellectuals were founding China's Communist party in Shanghai, Guo was with his literary friends in Japan forming the Creation Society and planning on a "purely literary journal."\(^{358}\)

Anarchism was another radical ideology that seemed to have attracted some of Guo's attention. In his poem "The Lessons of the Cannons," for instance, he expresses sympathy to Tolstoy's anarchist thinking.\(^{359}\) He later also noted that his "Wild Cherry Blossoms" had a "strong" anarchist touch.\(^{360}\) His friendship with Zhu Qianzhi (1899-1972), an anarchist and nihilist during the May Fourth period, is also worth mentioning here. Guo and Zhu became acquainted in Shanghai in 1921 when Guo was working for the Tai Dong Book Company which was publishing Zhu's "The Philosophy of Revolution." The two


\(^{358}\) Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 106.

\(^{359}\) Guo Moruo 1983, Nushen (huijiao ben): 112.

\(^{360}\) Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 133.
seemed to be fairly close at the time. Zhu greatly admired Guo and Guo wrote a preface to Zhu's book. In fact, when waiting for Tai Dong to publish his book, Zhu decided to live with Guo on the company premises. *361*

Among the Eastern ideologies and concepts that showed visible influence on Guo during this period, Confucianism was the most significant. Though he had rebelled against his arranged marriage and against Confucian *lijiao*, and though he was among the most enthusiastic to introduce Western thought into China, Guo, unlike many of his May Fourth contemporaries, had never lost faith in Confucius and Confucianism in general.

In his letter to Zong Baihua on January 18, 1920, Guo tells his friend: to say that Confucius was "the arch-criminal of China," as many May Fourth intellectuals had been saying, was really "to calumny our forefather and mislead future generations." Confucius and Goethe, Guo notes, were the only two all-round geniuses that he had found in human history. For Guo, Confucius as a "giant genius" was a "politician" who held the ideal of "Great Harmony" (*da tong*); he was a "philosopher"

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*361* Guo Moruo 1978, *Xuesheng shidai*: 90-91. Note: an interesting thing to notice here is that Zhu, before coming to Shanghai, was also very close to young Mao Zedong in Beijing. A student at the time in the philosophy department of the Beijing University, Zhu often visited Mao who was working as a librarian at the university from late 1918 to early 1919. As Mao later recalled, he "at that time" "favored many" anarchist "proposals" and he and Zhu "often discussed anarchism and its possibilities in China." (See: Mao Zedong 1993, *Mao Zedong zishu*: 34; Snow 1973, *Red Star over China*: 152.) What is interesting here is that Mao and Guo, who both had been influenced by anarchist thinking and actually shared an anarchist friend Zhu Qianzhi, later both turned to Communism.
with his "thought of pantheism;" he was an "educator" with his education principles such as "in instruction there is no separation into categories" and "teaching each student according to his specific background;" he was a "scientist" because he was a "naturalist" and had "thorough" knowledge of "mathematics and physics;" he was an "artist" and was "proficient in" music; and he was a "writer" who wrote literature in a "terse and penetrating" manner. Guo in the letter speaks especially highly of Confucius' achievement in literature. With his The Book of Songs (Shi Jing), The Book of History (Shu Jing), and The Spring and Autumn Annals (Chun Qiu), Guo notes, Confucius succeeded in "systematizing" China's ancient culture. Such achievement could not have been made without Confucius' "unsurpassed energy," his "appreciation of beauty," and his "fine skills" as a critic. What was also important for Guo was that, in his eyes, Confucius was "a human," just like Goethe. He notes that Confucius "wanted to see" the beautiful woman Nanzi and, when editing The Book of Songs, did not leave out those poems that talked about love and sex, which he probably "loved" to read. Confucius, Guo presumes, was in favor of "freedom of love" as he did not forbid human desires. He also believes that Confucius was for "freedom of divorce."  


363 Guo's such belief was probably based on Li ji, which suggests that Confucius had divorced his wife—See: Li Ji.
adds, was by no means a "bookworm" and had the physical strength to open "the gate of a country." All in all, as Goethe, Confucius had developed both his soul and flesh "into perfection" and was thus "the best of all human beings." 364

It is obvious that Guo was re-interpreting Confucius with his such modern concepts as "freedom of love" and "freedom of divorce," the opposite of the ethics of lijiao. His interpretation was certainly radical and unconventional. However, with the thinking of Confucius having been interpreted and reinterpreted so many times in China's history in order to suite the different needs of different times, one cannot simply disregard Guo's interpretation here as total nonsense. Even though his interpretation was against those of most of the previous interpreters of Confucianism, which, among other things, had over the years formed the essence of lijiao, Guo's effort here was actually not that different from those previous interpreters'. What he was doing here was to draw and elaborate on some facts in Confucius' life and sayings and make these facts work for his own needs and those of his generation during the May Fourth.

One of the most urgent needs that Guo felt, as analyzed above, was to justify his rebellion against the arranged marriage and against lijiao. By way of interpreting and modernizing Confucius into an advocate of freedom of love and divorce, Guo had certainly managed to make Confucianism meet

that need. Just as he found a justification for his rebellion in Goethe's life and thinking, Guo, with his modern interpretation of Confucius, had also made Confucianism into such a justification. To put it differently, by reinterpreting Confucius, Guo created for himself a solution in Confucianism to his personal problems.

Guo also seemed to be making efforts to search in China's traditional culture for some solution for the country's modern problems. His efforts was partially seen in "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History," an unfinished article that was published in May 1921. In that article, he spends much energy on proving that there used to be an ideal society in ancient China before the Three Dynasties of Xia (21st-16th centuries BC), Shang (16th-11th centuries BC), and Western Zhou (11th century-771 BC). Based on his interpretation of a variety of Chinese classics and with his own modern concepts, he comes up with a description of that ideal ancient society.

In the ancient society, he says in the article, state was born as a result of "people's contracts" and political institutions were "democratic" by nature. The guiding "political ideology" at the time was one that was "people-oriented" and had "a standard of universal love and universal benefit." In that society, there was no hereditary rule and leaders were selected by the people on the basis of their merit and ability.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1988, \textit{Guo Moruo yiwenji} (1): 72-73, 77, 81.}
"naive objective idealism" ("Narive, Objectiver Idealismus") and a "world view" that was "active," "evolutionary," and "metaphysical." Further, there was also "an idealism that was egalitarian and against differences." Under the guidance of such idealism, "all individuals were naturally equal with each other and all the land of the country naturally belonged to the whole of the people." The "well-field land system that started under Huang Di's rule," Guo further notices, "was really the earliest practice of communism in our country." To prove the existence of such an ideal society and its collapse at the beginning of the Three dynasties, Guo especially quotes the following saying of Confucius from the Li Yun chapter of Li Ji (Book of Rites)

When the Grand course was pursued, a public and common spirit ruled all under the sky; they chose men of talents, virtue, and ability; their words were sincere, and what they cultivated was harmony. Thus men did not love their parents only, nor treat as children only their own sons. A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able-bodied, and the means of growing up to the young. They showed kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all sufficiently maintained. Males had their proper work, and females had their homes. (They accumulated) articles (of value), disliking that they should be thrown away upon the ground, but not wishing to keep them for their own gratification. (They labored) with their strength, disliking that it should not be exerted, but not exerting it (only) with a view to their own advantage. In this way (selfish) schemings were repressed and found no development. Robbers, filchers, and rebellious traitors did not show themselves, and hence the outer doors

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remained open, and were not shut. This was (the period of) what we call the Great Harmony.*

Now that the Grand course has fallen into disuse and obscurity, the kingdom is a family inheritance. Every one loves (above all others) his own parents and cherishes (as) children (only) his own sons. People accumulate articles and exert their strength for their own advantage. Great men imagine it is the rule that their states should descend in their own families. Their object is to make the walls of their cities and suburbs strong and their ditches and moats secure. The rules of propriety and of what is right are regarded as the threads by which they seek to maintain in its correctness the relation between ruler and minister; in its generous regard that between father and son; in its harmony that between elder brother and younger; and in a community of sentiment that between husband and wife; and in accordance with them they frame buildings and measures; lay out the fields and hamlets (for the dwellings of the husbandmen); adjudge the superiority to men of valor and knowledge; and regulate their achievements with a view to their own advantage. Thus it is that (selfish) schemes and enterprises are constantly taking their rise, and recourse is had to arms; and thus it was (also) that Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu, King Cheng, and duke of Zhou obtained their distinction.368

Confucius' description here, Guo comments, "best illustrates the transition from the system of public ownership to that of private ownership in China's history" at the beginning of the Three Dynasties. He especially notes that Confucius here was actually pointing out that "the system of private ownership was the cause of all fightings." As a "document" in China's history, Guo notes, what Confucius wrote was "the most valuable" and never "to be obliterated."369 Based on what Confucius said here and in some other Chinese classics, Guo

368 Guo Moruo 1988, Guo Moruo yiwenji (1): 77-78; Legge 1885, The Sacred Books of China: 364-366. The names here are translated by this author with Pin Yin. Also note: * "Great Harmony" here is this author's translation.

develops a theory that China at the beginning of the Xia Dynasty went through a "profound transition" from the ancient ideal society to the country's "first dark age"—the Three Dynasties. In that transition, the "metaphysical" and "energetic" world view of ancient society changed into the "stagnant," "theological," and "religious" thinking of the Three Dynasties; the "public ownership" and "democracy" in the ancient society changed into the Three Dynasties' "private ownership" and "theocracy;" and the ancient spirit that featured "liberty" and "original creation" was lost under the Three Dynasties' tyranny of "political and religious autocracy."

Guo in the article also briefly indicates that he considered the Eastern Zhou period (770-256 BC), the time of Confucius and other Hundred School thinkers, as China's "first Renaissance" during which the ancient culture was revived. The achievement of the Eastern Zhou, however, was killed by the cruelty of "book burning" by Qin Shi Huang, the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty (221-207 BC). For Guo Moruo, what Qin Shi Huang did to Eastern Zhou culture was like what the eruption of Mount Vesuvius did to the city of Pompeii. The cultural destruction caused by Qin Shi Huang, Guo notes, started China's "second dark age" which lasted into modern times.370

Guo had originally planned to write "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History" into a two-chapter scholarly

work. In the introduction of the article, he gives the following outline on what he had intended to write

CHAPTER I: GENERAL DISCUSSION--THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IDEAS AND POLITICS
1. The Origin of Politics in the Beginning Period of Human History
2. Metaphysical Thinking Turning Religious
3. The Birth of the System of Private Ownership and the First Dark Age
4. The Success of the First Revolution by Common People and the Shaking of Theocratic Thinking
5. The First Age of Revival (Renaissance)

CHAPTER II: THE SPECIFICS--ON THE VARIOUS SCHOOLS OF THINKING DURING THE FIRST AGE OF REVIVAL
1. Lao Dan—a Pioneer of the First Age of Revival
2. An Evaluation of Confucius in his Later Years
3. The Religious Reform by Mo Di
4. The Zhen Ren Philosophy of Zhuang Zhou
5. The Materialist Thinking of Hui Shi

In a letter written on January 24, 1921 to Zhang Ziping, Guo also gives a similar outline of the article. According to those two outlines, it is obvious that what Guo managed to write and publish in May 1921 was only a small portion of what he had set out to do.

As an unfinished article, "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History" in 1921 does not make it clear why Guo was so interested in finding out about China's ancient tradition, or, to use his metaphors, in "excavating" the "Pompeii" of the Chinese culture. It was not until later in his article "The Traditional Spirit of Chinese Culture," which

was published at the beginning of 1923 and can be considered as an elaboration of "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History," that Guo eventually came to clarify that a reason why he had been so enthusiastic about China's tradition was that he saw the revival of that tradition as a solution to modern China's problems.

There are several things that need to be pointed out concerning Guo's description of the ideal ancient society in "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History." First, his use of the term "people's contracts" in the article indicates that he might have been influenced by some contract theories in Western political thought, possibly that of Rousseau. Secondly, when describing the thinking in the ancient society as being "active" and "evolutionary," Guo was to a certain extent reading the May Fourth spirit of action and progress into the ancient thinking. Thirdly, the way he wrote about democracy tells us that he understood democracy to be something that is ideal and concerns the people. In his understanding of democracy, there is also an egalitarian emphasis. Fourthly, his talking about "private ownership," "public ownership," and "communism" demonstrates again that he had been influenced by Western and Japanese Leftist concepts. Meanwhile, the way he associated "public ownership" and "communism" with China's ancient culture and with the Confucian concept of Great Harmony also suggests that in his understanding of Communism there were significant Confucian
and other traditional Chinese elements. What deserves special attention here is Great Harmony, a utopian and to a certain extent egalitarian concept that is essential in the Confucius' saying that Guo quoted in the article. In fact, in his "Coal, Iron, and Japan," published just a month before the publication of "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History," Guo had already clearly noticed that his goal was to "realize" the ideal of "Great Harmony." Such interest and faith in the Confucian concept, together with some Marxist and Leninist influence that he received, was to form the major portion of his Communist thinking in the next period of his life.

Fifthly, Guo's describing the ancient society as a "democracy" reminds us of Kang Youwei's belief that Confucius used the times of Yao and Shun, both before the Three Dynasties, as a model of "democracy" for later societies to follow. After all, Kang's thinking was similar to, if not plagiarized from, that of Liao Ping, whose thinking was a major influence on Guo in his early years in Sichuan. However, on one issue Guo did seem to have deviated from the Jinwen school thinking of Liao Ping and Kang Youwei: as shown above, Guo believed that what Confucius said in Li Ji was a historical fact: there was the existence of an ideal society in ancient times and it collapsed when the Three Dynasties started. Kang and Liao,

however, believed that *Li Ji*, as one of the "Six Classics" of Confucianism, could not be taken as history because it was made up by Confucius for the purpose of reforming in his own times.\(^{376}\)

In Guo's brief outlines of "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History" we can also see that, in contrast to his defining Confucius as a "scientist" in his letter to Zong Baihua on January 18, 1920, Guo now removes Confucius’ thought from the category of "scientific thinking" and places him in the category of "metaphysical" thinkers.\(^{377}\) This change in Guo’s evaluation of Confucius indicates that as early as 1921 Guo was already realizing that his beloved Confucianism lacked the vital necessity of modern "scientific" spirit. As will be shown in the next chapter, this realization was to be an important factor in making him accept Marxism, which, among other things, appealed to him as a modern "scientific" ideological system that could fill in for the lack of "scientific" elements in Confucianism.

"The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History" also illustrates Guo’s subjectivist thinking. At the beginning of the article, he writes: "as the ultimate products of the liberal spirit of human beings, ideas should transcend all reality and guide people’s life...When life in reality is the


true expression of progressive ideas, the people who live in that reality enjoy the ultimate happiness..."378 This belief in the primary importance of ideas over reality recalls the influence of the subjectivist thinking of the mind-heart school of Wang Yangming. In fact, some of Guo's other writings of this period also resonate with Wang Yangming's emphasis on the mind-heart. For instance, in his poem "O Earth, My Mother," written in December 1919, Guo writes that he wants to use his "inner light to shine all over the world."379 As mentioned previously, Guo in his preface to The Sorrows of Young Werther also describes that Goethe's heart and emotion was the light that could produce "various pictures on a blank wall" and "create a universe with feelings" out of "death and ruins."380

Guo's subjectivist thinking was a significant factor in his intellectual development. As will be shown in the next chapter, such subjectivist thinking was to bring him into profound tension with the objectivist ideas of Marx's historical materialism when he turned to Communism in the mid-1920's. The result was to be a compromise: while accepting Marxism in general, Guo was to modify the objectivist essence of Marxist historical materialism.

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During this period Guo continued his interest in the Taoist thinking of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi. For instance, after mentioning Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi favorably in his outline in "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History," Guo praises the two Taoist thinkers as "pure and genuine philosophers who were extremely against superstitious thoughts." "Even though some ridicule Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi for being arbitrary and unpractical," Guo continues, "I believe that the thinking of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi can yet be regarded as reasonable thinking." \[381\]

In his poem "Three Pantheists," published in January 1920, Guo also relates Zhuang Zi to Spinoza and Kabir on the basis of pantheist thinking

I love our old Zhuang Zi
because I love his pantheism,
because he got a living by making straw shoes.

I love the Dutchman Spinoza
because I love his pantheism,
because he got a living by grinding lenses.

I love the Indian Kabir
because I love his pantheism,
because he got a living by knotting fishing-nets.\[382\]

Guo’s interest in Taoism may have laid the foundation for his reception of not only the pantheist thinking of Spinoza and Kabir (through Tagore) but also Goethe’s Romanticist thought. For one thing, most of the things that Guo said he admired in


Goethe in his preface to The Sorrows of Young Werther: pantheism, the praise of nature, the admiration for primitive life, and the worship of the child, to different degrees remind us of Taoist ideas.\textsuperscript{383} One reference point may be needed here concerning Guo's interest in both Taoism and Romanticism. As Authur Lovejoy pointed out: one of the factors that helped result in European Romanticism was the influence of Chinese art.\textsuperscript{384} Since traditional Chinese art had been heavily influenced by Taoist philosophies, a point can be made that European Romanticism could be traced to certain Chinese Taoist influences. In a sense, such historical relation between Taoism and Romanticism may help us understand why Guo with his Taoist background felt attracted to the Romanticist thinking of Goethe.

Other traditional Chinese thinkers also attracted Guo’s attention during this period. For instance, while no longer calling Confucius a "scientist," in 1921 Guo started to praise Hui Shi (370–310 BC ?), Zou Yan (305–240 BC ?), and Gongsun Long (325–250 ?) for having "scientific" spirits. In his January 24, 1921 letter to Zhang Ziping, for instance, Guo expresses the opinion that during the Spring and Autumn period (770–476 BC) and the Warring States period (475–221 BC) China had already seen the beginning of "scientific thinking." This was seen in the "materialist thinking" and "analytical and


\textsuperscript{384} Lovejoy 1948, Essays in the History of Ideas: 99–135.
inductive methods of study" of Zou Yan, Gongsun Long, and Hui Shi, which were "rather similar" to the "spirits" of European thinkers Rene Descartes (1596-1650), Francis Bacon (1561-1626), and Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646-1716). The beginning of "scientific" thinking in China, however, was killed by the (book burning) "fire" of the Qin Dynasty.\[385\] Guo's such thinking, as will be shown in the next chapter, was to be elaborated in his articles "On Chinese and German Civilizations" and "The Character and Thinking of Hui Shi," both written and published in 1923.

Guo during this period also seemed to be increasingly making efforts to identify certain parts of Chinese tradition with parts of Western and foreign cultures. This can be seen in some of his writings that touch upon Eastern and Western civilizations. For instance, in his January 18, 1920 letter to Zong Baihua he identifies Confucius with Goethe in such aspects as political ability, philosophical thinking, educational theories, "scientific" achievements, knowledge of music, accomplishments in literature, and development of both soul and flesh into "perfection." Above all, Confucius and Goethe were identical to him because they were the only two "all-round geniuses" in human history and "the best of all human beings."\[386\] In "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History," Guo also identifies China's ancient thinking with


that of the "spirit" of ancient Greek "Hellenism." In ancient Chinese thinking, it was "man" who "created all the million things and man himself was god." The figures in China's mythology, such as Pan Gu, Tian Huang, Di Huang, Ren Huang, You Chao Shi, and Sui Ren Shi, were all "fictitious figures" who were "half humans and half gods." Such Chinese thinking "fully demonstrated" China's "spirit of liberty and original creation" and was "very similar" to ancient Greek culture, whose gods possessed such "human characteristics" as being able to "love," "be jealous," and even "commit adultery."387

In the article, Guo also notes that the ancient Chinese idea of "one developing into two," "two developing into four," and "four developing into eight" reminded him of the concept of "multiple division of cells" in modern Western science. The ancient Chinese idea, Guo says, could be considered as a "hypothesis of multiple division" before the modern Western discovery of cells.388

Guo's efforts to identify parts of Chinese tradition with portions of Western civilizations were part of his overall search for solutions to the problems in his personal life and in his historical milieu in China and the world. It was increasingly clear that he was relying on what he saw as the best parts of both the tradition and Western cultures, which to him were often identical, as the ideological sources for

the solutions that he had been searching for. More specifically, in this period, it was on Confucius’ thinking and Goethe’s Romanticism that he focused as the quintessence of the two worlds and therefore as the twin and often identical sources for his solutions. It is very important to note here that Guo’s search for solutions and his efforts to identify the best of China with the best of the West was an on-going process. While sticking firmly to his version of Confucianism as the major part of the best of China’s tradition, for instance, he was to frequently change his idea on what was the best in the West until, as will be shown in the next chapter, he finally settled on Marxism.

In his finding the best of the two worlds, it should be pointed out, Guo often read something from one world into the other. In other words, his versions of the best of China’s tradition were sometimes a result of his reinterpreting that tradition with modern Western concepts. Vice versa, his versions of the best of the West sometimes turned out to be substantially Sinocized versions. This can be seen in this period, for example, in his modernizing and Westernizing Confucius and his absorbing Goethe’s Romanticism with his Confucian and Taoist background.

Guo’s undying love for Chinese tradition might be related to his having been living in and influenced by Taisho Japan, whose relative success of balancing between Westernization and keeping its tradition was in significant contrast to early May
Fourth's radical effort to uproot China from the Chinese tradition.

III. Some of the Issues in Guo's Thinking during this Period

With the overall emancipation of his mind and the outburst of his literary energies, Guo demonstrated in this period very active thinking in his numerous writings. As a result, we find more and better illustrated issues in his thinking in this period than in the previous periods of his life. It should be pointed out that, as he became more and more in touch with China in this period, the issues in his thinking could be traced to his being increasingly influenced by the complexity of May Fourth intellectual environment. More importantly, as he had become a major figure in the second part of the May Fourth period, the complexity of his thinking contributed to and, in some cases, significantly represented the complexity of the overall May Fourth Thought.

On the issue of Chinese tradition vs. the modern West, Guo had on the one hand significantly broken with the Confucian ethics of lijiao, which was largely a result of the Western influence that he had received; on the other hand, he had also enthusiastically defended and advocated much of the non-lijiao part of the tradition.

