

纪念中国人民抗日战争暨世界反法西斯战争胜利70周年重点出版物

中国·四川抗战文化研究丛书



◎ 段从学 著

# 中国·四川抗战新诗史

The History of New Poetry of Sichuan in China During  
the Period of Counter-Japanese War

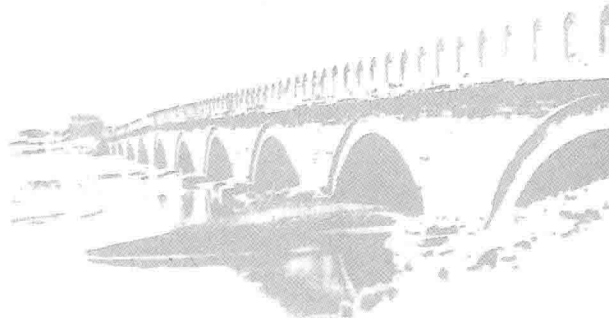


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E - mail: [clap@clapnet.cn](mailto:clap@clapnet.cn)

[chuyy@clapnet.cn](mailto:chuyy@clapnet.cn)

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# 总 序

李后强

文化是民族的灵魂和血脉，在危难时期往往能释放出巨大的能量。

今年是抗日战争胜利 70 周年。这场战争起于 1931 年 9 月，止于 1945 年 9 月。旷日持久的战争给中国人民带来了巨大的灾难。冰冷的刺刀、震耳的炮声、凌厉的炸弹，殷红的鲜血、残断的尸体、焦黑的废墟，深深地铭刻在中国人民的记忆中。中华民族到了生死存亡的关头，神州大地到处燃烧起反侵略的烈焰，抗日民族统一战线的旗帜升起来了。抗日战争是中国近代抗击外敌入侵第一次取得完全胜利的民族解放斗争。四川作为抗战大后方，为抗战胜利付出了巨大牺牲，做出了重大贡献：当时四川总人口 4000 万，近 350 万川军中伤亡 64 万人。抗战初期川军出川时，各界普遍认为这是当时中国“最糟糕的军队”。然而，就是这支“最糟糕的军队”，从 1937 年的“淞沪会战”开始，几乎无役不与，无仗不惨烈。到抗战后期，曾经“最糟糕的部队”得到的评价是“川军能战”“无川不成军”的赞誉。抗日战争留下了光耀千秋的抗战文化。

1945 年，中共中央机关报《新华日报》曾发表《感谢四川人民》的社论，称赞四川是“历史上最大规模的民族战争之大后方的主要基地”，称赞四川人民“对于正面战场，是尽了最大最重要的责任”。此外，由于国土的大批沦陷和国民政府迁都，大批工厂、学校、文化单位

西迁入川，四川成为抗战时期中国的政治文化中心。在漫长的抗战岁月中，在中国共产党领导下，伴随着民族统一战线的形成和民族解放战争的推进，形成了波澜壮阔而又独具特色的四川抗战文化。抗战时期，四川成为世界反法西斯战争的指挥中心之一，成为大后方的政治、经济、军事、文化中心，成为世界反法西斯统一战线与中国抗日民族统一战线的交汇点，为二战的胜利和民族解放战争的胜利做出历史性的贡献。尘封了大半个世纪的抗战文化，是四川宝贵的精神文化财富。

四川抗战文化不仅具有四川特色，还具有全国影响和世界意义，是中国现代史研究内容的重要方面。从中国现代文化发展史来看，四川抗战文化是中国现代文化发展中最为辉煌的阶段，具有里程碑的意义。四川是大后方核心之地，也是抗战文化的主战场。可以说，把四川抗战文化搞清楚了，大后方的抗战文化就基本搞清楚了，对于我国抗战文化的研究无疑具有重大的意义。

中国现代文化的发展经历了漫长的历史过程，但比较而言，抗战时期更为辉煌。西南是抗战的大后方，陪都在重庆。四川的地位举足轻重，抗战文化的重点在四川。战争会毁灭文化，这在国际上不乏范例。可中国的抗日战争不仅没有使我们的民族文化毁灭，还促进了中国现代文化的发展。四川的抗战文化在战火硝烟中谱写出历史新篇章，这正是中国文化强大生命力的表现。