After years of painful struggle, he had finally in a meaningful way justified to himself and to society his rebellion against the marriage arranged by his parents. With such justification, he had significantly broken with two of
the Three Bonds (san gang) of lijiao, namely, the bonds between father and son and between husband and wife.

It should be noted, however, that Guo still deeply loved his parents. In fact, the knowledge that his action had broken his parents' heart was the most unbearable for him in his rebellion against the arranged marriage. As he later more than once painfully said, he greatly regretted that he could not go back to Sichuan again to see his parents, especially his mother whom he had loved so much. The reason why he could not go to see his beloved parents, as he once cried in his writing, was exactly because he "still had some sense of filial piety left" in his heart: if he returned to his Sichuan home, the issue of his arranged marriage was sure to come up again between him and his parents and the inevitable confrontation on that issue was sure to anger and might even cost the lives of his aged parents.389

To a large extent, Guo saw the misery of his arranged marriage as a tragedy caused by the "old system of lijiao."390 He did not blame his parents themselves for having made marriage arrangements for their children. This can be seen in the way he referred to the arranged marriage of his youngest sister. In a letter to Tian Shouchang on March 6, 1920, Guo tells his friend: "My youngest sister was married a year ago at a young age. Needless to say, she had also suffered


390 Guo Moruo 1931, Ganlan: 53.
miserably from that (arranged) marriage. However, I do not at all blame my parents (for arranging her marriage.)"\textsuperscript{391}

With the justification of his rebellion against the arranged marriage, Guo had broken with the Confucian bond between husband and wife. It should be mentioned here again, however, that Guo was not without sympathy towards his arranged wife. In his eyes, the woman was just a "pitiful" and "innocent" "victim" of "the old system." In one of his autobiographical short stories, he later describes that he sometimes imagined in tears that he would say the following to his arranged wife: "you and I we are both victims of the old system of \textit{lijiao}. I don't have any hard feelings against you and I hope that you too have no hard feelings against me! I feel sorry that you will live a lonely life in my parents' home. But I am unable to save you..."\textsuperscript{392}

It should also be noted that, while refusing to perform his obligation as a husband to his arranged wife, up to this point Guo had been a relatively good husband to Tomiko, even though over the years he did have various tensions and conflicts with her. In other words, what Guo had broken here was just the Confucian bond between the arranged husband and arranged wife. In the marriage of his own choice, which was based on the modern concept of romantic love, he had by and


\textsuperscript{392} Guo Moruo. \textit{Guo Moruo xuanji}: 48.
large maintained a decent bond between himself as a husband and Tomiko as his loved wife.

What also needs mentioning here is Guo's relationship to the Confucian bond between the ruler and the ruled, the first of all the Three Bonds. As many of his generation, he had actually had this bond substantially shaken in his mind ever since the 1911 revolution overthrew the last of China's dynastic rulers. By this period of 1919 to 1921, then, he seemed to have further formed some significant critical consciousness towards political authorities in China. In his "On Boycotting Japanese Goods," for instance, he openly criticizes China's warlord government at the time as a "dictatorship by a few" who "oppressed" and "insulted" the masses," "confounded right and wrong," and "undermined the foundation of China." He also blames the government for "having depended on foreign debts". His poetic drama "Rebirth of the Goddesses," first published in February 1921, is also a criticism of the ruthless wars fought at the time between the various warlord forces that were ruling over China. It should be pointed out, however, that the weakening of the Confucian ruler/ruled bond in Guo's thinking could at least be partially related to the fact that China amongst its chaos of warlord politics had simply been without any unified political authorities or worthy political rulers

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for Guo and other people to be bonded with. In other words, just because Guo criticized the warlord rulers at the time, does not mean that he had completely broken with the Confucian ruler/ruled bond. He criticized the warlords largely because of their ruthlessness and, to borrow from the Confucian terminology, their lack of mandate of heaven. It should be remembered that, to a certain degree, the criticism and even overthrow of bad rulers who are without mandate of heaven is part of the Confucian political concept and is not necessarily contradictory to the Confucian ruler/ruled bond. To put it in historical perspective, years later under the Communists, especially during the Cultural Revolution, Guo, together with millions of Chinese people, would not hesitate to enthusiastically worship Mao Zedong as a god-like revolutionary leader. Among other things, that worship of Mao by Guo and millions of Chinese people reminds us of the relationship between the Son of Heaven and the people as defined in the Confucian bond between the ruler and ruled.

To sum up, with his significantly breaking with the father/son and husband/wife bonds and the substantial weakening of the ruler/ruled bond in his mind, Guo had by this period ruptured with a major portion of the Three Bonds in lijiao, the Confucian ethics of social constraints. In this regard, Guo, as well as many of his May Fourth generation, was continuing a trend in modern China which started with the serious challenge against lijiao by people like Tan Sitong at
the turn of the century.\textsuperscript{395} However, Guo stopped somewhat short of finishing that trend by completely abandoning lijiao's ethics. In fact, even when he was significantly breaking with lijiao, he occasionally showed that he was still under certain influence by lijiao's ethics. For instance, while attacking lijiao in his preface to the new edition of Romance of the Western Chamber, he still suggests that the ethics of lijiao, if properly defined and properly carried out, could have positive functions in "helping with the proper development of people's human nature."\textsuperscript{396}

Guo's breaking with lijiao can to a great extent be traced to Western influence, especially the influence of Western Romanticism. As many of his contemporary May Fourth intellectuals, he had enthusiastically absorbed various concepts of the modern West, whose achievements in the modern world he greatly admired.\textsuperscript{397}

Despite his significant break with the Confucian Three Bonds and lijiao, Guo in this period demonstrated strong and


\textsuperscript{396} Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (hujiào běn): 239.

\textsuperscript{397} As a Chinese living in modern times, however, Guo continued to have bitter resentment against Western imperialism towards China and other nations. While enthusiastically learning from the West, he insisted that China in its efforts at "reform and self strengthening" should be "self-reliant" and "independent" of all the foreign powers, who to him were a group of international "robbers." (Guo Moruo 1988, Guo Moruo yiwenji (1): 22, 56).
persistent faith in some non-lijiao aspects of Confucianism and in some other sections of Chinese tradition.

As shown previously, he had strongly defended Confucius and Confucianism against the popular anti-Confucian attacks during the May Fourth period. Among other things, he demonstrated undying faith in and strong influence by the Confucian concept of self cultivation, the Confucian ideal of Great Harmony, the egalitarian elements in Confucian thinking, and the pantheist tendency in Confucian philosophy. The concept of self cultivation here clearly falls into the category of what Dr. Hao Chang refers to as the Confucian ethics of virtues. The Confucian ideal of Great Harmony and Confucian egalitarianism here is also related to the Confucian concept of ren (benevolence), which is an essential part of the ethics of virtues in Confucian value system. Further, the concept of "the integration of heaven and man" in Confucian pantheist thinking is also an important part in the development of the Confucian ethics of virtues.398 In other words, what Guo had faith and interest in here are largely the Confucian ethics of virtues and concepts related to those ethics. His faith and interest, it should be noted, could be traced to his having been influenced by Wang Yangming, who had significantly contributed to the development of Confucian

ethics of virtues.\textsuperscript{399} Guo's worshipping of Confucius in this period, it should be added here, also reminds us of his early training in Sichuan by Liao Ping's jinwen school of thinking, which had a tendency to "deify" Confucius.\textsuperscript{400}

It needs mentioning here that Guo himself did not necessarily see his breaking with lijiao as being contradictory to his defending Confucius and Confucianism. As far as he was concerned, lijiao and Confucianism were largely two separate things and his breaking with the former had little to do with his faith in the latter.\textsuperscript{401}

While defending Chinese tradition in this period, Guo sometimes also read some of his own modern concepts into that tradition. For instance, in his interpretation of Confucianism, he emphasized and elaborated on those elements in Confucian thinking on people's individuality and on humanity. As a result, his Confucianism now featured a highlighted theme of personal freedom and affirmation of human desires, a theme that was compatible with the spirit of his May Fourth era. As will be shown in the next chapter, in the early part of the next period in his life Guo was to further interpret Confucian thinking with that theme.

Somewhat related to the issue of Chinese tradition vs. the modern West was certain tension in Guo's thinking between

\textsuperscript{399} Chang Hao 1989, \\textit{Youan yishi yu minzhu chuantong}: 49-50.

\textsuperscript{400} Guo Moruo 1978, \\textit{Shaonian shidai}: 111.

\textsuperscript{401} Guo Moruo 1984, \\textit{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 14-15.
his interest in industrial and urban modernity and his admiration for pastoral simplicity and primitive innocence and his love for peasants.

As part of his faith in modern "scientific civilization," Guo demonstrated substantial interest in the industrialization and urbanization of modern times. This can be seen, for instance, in a poem that he wrote in June 1920

Panorama from Fudetate Yama
Pulse of the great city,
surge of life,
beating, panting, roaring,
spurting, flying, leaping,
the whole sky covered with a pall of smoke:
my heart is ready to leap from my mouth.
Hills, roofs, surge on,
wave after wave they well up before me.
Symphony of myriad sounds,
marrriage of man and Nature.
The curve of the bay might be Cupid's bow,
man's life his arrow, shot over the sea.
Dark and misty coastline, steamers at anchor,
steamers in motion, steamers unnumbered,
funnel upon funnel bearing its black peony.
Ah! Emblem of the Twentieth Century!
Stern mother of modern civilization! 402

In his "Coal, Iron, and Japan," then, he also notes that "human beings are part of nature and the civilizational creation by human beings is part of the overall creation by nature. In my eyes, therefore, not only are mountains, rivers, flowers, and birds beauties of nature, but chimneys and railway tracks (as creation by human beings) are also decorations for natural world." It is wrong, he further notes, for some people to criticize that modern industrialization had

ruined the scenery of nature.\textsuperscript{403} It should be pointed out that Guo here praised "chimneys and railway tracks" because he considered and accepted them as an integral part of nature. In other words, for him, the primary concern was nature and, to a certain extent, industrialization had to be justified and accepted as something that was in harmony with nature. Guo's approach to industrialization was certainly in contrast to what had been commonly seen in the modern West at least by the beginning decades of the twentieth century: an industrial drive that featured an aggressiveness to conquer and exploit nature as an object.

While showing interest in modern urbanization and industrialization, Guo in this period also demonstrated substantial desire to get away from urban and industrial life and find peace in the simple and innocent country life of working peasants. This can be seen, for example, in the poems that he wrote on his tour from Shanghai to West Lake in April 1921

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Notes on a Tour to the Western Lake

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I am a son of 'nature,'
I want to fly into my mother's arms!
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Shanghai, you burning jail!
I am again leaving and abandoning you.
\textellipsis \textellipsis

By the foot of the Leifeng Pagoda
there is an old man hoeing the fields
he has taken off his cotton-padded coat
and hung it on a branch of a young mulberry.
He has stopped hoeing,

\textsuperscript{403} Guo Moruo 1988, \textit{Guo Moruo yiwenji (1)}: 46.
and raised his eyes to look at me.
Ah, his kind and amiable eyes,
his healthy yellow face,
his greying beard,
his veined and gold-colored hands.
I want to kneel down in front of him,
and call him: 'my father!'
and lick all the yellow mud off his feet.

Another example here is his poem "The Lessons of the Cannons,"
in which he notes that he strongly agreed with Tolstoy's
"advocacy of simple and plain life" and Tolstoy's belief that
"it would be ideal if all people are like peasants."\(^{405}\)
Further, he once noted that he had been "rather deeply
attracted" to Zhuang Zi's "simple and plain life" in ancient
rural times.\(^{406}\)

Guo's admiration for pastoral life and peasants can also
be seen in his "Coal, Iron, and Japan." In that article, while
making some argument, he quotes the following passage from
Goethe's Faust, whose high opinion of farming life he
obviously shared

...A recipe
that takes no money, magic, or physician:
Go out at once into the country
and set to hoeing and to digging;
confine yourself—and your thoughts too—
within the narrowest spheres;
subsist on food that's plain and simple,
live with your cattle as their peer, and don't disdain
to fertilize in person fields that you will reap.
Take my word for it, there's no better way

\(^{405}\) Guo Moruo 1983, Nushen (huijiao ben): 112.
\(^{406}\) Guo Moruo 1983, Nushen (huijiao ben): 208; Guo Moruo 1983,
Nushen (huijiao ben): 72.
to remain young until you’re eighty.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1988, \textit{Guo Moruo yiwenji} (1): 42-43; Goethe 1984, \textit{Faust}: 60.}

In the same article, Guo also quotes the following section from "The Cotter’s Saturday Night" by Robert Burns (1759-1796), whom he praises as "the most sincere poet in the world" and "Britain’s Tao Yuanming" and whose "description of peasants’ life" very much touches his heart.

At length his lonely cot appears in view,  
Beneath the shelter of an aged tree;  
Th’expectant wee things, toddlin’stacher through,  
To meet their dad, wi’flickerin noise and glee,  
His wee bit ingle, blinking bonnily,  
His elean hearsthane, his thrifte witie’s smile,  
This lisping infant prattling on his knee,  
Does a’ his weary klaugh and care beguile,  
And makes him quite forget his labor and toil.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1988, \textit{Guo Moruo yiwenji} (1): 43-44.}

Guo’s worship of peasants and their working life is perhaps seen in its extreme in a poem that he published on Shi Shi Xin Bao’s \textit{Xue Deng} on September 7, 1920, entitled "A Fragrant Noon"

Fragrance!  
Does it come from the pine trees with the wind?  
Is it the scent of the sea?  
Or is it from the silver light of the white sand?  
Ah, where does this fragrance of muck come from?  
Geluo! Geluo,  
Geluo! Geluo.  
A muck cart,  
is coming through the pine forest.  
A girl is pushing the cart from behind,  
her old father is pulling the cart in front.  
Geluo! Geluo,
Gelu! Geluo.

Fragrance?
The muck is fragrant!
The sweat and blood (of the girl and old man) is fragrant,
the golden mud on the old man's feet is fragrant!
The girl's rosy face is fragrant!
Ah, there comes your mother! 

Guo's desire to get away from urban and industrial modernity is also seen in his admiration for the simplicity and innocence of primitive life. As mentioned previously, in the preface to his translation of The Sorrows of Young Werther, he specifically notices that he had found himself in agreement with Goethe's admiration for the simple and pure life of primitive people and for the life of peasants. This thinking can also be found in a poem that he published in November 1919, entitled "Dawn," which describes the joy in a "restored" "paradise." In that poem, he carefully sets the scene of his paradise in "the forest of remote antiquity" of an "isolated island," clearly indicating his admiration for some primitive and innocent life that was away from modern civilizations. "Forest of remote antiquity! Forest of remote antiquity!" he writes in the poem, "We want to make our home in your arms. We want to make our home in your arms." 

Guo's desire to escape from modern sophistication and his admiration for simple and plain life was to a certain extent related to his love for nature and his desire to live a life

close to nature, which can be seen in a poem that he wrote in December 1919

    O Earth, My Mother

    ...  
    O earth, my mother,  
    through past, present, future  
    you are food, apparel, shelter for me;  
    how can I repay the benefits you have bestowed upon me?  

    O earth, my mother,  
    henceforth I shall seclude myself less indoors;  
    in the midst of this opening up of waste lands  
    I would fulfil my filial duty to you.  

    ...  
    O earth, my mother,  
    I do not wish to fly in the air,  
    nor ride in carts, on horseback, wear socks or put on shoes,  
    I only wish to go barefoot, ever closer to you.  

What needs pointing out is that Guo’s admiration for the simple, plain, innocent, pastoral, primitive, and close-to-nature life clearly reminds us of both the Chinese Taoist and Western Romanticist influences that he had received by this period. In other words, the tension between his interest in industrial and urban modernity and his love for rural and primitive innocence is not necessarily always an issue of the East vs. the West.

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412 To some degree, it also reminds us of the fact that he had been brought up in a rural setting in Sichuan and, by the time he went to Shanghai in April 1921, he had lived for about six years in Japan mostly in areas that were not typically urban or industrial centers.
In Guo's thinking during this period we also see a dichotomy of his iconoclasm vs. his idolization of Goethe and Confucius and his tendency to deify man.

Guo's iconoclasm can be seen in his "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History." In that article, he seriously criticizes "the Dark Ages" of the Three Dynasties for their "superstitious thinking," "established" religions, and "theocracy." In the preface to his translation of The Sorrows of Young Werther, he also praises Goethe's attitudes "against established religions." Further, in his poem "Ode to the Bandits," he praises Nietzsche's "revolutionary" act of "deceiving god."

What should be noted here is that Guo's iconoclasm was related to his pantheist thinking. As mentioned previously, he once noted that pantheism led to atheism. In other words, the pantheist worship of everything actually meant that there should not be worship of any specific god(s) as being superior to and having divine authority over others. Guo's pantheism-based iconoclasm was probably best shown in a poem that he wrote in 1920

I am an Idolater
I am an idolater;
I worship the sun, worship mountain peaks, worship the sea;

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I worship water, worship fire, worship volcanoes, worship the great rivers;
I worship life, worship death, worship light, worship darkness;
I worship Suez, worship Panama, worship the Great Wall, worship the Pyramids;
I worship the creative spirit, worship strength, worship blood, worship the heart;
I worship bombs, worship sorrow, worship destruction;
I worship iconoclasts, worship myself, for I am also an iconoclast!\(^{416}\)

While expressing his iconoclastic attitude toward "established religions," however, Guo demonstrated a tendency toward a new form of idolization, as can be seen in his idolizing Goethe and Confucius. As mentioned previously, he had worshipped Goethe and Confucius as the only two "all-round geniuses" that had ever existed in human history, as perfection of the development of both human "soul" and "flesh," and, above all, as "the best of all human beings." With this extreme praise for Goethe and Confucius and emphasis on the perfection of humanity that he had found in them, Guo made the two figures into what may be called icons of humanity, icons that could be identified with May Fourth's celebration of humanity.

What needs elaborating here is Guo's attitude towards Confucius. For Guo, Confucius was no longer a dehumanized religious icon. In a letter to Zong Baohua, for instance, he specifically notes that for him Confucius was not a "religious figure" or "religious founder."\(^{417}\) To a great extent, what


attracted him now was the human that he had found in Confucius. However, it should be pointed out that, even though Guo was not treating Confucius as a religious idol, the enthusiasm with which he worshipped the "human" Confucius somehow still reminds us of Liao Ping school's enthusiasm to religiously idolize Confucius. After all, Guo had been significantly influenced by that school of thinking in his early years in Sichuan.  

The extreme of Guo's celebration and worship of humanity was perhaps seen in a tendency in his thinking to deify man and his power. This tendency can be seen in the following passage from "Pyramids," a poem that he wrote in June-July 1920:

Create! Create! Create with all your might!
The creative forces of man can rival those of the gods.  

His tendency to deify man can also be seen in his taking pride in what he saw as the deification of man in China's ancient tradition. As mentioned previously, in "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History," he speaks highly of the ancient Chinese belief that it was "man" who "created all the million things and man himself was god." In ancient Chinese thinking, he further praises, "Heaven (god) was people and people were


Heaven (god)." Here, two points can be made. First, Guo demonstrated that he had been influenced by certain tendencies in China’s tradition to deify man. Secondly, in his effort to fight against "established religions" and "superstitions" in the May Fourth era, he was to a certain extent referring to China’s ancient tradition for justification of his celebration and worship of humanity.

Guo’s tendency to deify man and his power was also intertwined with his pantheist thinking. When praising Goethe’s pantheism, he had specifically noted that pantheism led to a conclusion that man, as everything else in the world, is not only "expression of god" but is also himself god.422 Guo’s deification of man’s power can also be related to his having been influenced by the strong emphasis on the power of man’s mind-heart by Wang Yangming, whose thinking, as Confucian thinking in general, carries substantial pantheist elements.

Moral and spiritual concerns also continued to be a major issue in Guo’s thinking. Though he had managed to justify his rebellion against the arranged marriage and against lijiao, there was something very interesting in the way he came to that justification. As shown previously, Guo, as well as his friends Tian Shouchang and Zong Baihua, largely justified his rebellion with the fact that the "sins" and "human desires"


that he had displayed in his actions against the ethics of *lijiao* were no different than those displayed by such celebrated Western figures as Goethe, Rousseau, St. Augustine, and Tolstoy. As Tian Shouchang put it, there are hardly men who are born perfect and the best of human beings are those who confess their sins and improve themselves. Since Guo had the courage and sincerity to confess his "sins" and "human desires," as Rousseau, St. Augustine, and Tolstoy had, he was alright. What is significant here is that Guo and his friends in their justification of his rebellion never went as far as saying loudly and clearly that his "human desires" themselves were good. For Guo and his friends, such desires, no matter how excusable they were now, still more or less fell into the category of "sins," something that still needed to be controlled and conquered in order for a person to be a perfect human being. Such moral attitude towards "human desires" and the longing to transcend such desires can be seen, for instance, in Guo’s preface to *San Ye Ji*, the work in which he and his friends managed to justify his desires. The whole of that preface, as shown below, is a quote from Goethe’s *Faust*.

Two souls, alas! reside within my breast,  
and each is eager for a separation:  
in throes of coarse desire, one grips  
the earth with all its senses;  
the other struggles from the dust  
to rise to high ancestral spheres.  
If there are spirits in the air  
who hold domain between this world and heaven--  
out of your golden haze descend,

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transport me to a new and brighter life!\textsuperscript{424}

Guo’s moral attitude towards human desires can also be seen in a letter that he wrote to Tian Shouchang on March 6, 1920. In that letter, he tells his friend about a book written by Arishima Takeo, a Japanese writer who had been substantially influenced by Western and especially Christian thinking. What he "liked best" in Takeo’s book, Guo says, was a story which to him symbolized a "fierce battle" between the "pure soul" and the "sham," "filth," "degeneration," and "darkness" of the world of "flesh desires;" a struggle between honesty and dishonesty;" and a "confrontation between idea and reality."\textsuperscript{425} The way in which Guo describes the story clearly demonstrates his own contempt for the desires of flesh and his admiration and longing for the purification of the soul. Guo explicitly compares himself in the letter to a character in Takeo’s story who experienced the painful struggle between flesh desires and the "pure soul."\textsuperscript{426} It needs to be pointed out that Guo’s letter was written after all the confessional letters that he wrote to Tian Shouchang and Zong Baihua and the response from Tian and Zong that helped justify his rebellion against the arranged marriage. In other words, after

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{424} Guo Moruo et al 1923, San ye ji: 1; Goethe 1984, Faust: 30.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{425} Guo Moruo et al 1923, San ye ji: 112-116.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{426} Guo Moruo et al 1923, San ye ji: 111-112.
\end{flushright}
already having his rebellion justified, Guo still carried strong moral attitudes against the "sins" of human desires.

Another example of Guo's attitude toward human desires can be seen in his disgust at the "loud and lascivious" "flesh" and the "short sleeves of women" that he saw on the street of Shanghai when he returned to China in April 1921. His attitude reminds one of Old Mr. Wu in Mao Dun's (1896-1981) novel Midnight who, coming to Shanghai for the first time from the conservative countryside, was dizzied on the city's street by women's flesh revealed by modern clothing.

To a great extent, the moralistic attitude that Guo demonstrates toward desires can be traced to the Confucian concept of moral self cultivation, a major part of the ethics of virtues in the Confucian value system. Contempt for human desires, it should be added, was an especially highlighted theme in the Confucian thinking of Wang Yangming, whose emphasis on people's inner virtues had profoundly influenced Guo. In a sense, Guo's moral attitude here further illustrates the fact that, while breaking with Confucian ethics of social constraints such as the father/son and husband/wife bonds of the Three Bonds, he was still under significant influence by some of the Confucian ethics of virtues.

Guo's ethical concerns can also be traced to the moralistic thinking of Tagore and Kabir. Further, the influence on him by certain moralistic elements in Western

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Christian cultures might have also contributed to his moral attitude. After all, he had seriously studied the Bible and had loved and lived with Tomiko who was a Christian. The presence of Christian thinking may explain his "liking" the book by Arishima Takeo, which carries substantial Christian messages.\textsuperscript{428}

Guo's moral and spiritual attitude is also seen in a continual tendency in his thinking to transcend material concerns. As he once put it, "in order to deal with the mundane world you have to have the mentality to transcend such mundane world."\textsuperscript{429} One of the mundane material things that he tried not to covet was money. For instance, in about early February 1920 Zong Baihua on behalf of Shi Shi Xin Bao informed Guo that the newspaper was to send him some money as payment for some of his poems that it had published. With his low income at the time, Guo certainly needed this money to support his family. He certainly also deserved the money as it was the payment for the publication of his works. In a letter to Zong written on February 15, 1920, however, Guo seriously asks Zong not to pay him the money. "None of the works that I have sent to you deserves payment," Guo says to Zong in the letter. "Besides, it was not my intention to ask for payment for those works."\textsuperscript{430}

\textsuperscript{428} Guo Moruo et al 1923, \textit{San ye ji}: 112-116.

\textsuperscript{429} Guo Moruo et al 1923, \textit{San ye ji}: 145.

\textsuperscript{430} Guo Moruo et al 1923, \textit{San ye ji}: 56-57, 77-78.
Guo's attitude toward money is also seen in his relationship with Tai Dong when he was working for the book company in Shanghai. Even though he badly needed money and did not feel comfortable with Tai Dong's financial treatment of him, he never openly talked this over with the company as it seemed too mundane and too materialistic for him to talk about money issues. Not to talk about money, unfortunately, did not solve his real financial problems. As a result, he was torn between his need to support his family and his pride in not talking about money with Tai Dong. This, in a sense, contributed to the awkwardness that he felt in his relationship with Tai Dong. Such awkwardness, as mentioned previously, was one of the factors that made him leave Shanghai in September 1921 and go back to Japan to continue with his medical studies.

Guo's tendency to transcend material matters can in a way also be seen in his article "On Boycotting Japanese Goods." In that article, as mentioned previously, he argues that many of the goods that China had imported from Japan fall into the category of what he calls "luxuries," things that did not have much to do with people's "actual life" and had been imported by China only because the Chinese had a bad habit of indulging in luxury and extravagance. What is interesting here is that his long list of "luxuries" range from seafood, tea, refined sugar, medicine, canned food, to toys, make-up, soap,
textile, leather, and glass products.\textsuperscript{431} Guo's main argument here, of course, is that some of those products could be replaced with products made by China's own industries. However, the fact that he literally defines so many otherwise commonly needed products in modern life as "luxuries" indicates a certain philosophy of minimum material living, something that he was to express again in some of his writings in the next period.

Guo's attitude towards material matters can to some degree be traced to his having been influenced by certain traditional Chinese, especially Taoist, indifference towards or even contempt for material and mundane matters. The influence of the Romantic and idealistic thinking and life style of such Western figures as Goethe, it should be added, might also have contributed to Guo's such attitude.

Guo's tendency to transcend material concerns can also be related to his pantheist ideal of transcending such mundane matters as the self, life, and death and becoming one with god and therefore reaching the ultimate status of spiritual happiness.\textsuperscript{432}

The dichotomy of reason vs. intuition and emotion is another issue in Guo's thinking. This can be seen in the letter that he wrote to Zong Baihua on February 16, 1920. In that letter, he talks about a "contradiction" in the minds of

\textsuperscript{431} Guo Moruo 1988, \textit{Guo Moruo yiwenji (1)}: 19-21.

\textsuperscript{432} Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 228-229.
"young people" like him: "on the one hand, we want to seek truth and develop our reason; on the other hand, we want to follow our dreams and find it hard to abandon our intuition. This is not simply a hereditary mentality of we Chinese. It is truly something that all people have as a common human nature. I believe that we should neither be lopsided nor make sweeping generalizations on this issue. In my opinion, on the one hand, we should make every effort to develop our reason wherever reason should be developed; on the other hand, we should fully use our intuition wherever intuition should be used."

That "contradiction" in Guo's thinking can also be seen in his letter to Zong dated January 18, 1920. In that letter, in a not very clear manner, he tries to compare the poet's intuition with the philosopher's reason and tries to find a balanced relationship between intuition and reason by integrating them in the philosophy of pantheism, which he believed should be the ideal "world view of the poet." "The poet," he says in the letter, "is in common with the philosopher in that they both consider the whole of the universe as their object and both take it as their bounden duty to see and examine penetratingly the essence of all the myriad things. The difference between the poet and philosopher, however, is that the poet only has his pure intuition as his efficient tool whereas the philosopher has accurate reasoning as an additional efficient tool. The poet

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is a favorite son of feelings while the philosopher is a nominal son of reason. The poet is an embodiment of 'beauty' while the philosopher is an example of 'truth.' ...I believe that pantheism in philosophy is really a lovely child who is fathered by reason and mothered by feelings. If a philosopher is not satisfied with the lifeless world view provided by those upholsterer(s), he will naturally lean towards pantheism and consider the whole universe as a lively and active organism. Every human being has reason. Every human being has his own world view and his own outlook on life. Even though the poet is a favorite son of feelings, he also has his reason and his world view and outlook on life. It is thus natural that, as you said to me, 'the ideal world view for the poet should be pantheism'..."\(^{434}\)

While Guo's emphasis on intuition and emotion can be traced to what he called the "emotionalism" in Goethe's Romantic thinking, his faith in reason can be traced to his having been professionally and systematically trained in modern sciences.\(^{435}\) Though for various reasons he was not so keen on majoring in medicine, his medical studies had given him some solid training in science and scientific reasoning. It should also be mentioned here that his faith in science and reason had been a result of his having been influenced by China's increasing interest in Western sciences as well as by


\(^{435}\) Guo Moruo 1984, *Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)*: 228.
modern Japan's solid efforts to learn from Western sciences and Western scientific methods. Guo's faith in sciences was such that in his article "Coal, Iron, and Japan" he specifically defends "scientific civilization" against the criticism that the disaster of World War I had symbolized the failure of Western "scientific civilization."\(^{436}\)

Finally, it should be pointed out that the tension in Guo's thinking between reason and emotion during this period to a certain extent reminds us of his having agonized over the choice between majoring in sciences and sticking to his own interest in and love for poetry and literature ever since his early years in Sichuan.

There also continued to be a major dichotomy of individualism vs. collectivism in Guo's thinking. First, one of his favorite themes in this period was the development of people's "individual gifts," "the expansion of the energy of the individual," "the expansion of the self," having "a life of the complete self," and the "free expression" of oneself.\(^{437}\) Throughout this period, his thinking was characterized by an emphasis on the self and a celebration of individuality. In fact, with the justification of his rebellion against lijiao, with his self discovery in literature and his fame as a new star poet, above all, with


"the emancipation of his feelings," he had been through a profound change from a depressed person with low self esteem to a man with celebrated ego and individuality. The overjoy over his newly emancipated individuality and ego can be seen in the almost hysterical way that he asserts himself in the following poem, written in early February 1920

Heavenly Dog
I am a heavenly dog!
I have swallowed the moon,
I have swallowed the sun,
I have swallowed all the stars,
I have swallowed the whole universe.
I am myself!

I am the light of the moon,
I am the light of the sun,
I am the light of all the stars,
I am the light of X-ray,
I am the total of all the energy in the universe.

I am dashing,
I am shouting crazily,
I am burning.
I am burning like raging fire!
I am shouting crazily like the sea!
I am dashing like electricity!
I am dashing,
I am dashing,
I am dashing,
I am dashing,
I am peeling off my skin,
I am eating my flesh,
I am chewing my blood,
I am gnawing my heart and liver,
I am dashing on my nerves,
I am dashing on my spinal cord,
I am dashing on my brain.

I am myself!
This self of mine is going to explode!\(^{438}\)

Guo’s assertion of self and his celebration of individuality, however, was also intertwined with his nationalist and

cosmopolitanist concerns in his interaction with his milieus.

Though somewhat overshadowed by his individualism, Guo's concern for China, or his nationalism, was still a substantial factor in his thinking during this period. Despite his profound disillusion with China's ugly reality by the end of this period, he never stopped caring for China. Instead, what resulted from his disillusion was his increasingly strong love/hate feeling towards his motherland, something that was also seen in his contemporaries such as Lu Xun. In Guo's case, such feeling, together with other factors, was to contribute to his increasing interest in Communism as a badly needed radical and effective way to save China.

The relationship between Guo's individualism and his cosmopolitanism in this period was an interesting one. Instead of separating the individual's interests from those of the ultimate collective of the world and mankind, he sometimes presented the individual as an integral part of the whole human race. In his "Coal, Iron, and Japan," for instance, he notes that the purpose of developing people's "individual gifts" and "expanding the energy of the individual" was to promote "the life of evolution of the whole of mankind." In another article, entitled "My Opinion on Children's Literature" (January 1921), he also points out that "the fundamental reform of human society should start with the reform of people...Fine and pure society is based on fine and

pure individuals." In spite of his overall emphasis on individualism, Guo did also occasionally show the willingness to sacrifice the self for the sake of mankind. In his "Wild Cherry Blossoms," for instance, he makes Nie Ying, one of his two heroic characters in the poetic drama, say the following: "right now all our sisters and brothers under heaven are suffering bitterly in their life. It will be our ultimate happiness if we can save them from their sufferings with the sacrifice of our own individual lives." As will be shown in the next chapter, when various factors increasingly frustrated his individualism in the next period of his life, Guo’s cosmopolitanist mentality of sacrificing the self for mankind was to keep growing and gradually overshadow the individualist elements in his thinking.

With the way he related people’s individuality to the interests of the whole of mankind, Guo ended up having an interesting combination: on the one hand, he had an individualism that might be called a cosmopolitanist individualism, one that emphasized the development of the self and individual for the ultimate benefit of the whole human race. On the other hand, he had a cosmopolitanism that might be considered an individualistic cosmopolitanism, a cosmopolitanist concept that allowed the fullest development of individuals. Whatever we call it, Guo’s thinking here

reminds us of the Confucian integral system that starts with
the self (self cultivation or xiu shen) and eventually ends
with the ultimate collective of the whole world (harmonizing
the world or ping tianxia). Interestingly, it also reminds us
of Marx's idea that an ultimate goal of Communist collectivism
is to let each individual in society enjoy full development of
his/her individuality.

Guo's occasionally shown mentality of transcending one's
self for cosmopolitanist causes can be traced to his
pantheism, which, as mentioned previously, was a result of his
being influenced by various Western and Eastern pantheist
thinking. This can be seen in the way he explains Goethe's
pantheism in the preface to his translation of The Sorrows of
Young Werther. In that preface, he notes that according to
Goethe's pantheist thinking, with which he totally agreed, the
"expansion of the self" was just an "active way" to reach the
ultimate goal of being "selfless." Once one does become
"selfless," he "will transcend all time, space, life, and
death" and "be integrated with god," whose expression is all
that is in the universe.442 Such pantheist thinking reminds us
of the concept of "the integration of heaven and man" (tianren
he yi) in Confucianism, by which Guo had been so profoundly
influenced.

As a poet and writer in this period, Guo might have best
demonstrated his thinking on the issue of individualism vs.

collectivism in what he expressed on the nature of literature and literary writing. In September 1920, for instance, he published two letters to a friend named Chen Jianlei (?-?), in which there was his following poem

Spring Silkworms
Silkworms!
you are spinning silk....
No, it is poetry you are spinning! 443
How is it that your poetry is so fine?
so charming?
so delicate?
so pure?
so...
Alas, my vocabulary isn’t enough to describe you,
Silkworms!

Silkworms!
I want to ask you:
is your poetry premeditated?
or is it unprompted?
is it artificial?
or is it a natural flow?
Do you make it for others?
or simply for yourselves?...
Silkworms! Alas, why don’t you answer me?
Silkworms!
I believe that your poetry
is spontaneous;
and it is a natural flow;
you are creating your "palace of art,"
and you are creating it for yourselves...
Isn’t that right? Silkworms!

Silkworms!
I believe that
you are also unselfish:
you do not mind making sacrifices,
you do not mind others’ taking your silk.
Musicians play various music,
with strings made of the silk they take from you;
Young girls embroider the Madonna,
with the silk they take from you.
The Madonna, the musicians’ music,
are all from your silk (poetry),

443 Guo here played on two Chinese characters: si (silk) and shi (poetry).
but to have your silk (poetry),
The musicians and girls have to come and get it
themselves.
Isn’t that right? Silkworms!
Why don’t you answer me?"\(^{44}\)

In this poem, Guo is expressing on the one hand his idea that,
like silkworms spinning silk for themselves, a poet writes
poetry primarily for the purpose of spontaneously expressing
himself and satisfying himself. On the other hand, Guo does
manage to mention that like silkworms the poet does not mind
having his works benefit others and society. For Guo, however,
it is up to those others and society to try to benefit from
the poet’s works. As for the poet himself, the social
functions and benefits of his poetry are only a casual by-
product of his work and, as such, they are at best only of
secondary concern to him.

In his letter to Chen Jianlei, Guo elaborates the idea
that he expresses in the poem: "I reject utilitarianism
(gongli zhuyi) in poem writing. When a person does his
literary creation there shouldn’t be any utilitarian ideas in
his mind. The only thing that he should focus on is the
cultivation of his own morals and character." Art, Guo
continues, is the "expression of the ultimate spirit." "All
pure and genuine art works benefit the society and help
people." Pure and genuine art works, however, can only be

\(^{44}\) Guo Moruo 1988, \textit{Guo Moruo yiwenji (1)}: 31-32; Guo Moruo
1983, \textit{Nushen (huijiao ben)}: 144-146. Note: I have consulted
Selected Poems from the Goddesses (1958) for part of the
translation here.
achieved by artists when they are without the utilitarian purpose of benefiting others.\textsuperscript{445}

In "My Opinion on Children's Literature," Guo further makes the following argument

On the issue of literature there has been a controversy recently between utilitarianism and aestheticism, i.e., between "art for society's sake" and "art for art's sake." In my opinion, it all depends on the angle from which you look at the matter. On the one hand, literature does have its utilitarian side. Those antisocial and misanthropic works in literature, (for example,) have profound effects on social reforms and on the improvement of human nature. With those effects in consideration, we cannot say that literature is not "social art." On the other hand, if a writer is overcautious and lets utilitarian concerns restrain him when writing his works, then his works are bound to end up being shallow and unable to move readers. Such shallow works are not even art. If the works are not art, then we do not even have a point in arguing whether they are "social art" or "non-social art." In short, I believe that the balanced and reasonable thing for us to do is: when looking from the angle of literary creation (writing), follow aestheticism; when looking from the angle of the appreciation of literary works, follow utilitarianism.\textsuperscript{446}

It should be noted that, even though Guo was here seemingly making a balanced argument, he still made it very clear that, from his angle as a writer or "creator" of literary works, it was aestheticism and the principle of "art for art's sake" that should be followed.\textsuperscript{447}

\textsuperscript{445} Guo Moruo 1988, \textit{Guo Moruo yiwenji (1)}: 32.

\textsuperscript{446} Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 191-192.

\textsuperscript{447} Guo later in 1936 was to deny that he had ever advocated the idea of "art for art's sake."--See: Guo Moruo 1983, \textit{Nushen (huijiao ben)}: 201. Apart from the possibility that he was trying to cover up for himself, what he said in 1936 is partially true because, as shown above, he in the 1920's did marginally and casually give some attention to the social functions of literary works.
In a short essay that he wrote in February 1921, entitled "Symbols of Art," Guo also notes: "I like silk-making spring silkworms and I like honey-making bees. However, I like silkworms not because their silk can make clothes for people; neither do I like bees for the fact that their honey nourishes people."\(^{448}\) Then, in his "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History," he emphasizes once again that "it is the satisfaction of a person's own impulse that is the purpose of all his writing and studying. In our process of writing and studying, there is no time for utilitarian concerns."\(^{449}\)

It is important to note that, when publishing his "Spring Silkworms" again in August 1921 in the first edition of the Goddesses, Guo completely cut off the last part of the above quoted original 1920 version of the poem, the part that he wrote on the casual unselfishness of silkworms. With such a major change, the new 1921 version completely ignores the issue of the social functions of poetry and fully highlights the theme of the poet's individuality and the individualistic nature of his work.

Overall, as shown in his opinion on the nature of literature and literary writing, Guo's thinking in this period featured a dominant theme of individualism and emancipation and celebration of his individuality, even though he was not without substantial concerns for the various collectives.


Related to the issue of individualism vs. collectivism was a dichotomy of nationalism vs. cosmopolitanism in Guo’s thinking. On the one hand, as mentioned previously, throughout this period Guo had demonstrated substantial nationalist concerns and feelings. On the other hand, his cosmopolitanist thinking had sometimes led him to transcend his own nationalism. His cosmopolitanist tendency, it should be added, might be related to his having stayed away from China in Japan for many years, thus distancing him from his home country. In other words, the international perspective that he had gained by living abroad might have been one of the factors that contributed to his sometimes going beyond mere nationalist concerns. This point, however, can not be pushed too far, since nationalism did exist as a substantial part of his thinking during this period.

Gradualism vs. radicalism was also an issue in Guo’s thinking. First of all, even though not very often, he did show in this period that he was not without interest in gradualist approaches in solving social and political problems. For instance, in his poem "The Lessons of the Cannons," he speaks highly of Tolstoy’s "love" for Mo Zi’s concepts of "universal love" (jian ai) and "non-confrontation" (fei zheng). He also notes in the poem that he very much agreed with Tolstoy’s concept of "non-resistance" (wu kang), a concept that is significantly similar to the concept of non-
violence by Gandhi (1869-1948).\textsuperscript{450} Guo's interest in the Western "bourgeois" concept of democracy in this period, it should be noted, was also an example of the non-radical side of his thinking.\textsuperscript{451}

Overall, however, it was radicalism that was more visible in Guo's political thinking. As mentioned previously, after the 1917 Soviet revolution and the disaster of World War I, he had been increasingly influenced by Marxism, Leninism, and other Leftist thought. As a result of such influence, he demonstrated increasing interest in the radical concept of using violence and revolution to solve social and political problems in China and in the world. In late 1919, for instance, in his poem "Ode to the Bandits" he enthusiastically salutes various "bandits" of a wide range of revolutions.\textsuperscript{452} In his "I am an Idolater," he notes that he worshipped "blood," "bombs," and destruction.\textsuperscript{453} Further, in his "Wild Cherry Blossoms," written in September 1920, he lets the heroine in the poetic drama sing the following to her brother

\begin{quote}
I expect that your fresh red blood
will blossom into flowers of liberty
all over China!\textsuperscript{454}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{450} Guo Moruo 1983, \textit{Nushen} (huijiao ben): 112.
\textsuperscript{452} Guo Moruo 1983, \textit{Nushen} (huijiao ben): 115-118.
\textsuperscript{453} Guo Moruo 1983, \textit{Nushen} (huijiao ben): 100.
One month later, in October 1920, in his poem "A White Sheep amongst Wolves" Guo expresses the idea that "bombs," "rifle(s)," and "swords" should be used against imperialist powers in the world.\textsuperscript{455} Then, in his "My Prose Poem," published in December 1920, he writes the following

\begin{quote}
The Wails of the Earth
In the past few nights I kept hearing a loud crying from the earth:
'I am in pain! I am in pain! I am being trampled by the whole bunch of you unambitious villains and thieves and I can not bear it any more. I do not believe that there won't be another Chen She and Wu Guang among us (to stand up and rebel against you.).'\textsuperscript{456}
\end{quote}

Guo's enthusiasm for revolution is perhaps best seen in the preface poem that he wrote in August 1921 for his friend Zhu Qianzhi's book \textbf{The Philosophy of Revolution}:

\begin{quote}
A Wild Song for Revolution in the Universe

...\ 
A great hint--the Yellow River! The Yangzi River!
I have traveled across the bloody surge of the Yellow Sea,
the blood that you have poured out from your bodies, has colored the water of that sea red!
The inhabitants of the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers: your eyes have been blinded by that overwhelming pressure?
You don't even get such a visible, bold, and great hint?

...\ 
Quick! Add a bit more blood into those rivers of blood!
Quick! Add a bit more blood into that sea of blood!
Let the bloody surge of the Yellow River color all the sea water red in the whole world!
It is the spirit of revolution that is the existence of the whole universe!