抗日战争的胜利是中华民族文武两条战线的胜利。文化战线的抗战文化，启发了民众的觉悟，激励了将士的斗志，揭露了日寇的暴行，抨击了汉奸的无耻。如果没有抗战文化的鞠躬尽瘁，抗日战争要取得胜利是难以想象的。左翼文化的作用还不止此。周恩来说：鲁迅是导师，郭沫若是主将。鲁迅逝世后，郭沫若便是带领着大家一道前进的向导。郭沫若为旗帜的文化队伍以新民主主义思想浸润人们的心田，拓宽了新民主主义的文化阵地，削弱了其他文化形态的影响，为中国共产党赢得了人心，构筑了更加坚实的通往新中国的大道。

抗战文化是中国的，也是世界的。它是世界反法西斯文化的重要组

成部分。而世界文化也因为有了中国的抗战文化才更加灿烂。抗战文化为战胜日本侵略者立下了卓越的功勋，也为世界反法西斯战争做出了自己的独特贡献。

抗战文化是丰富多彩的文化。统一战线的建立为抗战文化的繁荣营造了相对自由的天地。新民主主义文化、三民主义文化、民族主义文化、自由主义文化、中国传统文化都有自己被认同的空间。但至大至刚的浩然正气和历代民族英雄典范是没有文化或只有少量文化的民众参加抗战的精神力量。要知道，他们的精神力量正是抗战最广大的原动力。纵观中国数千年文化史，很少有哪个时期的文化如抗战时期那样壮观。横看西方文化，也少有能出其右者。战争是一把双刃剑。侵略战争是摧毁被侵略者文化的罪魁祸首，反侵略战争亦能促进文化的发展。中国不是能被入侵者从地球上抹去的国家，也绝不可能，因为她有广袤的反侵略的土地。抗战文化独有的价值正在这里。

研究四川抗战文化，对于当前的文化建设有着重大作用和现实意义。第一，抗战文化是爱国主义文化，爱国主义是中华民族的光荣传统，是推动中国社会前进的巨大力量，是各族人民共同的精神支柱，是社会主义精神文明建设主旋律的重要组成部分。抗战文化研究是爱国主义教育的重要组成部分，是提高全民族整体素质的基础性工程，是引导人们特别是广大青少年树立正确理想、信念、人生观、价值观，促进中华民族振兴的一项重要工作。第二，抗战文化是追求理想、追求进步的文化，是社会主义先进文化的重要组成部分，对于清除文化垃圾，净化人文环境，将起到积极作用。第三，抗战文化是统一战线的文化，是全民族的文化，推进抗战文化研究对于海峡两岸关系的和谐、增强中华文化的凝聚力和向心力，将起到积极的推动作用。第四，抗战文化是四川的重要文化史实，其宝贵的精神文化价值至今能发挥重要作用。它具有显著的地方特色、全国意义和世界影响，对于把四川建设成文化强省具有不可替代的作用。

20世纪80年代，在中共四川省委宣传部的领导和支持下，四川省

社会科学院会同西南师范学院、重庆师范学院等单位率先在全国吹响向抗战文学、文艺进军的集结号。各种形式的研究成果也陆续问世。国内国际都有了一定的影响。在纪念世界反法西斯胜利 70 周年的背景下，我们将这些研究进一步拓展，向中国抗战文化迈进。

由于种种原因，我们过去的抗战文化研究总体来看对历史的描述并不那么全面，有的评价也较粗疏，范围也嫌狭窄。抗日战争已经结束七十年了，似乎很遥远了，可日方依然有人在那里做这样那样、隐形或非隐形的否定。如果能有先哲孟子说的“同情之心人皆有之”的话，就应该真诚地对那场给中国造成数千万人伤亡的侵略战争说不，更应该像祈祷“上帝饶恕我们”的德国总理勃兰特那样谢罪。作为抗战文化的研究者，除了对否定者感到愤懑之外，更多的还是责任。那就是理智地客观地书写历史的真相，不能让历史被某些人作为小姑娘随意打扮，误导后人。

多卷本“中国·四川抗战文化研究丛书”即将付梓出版，这部书凝聚了四川省社会科学院及四川省内多家院校学者们的数年心血。参加撰写工作的都是在这方面多年深耕、研究有成者。尊重历史，是研究历史的基本原则，是历史唯物主义的态度，也是中国文化的传统。司马迁撰写《史记》，注重的就是调查、实录与秉笔直书。相信他们能写出有个性、有创见、有水平、有影响的学术著作。

“中国·四川抗战文化研究”将是四川省社会科学院长期支持的重点项目，我们将持续推进，分批出版学术著作，希望各界批评指正。

2015 年 3 月 26 日于百花潭

（作者系四川省社会科学院党委书记、教授）



# Preface

By Li Houqiang

Culture is the soul and blood vessel of a nation, which could release huge power in peril.