The universe is nothing but a movement!
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{455} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Guo Moruo nushen jiwi yiwen}: 67-68.

\textsuperscript{456} Chen She (?-208 BC) and Wu Guang (?-209BC) were leaders of a major peasant uprising against the Qin Dynasty (221-207 BC) (Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Guo Moruo nushen jiwi yiwen}: 69).
The universe is nothing but a mind-heart!
The mind-heart is a bomb!
The explosive in that bomb is a true feeling!
That true feeling is the spirit of revolution!
It just takes us a throw (of the bomb)!
and this huge universe
will burst into clouds of fresh red fire!
Throw! Throw! Throw!
Destroy these sand-based buildings of ours!\footnote{457}

Here, it should be pointed out that Guo's interest in the
Leftist thought and in the use of violence and revolution for
social and political reforms is related to what Dr. Hao Chang
calls a "mentality of extremes." As Dr. Chang put it, as a
result of the "political and cultural crises" in China in the
1920's and 1930's, there existed among some Chinese a
mentality of seeing things in terms of two extremes: on the
one hand, there was the extreme of the "darkness" and "death"
of the reality at the time; on the other hand, there was the
extreme of an "eagerly expected" future whose "light" and
"rebirth" would contrast sharply with the dark reality.\footnote{458}
Such mentality of extremes is substantially seen in Guo's
thinking in this period. In his letter to Chen Jianlei in July
1920, for instance, he tells his friend: "...I have suffered
a lot and I have witnessed too much darkness. What I need now
is salvation and light."\footnote{459} In his poetic drama "Rebirth of
the Goddesses," he repeatedly lets his goddesses sing the
following

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{457} Guo Moruo 1988, \textit{Guo Moruo yiwenji (1)}: 28-29.
\item \footnote{458} Chang Hao 1989, \textit{Youan yishi yu minzhu chuantong} : 204.
\item \footnote{459} Guo Moruo 1988, \textit{Guo Moruo yiwenji (1)}: 32-33.
\end{itemize}}
I will go forth and create new light,
...
I will go forth and create a new sun
...
We will create a new sun,
...
Let our newly created sun issue forth,
then will it shine through all the inner world and the outer.
...
We desire to embrace all things.
Let us sing a song of welcome to the newly created sun.
...
Sun, although you are still far away,
sun, although you are still far away,
now the morning bell can be heard pealing in the sea:
ding-dong, ding-dong, ding-dong!

Ten thousand golden arrows shoot at the Wolf of Heaven;
the Wolf of Heaven grieves in the dark.
Now the funeral knell can be heard in the sea:
ding-dong, ding-dong, ding-dong!

We wish to quaff a stoup of wine.
Drink to the everlasting life of our new sun.\(^{460}\)

Further, at the end of the drama, Guo lets a "stage manager" appear and make the following speech to the audience of the drama

Ladies and gentlemen, you have become tired of living in the foetid gloom of this dark world. You surely thirst for light. Your poet, having dramatized so far, writes no more. He has, in fact, fled beyond the sea to create new light and heat. Ladies and gentlemen, do you await the appearance of a new sun? You are bid to create it for yourselves. We will meet again under the new sun.\(^{461}\)

Here, a point can be made that Guo’s resentment against the "dark" reality and his "thirst" for the future "sun" and "light" was a major reason for his being attracted to radical

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thinking such as Marxism and Leninism, which promised, by way of using violence and revolution, to quickly, effectively, and thoroughly destroy the dark world and create a brand new world of beauty and perfection.

It should be noted, however, that Guo's interest in radicalism, as visible as it was, did not yet become a dominant issue in his thinking during this period. For one thing, his individualist tendency was still too strong for him to become a convert to Communism or other radical causes. It was not until the next period that, as a result of the development of various factors in his life and in his milieu, he would finally go through a profound radicalization in his thinking.

Finally, Guo's life and thinking during this period also featured a strong theme of "action" and admiration for "power" and "movement," a theme that was consistent with the overall emancipation of his mind and the outburst of his literary energies. For instance, a desire that he repeatedly expressed in his writings was to take the action of "creating" (chuangzao). Not only did he want to create "the literature of life" and "the Palace of Art" for the main purpose of expressing himself as a poet and writer, but he also wanted to create "man" and create a new world with "a new sun" and "new light and heat." With this "creative" mentality, it was no

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coincidence that he and his friends named their literary organization "the Creation Society."

Guo's admiration for power can be seen in his poem "Shouting on the Rim of the World," written in late 1919:

Endless tumult of angry white clouds, sublime arctic landscape.
The mighty Pacific gathers her strength to engulf the earth, the surging flood wells up before me:
unending destruction, unending creation, unending effort.
Ah, power, power!
Picture of power, dance of power, music of power, poetry of power, gamut of power!  

As mentioned previously, in his "I am an Idolater" he also notes that he "worshipped the creative spirit" and "worshipped strength." In his "A Wild Song for Revolution in the Universe," then, he writes that "the universe is nothing but a movement!" The theme of action in his thinking, it should be added here, is also seen in his interpreting ancient Chinese thinking as an "active and evolutionary world view."

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466 Guo Moruo 1988, Guo Moruo yiwenji (1): 76, 81.
CHAPTER IV
FINDING A CONFUCIAN/MARXIST SOLUTION
(September 1921–July 1926)

I. CHANGES AND EVENTS IN GUO’S HISTORICAL AND INTELLECTUAL MILIEUS

During this period Guo continued to move between China and Japan and his life and thinking were affected by changes and events that took place in both countries. With his increasing ties with China, however, China once again had become the focal point of his life.

China continued to suffer from the darkness and chaos of warlord politics. Further, foreign powers, many of whom had been busy fighting among themselves during the First World War and thus focused less on their imperialist interests in China, now found time and energy after the war to come back to China. One direct result of this return of the foreign powers was an increasing foreign threat to China’s native industries, which had been fairly free of competition during the war and had enjoyed certain development. A noticeable fact in this regard was that, since 1922, part of China’s textile industries had been crushed by overwhelming foreign competition.\(^{467}\)

\(^{467}\)Guo Moruo 1982, Guo Moruo jiwai xubaji: 44.

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This increasing imperialist presence resulted in two major incidents: the May Thirtieth Incident and the March Eighteenth Incident.

First, on May 30, 1925, Chinese students and masses gathered in Shanghai's foreign concessions to protest the killing of a Chinese worker by the management of a Japanese cotton weaving factory in Shanghai. Foreign police at the concessions opened fire on the protesters, killing at least ten and wounding several dozens. This incident greatly angered the Chinese people and triggered off a nationwide movement in China against foreign imperialism.

The March Eighteenth Incident took place ten months later. On March 18, 1926, about five thousand Chinese held a meeting in Beijing to protest against a Japanese attack on China's Dagukou Fort at Tianjin earlier in the month and subsequent imperialist demands made to the Chinese government by Japan and some other foreign powers. In its cracking down on the protesters, China's warlord government killed at least forty and wounded over a hundred.

Another significant event in China's historical situation in this period was the cooperation since 1923 between Sun Yat-sen's Nationalist Party (Guomindang) and the newly-born Chinese Communist Party. Such cooperation was to lead to the joint effort by the two parties in the anti-warlord Northern Expedition.
Intellectually, the May Fourth movement entered its final stage. There were major controversies in Chinese intellectual circles over Eastern and Western civilizations and over science and metaphysics, in which some intellectuals, partially as a result of their reflection upon the disaster of the First World War, expressed serious doubts about and criticism of the values and concepts of the so-called Western "scientific civilization." Meanwhile, there were increasing efforts among these intellectuals to defend and restore faith in China's Confucian tradition. To a certain extent, this criticism of Western civilization and defense of Confucian tradition can be viewed as a counter-balance to the seemingly overwhelming enthusiasm for the West and attacks on tradition during the early years of the May Fourth era.

In Japan some intellectuals continued their interest in Marxism and the leftist movement grew after the First World War. Kawakami Hajime, for instance, continued to influence Japanese intellectual circles with his interpretation of Marxism, publishing in 1922 one of his major works Social Organization and Social Revolution (Shakai soshiki to shakai kakumei). Also noticeable in this period was the publication and influence of some Leftist journals. For instance, Kaizo (Reconstruction), which had been publishing since 1919, and Tane Maku Hito (The Sowers 1921-1923), a monthly journal which played a significant role in Japan's "proletarian literature movement."
II. INTERACTING WITH HIS MILIEUS

1. Coping with Problems in his Personal and Community Life: Difficulty in Making a Living and Frustration with Literary Career

Guo went back to medical school at Fukuoka in September 1921.\(^{468}\) While attending medical school, he continued with his literary activities, including contributing to *Chuang Zao* Quarterly.\(^{469}\) Except for the summer break of 1922, which he spent in Shanghai, he stayed in Japan until he graduated from medical school in March 1923.\(^{470}\) One month later, in April 1923, he left Japan and, for the first time, took Tomiko and their children with him to China.\(^{471}\) In April 1924, he returned to Japan and lived there with his family until they moved back to China in November that year.\(^{472}\)

A major problem for Guo during this period was the financial difficulty and uncertainty that he experienced in trying to make a living in his beloved literature. Throughout most of the previous periods in his life, living had been basically secured for him, even though he had seldom had much

\(^{468}\) Wang Jiquan and Tong Weigang 1983, *Guo Moruo nianpu (1)*: 121; Guo Moruo 1978, *Xuesheng shidai*: 122

\(^{469}\) Guo Moruo 1978, *Xuesheng shidai*: 122-123


money. First, in his early years in Sichuan, he was comfortably supported by his parents. Then, from 1914 on, he had relied on his Chinese government scholarship for regular financial income, even though in early 1914 he had to work very hard to qualify for that scholarship. Problems did not occur until the summer of 1921, when he made his first efforts to make a career in literature. As mentioned in the previous chapter, after trying for several months, he towards the end of that summer had become increasingly frustrated by the fact that he could hardly support himself and his family in the literary profession in China. This frustration was a major reason why he went back to Japan at the end of the last period to continue with his medical studies. At the time, going back to medical school at least enabled him to continue to receive the Chinese government scholarship as a regular financial income for his family. In addition, with the uncertainty that he had seen in the literary profession, it seemed that for the time being he could not afford to completely give up the idea of someday having to practice medicine for a living. By the time of his graduation in March 1923, however, it had finally become obvious that medical practice was not something that he wanted to or could do. For one thing, with his love for literature he had simply little interest left for medicine. Further, with his handicapped hearing, it had become clear now that he could hardly function well as a medical doctor even if
he had wanted to.\textsuperscript{473} Though Guo could hardly make a good doctor, the opportunity existed to make a good living in the medical profession in China. Even before his graduation, his oldest brother, obviously through connections, had already arranged for him to work as a doctor in a hospital that belonged to a local Red Cross in Sichuan. Not only did the Red Cross offer Guo a good salary, but it even sent two people to Shanghai in early 1924, about a year after his graduation, to help him relocate to Sichuan and deliver to him a handsome amount of money (1,000 liang silver) to cover the expenses of the relocation. Guo firmly turned down the Red Cross' job offer. In addition to his unwillingness to practice medicine, he did not take the job because he simply could not afford to go back to Sichuan. As he noted in one of his autobiographical novels, going back to work in Sichuan would make it inevitable for him to meet his Sichuan family and thus confront his parents and his arranged wife on the issue of his arranged marriage.\textsuperscript{474}

Unwilling and indisposed to practice medicine, his government scholarship terminated after his graduation from medical school in March 1923, Guo found himself struggling

\textsuperscript{473} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 150.

\textsuperscript{474} \textit{Chuangzao zhoubao}, Vol. II. No. 47: 10-14. Guo once also said that the position offered to him by the Red Cross was president of the hospital.—see \textit{Chuangzao zhoubao}, Vol. II. No. 41: 6.
again to support his family with a literary career. After all, it was literature that he had loved. To pursue his literary career, he went back to Shanghai and continued to deal with Tai Dong, the publishing company for the Creation Society. The problem is that Tai Dong continued to treat him and his Creation Society friends with awkward financial arrangement. As part of this arrangement, Guo and his family, after their arrival in Shanghai in April 1923, shared with Cheng Fangwu a house that was provided by Tai Dong. Guo, however, still did not receive any regular salary from Tai Dong, neither did his friends Cheng Fangwu and Yu Dafu. Each time they needed money they had to ask Tai Dong for it, which made them feel that they were somehow begging. To make it even worse, according to Guo, Cheng and Yu were so reluctant to go through the humiliation and awkwardness of such begging that they often asked Guo to do it on their behalf. As a result, from time to time Guo had to ask Tai Dong for money not only for himself but also for his friends. Being at least equally reluctant as his friends, Guo sometimes simply chose not to ask Tai Dong and ended up short of money.

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477 Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 152, 156: Yu Dafu at the time was also in Shanghai working at least partially for Tai Dong.
The problem was so serious that there were often times when he could not even afford bus fares. As he later recalled, he felt that "the lack of money" was "the most painful thing" for him and he was living a life of a "slave and beggar." 

When Tomiko first went to Shanghai with Guo and their children in April 1923, she believed that life was going to be better for them now that Guo had graduated from college. However, she was soon disillusioned as they frequently suffered from the lack of money. As Guo described it, she had become very worried about raising and educating their children under the difficult and uncertain financial condition. One specific problem at the time for Tomiko and Guo was that they could hardly afford the medical expenses for their third son’s digestive disease. Because of their financial problems in Shanghai, and probably also because of her difficulty at the time in adjusting to life in China as a Japanese, Tomiko often "quarrelled" with Guo and wanted to go back to Japan.

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478 Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 165.
480 Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 150.
481 Guo’s third son was born in January 1923. See Wang Jiqian and Tong Weigang 1983, Guo Moruo nianpu (1): 146; Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 151.
482 Chuangzao zhoubao, : Vol. II. No. 41: 6
With Tomiko's persistence, Guo finally agreed to let her leave for Japan with their three children in February 1924. He and Tomiko seemed to be struggling with several plans. First, going back to Fukuoka, Tomiko was planning to get by first by borrowing some money from her friends there and then finding some job to make a living.\footnote{Chuangzao zhoubao, Vol. II. No. 41: 9.} Secondly, with her previous nursing experience, Tomiko was thinking of taking several month's further training in obstetrics in Japan and then returning to Shanghai to find a job, likely as an obstetrical nurse, so that she could help with the family income.\footnote{Chuangzao zhoubao, Vol. II. No. 41: 7. Also note: Guo never mentioned later what had happened to this plan. Judging from the available information, it seemed that Tomiko never actually carried it out.} Thirdly, Guo was seriously planning to go to Japan himself to join Tomiko and their children in May 1924, when he and his friends would have stopped their publication of Creation Weekly at its first anniversary.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 166, 152.} Partially as a result of his frustration with this financial insecurity, Guo seemed to be pondering going back to Kyushu Imperial University at Fukuoka to study physiology.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 181-182.} On the practical side, he was hoping that as a student he would again get a scholarship from the Chinese government, which would at least be a stable...
income for his family.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 188.} As a student, he would also likely benefit from free medical coverage for his children at the school hospital, which would be a major relief from their financial burden. In Japan, it should be pointed out, he would also expect much better doctors and medical care for his children than in Shanghai.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 165. Note: Guo once also said that he was thinking of working as a teaching or research assistant in the physiology department at the Kyushu Imperial University.--see: Chuangzao zhoubao, Vol. II. No. 47: 14.}

Whatever Guo and Tomiko were planning, Tomiko's leaving Shanghai in February 1924 marked a major crisis in his life. Right after she left, Guo wrote in an autobiographical novel in February 1924 that he felt very depressed and "lonely" and was once again thinking of committing suicide.\footnote{Chuangzao zhoubao, Vol. II. No. 41: 12-13.} What was most painful to him in her departure was his sense that he had failed miserably in his efforts to support his family with a literary career in China. "Those who side with me say that I have talent and those against me also bitterly attack me as a talent," Guo writes with pains. "But what talent do I have and where is it? I feel so ashamed!... I can't even provide for my dear wife and children and have to let them go to find a living by themselves."\footnote{Chuangzao zhoubao, Vol. II. No. 41: 10.} In China, he laments, literature was "not worth a penny" and a literary writer like him had "no
hope at all" of making a decent living.492 Frustrated over his life and literary career in China, Guo had become profoundly alienated from both society and the literary world. In March 1924, after reading a letter from Tomiko on how miserable she and their children were in Japan, Guo writes the following to Tomiko in another autobiographical novel:

...We have been abandoned by happiness...We have been deprived of everything and we have lost everything. Is there any need for us to keep living!...We have worked our blood out, but for what? For feeding big and small capitalists and for raising our children so that they will live a life as miserable as ours! We are so pathetic. Our blood is so cheap! What is art! What is literature! What is fame! What is career! They look gilded but they actually hitch you up as a dog. I want them no more. I don’t want to be a so-called artist at the expense of my humanity. All I want is to be a man without disguises, even if it means that I have to beg for a living, even if it means that I will die abroad...I will soon join you (in Japan). When it really becomes impossible for us to survive, we will kill our three sons and then the two of us will hold each other tightly and jump into Hakata Bay to die!...493

In the same autobiographical novel, Guo also notes that he was bidding adieu to the world of arts where Beethoven and Goethe lived, a world that he used to love so much but to which he now felt that he did not belong. Now with his mind made up to join Tomiko in Japan, he writes in the novel: "Leave! Leave! I will leave and die abroad!"494

Guo actually left Shanghai for Japan on April 1, 1924, one month before the anniversary of Creation Weekly.\textsuperscript{495} He was not only prepared to give up his literary career for physiological study, but also determined to leave China for good.\textsuperscript{496} Apart from his practical financial need for getting a scholarship, he wanted to study physiology at Kyushu Imperial University because he had a true interest in such scientific study. As he more than once noted, he was at the time planning to "devote" his life to natural science.\textsuperscript{497}

Guo's plan, however, was never carried out, as he never got the Chinese government scholarship needed for his scientific study.\textsuperscript{498} Luckily, at the end of April 1924, not too long after his arrival in Japan, he got 300 yuan from the Chinese government as his relocation fee to return to China after his graduation from medical school in Japan, money that he should have got a year ago upon his graduation. With that money, Guo and his family did get by pretty well for about a month. Three hundred yuan, however, did not last long, especially when most of it had to be used to pay off his

\textsuperscript{495} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 170.

\textsuperscript{496} \textit{Chuangzao zhoubao}, Vol. II. No. 52: 15; Guo Moruo 1988, \textit{Guo Moruo yiwenji (1)}: 126.


\textsuperscript{498} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 188. Note: his plan to work as an assistant in the physiology department at the Kyushu Imperial University did not materialize either.
previous debts. As a result, after May 1924, he and his family again found themselves struggling with serious financial problems. To survive, they had to pawn their winter clothes, quilts, and some of his books and buy their daily supplies of rice and groceries on credit. Paying rent for the house they were living in was a major problem. Unable to come up with the rent, they were finally kicked out of the house in June, 1924 and the whole family had to move to a small and shabby room above the warehouse of a pawn shop.  

Despite his previous frustration with his literary career, Guo had no choice but to make another stab at writing for a living. Different than previously, he now started to directly "sell" his writings for money. The idea of having to sell his works for a living, however, was very painful for him to get used to. As he later described, he had been brought up with the concept that selling one's writings was "the lowest" thing a literary person could do, a concept that easily reminds us of Taoist and Confucian morals. Selling his works for money was a shameful thing, something that he would

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500 Guo Moruo 1978, *Xuesheng shidai*: 197. Note: Guo suggested that he had not sold his works until this period in Japan. This seemed to be true in the sense that previously he had not made it a profession to publish his works directly for money. Besides, he had worked for Tai Dong for a large part of his previous literary career and Tai Dong had certainly not paid him directly and professionally for his writings. Also see: Guo Moruo 1978, *Xuesheng shidai*: 137.
never do if there were still other ways of making a living.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 197.} Needless to say, that he swallowed his pride and actually sold his writings shows how desperate he and his family were in their struggle for daily survival.

Among the works that Guo sold was his translation of Kawakami Hajime’s Social Organization and Social Revolution. As will be elaborated below, it was through the process of translating that book from April to May 1924 that he converted to Marxism.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 180-182.} Further, it was his personal crisis in early 1924 that helped push him to this conversion, as it was in Marxism that he found a solution to the difficulty and uncertainty that individuals like him had suffered in their material life. It should also be pointed out that, with his profound alienation from the literary world and society and with his newly learned Marxist concepts, from mid-1924 his literary career increasingly featured a conscious effort to produce what he thought to be proletarian and revolutionary literature.

Guo stayed in Japan until November 1924, struggling to make ends meet by selling his works to publishers back in China. During the summer of 1924, he once ended up without much income and had to work as a store keeper for the pawn
shop in which he and his family were living.\textsuperscript{503} Finally, after several months of "abject poverty" in Japan, he decided that his homeland China would after all be a better place for him to survive. In mid November 1924, therefore, he returned to Shanghai with Tomiko and their children.\textsuperscript{504}

Except for teaching part-time at Da Xia University from April to May 1925 and full-time at Zhong Hua Xue Yi University in fall the same year, which did not give him long-term regular income, he continued to free lance and continued to suffer from financial insecurity.\textsuperscript{505} In December 1924, for instance, he noted that "it is suicidal to be a literary writer in modern China."\textsuperscript{506} In May 1925, he wrote that he was so poor that he was almost starving.\textsuperscript{507} In February 1926, one month before he left Shanghai for Guangzhou, he sighed that in China a writer like him was worth even less than a prostitute.\textsuperscript{508}


\textsuperscript{504} Ruan Wuming 1933, Zhongguo xinwentan milu: 173; Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 324.


\textsuperscript{506} Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 352, 326.

\textsuperscript{507} Guo Moruo 1988, Guo Moruo yiwenji (1): 131.

A major part of Guo's community life during the first half of this period was the continuation of his relationship with the Tai Dong Book Company. As he later described it, while making their relationship look like that between friends, Tai Dong's boss exploited him and treated him and other Creation Society members as "slaves." Despite this treatment, Guo and the Creation Society did have their reasons for staying with Tai Dong. As Guo would later put it, he and his Creation Society friends wanted to freely "express" themselves, "write on impulse," and "speak out bravely" and, with its somewhat liberal policy, Tai Dong happened to be among the few that were willing to publish writers like them. While being enslaved by Tai Dong, he and his friends had actually also "used" Tai Dong for their own purpose.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 136-137.}

\footnote{Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 167-168. Note: part of the reason for Guo's problem of financial difficulty and uncertainty, it should be pointed out here, was that he insisted on having his literary career with the freedom of expressing and developing himself and he refused to compromise to adapt himself to society. For one thing, if he could compromise and return to Sichuan to take the job with the Red Cross, he would have lived with a very comfortable income. Further, he was not without opportunities to make a better living in Shanghai's literary circle. Commercial Press (Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan), for instance, twice offered him decent payment if he sold his works to them. Guo, however, never accepted the offer. Not only was he reluctant to sell his works for a living, but he did not like the fact that Commercial Press did not allow much freedom for writers to express their opinions. See: Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 125, 151-152, 167-168.}
Tai Dong's financial treatment of him, however, finally became too much for Guo to bear. In his personal crisis in early 1924, which was largely a result of the financial problems that he had suffered working for Tai Dong, Guo as well as the Creation Society decided to break with the company.\textsuperscript{511} In fact, Guo's leaving for Japan in April 1924 and the termination of Creation Weekly's publication in May that year all seemed to be part of that break-up. Guo broke with Tai Dong also because he was ready to give up his literary career and therefore no longer needed to "use" Tai Dong for his literary purpose.\textsuperscript{512}

The Creation Society was certainly also an important part of Guo's literary community during this period. Generally speaking, during the first half of this period, Guo seemed to have gotten along quite well with the two other chief members of the society, Cheng Fangwu and Yu Dafu. With their collective efforts, the society had developed into an influential literary group. Gradually, however, tension arose between Guo and his friends, especially between him and Yu Dafu. In late summer or early fall 1923, for example, Guo and Yu ran into a confrontation over whether or not Yu should take

\textsuperscript{511} According to Guo, among Creation Society members, Yu Dafu had already broken up with Tai Dong about half a year before.---see: Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 168.

\textsuperscript{512} Guo Moruo 1978, \textit{Xuesheng shidai}: 167-168.
a teaching job at Beijing University and thus leave Shanghai.\footnote{513} Guo was worried that Yu’s departure would weaken the Creation Society’s ability to keep publishing Creation Quarterly, Creation Weekly, and Creation Daily. To Guo’s surprise, Yu, with obvious resentment against Guo, said that he’d rather see those publications stopped.\footnote{514} Yu did leave Shanghai for Beijing and, as Guo had worried, his leaving did substantially weaken the work of the Creation Society.\footnote{515} This conflict and the weakening of the Creation Society was another factor that contributed to Guo’s frustration with his literary career and with China’s literary circle during his personal crisis in early 1924.

Guo’s frustration with the literary circle was also a result of his tension and conflicts with Hu Shi (1891-1962), Lu Xun (1881-1936), the Literary Research Society (Wenxue Yanjiuhui), and some other literary figures at the time. Coping with various criticisms from those people, he was "sad" and "lonely" and felt that China’s literary circle was like a

\footnote{513} Note: in late July 1923 Yu was still working on Creation Daily in Shanghai and showed no intention of leaving. By late October that year, then, Yu had already left for Beijing. The confrontation between Yu and Guo, therefore, should have taken place between late July and late October 1923. See: Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 156-157, 160, 162-163.

\footnote{514} Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 160-161.

"desert." As he wrote during his crisis in early 1924, the "harsh" criticisms against him in the literary circle and the "hostility" that he felt from "everyone" around him was a major factor leading him toward suicidal thoughts.\(^{517}\)

Guo also continued to have unpleasant experiences with the Japanese communities around him when he was living in Japan. In September 1922, for example, he wrote that Japanese kids in his neighborhood in Japan had frequently bullied and beaten up his oldest son because he was half-Chinese, partially as a result of which, he recalled painfully, his son had developed some psychological problems.\(^{518}\) In October 1924, he described vividly and emotionally how he had been discriminated against and humiliated as a Chinese by a Japanese family from whom he had tried to rent some rooms.\(^{519}\) Some time later, he also recalled that he had "fully experienced various ill-treatment" by the Japanese during his stay in Japan from April to mid-November 1924.\(^{520}\)

2. Coping with Situational Problems in China and the World


\(^{517}\) Chuangzao zhoubao, Vol II, No. 41: 12.


\(^{519}\) Guo Moruo 1933, Xinglun: 40-47.

\(^{520}\) Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 324.
During this period Guo continued to be concerned about situational problems in China and the world. From 1922 on, he became increasingly interested in "political issues" and more and more critical of China's warlord darkness.\(^{521}\) To a certain extent, this growing interest and criticism was partially a result of his personal financial frustrations as well as his unpleasant experiences as a Chinese living in Japan, which made him more anxious to change and strengthen his motherland China so that Chinese like him would no longer be bullied by others.\(^{522}\)

Guo’s interest in political issues and his criticism of China's warlord situation is well documented in his writings in this period. In September 1922, for instance, he wrote a series of poems criticizing various "politicians, warlords, bureaucrats, Guomindang (Nationalist Party) members, and educators" in China.\(^{523}\) In May 1923, then, he wrote the following in an article entitled "Our New Literary Movement:"

China’s political career is now on the verge of bankruptcy. The tyranny of beastly warlords, the stupid actions of shameless politicians, and the oppression by greedy foreign capitalists have made our Chinese nation bleed and cry so hard that our blood and tears are flowing like the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers. We are exposed to the horrible disasters of wars and chaos and are being tortured by the huge claws of the

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poisonous dragon of capitalism. We long for peace, we
dream of ideals, and we are thirsty for the spring of
life.

... China's current situation is leading us to two different
paths:
First, the path of staying away from the dirty reality,
escaping from life, and secluding ourselves in mountains
and forests and staying friends with nature;
Second, the path of total struggle, of fighting against
the evil society as a valiant fighter of life.
Our spirit teaches us that we should choose the second
path... 524

Guo's visit to some rural areas in Jiangsu and Zhejiang
provinces in December 1924 further exposed him to the darkness
of warlord China. The visit was arranged by some of his
friends for him to participate in an investigation of the
disastrous results of a war fought between some warlords in
the areas earlier that year. 525 As Guo later recalled, the
visit not only let him see the damages caused by the war but
especially helped him "deeply realize" how "destitute" people
were and how "severely" peasants were being "squeezed" by
their landlords in rural areas in southern China. 526

One of the problems in China that especially caught Guo's
attention was the fact that the return of foreign economic
competition to China after the First World War had been
crushing the country's native industries which had enjoyed
some development during the war. As he later recalled, when he

went to Japan in April 1924 he "had already heard that China's textile industries had the tendency of going bankrupt."527 Then, when he returned to Shanghai in November that year he noticed that "all the new cotton mills (in Shanghai) had closed down one after another."528 This crisis of China's native textile industries profoundly added to his doubt about China's chance of successfully developing its own capitalist economy in the modern world. In his three writings in 1925, "A Great Lesson," "Go to Yixing," and his preface to Qi Shufen's China under Economic Invasion, he elaborately expressed his concern and doubt.529 In "A Great Lesson," for instance, he notes:

...under China's current conditions, is it at all possible for individual capitalism to develop in our country? In other words, is it possible for China to develop a few tycoons to compete against big foreign capitalists?...You economists who sing the praises of individual capitalism: please open your eyes and look at the reality! Most of China's textile capitalists have failed! All the cotton mills that were newly built and prospering during the world war have closed down one after another! ...If we still lived in the times of Adam Smith, or if our China were isolated from the outside

527 Guo Moruo 1959, Moruo wenji (10): 403. Note: Guo once also indicated that he had noticed this phenomenon as early as late 1923 and early 1924—see Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 164.

528 Guo Moruo 1959, Moruo wenji (10): 403.

world, or if the war in Europe (W.W. I) had lasted for over a hundred years, or if we Chinese could keep boycotting Japanese goods for over a hundred years, then, with the free growth of the seeds of individual capitalism in our vast and resource-rich China, we might in a hundred years reach where Britain and America are today... Regrettably, however, our China has started too late in its development and those Europeans have ceased fire too early in their fighting for (world) market...!

Just exactly what is the status of we Chinese in today’s world? Our China now is an important market for capitalist countries throughout the whole world. Then what is the situation of the capitalists in the capitalist countries? They have already been as well developed as giant trees with ‘bronze-colored branches and rock-like roots.’ Those towering trees are now growing over our China. How could our saplings (beginning capitalists) compete with those trees?...

Here is a big lesson for us!: individual capitalism has no hope of developing in today’s China, even if such capitalism is ‘in best accordance with the nature of humanity’...!

In fact, not only was Guo convinced that "individual capitalism" could not develop further in China, but, with his Confucian moralism and Taoist attitudes, he tended to see desires for material gains and profit-making, which are among the things that are characteristic of capitalism, as a major part of China’s problems. For instance, in his "On Chinese and German Cultures," which was written in May 1923 and critical of capitalism, he mentions "the current chaos of the stifling of material desires..." as a major problem in China. In October 1923, he remarked that in China’s "chaotic" times

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530 Guo was here obviously referring to W.W.I.


there had appeared "countless" "evil talents" of "profit-making." In June 1924, he again wrote to criticize capitalists with their desires to "make profit." In July 1924, he noted with obvious resentment that China’s society, in which people were "possessed by desires for profits," gave rise to "individual capitalism."

The event in China’s situation that had the most shocking effect on Guo during this period was probably the May Thirtieth Incident in 1925. He happened to have been at the scene of the incident in Shanghai shortly after foreign police opened fire on Chinese protesters. Even though when he arrived at the scene the bodies of the killed had already been moved away and the blood on the street had already been washed off, he was still in time to witness foreign police beating and intimidating the protesters and bystanders. He himself was once also threatened by the police. As he later recalled, the brutality of the foreign police against his fellow Chinese angered him so much that he several times thought of fighting the police himself.

To a great extent, the May Thirtieth Incident had helped bring home to Guo China’s painful reality of being bullied by

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foreign imperialist powers and the urgency for China to fight back against those powers. Soon after the incident on June 16, 1925 he wrote the following in his article "Roar with Rage for the Tragic May Thirtieth Incident"

My fellow Chinese, we should know that the imperialists’ inhumane oppression of us started long before the May Thirtieth and, apart from the martyrs of the May Thirtieth, there have been many of us Chinese murdered invisibly by those imperialists...We should have awakened long time ago. It is the May Thirtieth’s martyrs who have sounded the alarm for us and have quickly waked us up...We should realize that it is now a critical moment for our Chinese nation...Let’s quickly take real action to save our country.\(^{537}\)

In a speech to a Shanghai college in August 1925, he further noted that the May Thirtieth movement’s slogan of "down with imperialism and abrogate all unequal treaties" were "most significant" at the time. "Nowadays," he said, "imperialists are really our major enemy. To save ourselves, we have to defeat them."\(^{538}\)

Not only did the May Thirtieth Incident profoundly add to Guo’s sense of urgency to save China from the imperialists, but the Chinese anti-imperialist struggle during and after the incident also deeply touched and encouraged him. His drama "Nie Ying," for instance, was directly inspired by the story of a young college student who was wounded in the incident and was cared for by his sister in hospital. The drama was finished within two weeks after the incident and, with Guo’s

\(^{537}\) Guo Moruo 1959, *Moruo wenji (10)*: 408-410.

\(^{538}\) Guo Moruo 1988, *Guo Moruo yiwenji (1)*: 134.
active involvement, was soon performed by some Shanghai college students as an effort to support Shanghai workers' anti-imperialist struggle. In his "Roar with Rage for the Tragic May Thirtieth Incident" he also writes optimistically:

The brutal killing of our numerous fellow Chinese by the British in the tragic May Thirtieth Incident has stirred up our people's morale to an unprecedented level. With this high morale of our people, weeping our blood out in grief and indignation over the tragedy, we see the light of hope and feel that our Chinese nation still has a bright future. Having always been called a sleeping lion, our country is now really awake.

Another event that affected Guo's thinking in this period was the March Eighteenth Incident in Beijing in 1926. The incident, which took place when Guo was on his way from Shanghai to Guangzhou, made him further see the darkness of warlord China and made him more determined to radically change it. In a speech to students at Guangdong University on March 30, 1926, he noted:

...Those martyrs in Beijing have died! However, their spirit and their contributions to the history of revolution truly merit our remembrance. They have made two contributions to the history of revolution: First, they showed us that we revolutionaries are not afraid of dying in the struggle against evil forces...Secondly, (their struggle and death) has made people see the real nature of the treasonous warlords and therefore people will fight against those warlords...The Beijing martyrs have died! Those of us who are still alive should strive to complete our national revolution!...We should work to make the northern expedition happen. We should know that


in the situation of today's China it is no use simply getting rid of one or two warlords or imperialists. (To save China), we must completely overthrow all the evil forces and go through thorough reforms! To achieve that, the national government has to send troops north...to fight into Beijing, seize back all political power, and return them to the people..."^542

Guo also continued to ponder over the disaster that the First World War had brought to the world. Increasingly, his conclusion was that it was capitalism that should be blamed for the war and, to save the whole of mankind, capitalism should be eliminated with Communist revolution. For instance, in his May-1923 "On Chinese and German Cultures," which is one of his major reflections on W. W. I, he writes that the war was "a natural result of extreme capitalism." "A thinker with foresight (Marx) had already asserted categorically before the war that capitalism was bound to bring disasters to mankind," Guo continued in the article. "After the break-out of the war, a great practitioner (Lenin) had further acted quickly to overthrow capitalism as the evil cause of the war." "Marx and Lenin," he noted, "are after all great figures whom we young people should admire and worship."^543

When criticizing capitalism for bringing the disaster of W. W. I to the world, Guo again demonstrates a moral and anti-materialist touch in his criticism of capitalism. In his "On Chinese and German Cultures," for instance, he strongly

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indicates that it was the "self-profiting" and "selfish" (woli, liji) nature of capitalism that had made it an evil system and caused the disaster of W. W. I.\(^{344}\) People’s selfish pursuit of "material gains" and their "desire to possess" were the ultimate reason for "all the anxiety, chaos, and fighting of mankind," he notes in the article when interpreting the concept of wuwei (inaction/letting things take their own course) in his then favorite Taoism.\(^{345}\)

3. Searching for the Best of Eastern and Western Thinking as Sources for Solutions

1). September 1921-Early 1924: Searching Extensively for the Best of the East and West

During the first half of this period till about mid-1924 Guo was searching fairly extensively for the best of the East and West as sources for a solution to problems in his personal life and in China and the world.

First, among Eastern thoughts, he continued to be interested in Confucianism. For instance, in his "the


\(^{345}\) Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 20.-- Note: Guo here was obviously referring to Taoism as a favorite philosophy against selfishness and against material concerns. later in 1924, however, he was to reinterpret Taoism and disdain Taoist "practical ethics" as being "selfish." No matter how much his view on Taoism changed, Guo consistently resented people’s selfish pursuit of material gains. In fact, his later disdaining what he came to believe as the "selfish" part of Taoism further demonstrates his moral attitudes against selfishness.---See Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 67, 60.
Traditional Spirit of Chinese Culture," written originally for the 1923 new year special issue of Japan's Osaka Asahi Shim bun, he enthusiastically defends Confucianism against its May Fourth detractors:

...Nowadays most people see Confucius as an advocate of loyalty and filial piety. Some respect him, others curse him. There are also people who further go to the extreme of often criticizing Confucius as one who gained fame by deceiving the public and they blame Confucius for all the degeneration of the Chinese nation. There are indeed many new people in our China today who hold such outrageous views. You who wrong Confucius: you after all have to be saved from your stupidity and ignorance! I announce here that we worship Confucius. There are some people who say that we are against our times. We don't care. We still worship Confucius..."  

In the same article, Guo also elaborates what he said in 1920 in San Ye Ji on Confucius. He praises Confucius as a "giant" with "great talent" and "perfect character," like those of Kant and Goethe. Confucius, he notes, had "developed his own individuality to extreme (perfection)-- in depth and scope." According to Guo, not only was Confucius "proficient in mathematics," "rich with naturalist knowledge," and "multi-talented" in "entertainment and arts," but he had also developed his "physique" so well that he was "perfect both physically and spiritually."  


547 Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 13-14. Note: even though he again mentioned that Confucius was good at mathematics and had naturalist knowledge, Guo here stopped short of calling Confucius a "scientist" as he did in 1920 in San Ye Ji.
In this article Guo also elaborates on his understanding and interpretation of the thinking of Confucius. First, he notes that Confucius had an "active and pantheistic world view." That world view believed that "noumenon" (ben ti), which "contains everything" in the universe, not only "is god" but also "day by day" "progresses unconsciously" towards "kindness" (shan). Further, such "noumenon" (god) "makes laws" (lifa) for "everything" and its "existence and function" "is beyond the measurement" of people's "perception." Confucius' pantheist thinking, Guo noted, "is very beautiful."

Guo then interprets Confucius' "philosophy of life" into a dualism of individualistic moral self cultivation and cosmopolitanism.

According to Guo, Confucius' life philosophy, based on his pantheistic world view, first featured a celebration of "independence and self-reliance of spirit" and "self-restraint of one's character." Confucius, Guo says, considered people's individuality as a "natural expression of god." As he saw god as "being imperfect," Confucius also saw people as having "many flaws." For people to improve themselves, Confucius


549 Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 12-13. Note: Guo's pantheistic interpretation of Confucius' world view here reminds us of the Marxist concept of the objective law of nature and the objective progress of the world. To certain extent, Guo's later substantially accepting Marxism might be traced to the pantheist view that he expressed here.
taught them to "constantly" cultivate themselves morally.\textsuperscript{550}

"Keji" (self restraint,) according to Guo, was one of Confucius' major teachings on moral cultivation. Confucius, Guo says, was "absolutely" against "complete lack of restraint" and "unlimited indulgence" of any of people's instinctive desires. Not only did Confucius work to use "proper methods" to "musically regulate" his own "instinctive drives and sensual pleasures," he also taught others to do the same.\textsuperscript{551}

For people's moral cultivation, Confucius also taught people to follow and practice "li" (ethics). Guo especially emphasizes that "li" in Confucius' thinking "was not at all the established ritual ethics" of lijiao. Confucius' "li," Guo notes, referred to people's "inner" morals, something similar to Kant's concept of ethics.\textsuperscript{552} What should be noted is that, by way of internalizing "li" and differentiating it from lijiao (Confucian ethics of social constraints), Guo had profoundly justified his excluding lijiao from the Confucian system and thus further justified his defending much of Confucian ethics of virtues while criticizing and rebelling against lijiao.

\textsuperscript{550} Guo Moruo 1984, \emph{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 14.

\textsuperscript{551} Guo Moruo 1984, \emph{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 14.

\textsuperscript{552} Guo Moruo 1984, \emph{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 14-15.
As Guo notes in the article, the concepts of "li" and "keji," as put together in the Confucian phrase of "keji fuli" (restrain oneself and go back to ethics), were the essence of Confucius' key concept of "ren" (humanity).\textsuperscript{553}

Another Confucian concept concerning self-cultivation, Guo notes in the article, was "gewu" (investigation of things). Clearly following the thinking of Wang Yangming, Guo interprets "gewu" as "to regulate sensual desires with proper methods." When "driven by various desires," Guo notes, people "will never be able to see the light of truth."\textsuperscript{554}

For self cultivation, Guo continues, Confucius also emphasized "learning" and achieving "wisdom" (zhi). Confucius, Guo says, "absorbed all knowledge as food of his life" and wanted to live a life with "all-round ability and ultimate wisdom."\textsuperscript{555}

It was with the Confucian concept of "yong" (courage) that Guo bridges individualistic self-cultivation with cosmopolitanism, the two sides of the dualism that he saw in Confucius' thinking. "Yong," Guo says, first meant the courage of "not deceiving oneself," "knowing to be shameful" (for one's own wrongdoing), and making "efforts" and having a "strong will" to "purify, enrich, and express oneself."


However, such courage to improve and cultivate oneself, according to Guo, was only "the beginning step of 'young.'" To achieve "the ultimate true 'young,'" one should go beyond the cultivation of himself and take it as his own mission to harmonize the world (tianxia) and be ready to die for the cause of "saving fellow human beings all over the world." Ultimate "young," Guo noted, also meant that one should "ininitely develop" his "wisdom and ability" so that his wisdom and ability could match "the great function of heaven and earth" and so that he could match god.\textsuperscript{556}

In his May-1923 "On Chinese and German Cultures," Guo also talks about the dualism that he saw in Confucianism. "The Confucian thinking of our country," he says in the article, "centers upon individuality." In Confucianism, he further notes, "the development of the self" is eventually meant to benefit China and the world.\textsuperscript{557}

During the early part of this period Guo also continued to be interested in Taoism. In his "Traditional Spirit of Chinese Culture," for instance, he praises that Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi were "extremely against the religious thinking of the Three Dynasties" and "based their own theories" on the "liberal thinking and natural philosophy" of the "golden age"

\textsuperscript{556} Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 16.

\textsuperscript{557} Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 19.
before the Three Dynasties. Guo especially notes that Lao Zi was a "revolutionary thinker" who had "completely destroyed the superstitious thinking of the Three Dynasties."\(^{559}\)

In his "On Chinese and German Cultures," moreover, Guo praises Taoism for the development of its "metaphysics." Taoism was "not fundamentally different" from the "active" and "enterprising" spirit of Confucianism. Contrary to what people often believed, Guo says, the Taoist concept of "wuwei" was not similar to the Buddhist "negation of this life." Buddhism, he criticizes, was after a "deadly static" state. In contrast, Taoism was after a "lively static" state. Taoism, he notes, carried a "positive spirit" and taught people to "learn from nature" and "rid themselves of all desires" so that their spirit would be "clear" and their "creative instinct" would be brought into full play.\(^{561}\) Like Nietzsche, Lao Zi based his thinking on "the individual" and "strived for positive development." Further, Lao Zi was against "religious thinking" and against the "established ethics" that suppressed "individuality."\(^{562}\)

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\(^{559}\) Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 11.


\(^{562}\) Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 27.
For Guo, both Taoism and Confucianism had developed on the basis of the thinking of the golden age before the Three Dynasties and, consistent with his 1921 "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History," he continued to express deep admiration for that ancient age. For instance, in his "The Two Princes of Guzhu" (Guzhujun zhi erzi), written in November 1922, he describes people in the golden age as "free" and "pure," enjoying a world without private property and the boundaries of states. The ancient world, according to Guo, also had little government, except for a few "virtuous" leaders who had been "elected" as public servants by "the majority of the people."  

According to Guo during the early part of this period, Confucianism, Taoism, and the pre-Three Dynasty thinking was the "spirit" of the Chinese tradition. Further, for some time around early 1923, he believed that the revival of that traditional Chinese spirit would help save and revive China from its modern time problems. For instance, in "The Traditional Spirit of Chinese Culture," he writes

From Lao Zi, Confucius, and the ancient thinking before them we can hear two messages:
First, see everything as the expression of active reality!
Second, start all causes by striving to perfect one's self!
This is the spirit of our tradition. It teaches us that one, with the belief that all is god, should infinitely purify and enrich himself till he becomes as great and benevolent as god and strive for the realization of an

563Chuangzao jikan, Vol. I. No. 4: 11, 3-4.
ideal future when all fellow human beings in the world will live with each other in one cosmopolitan country. It is this dualistic spirit of our Chinese tradition that will serve as the basis for our revival in the future.  

With all his enthusiasm for Confucianism and Taoism, however, Guo increasingly realized that they lacked one important element to meet the needs of modern times— the element of scientific thinking. Soon after writing his "the Traditional Spirit of Chinese Culture," for instance, Guo admits in "On Chinese and German Cultures" that Confucianism and Taoism "regrettably" lacked "pure reason" and did not have sufficient development in the "objective study of natural phenomena" or in the study of "pure sciences." Then, in his "The Character and Thinking of Hui Shi," written in December 1923, he defines Confucianism and Taoism as being different than scientific thinking and noted that they had "largely neglected" the study of "the physical world." In that same article, he also notes that Zhuang Zi's thinking lacked "logic."  

In his writings in this period Guo did notice that traditional China was not without the incipient development of scientific elements. In "On Chinese and German Cultures," for

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564 Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 16; Asahi Shinbun.  
instance, he notes that Chinese culture "started with observation of nature" and, before or during the Zhou period, China already had "systematic" knowledge of the stars. In the same article, elaborating his earlier view, he also notes that during the latter part of the Spring and Autumn/Warring States period there was substantial scientific development in China. For instance, he notes that Mo Zi's thought had the beginnings of "logic" and "physics." Zou Yan's "inductive method" and Hui Shi's thinking, he continued, also "looked scientific."

Then, in his "The Character and Thinking of Hui Shi," he further notices that "most of the scholars" during late Spring and Autumn/Warring States period were "ninety percent natural scientists, as they had gradually shifted their attention to the physical world as their research objects and they had gradually learned to use observation, empiricism, and logic as their research methods." Among those scholars, he points to Hui Shi as a "major" and "outstanding" figure. In his detailed analysis of Hui Shi's thinking, based largely on what Zhuang Zi and Xun


569 Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 25. Note: Guo later also noted that Mo Zi had certain knowledge on mathematics.—Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 40, 47.

570 Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 47.

571 Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 40, 47.
Zi (298-238 BC ?) said about Hui Shi, Guo notes that Hui Shi as a "scientific thinker" had put forward an "atomic theory" and a concept that the earth is round.\textsuperscript{572} To Guo's great regret, however, Hui Shi's thinking was largely lost with his books, which were possibly burned in the Qin Dynasty.\textsuperscript{573} Neither did the "scientific" thinking of other scholars of Hui Shi's time later enjoy substantial development, which, according to Guo, was partially a result of the negative influence of Buddhism on China and the fact that later Chinese had "misunderstood" the spirit of Chinese tradition.\textsuperscript{574}

As Confucianism and Taoism lacked scientific elements and as the incipient "scientific" thinking of Hui Shi and his contemporaries was arrested, China failed to develop sciences and scientific thinking, which Guo believed to be a necessity in the modern world. As a result, while sticking to Confucianism and Taoism for what they could offer as the best of Chinese tradition, he strongly felt the needs to learn from the modern Western scientific civilization in order to make up for what Confucianism and Taoism lacked. His desire to integrate the best of Chinese tradition and Western scientific civilization, for instance, can be seen in his "On Chinese and German Cultures." "The traditional spirit of our country," he

\textsuperscript{572} Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 53, 48, 40.
\textsuperscript{573} Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 25. 48.
\textsuperscript{574} Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben)}: 25, 22.
writes in the article, "provided us with a guidance for our life. (In the meantime), the (Western) scientific spirit that has developed from (ancient) Greek civilization is also a nutriment which we young people should deeply absorb."\textsuperscript{575} To save China, he concludes at the end of the article, "we should both revive the traditional spirit of our culture and absorb the sweet milk of the pure sciences of the West."\textsuperscript{576}

Before early 1924 Guo still did not know for sure what part of the West represented the scientific spirit. To find out, he continued to search fairly extensively among various Western figures, ideologies, and concepts. It should be added that, consistent with his thinking in the previous periods, Guo in his search tended to be attracted to German figures and thought.

First, Guo continued to worship Goethe until around early 1923. In March 1922, for instance, he wrote "Goethe's Contribution to Natural Sciences," in which he expresses his great admiration for Goethe's achievement not only in poetry, fiction, drama, and other arts but also in politics and natural sciences.\textsuperscript{577} In his "On the Study and Introduction of Literature," written in July 1922, he also notes that Goethe's


Faust is an immortal masterpiece that "transcends time." In September 1922, in his "Persian Poet Omar Khayyam," he praises Goethe's "positive enjoyment" of life. Goethe had made great efforts not only to develop himself but also "extend" his own "small self" to "the big self of mankind." Then, when he returned to China from Japan in April 1923, Guo was still seriously planning to finish his translation of Goethe's Faust. Though he had basically lost interest in Goethe by late 1923 and early 1924, the time when he was going through the crisis in his personal life, as late as 1926 Guo still spent time editing his old translation of Goethe's The Sorrows of Young Werther and indicated that he still liked that book.

Guo in 1923 also showed a certain interest in Kant. When discussing Confucius in his "the Traditional Spirit of Chinese Culture," for instance, he compares Confucius' concept of "li" with Kant's concept of ethics. In July 1923, then, he noticed that he "believed in Kant's concept of ethics" and

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579 Chuangzao jikan, Vol I. No. 3: 3-5.


considered people's "conscience" as the "guidance" of all
their actions.\textsuperscript{583}

About the same time he was demonstrating interest in
Kant, Guo had also become fairly enthusiastic for Nietzsche.
In his "on Chinese and German Cultures," for instance, he
notes that he had found no "fundamental differences" between
the thinking of Nietzsche and that of his then favorite Lao
Zi. Nietzsche, he says, "mirrored" Lao Zi.\textsuperscript{584} Guo's enthusiasm
for Nietzsche can also be seen in the fact that, from May 1923
to January 1924, he had translated much of Nietzsche's "Thus
Spake Zarathustra," published intermittently in "Creation
Weekly."\textsuperscript{585}

Shelley was also a major attraction for Guo during the
early part of this period. In December 1922, for instance, he
noted that Shelley was one of the poets that he "admired the
most." Shelley, he praised, was a "favorite of nature, a
believer of pantheism, and a valiant fighter of revolutionary
thinking." "I love Shelley," Guo continued, "I can feel his
heart and I can understand him..."\textsuperscript{586}

\textsuperscript{583} Chuangzao zhoubao, Vol. I. No. 9: 15.


1: 12-13 and Vol. II, No. 30: 1-4); Wang Jiquan and Tong

\textsuperscript{586} Chuangzao jikan, Vol. I. No. 4: 19-20.
In coping with the problems in his personal life and in China and in the world, Guo's interest in Leftist and radical thoughts also steadily increased in the first part of this period. One of the factors that contributed to this increasing interest was the strong influence on him by Japanese Leftist and proletarian journals such as Kaizo (Reconstruction) and Tane Maku Hito (The Sowers). 587

One radical thought that had attracted Guo for a while was anarchism. In the preface to his November-1922 drama "The Two Princes of Guzhu," for instance, he demonstrates that he then had certain interest in and knowledge of the anarchist thinking of Prince Petr Alekseevich Kropotkin (1842-1921) and Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bakunin (1814-1876). In that preface, he notes that the anarchist thinking of the ancient Chinese heros that he praises in the drama was the same as that of Kropotkin and Bakunin. 588

The most attractive radicalism for Guo, of course, was Marxism and Leninism. For instance, in his "A Dialogue between the Yellow River and the Yangzi River," written in November 1922, Guo expresses great admiration for Lenin's Communist revolution. Among other things, he writes, China should follow Russia's example to have a revolution and practice "proletarian dictatorship." With such a revolution, China and

588 Chuangzao jikan, Vol, I. No. 4: 4, 11, 15, 18.
Soviet Russia would be the twin "new stars of the twentieth century" who would carry out the mission of "liberating mankind" and bringing "world peace." 

In his "On Tagore's Visit to China" in October 1923, he also expresses his "belief" that "the theory of historical materialism was the only solution to the problems of the world." 

Further, he later also recalled that, around late 1923 and early 1924, the time when he was going through the crisis in his personal life, Marx and Lenin had already replaced Spinoza and Goethe as "the focal point" of his "consciousness." Even though he still did not "clearly" understand the thinking of Marx and Lenin at the time, he did want to "grasp the content" of that thinking. Another thing to be mentioned here is that, according to Guo, he "really grieved" when Lenin died in early 1924.

On January 25, 1924, in fact, he did write a poem in memory of Lenin. In that poem, he compares the death of Lenin to the loss of a sun. As a sun, he notes, Lenin had benefitted "the poor people who are without clothes and without jobs." At the end of the poem, he further calls upon his comrades to follow Lenin's example and be themselves "suns" that would "drive away darkness and eliminate evils."

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591 Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 166.

It should also be pointed out here that, in his searching for the best of the East and West during the first half of this period, Guo continued to make efforts to identify certain parts of Chinese tradition with parts of Western civilization. For instance, as mentioned above, in "The Traditional Spirit of Chinese Culture" he identifies Confucius' "talent," "character," and thinking with those of Goethe and Kant.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wényì lùnji} (\textit{huìjiào běn}): 13, 15.} In his "On Chinese and German Cultures," he also identifies the thinking of Lao Zi with that of Nietzsche.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wényì lùnji} (\textit{huìjiào běn}): 27-28.} In that same article, he also identifies the "spirit" of Chinese tradition with the thinking of ancient Greek.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1984, \textit{Wényì lùnji} (\textit{huìjiào běn}): 19, 20-21.} Then, in his "The World of Myths," written in November 1923, he identifies ancient Chinese myths with those of ancient Greece and ancient India.\footnote{Chuangzao zhoubao, Vol. II, No. 27: 5-6.}

2). From mid-1924 on: Focusing on Confucianism and Marxism as the Best of the East and West

Mid-1924, when Guo was experiencing the crisis in his life, saw the beginning of a new stage in his intellectual development. From then on, he no longer searched extensively among Western and Eastern thoughts and focused on Marxism and Confucianism as the best of the West and East and as the
solution to the problems in his life and in China and the world.

A). Marxism

When he went to Japan in April 1924, Guo had borrowed from a friend a copy of Kawakami Hajime's *Social Organization and Social Revolution* and planned to read and translate it. Other than to satisfy his interest in Marxism, Guo wanted to read and translate the book because he needed to sell his translation for money in order to help his family survive the financial crisis that they had been suffering. 597

It took Guo about two months, from April to May, to translate Kawakami's book and it was in the process of reading and translating that book that for the first time he substantially learned the theories of Marxism and Leninism and became a believer of much of those theories. 598 In a letter to Cheng Fangwu on August 9, 1924, one of his major writings on his conversion to Marxism, Guo tells his friend

Translating (Kawakami's) book marked a turning point in my life. It was that book that awakened me from half sleep. It was that book that showed me the right path when I was hesitating at crossroads. It was that book that saved me from the shadow of death. I am very grateful to the author (Kawakami). I am very grateful to

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Marx and Lenin...I have now become a thorough believer in Marxism! Marxism is the only truth of our times.\textsuperscript{599}

Judging from what he wrote in that August 1924 letter to Cheng Fangwu and some of his other writings during or on the period from mid-1924 to mid-1926, we can see that Guo was then attracted to Marxism and Leninism in several ways:

First, Marxism and Leninism attracted him as a "social science." After all, as he once noted, his "longing" for the "social science" of Marxism and Leninism was one of the factors that led to his reading and translating Kawakami's book.\textsuperscript{600} Further, that he considered Marxism and Leninism as science could also be seen in his use of the terms "social science" and "scientific socialism" in his description of historical materialism and the theories of Marxism and Leninism in general.\textsuperscript{601} As a "social science," Marxism and Leninism attracted Guo because, with scientific reasoning and "solid and accurate evidence," they had proved to him that an "ideal" and "perfect" society was no longer a "utopian" and "unreal" dream but could "really be achieved" "step by step" on the earth.\textsuperscript{602} Obviously, Guo was attracted to Marxism and Leninism also because as a "social science" they could

\textsuperscript{599} Chuangzao yuekan, Vol. I. No. 2: 130, 129.

\textsuperscript{600} Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 182.


legitimately represent for him the best of the Western "scientific" spirit that he had been searching for.

Another major attraction that Guo found in Marxism and Leninism was that they promised, through collectivist means, to achieve in the future ultimate freedom and development of people's individuality. Marxism and Leninism made him believe, Guo noted, that Communist revolution would lead to an ideal society in which "all people will be able to develop themselves according to their talents; all people will be able to devote themselves to truth so that they will make contributions (to society); all people will be extricated..." In that society, where "the free development of the individual is the condition of the free development of all," people will be "liberated from the trammels of material life" and enjoy "free and thorough development of their individuality." 603 In the ideal society, there also will be "free and thorough development of great literary talents." 604 A major reason why Guo was so attracted to the Marxist promise of ultimate individual development was that, as an exploited and suppressed literary talent in the old society, he felt bitterly that he had been deprived of such development. In his letter to Cheng Fangwu on August 9, 1924, he notes: "In

today's world we are unable to become pure scientists, pure literary writers, pure artists, or pure thinkers. To become those, we not only need to have certain talent but also have to have certain material support." In pre-Communist societies like China's, he continues, that material support was the privilege of either those who had "rich fathers" and were themselves "aristocrats" or those who were proteges of rich people and "dependents of aristocrats". The "big and small stars in Renaissance Italy," Newton (1642-1727), Goethe, Tolstoy, and Tagore, he notes, were some of those privileged people, who were lucky in having the material support to develop their talents. While "admiring" the achievements of those "lucky" ones, Guo sighs that people like himself, who were poor and without material support, could expect nothing but "to die of hunger and diseases" before they could develop their talents! "Throughout human history," he laments, few "genuine talents" had actually had the opportunity to "freely" and "thoroughly" develop themselves. "I have now realized," he tells Cheng, "that the reason for our (and perhaps all Chinese youth's) common depression and weariness is that we have not had the luck to develop ourselves, nor have we found a way to let all people freely develop themselves." 605 With this deep resentment against the old society's deprivation of his and others' individual development, Guo was naturally attracted to

the Marxist promise of ultimate development of the individual in the new Communist society. Even though he and his friends would not live to see the future new society, Guo tells Cheng, they should make efforts to achieve that society and let later people enjoy it. This was "the only thing" that they could do as people who themselves had been deprived of "freedom" and individual development by their dark times.\footnote{Chuangzao yuekan, Vol. I, No. 2: 128-129.}

Guo was attracted to Marxism and Leninism also for what they could do to save China. He was especially interested in Lenin’s concept of using "state capitalism" as a way to develop economically-backward Russia into a modernized and industrialized socialist state.\footnote{Kawakami Hajime 1950, Shehui zuzhi yu shehui geming trans. by Guo: 251-253, 248, 263; Kawakami Hajime 1922, Shakai soshiki to shakai kakumei: 566-569.} In letter to a friend in July 1924, soon after he translated Kawakami’s book, Guo notes that economically backward countries like China should follow "the perfect example" of Lenin’s Russia.\footnote{Hongshui, Vol. I, No. 10/11: 333-334.} In his "Go to Yi Xing," he elaborates his view that China, being squeezed and exploited by foreign capitalist countries, no longer had a chance to develop "individual capitalism" to compete with those countries. To industrialize and "increase material productivity," China as a "materially backward" country should follow the example set by "wise Lenin" and have a "socialist
political revolution" and carry out "state capitalism." In his preface to Qi Shufen's *China under Economic Invasion*, he also notes that the only way "to save China" was to "abrogate all the unequal treaties" with foreign powers and "rigorously practice state capitalism." Further, in his "The Creation of a New State," written in December 1925, he again emphasizes: "if we are really patriotic and really want to save our China and we Chinese, the only thing for us to do is ... carry out a proletarian revolution and rigorously practice state capitalism!" Marxism also attracted Guo with its egalitarian cosmopolitanism. In his August-1924 letter to Cheng Fangwu, for instance, he expresses his admiration for the Marxist ideal society in which "each works according to his ability and each takes what he needs." As Guo notes, in that ideal cosmopolitan society which features "even distribution" of material wealth, "there will no longer be any classes and people will have no more worries and sufferings in their life other than those caused by natural and physical factors."

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609 Guo Moruo 1978, *Xuesheng shidai*: 332, 334-335. Note: Guo had repeatedly criticized that foreign capitalist countries had exploited China and crushed China's native "individual capitalists." His such view clearly reminds us of Lenin's criticism against capitalist countries' exploitation of underdeveloped nations.


Then, in his "The Creation of a New State," Guo also notes that Marxism strived for the achievement of "the material and spiritual freedom and emancipation of all mankind" and the realization of a cosmopolitanist world of "great harmony."\(^{613}\)

Despite his attraction and conversion to Marxism, however, after translating Kawakami's book Guo showed serious reservations about what Kawakami described as Marxist historical materialism. What he found especially hard to accept was Kawakami's view in the book that, before certain level of the development of material "productive forces" was achieved, attempts at "social revolution" could cause "retrogression" of the "productive forces" and would end up in failure.\(^{614}\) In July 1924, right after he translated Kawakami's book, in a letter to a friend Guo notes that Kawakami did not have sufficient evidence to support his view and had actually jumped to his conclusion. The evidence that Kawakami provided in the book, Guo points out, could actually work against Kawakami's own view and prove that, instead of causing "retrogression" of "productive forces," "social revolution" that took place under pre-mature material conditions could actually help increase "productive forces." Further, he writes in the letter, it was not necessarily the maturity of material

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conditions but rather the "policies and tactics" of the revolutionaries that determined whether or not a "social revolution" would succeed. In Guo's opinion, as an economically backward country China should not wait, as Kawakami suggested, for "productive forces" to further develop before it could have a Communist revolution. China should follow the example of Lenin's Russia and start to carry out the revolution as soon as possible.\textsuperscript{615}

Guo's reservation about Marxist historical materialism was also seen in several other writings between late 1924 and early 1926. In his "Go to Yixing," for instance, he elaborates his idea that China no longer had a normal chance of developing into Communism through "individual capitalism," a necessary stage of historical development according to historical materialism. What China should do, he notes, was to have a "socialist political revolution" first and then use "state capitalism" to develop "material productive forces."\textsuperscript{616} In his January-1926 article "The Timing of Social Revolution" he also writes that, once the "law" had been "discovered" that as a natural course of history "advanced social systems" were bound to replace old systems which had become "shackles" on "productive forces," people should not wait passively for history to take its course. Instead, since they were not "dead


\textsuperscript{616} Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 334-335.
things in nature," people should take actions to help bring about "as early as possible" the death of the "old society" and the birth of "new society." He uses a medical analogy to make his point. If people had distoma in their lungs and knew that the pathogen without treatment was to die itself in twenty years, he asked, should people wait for those twenty years to let the pathogen harm them before it dies in a natural course? The answer was very simple: for their own health people should take action and use medical treatment to kill the pathogen "as soon as possible."\(^{617}\) Guo further points out in the article that even Karl Marx himself sometimes "vigorously" advocated revolutionary actions.\(^{618}\) As he saw it, there was a "dualism" in the thinking of Marx. On the one hand, with his historical materialism Marx believed that a new social system would never be born if material "productive forces" had not reached a certain level of historical development. On the other hand, Marx had also been found saying that "revolutionary" actions should be taken to facilitate the death of old society and birth of new.\(^{619}\) It was his understanding of Marxism, Guo notes in the article, that a Communist revolution did not necessarily have to wait for capitalism as a historical stage to develop to its

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fullest. In order to save "proletarians" from their "pains," he says, a "social revolution" should be started "as early as possible" even before the "collapse" of "individual capitalism." Such revolution should and could happen.

Guo's interpretation of Marxism was clearly influenced by Leninism, whose theory and practice of carrying out a Communist revolution under relatively backward economic conditions had significantly deviated from the Marxist doctrine of historical materialism.

Guo's profound reservation about Marxist historical materialism, it is very important to add here, was perhaps best seen in his October-1924 autobiographical novel Hard Journey, written in Japan several months after his announced conversion to Marxism. In that novel, he reflects on his stay in an "isolated" rural area in Japan where life was simple and easy. Living in the countryside where everything was "so leisurely and carefree," he writes, people felt no "excessive desires" and therefore did not have much demand for "material"

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622 Note: it is interesting to point out that, according to Gail Berstein, Kawakami, whose view on historical materialism Guo had found so hard to accept, actually himself had certain difficulty accepting Marxist historical materialism and had shown certain interest in and even enthusiasm for Lenin's theory and practice. Please see: Bernstein 1990, Japanese Marxist: 119, 121, 123. Also note: according to Guo, Kawakami had written to Guo by early 1926 admitting that he himself was not satisfied with his book Social Organization and Social Revolution. Please see: Hongshui, vol. I, 10/11: 341.
products. Observing such a comfortable rural life, he couldn’t help but "doubt" Marx’s idea that the ideal Communist society would not be achieved until "material productive forces developed to the fullest." If people lived simple country lives, he says, they wouldn’t need "the fullest development of material production." If his "minimum" material life could be guaranteed, Guo adds, he himself would have no problem practicing the Communist principle of working according to one’s ability and contributing to society.  

Finally, it should be pointed out that Guo’s reservation about Marxist historical materialism was also shown in his major deviation from the Marxist view that a strong socio-economic class of industrial "proletarians," whose birth and maturity came with the development of productive forces in capitalist system, was an important pre-condition for Communist revolution. For instance, in his "Go to Yixing," written after his announced conversion to Marxism, he countered some people’s view that China still did not have a strong "proletarian class" for its "socialist political revolution." China, he argues, did not necessarily need a strong socio-economic class of proletarians for the revolution. "It does not make sense," he writes, "to say that only proletarian workers can carry out the task of the revolution. Marx and Engels, for instance, were not themselves

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623 Guo Moruo 1933, Xinglunan: 82, 84-85.
workers." What China needed, he continues, were not necessarily industrial workers but people who "spiritually" "agreed to socialist revolution." If some "wise" capitalists "spiritually" "agreed to socialist political revolution," he elaborates, they too could "join the revolution." What was needed, he emphasizes, was that "spiritual agreement" (to the revolution)! Marx's "proletarian dictatorship," he adds, "could be interpreted spiritually" and could be rephrased as "dictatorship by Communists." In his December-1925 article "The Creation of a New State," he further writes: if "the haves" (capitalists) in China became "awakened" to the fact that they could not well develop their businesses under the "economic oppression" of foreign powers, that their businesses would "eventually" be "swallowed" by foreign imperialists, and that their own "descendants" would enjoy "endless happiness" in the future Communist society, and, further, if they loved China more than they loved their wealth, then they could come and join the proletarians in the Communist revolution and could even become "the core of the proletarians."

B). Confucianism

While accepting Marxism as the best of Western scientific civilizations, Guo in mid-1924 had also started focusing on Confucianism as the best of Chinese tradition. This means

that, as a major change from his thinking during the first half of this period, he had now excluded Taoism from the best of the tradition. For instance, in his "Wang Yangming: a Great Spiritualist," written in June 1924, right after he translated Kawakami's book, he notes that China's traditional thinking had "two major schools:" Confucianism and Taoism.\footnote{Guo's this article was finished on June 17, 1924. See: Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 70; Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 185-186; Wang Yangming 1925, Yangming quanshu.} Even though Taoism was this-worldly as Confucianism was, "the practical ethics of Taoism were selfish and self-benefiting." If practiced to its "extreme," he adds, Taoism could result in the same evils and disasters that the "Western capitalist system" had caused. As Taoism had such serious problems, he concludes, the "only" good part now "left" within the Chinese tradition was Confucianism.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 66-67.} What should be added here is that, as early as late 1923, Guo had already started changing his view on Taoism. In his August-1923 "Han Gu Guan," for instance, he repeatedly criticizes Lao Zi as being a "selfish base person." While "talking volubly about nature," he says, Lao Zi approached "everything" from a "selfish" angle.\footnote{Chuangzao zhoubao, Vol. I, No. 15: 5.} Guo points out in the novel that there was a major contradiction between Lao Zi's concept of "dao" (way), which referred to a "completely purposeless and active entity," and his concept of
"de" (ethics), which was "full of" selfish "purposes" and was like a "lifeless stone coffin." Lao Zi, he notes, was a "hypocrite" and Lao Zi's Dao De Jing was a "hypocritical classic." Guo's attraction now to Confucianism was found in his "Wang Yangming: a Great Spiritualist" and some other writings from the period between mid-1924 and early 1926. His focus was now on both the thinking of Confucius and the mind-heart thought of Wang Yangming, whom he believed to be "the only person" besides Confucius himself who had "truly embodied the spirit of Confucianism."

One of Confucianism's continuous attractions for Guo was the Confucian world view that "all are one" (wanwu yiti). According to that world view, Guo wrote consistently with his 1923 "The Traditional Spirit of Chinese Tradition," "noumenon" (ben ti) "exists in everything" in the universe and "is expressed" by everything. Such "noumenon," he noted, "moves"

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629 Chuangzao zhoubao, Vol. I, No. 15: 5. Note: a) Guo in "Wang Yangming: a Great Spiritualist" again criticized such contradiction in Lao Zi's thinking—see: Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (hujiacao ben): 60. b) Guo here showed that, despite his criticism of Taoism, he was still to certain extent interested in the Taoist concept of "Dao." In fact, a point can be made that his interest in the Taoist "purposeless" "Dao" and his criticism of the Taoist "selfish" "De" were both consistent with his Confucian moral view against people's selfish purposes and their desires for material gains.


"naturally" but in a "progressive" manner. In contrast to his view in 1923, however, Guo no longer called "noumenon" god and he no longer described the Confucian world view as being pantheistic. Instead, he now used the terminology of Wang Yangming's mind-heart school and described "noumenon" as "principle" (li), which "equals" the mind-heart. Such a change in Guo's terminology, it should be pointed out, is consistent with his own statement that he had abandoned his pantheistic thinking around early 1924. The change in his terminology and his professed renunciation of pantheism, however, does not necessarily mean that he had given up the pantheist idea that human beings, as everything else in the universe, had divine potentials. This, in fact, can be seen in his continued faith in and enthusiasm for Wang Yangming's mind-heart thinking, which, with its pantheist tendency, taught that people could become god-like beings with the cultivation of their mind-hearts.

Guo also continued to be attracted to what he interpreted as the Confucian dualism of individualistic moral self cultivation and cosmopolitanism. Confucianism, he wrote, started with the "expansion of the self" and then extended to the collectivist cause of "managing the state and harmonizing

634 Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 166.
the world" and the goal of becoming a harmonious part of the whole universe. Such dualism of individual cultivation and collectivism, as Guo noted, was also seen in the Confucian teaching that one should "strive for the perfection and development" of his "self" and "in the meantime" help others "perfect and develop" their selves. The Confucian concept of moral self cultivation, according to Guo, was perfectly embodied by Wang Yangming. Wang's life, Guo noted, featured "constant" efforts to "expand" himself and "constant struggles" with his "environment." Guo especially emphasized Wang Yangming's concept of "getting rid of human desires and keeping heavenly principle" (qurenyu cuntianli) as a major part of the moral self cultivation process. The "human desires" that Wang referred to, Guo interpreted, were "selfish desires" for material things in the world and the "impulse" to take private "possession" of those things. To get rid of their "human desires," Wang taught, people should "unite knowing and doing" (zhixing heyi) and "temper" themselves in "doing things" (shishang molian). With his great efforts to

635 Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 60.

636 Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 64.


639 Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 62-64. Note: Wang, as Guo mentioned, also taught people to practice "quiet sitting" (jingzuo) as a method to cultivate themselves.
fight against "human desires," to "defeat" the "evils" in his own mind-heart, and to "purify" and "expand" his own "spirit," Wang Yangming had become a "great spiritualist" and a "reviver of Confucian spirit."\(^{640}\)

The Confucian concept of Great Harmony was also a major attraction for Guo. For instance, in his "Marx Enters the Confucian Temple," written in November 1925, he quotes again from *Li Ji* Confucius' description of the ideal of the Great Harmony and treated that ideal as a major part of what he liked in Confucius' thinking.\(^{641}\)

Consistent with his thinking in 1923, however, Guo continued to be aware that, with all its attractions, Confucianism lacked the modern necessity of a "scientific spirit." In "Marx Enters the Confucian Temple," for example, he notes again that Confucius' thinking was not "systematic" and Confucius "did not understand logic." This, he explains, was because Confucius lived in a time when sciences were still not "invented."\(^{642}\)

C). Combining Confucianism with Marxism as the Best of the East and West and Identifying the Two with Each Other


\(^{641}\) *Hongshui*, vol. I: 215. Note: Guo in "Marx Enters Confucian Temple" also noted once again that he was interested in Confucius because Confucius had divorced his wife. This, as Guo interpreted, means that Confucius was for freedom of divorce.---see *Hongshui*, Vol. I. no. 7: 218-219.

\(^{642}\) *Hongshui*, vol. I: 213, 217.
In June 1924 Guo announced that he "believed in both the religion of Confucianism (kongjiao)...and socialism (Marxism)." With his faith in both Confucianism and Marxism as the best of the East and West, from mid-1924 on he made deliberate efforts to combine the two and identify them with each other. In his "Wang Yangming: a Great Spiritualist," for instance, he writes

My view is that, for our individual cultivation, we should follow Confucian spirit and strive for the expansion of our selves in order to reach the sacred status of being perfect; for social progress and reform, then, we should follow the guidance of socialism, make great efforts to absorb what scientific civilization offers, increase material productive forces, achieve even distribution of material products, and enable every one to comprehensively develop his spirit.

Guo's connotation here is that Confucianism is better than Marxism in guiding people's moral self cultivation while Marxism is better than Confucianism in guiding social progress and reforms. His conclusion, therefore, is that Confucianism and Marxism as the best of the East and West should be combined together and complement each other.

While suggesting the differences between Confucianism and Marxism, Guo also made efforts to identify the two with each other in a variety of ways. For example, in "Wang Yangming: a

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643 Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 67. Note: this was the only time when Guo noted that he believed in Confucianism as a "religion." Even though this was rare, it was consistent with his deification of Confucius in the past years.

Great Spiritualist," he writes that, when applied to society, Wang Yangming's neo-Confucian concept of "getting rid of human (selfish) desires" actually meant "abolishing private ownership." Wang's concept, he notes, was therefore "in common" with the anti-private-ownership theory of Marxism. In the article, he also identifies what Soviet Russia practiced after the 1917 revolution with Confucius' "kingly way" (wangdao). Further, with his Confucian emphasis on individual moral cultivation, he points out that the "noble and pure characters" of Marx and Lenin could be compared to those of Confucius and Wang Yangming.

Another writing in which Guo identified Confucianism with Marxism is his "Marx Enters the Confucian Temple." In that essay, he compares Confucius' thought with that of Marx on

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Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (hujiiao ben): 67. Note: here, in a social sense, Guo was actually equating human selfish desires with private ownership.


It needs to be noticed here that Guo wrote "Marx Enters Confucian Temple" with a bantering style. Using such a style, however, does not mean that Guo was not serious in what he said in the writing about Confucianism and Marxism. For one thing, sufficient evidence shows that Guo since mid-1924 had kept strong faith in both Confucianism and Marxism. It does not make sense, therefore, if he meant disrespect for Confucius and Marx in "Marx Enters Confucian Temple." Further, with two open letters that he wrote in December 1925 and March 1926, Guo himself confirmed his seriousness in comparing Confucianism with Marxism in "Marx Enters Confucian Temple." In those two letters, especially the first one, he seriously elaborated his view in "Marx Enters Confucian Temple" that Confucianism and Marxism were in common on several major issues.—see: Hongshui, Vol. I, no. 7: 212-219; Vol. I. No. 9: 323-330; Vol. II, No. 14: 71-82.
several issues. First, Confucius and Marx were both this-worldly in their thinking. Marx's "thorough affirmation of this world and life" was "completely identical" with Confucius' "emphasis" on "life." 648 Then, he goes on to compare Marx's ideal of an egalitarian and cosmopolitan Communist society with Confucius' ideal of Great Harmony. Marx was not a "material" person without idealism. With his ideal of the Communist society, in which all would "freely and equally develop their abilities" and the principle of "from each according his ability and to each according his needs" would be practiced, Marx was actually a "most idealistic idealist." This idealism was in common with Confucius' ideal of Great Harmony in which "a public and common spirit ruled all under the sky," "men of talents, virtue, and ability" would be chosen, the "able-bodied" (males) would have "proper work" and labor "with their strength," and all people, including "the aged," "the young," "widows," "orphans," "childless men," and "those who were disabled by disease," would be well taken care of. 649 Guo also tries to compare


649 Hongshui, Vol. I, no. 7: 215; Legge 1885, The Sacred Books of China: 364-366. Note: Guo did indicate, however, that Confucius was different than Marx in that Confucius did not have a scientific system as that of Marx to carry out his idealism. Confucius, Guo suggested, was in modern terms only a "utopian socialist." Also: Guo in his "The Creation of a New State" also identified Marx's ideal of Communist society with the Confucian ideal of Great Harmony—see: Hongshui, vol. I, No. 8: 228.
Confucius with Marx on the issue of material development. Confucius, Guo notes, showed on several occasions that he was paying attention to the development of material wealth.\textsuperscript{650} However, Guo has to admit that Confucius had also stated that he was "not worried" about "poverty" or "scarcity" of material goods. Guo also has major difficulty in the article defending Confucius' contempt for commercial activities and the Confucian preference for frugality instead of aggressive economic development.\textsuperscript{651}

As a response to the criticism by a certain Tao Qiqing (?-?), in December 1925 Guo wrote an open letter to confirm and elaborate the view that he had expressed in "Marx Enters the Confucian Temple." In that letter, he claims again that "Marx's theory is not contradictory with Confucius' thinking."\textsuperscript{652} Confucius, whom he "worshipped," was "commendable" for having already developed a concept of "Communism" "over two thousand years ago."\textsuperscript{653} He notes that Confucius' "kingly way" (wangdao), (like Marxism,) was opposed


\textsuperscript{651} Hongshui, Vol. I, no. 7: 216-217.

\textsuperscript{652} Hongshui, Vol. I, no. 9: 328.

\textsuperscript{653} Hongshui, Vol. I. no. 9: 329. Note: Guo did admit in the letter that Confucius' thinking had been somewhat "limited" by his time.---see: Hongshui, Vol. I. no. 9: 329.
to "private ownership." According to Confucianism, he writes, rulers should have moral qualities and should "abdicate" in political succession. Such Confucian concept of rule by "men of virtues," Guo argues, was different from the concept of theocratic rulership and was not "fundamentally" different from the Marxist concept of government by "proletarians." Confucius' nationalism, he also notes, was not contradictory to Marxism, because Marx recognized the importance of having "proletarian countries" before the cosmopolitan Communist ideal is achieved. Marxism and Confucianism, Guo also says in the letter, were not much different on the issue of family. Marxism "does not teach people not to have families." Nor was Confucius' emphasis on family "contradictory" to the Marxist concept of Communism because, if "every family" lives well and is "in good shape" in a society, then that society is a Communist one.

4. Some of the Issues in Guo's Thinking during this Period

First, on the issue of Chinese tradition vs. the modern West, Guo as in the previous periods tended not to see the two

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655 Hongshui, Vol. I, no. 9: 326. Note: Guo here is in a sense equating proletarians with the Confucian "men of virtues."


657 Hongshui, vol. I, no. 9: 326-327. Note: Guo also notes in the letter that the nine-square land system (jingtian zhi) that Mencius advocated was actually a Communist system. -- see: Hongshui, vol. I, no. 9: 327.
sides of the issue as polar opposites. For him, there is "path" between Chinese tradition and modern Western "scientific" civilization. The two could actually "shake hands" with each other. After years of searching, he had concluded that it was with Confucianism and Marxism, which in his eyes not only complemented each other but were also substantially identical with each other, that the gap between the East and West could be bridged and the Eastern-Western hand-shake could take place.

The view that Guo had expressed on the issue of Chinese tradition vs. the modern West since early 1923, it should be noted here, was to a great extent his participation in and reflection on the controversies since around 1923 in Chinese intellectual circles over Eastern and Western civilizations and over science and metaphysics. As many of his contemporary Chinese intellectuals, he was searching seriously for a solution to China's modern intellectual crisis—a crisis over where to turn, East or West, for sources for a new ideological system. Throughout the controversies, Guo's point of view was very clear: he wanted the best of both the Chinese tradition and Western "scientific" civilization. First, in

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659 Some of his major articles, including "on Chinese and German Cultures" and "Wang Yangming: a Great Spiritualist," were written at least partially to participate in the controversies.—see: Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 18-28, 22 note 3, 66-69.
early and mid-1923, he wanted Confucianism as well as Taoism as the best of Chinese tradition and vaguely Western "scientific spirit" as the best of the West. Then, from mid-1924 on, he focused on Confucianism as the best of China and Marxism as the best of the West. Even though he had substantially changed his idea on the contents of the best of the East and West from 1923 to 1926, he had consistently believed that the solution to modern China's intellectual crisis lies in the combination of the best of the two worlds.

Guo, of course, had his own interpretations of Confucianism and Marxism. In his process of combining the best of the East with the best of the West, not only had he significantly modified Confucianism, largely but not entirely as a result of Western influence, but he also had substantial reservation about Marxism, largely but not entirely because of his Confucian concerns.

First, to a great extent as a result of the influence of the Western concept of individual freedom that he had received since his early years, Guo had significantly rebelled against lijiao. These Confucian ethics of social constraints, therefore, were no longer part of his version of Confucianism. Instead, he focused on Confucian ethics of virtues as the essence of Confucianism. What should be noted here is that part of Guo's justification for his rebellion against lijiao is his elaboration on the Confucian concept of self cultivation and development. Even though this elaboration was
substantially a result of his having been influenced by Western thinking, it is not entirely without its basis in the Confucian system. Guo’s individualistic rebellion against lijiao, therefore, can in a sense also be traced to his own Confucian thinking.

Guo’s reservation about Marxism, then, actually brings up another issue in his thinking: the tension between the scientific and rational historical materialism and moralism, idealism, voluntarism, and emotion. On the one hand, with his May Fourth faith in Western science and reason he was attracted to Marxist historical materialism as a social science and "light of reason." On the other hand, with his Confucian and especially Neo-Confucian mind-heart thinking, which featured strong moral and spiritual concerns and idealistic and voluntarist tendencies and profoundly lacked interest in aggressive material development and material gains, he sometimes found it difficult to follow Marx’s deterministic view that the ideal Communist society would never take place unless the development of material productive forces reached a high level. To a certain extent, Guo’s difficulty with the Marxist emphasis on material development also reminds us of the desire that he had shown in the previous period to escape from modern and urban sophistication and return to a simple primitive life. The issue of Marxist

historical materialism vs. moralism, idealism, voluntarism, and emotion in Guo's thinking is not necessarily entirely an issue of Western thinking vs. Chinese tradition. Marxism, for instance, is not without idealism itself. Further, Guo's reservation and revision of Marxist historical materialism was greatly supported by the Leninist interpretation of Marxism. Lenin, of course, had nothing to do with the Chinese tradition. As for Guo's emphasis on emotion, it can certainly be traced to his having been influenced by Goethe's Western Romanticism. Guo's admiration for simple primitive life can also be traced to both traditional Taoist thinking and Goethe's Romanticist influence.

Individualism vs. collectivism was also a major issue in Guo's thinking. Generally speaking, there was a significant shift in Guo's thinking during this period from the celebration of individualism to an emphasis on collectivist concerns. As he had been painfully frustrated in his personal life and in his literary career and as he pondered the various problems that China and the world had been suffering, he had increasingly lost hope for and interest in individualistic self development in the current society and turned to collectivism, including both Marxism and the collectivist elements in Confucianism, for a solution to the problems in his life, in China, and in the world. This transformation in his thinking can be seen in some of his major writings in this period. For instance, in his August-1924 letter to Cheng
Fangwu, after bitterly complaining that in the current society people like him had no opportunities to "freely" and "fully" develop their individual abilities and talents, he notes that he had "thoroughly changed" his "previous thinking which had been deeply colored with individualism." Then, in his November-1925 "Preface to Collected Literary Essays", he writes

My thinking, my life, and my style has completely changed in the past one or two years. I used to respect individuality and worship (individual) freedom. After some contact with the miserable bottom portion of the society in the past one or two years, however, I have realized that it is somewhat improper and absurd for a few to advocate individuality and (individual) freedom when the majority of the people have been forced to lose their freedom and individuality.

... If individuality is to be developed, then it is the individuality of all that should be developed; if freedom in life is to be pursued, then it is the free life of everyone that should be pursued. When the masses can not develop their individuality and live freely, the few awakened ones should sacrifice their own individuality and freedom and strive for the individuality and freedom of the masses...  

In a sense, Guo had found channels provided by both Chinese Confucianism and Western Marxism for him to make the transition from individualism to collectivism, which is somewhat consistent with his overall the-best-of-the-two-world attitude on the issue of the East vs. the West. The channel provided for him by Confucianism is what he had interpreted as the Confucian dualism of individualism and cosmopolitanism. As

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that dualism teaches that one’s self development and perfection is eventually meant to benefit the whole of mankind, it is not unnatural for Guo, a believer of that dualism, to have made the shift from individualism to the cosmopolitanism of Communism. Marxism, on the other hand, provided a channel for Guo to travel from individualism to collectivism by promising that ultimate freedom and development of the individual will be achieved through the collectivist means of Communist revolution. Guo, who had been painfully unable to develop himself freely in the current society, had found in Marxist collectivism the best and only way to achieve true emancipation of the self.

Consistent with the shift of emphasis from individualism to collectivism in his thinking, Guo’s view on literature had also fundamentally changed during this period. In contrast to his previous view that literature was primarily a way of expressing the self and that social function is at best only a casual and secondary concern for the writer in his literary writing, Guo since around mid-1924 began to emphasize the function of literature to promote social revolution. In his August-1924 letter to Cheng Fangwu, for instance, he notes that what was needed at the time was "revolutionary literature and arts" that could serve as a "sharp weapon" for revolutionary "propaganda." In his March-1926 article "The

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Awakening of Writers and Artists," he writes that time had passed for Romanticist literature which featured "individualism and liberalism." "What we need now," he claims, "is a literature whose form is realism and whose content is socialism."

On the issue of nationalism vs. cosmopolitanism, Guo continued to demonstrate both strong nationalist feelings and obvious cosmopolitanist concerns. He did not see his determination to save and revive China in modern times as being contradictory to his ultimate goal of achieving an ideal harmonious society for the whole of mankind. For one thing, his concerns for both China and the world are very consistent with his faith in Confucianism, which has a multiple-phase ideal of self cultivation, taking care of the family, managing the state, and harmonizing the world (xiiushen, qijia, zhiguo, pingtianxia). After mid-1924, Guo also found that the Marxist theory to which he had converted supported his dualism of nationalism and cosmopolitanism. In his "the Creation of New State," for instance, he notes that Marxist cosmopolitanism did not exclude nationalism. Marx, he points out, acknowledged the historical necessity and importance of the existence of

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64 Hongshui, vol. I, Vol. II, No. 16: 139. It should be noted that even though Guo now strongly advocated "revolutionary" "propaganda" literature, his ideal literature was still the "pure literature" that "transcends time." As he had realized, however, such "pure literature" would not be possible until the ideal Communist society was achieved with the help of, among other things, "revolutionary" "propaganda" literature.--- see: Chuangzao yuekan, Vol. I. no. 2: 138-139.

Guo's thinking in this period also continued to feature the theme of action. Most importantly, he increasingly believed that the action of revolution and violence should be taken to save China and the world. In his "A Dialogue between the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers" (November 1922), "Non-resisters" (early 1923), "Our New Movement in Literature" (May 1923), and "The Awakening of Writers and Artists" (March 1926), he frequently mentions "destruction," "revolution," and "class struggle" as means to "create" a new China and new world.\footnote{Guo Moruo 1988, Guo Moruo yiwenji (1): 165. Note: Guo's enthusiasm for action can to certain extent be traced to his being influenced by Wang Yangming's emphasis on the "unity of knowing and doing."--see: Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 62; Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 186.} In his April-1926 "From Economic Struggle to Political Struggle," he further notes: "to save mankind from their pain, we have to have thorough revolution, take the power from the dominant classes, and completely overthrow all the oppressing classes..."\footnote{Guo Moruo 1988, Guo Moruo yiwenji (1): 165. Note: Guo's enthusiasm for action can to certain extent be traced to his being influenced by Wang Yangming's emphasis on the "unity of knowing and doing."--see: Guo Moruo 1984, Wenyi lunji (huijiao ben): 62; Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 186.} 

5. The Formation of a Confucian/Marxist System
Based on Guo’s focus on Confucianism and Marxism, his interpretations of the two, and his efforts to combine them and identify them with each other, we can see the formation of what may be called a Confucian/Marxist system in his thinking from mid-1924 to mid-1926.

That Confucian/Marxist system featured a sharp criticism of private ownership and capitalism as the evil sources for problems in China and in the world. This criticism was based on both Confucian thinking and Marxist theory. First, from a Confucian moralistic view, Guo saw private ownership and capitalism as evil symbols for people’s "selfish" desires for material possessions and material gains. Secondly, Marxist theory taught him that capitalism was inevitably going to die out as a historical stage because it had increasingly become shackles for further development of material productive forces. Such Marxist "scientific" reasoning, whose focus is on the promotion of material development, is certainly fundamentally different from Guo’s Confucian moralism. In fact, having both Confucian thinking and Marxism as the basis for his criticism against private ownership and capitalism gives rise to a profound tension between moralism and historical materialism within his Confucian/Marxist system. At a functional level, however, the Confucian moral view against

668 Guo’s dislike for people’s material and mundane desires can also be traced to his having been influenced by the Taoist concept of dao, of which he still spoke positively even after he started criticizing Taoism around late 1923.
human selfish desires and the Marxist analysis against capitalism seemed in Guo's eyes to have reinforced each other and, as two different approaches, they had both led him to his anti-private-ownership anti-capitalism conclusion.

Related to Guo's resentment against capitalism is his criticism of modern imperialism. For him, imperialism, which was the extension and internationalization of capitalism, was a major enemy of modern China and an evil force that had been destroying the world.

Guo's Confucian/ Marxist system further featured the ultimate goal of achieving a cosmopolitan, harmonious, idealistic, and egalitarian society, which is in sharp contrast to the chaos and disasters caused by the evils of private ownership, capitalism, and imperialism in the dark reality. That goal, as Guo found out, was shared by both Confucianism, with its concept of Great Harmony, and Marxism, with its ideal of the Communist utopia. In fact, it was on that goal of achieving the ideal future society that Guo found Confucianism and Marxism to be most identical with each other. Guo saw in his ideal cosmopolitan society a harmonious integration of people's individual freedom and development and their collective well-being, which is consistent with both his Confucian dualism of individualism and cosmopolitanism and the Marxist concept of reaching the ultimate development and
freedom of the individual through the collectivism of Communist revolution.  

Guo's Confucian/Marxist system then featured an impatience to reach its ultimate goal of the cosmopolitan society of Communism and Great Harmony. As a step towards reaching that ultimate goal, Guo could hardly wait to establish in economically-backward China a new "proletarian" state through the means of revolution, class struggle, and dictatorship. It is Guo's such impatience that demonstrates the most profound tension within his Confucian/Marxist system: the tension between the "scientific" theory of Marxist historical materialism which he claimed to have accepted and his Confucian moralism, spiritualism, and voluntarism and his emphasis on emotion and his Leninist approach to Marxism.  

Even though he was attracted to the "scientific" reasoning of historical materialism, Guo was not really too enthusiastic about the Marxist emphasis on the development of material productive forces. For him, it would be nice to have what Marx demanded as high-level material development. However, if there was no such material condition, he could do without it and would not wait passively for it to happen. With so much suffering going on in reality, he had no patience for history

669 Guo's pursuit of such a cosmopolitanist goal is also consistent with his Confucian world view that "all are one."

670 The remaining Taoist influence on him also contributed to this tension.
to slowly and painfully take its course. The historical stages depicted by Marxism, he believed, could be jumped over if needed.

A major way for Guo to jump over historical stages was to rely on "spiritual proletarians" as the revolutionary force when China as an economically under-developed country was fundamentally short of industrial proletarians, a socio-economic class on which Marxist historical materialism counted for carrying out Communist revolution. "Spiritual proletarians," as Guo defined them, were those who were "awakened" spiritually and politically and were willing to take part in the Communist revolution. As Guo suggested, one way for people to become "awakened" and qualify as "spiritual proletarians," whom he saw as similar to the Confucian "men of virtue," was to follow the guidance of Confucianism and develop and cultivate themselves spiritually and morally. To develop and cultivate themselves, he further believed, people should follow the example of the "great spiritualist" Wang Yangming to "unite knowing with doing" (zhixing heyi) and "temper" themselves "in doing things" (shishang molian). The whole concept of "spiritual proletarians" in Guo's Confucian/Marxist system, it should be pointed out, clearly demonstrates his Confucian spiritual and moral tendency.

6. The Confucian/Marxist System as a Solution
To a great extent, Guo’s Confucian/Marxist system served for him as a comprehensive solution to problems in his life and in China and the world.

First, a Communist revolution, which was a major part of his Confucian/Marxist system, would destroy the existing society that had caused the difficulty and uncertainty in his life and had prevented him from freely developing his individuality and talents. After that revolution, then, ultimate freedom, development, and happiness of the individual, something that he had long dreamed for, would be guaranteed in the ideal society of Communism and Great Harmony. It is true that Guo himself might not live to see that ideal society. However, since he could neither freely develop himself in his own way in the old society nor was he willing to compromise to adapt himself to that society, it seemed natural for him to work for the destruction of the old society and devote himself to the ideal of the future. 671

The Confucian part of Guo’s Confucian/Marxist system, it should be pointed out, also served to guide him in meeting his needs of morally and spiritually cultivating himself and

671 Guo’s frustration with his life in the old society was a major factor leading to his interest in the Communist revolution. For one thing, it is not merely coincident that he announced his conversion to Marxism right after the crisis in his life in early 1924.
"expanding" and developing himself to perfection, needs which had been an important part of his life.672

For Guo, the Confucian/Marxist system also promised to solve the situational problems that he had seen in China. As he saw imperialism, capitalism, and private ownership as the evil sources for the problems in warlord China, and as he had realized that China in the age of imperialism had no chance to develop itself gradually through "individual capitalism," he came to believe that the only way for the country to survive and revive itself in the modern world was through a Communist revolution in which imperialists, capitalists, and warlords would be destroyed and China would strengthen through the "state capitalism" of a Leninist "proletarian" state. After the realization of the ideal Communist society, China would have its ultimate salvation as a harmonious part of a cosmopolitan world.

The Confucian/Marxist system could also solve for Guo the situational problems that he had seen in the world. After seriously reflecting upon the disaster of World War I, he had come to believe that it was capitalism and imperialism that had resulted in the massive killing, suffering, and

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672 As it had excluded lijiao as a component, the Confucian part of Guo's Confucian/Marxist system was also an extension of his previous solution to his personal problem with lijiao, the solution that he had found in the peak years of the May Fourth movement by justifying his rebellion against lijiao with Western concepts of romantic love and individuality and with his interpretation of Confucius' life and thinking.
destruction of that war. To save the world from such disasters, therefore, capitalism and imperialism had to be eliminated. Hence his faith in the Confucian/Marxist system, which promised to thoroughly eliminate capitalism and imperialism and eventually lead the whole world into the paradise of Communism and Great Harmony.

The Confucian/Marxist system offered solution to problems in China and the world also in the sense that, with its Confucian concept of moral purification and cultivation, it promised the salvation of all from their selfish material desires, which Guo saw as a major source for the evils in the capitalist and imperialist world.

Finally, Guo’s Confucian/Marxist system also provided solution to the intellectual crisis in modern China. By relying on both Confucianism and Marxism as ideological guidance for the Chinese in modern times, Guo showed that the new ideological system that modern China needed should be a combination of both the best of Chinese tradition and the best of modern Western "scientific" civilization.

7. Joining the Revolution

While forming and developing his Confucian/Marxist thinking, from mid-1924 to mid-1926 Guo also went through a process in which he was getting ready to "unite knowing with doing" and take part in the action of carrying out the Communist revolution. Through this process, he continued to be pushed towards revolutionary action by the problem of
uncertainty and difficulty in his life and by China's warlordist and semi-colonial darkness that was further exposed to him through such personal experience as his late-1924 trip in rural southern China and through the shocking historical events of the May Thirtieth and March Eighteenth Incidents.

China's revolutionary actions at the time centered in Guangdong. As such a center, Guangdong had long attracted Guo's attention.\(^{673}\) As he was increasingly ready to join the revolutionary actions, an opportunity came for him to go to Guangdong in late February 1926 when Guangdong University offered him the position of Dean of the School of Liberal Arts.\(^{674}\) Guo left Shanghai alone on March 18, 1926 to take the job and Tomiko and their children later joined him in Guangdong in May that year.\(^{675}\) Soon after he arrived in Guangdong, Guo became involved in the revolutionary movement and applied to join the Chinese Communist party. Though for some reason the party did not immediately accept him, it did give him the assignment of joining the Northern Expedition as chief of the Propaganda Section of the Political Department of the revolutionary army.\(^{676}\) Guo joined the expedition in July


1926 and was accepted by the Communist party as a member in August 1927.\footnote{677}

After his participation in the Northern Expedition, Guo distanced himself to some degree from the practicing Communists in China.\footnote{678} However, after 1949, not only did he come back to Communist practice, he also developed into a committed, enthusiastic, and sometimes significantly influential participant of some of the revolutionary movements led by Mao Zedong.

\footnote{677} Guo Moruo 1978, Xuesheng shidai: 274; Gu Pulin 1983, Guo Moruo qianqi sixiang ji chuangzuo: 56; Liji: 90.

\footnote{678} In fact, despite his faith in Communist revolution at the time, Guo in 1925 already indicated several times that he had certain reservation about some practicing Communists in China—see: Guo Moruo 1982, Guo Moruo jiwai xubaji: 39; Hongshui, vol. I, No. 4: 92-94; Hongshui, vol. I, No. 8: 232.
CONCLUSION

Interacting with his historical and intellectual environment, Guo, during the first 35 years of his life till 1926, had to cope with various problems and crises in his life and in China and the world. He had long searched for solution to those problems and crises and the Confucian/Marxist system that he formed from mid-1924 to 1926 was the most comprehensive and effective solution that he had found.

To a great extent, the complexity of Guo’s 1924-1926 Confucian/Marxist system was a result of the development of the various issues in his thinking over the years.

First, his Confucian/Marxist system was a natural development of his thinking on the issue of Chinese tradition vs. the modern West. Growing up in China and then living back and forth in China and Japan, two countries that saw increasingly close contact between Eastern tradition and the modern West, Guo had constantly been under the influence of both traditional and modern Western thinking and he had consistently relied on both for sources for his ideological guidance. Looking back into his intellectual development, we clearly see a dualism in his thinking on the issue of tradition vs. the modern West. On the one hand, there was the long and unbroken traditional line in his thinking which was
exemplified by his early education by Liao Ping's students, the beginning of his worship of Wang Yangming in Japan, his idolizing Confucius in *San Ye Ji* in 1920, his admiring Confucius' Great Harmony in "The Pompeii of Chinese Intellectual History" in 1921, his advocacy of the "traditional spirit of Chinese culture" in 1923, and finally his having Confucian ethics of virtues as a major part of his Confucian/Marxist system. On the other hand, there was the Western trend in his thinking which was highlighted by his early education in modern Western subjects in Sichuan, his being influenced by Western, especially German, thinking in medical school in Japan, his worship of Goethe during part of the second half of the May Fourth period, his defending Western science and "scientific spirit" during the intellectual controversies around 1923, and his substantially accepting the "social science" of Marxism from mid-1924 on.

It is true that there were often conflicts and tensions between Guo's traditional values and modern Western concepts and such conflicts and tensions had caused serious problems in his life and thinking. His long and painful struggle with his arranged marriage, for instance, was a direct confrontation between the traditional values of *lijiao* with which he had been brought up and the Western concept of freedom of love and individuality by which he had been influenced. The profound tension between the Confucian and Marxist elements in his Confucian/Marxist system was also an example of the conflicts
and tensions between traditional Chinese and modern Western thoughts.

Despite those conflicts and tensions, however, Guo's intellectual development illustrates that there is not necessarily an insurmountable gap between the tradition and modernity. For instance, the fact that his Confucian/Marxist system was formed and actually served as ideological basis for his action of joining the Communists in their revolution in 1926 shows that, at least at a functional level, part of the tradition and part of Western modernity could and did work together. By not only combining but also identifying the Confucian tradition with the Marxist modern "scientific" thinking in one single system, Guo had in his own way managed to bridge the gap between the East and West and between tradition and modernity.

Guo's sticking to part of Chinese tradition and putting it into his Confucian/Marxist system, it should be added here, might be partially a result of his needs as a Chinese to help preserve China's Chineseness at a time when the country was seemingly facing the danger of losing its cultural and even national identity in the modern world of Western domination. However, based on the evidence shown in this dissertation, it is fair to say that Guo had kept his faith in part of Chinese tradition also because that he still sincerely believed in the modern validity of that part of the tradition. In fact, even in his learning from the West, Guo was to a certain extent
actually judging, examining, criticizing, or accepting certain Western concepts on the basis of his traditional Chinese values. After all, those values had been his major intellectual and cultural reference ever since his childhood.

While Guo’s keeping faith in the ethics of virtues of Chinese Confucian tradition demonstrates that there was substantial continuity in his thinking with the tradition, his breaking up with the lijiao portion of that tradition shows that there was also much discontinuity in his thinking with traditional Chinese culture. In fact, with his radical denunciation of lijiao (Confucian ethics of social constraints) and his firm faith in and enthusiastic advocacy of Confucian ethics of virtues, Guo dramatizes a separation of lijiao from the ethics of virtues in China’s Confucian culture that had started with the generation of Tan Sitong and climaxed during the May Fourth movement. Guo’s discontinuity with Chinese tradition, it should be added, could also be seen in his influence by and acceptance of various Western thoughts over the years, which was a major factor that helped result in his break-up with lijiao.

Guo’s 1924-1926 Confucian/Marxist system was to a certain extent also a natural result of the development of the issue of individualism vs. collectivism in his thinking over the years. For one thing, the concept in that system of achieving the freedom and development of the individual through collective means reminds us that there had always been a
dualism of individualist and collectivist concerns in his thinking, even though for a long time his emphasis used to be on the individualist side of that dualism. Considering Guo’s strong Confucian background, it is interesting to point out that the shift of emphasis in his thinking from individualist to collectivist concerns, which took place gradually over the years in his coping with problems in his life and in China and the world, somehow coincides with, if not follows, the order of priority in the Confucian teaching of self cultivation (xiushen), running a good family (qijia), and then managing the state (zhiguo) and harmonizing the world (pingtianxia).

The dual concern in Guo’s Confucian/ Marxist system for China’s national salvation and the emancipation of mankind, which is certainly consistent with the Confucian teaching to both manage the state and harmonize the world, can also be traced to the existence of the twin themes of nationalism and cosmopolitanism in his thinking through most part of his early intellectual development.

Further, the profound tension within his Confucian/ Marxist system between the "social science" and determinism of historical materialism and his moralism, spiritualism, idealism, voluntarism, and emphasis on emotion clearly reminds us of previous development in his thinking of the issue of materialism vs. moralism, spiritualism, and idealism and the issue of reason vs. emotion.
Finally, Guo’s joining the Communists in the Northern Expedition in 1926 was clearly consistent with the theme of action that had been a major feature of his thinking ever since the emancipation of his mind during the May Fourth movement.\(^{679}\)

Overall, Guo’s intellectual development can help us better understand the complexity of the May Fourth movement in the sense that, with the development of his thinking during the May Fourth period on the issues of Chinese tradition vs. the modern West, individualism vs. collectivism, nationalism vs. cosmopolitanism, materialism vs. moralism, spiritualism, and idealism, reason vs. emotion, the theme of action, and the tendency to deify man, Guo as an influential May Fourth figure clearly transcended such themes as anti-traditionalism, iconoclasm, democracy, science, nationalism, and romanticism, the themes that are commonly believed to be the features of the May Fourth era.

Guo’s intellectual development can also help us better understand early Chinese Communism. His searching for solution to problems in his life and in China and the world and eventually finding such solution in the Confucian/Marxist system, for instance, can serve as a reference for us to

\(^{679}\) Even though Guo’s tendency to deify man in the May Fourth era was not clearly elaborated in his 1924–1926 Confucian/Marxist system, such tendency was to be clearly seen later in the 1950’s when he became an enthusiastic and influential participant of Mao Zedong’s Great Leap Forward movement.
understand why some May Fourth intellectuals turned to Communism. The complexity of the various issues in his thinking, which developed through May Fourth years and eventually constituted his Confucian/Marxist system, can also help us better understand the complexity of early Chinese Communist thoughts. The heavy Confucian elements in his 1924-1926 Communist thinking, it needs to be especially pointed out, are important reference in our study of the relationship between Chinese tradition and the origins of Communism in China. Further, his faith in Western science during the May Fourth era and his later attraction to Marxism as a "social science" suggests a link between the May Fourth theme of "Mr. Science" and the later acceptance of Marxism by some May Fourth intellectuals.

At a specific level, it is worth noting that among the various factors in Guo’s historical situation World War I stood out as an important event that helped lead him to Communist revolution. As shown in this dissertation, the killing and destruction of the war had disturbed him and it was partially his serious reflection on that killing and destruction that led him to the conclusion that capitalism was disastrous for the human race. His reflection on the war, it should be added, was greatly facilitated by the controversies within Chinese intellectual circle around 1923, which were themselves directly triggered off by the war. More importantly, Guo had learned a big lesson from the war and its
after-effects: when Western powers were fighting each other in the war and giving less attention to their economic interest in China, the country ended up with an opportunity to develop some of its native capitalist industries. Once the powers ceased fighting and returned to China, however, they quickly crushed the country's newly developed industries. What this taught Guo is that with the presence of the imperialist powers China did not have a chance to healthily develop its own "individual capitalism." Hence his conclusion that in the age of imperialism China's only salvation lies in following the example of the Soviet Union and practicing "state capitalism."

As a major influence on Guo, it should be mentioned here, the Soviet revolution itself was in a sense also a product of the war.

The First World War, therefore, played a considerable role in turning Guo to Communism. To a certain extent, such effects on Guo by the war could help us explain why some Chinese May Fourth intellectuals turned to Communism right after that war.

Even though he was not a leading figure of early Chinese Communist movement, Guo with his numerous writings happened to have been one of the most vocal among early Chinese Communist intellectuals. Such being the case, the various Communist ideas that he publicly expressed are important reference for the study of the origins and development of the Communist movement in China. For one thing, the concept of "spiritual
proletarians" and self moral cultivation in his Confucian/Marxist system easily reminds us of the thinking that Liu Shaoqi (1898-1969) later expressed in his influential book *How to be a Good Communist* (*lun gongchandangyuan de xiuyang*). More importantly, Guo was one of the first and few Chinese Communists to have ever publicly and clearly expressed serious reservation about Marxist historical materialism. Such reservation, and the revision of Marxism based on such reservation, was to be found later as the essence of China's Maoist revolution with its mentality of great leap forward. In fact, one may wonder: when Guo was dreaming about his minimal-material-life utopia in the mid-1920's, could he imagine that just forty some years later during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) he and the whole country of China would be actually "ahead" of history and creating a "socialism with poverty"?
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Glossary

baguwen
benti
Cheng Fangwu
Chu Ci
Chuang Zao
Da Xia University
Dagukou
datong
Duan Qirui
fei zheng
Fenshe Middle School
gaoden xiaoxue
gaodeng xuexiao
gexin
Gong Sunlong
Gongxueshe
guiguo
Guo Kaizhen
Hu Shi
Huang Qing Jingjie
Huang Jinghua
Huaxia
Hui Shi
Jiading
Jin Guantao
Jingyan
jinwen
Kang Youwei
Kawakami Hajime
keji fuli
keji
kongjiao
Li Ji
Li Dazhao
Liang Qichao
liangxin
Liao Ping
lifa
liji
Liu Shaoqi
Lu Xun
gongli zhuyi
jian ai
mengxuetang
Mo Zi
Qi Shufen
qie
Qiu Jin
同盟会
同病相怜
王道
王制
万物一体
文选
温生才
文明
文学研究会
线利
倭奴
无抗
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夏
心学
徐锡麟
复
勇
郁达夫
世凯
张
资平
李
太监
张
dongsun
zh
Zhixing heyi
Zhonghua Xueyi University
Zhuang Zi
Zhuang Zhou
Zong Baihua
Zou Rong
Zou Yan