This year marks the 70th anniversary of victory of the Counter-Japanese War which lasted from September 1931 to September 1945. The protracted war caused terrible disaster for the Chinese people. The cold sword, thunders of cannons and bombs, blood, broken bodies and charred ruins have left an ever-lasting imprint on the memory of the Chinese people. When the Chinese nation was at the moment of life-and-death, the flame of anti-aggression was lighted across the land of China. The anti-Japanese national united front was formed. The Counter-Japanese War is the first successful national liberation struggle since modern times in resistance against foreign aggression. As the Rear Area, Sichuan made considerable sacrifice and contribution to the victory of the Counter-Japanese War. Sichuan had a total population of 40 million, nearly 3.5 million of whom were soldiers, 640000 of whom died or injured during the war. In the early period of the war when the Sichuan troops went out of Sichuan, they were widely believed to be the “worst troops” in China. However, it was these very “worst troops” that fought in almost all the battles since the breakout of the Battle of Shanghai in 1937. In the later period of the war, the “worst troops” was claimed as troops good at fighting. The eight-year

long war produced the splendid Counter-Japanese War cultures.

In 1945, *Xinhua Daily*, the mouthpiece of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China carried an editorial, *Expressing Gratitude to Sichuan People*, which said that Sichuan was “a major base of the Rear Area of the largest national struggle in history”, and that Sichuan people “played the most important role in frontline battlefield”. Sichuan became the political and cultural center during the Counter-Japanese War due to the loss of vast territory and the move of the capital of National Government and a large number of factories, schools and cultural departments moved westwards to Sichuan. During the long resistance war, the Counter-Japanese War cultures featuring Sichuan characteristics was nurtured in Sichuan, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, with the formation of the national united front and the development of the national liberation war. During the war, Sichuan made great contributions to the victory of the Second World War and national liberation war, as one of the command centers of the world’s anti-fascist war, the political, economic, military and cultural center of the Rear Area and the crossing of the world’s anti-fascist war united front with China’s Counter-Japanese united front. The Counter-Japanese War cultures which have been buried for over half a century are the valuable cultural treasure of Sichuan.

The Counter-Japanese War cultures of Sichuan feature Sichuan characteristics and national and international significance. It is a major content of the research on China’s modern history. From the perspective of the development of China’s modern culture, the Counter-Japanese War cultures of Sichuan represent the most splendid stage in the development of China’s modern culture, which marked a milestone. Sichuan was the center of the Rear Area during the eight-year resistance war and the main battlefield of the Counter-Japanese War cultures. The understanding of the Counter-Japanese War cultures of Sichuan means the understanding of the Counter-Japanese War cultures of the Rear Area, which is of vital significance to the research on China’s Counter-Japanese War cultures.

The development of China's modern culture experienced a long history, but the Counter-Japanese War period is the most splendid one. Southwestern China was the Rear Area of the Counter-Japanese War and chungking was the second capital, which showed the important position of Sichuan. The focus of the Counter-Japanese War cultures was in Sichuan. War destroys culture, as embodied by the numerous examples in the world. However, instead of destroying our national culture, China's Counter-Japanese War promoted the development of China's modern culture. The Counter-Japanese War cultures of Sichuan developed further during the war, which proved the vitality of Chinese culture.

The victory of the Counter-Japanese War was the victory of the cultural and military fronts of the Chinese nation. The cultural front Counter-Japanese War cultures aroused the awareness of the masses, boosted the morale of the generals and soldiers, revealed the atrocities of the Japanese troops and criticized bitterly the shameless traitors. It would be unimaginable to win the Counter-Japanese War if there were no contribution from the Counter-Japanese War cultures. The left wing culture's effect was more than that. As Zhou Enlai said, Lu Xun was the mentor and Guo Moruo was the general. After the death of Lu Xun, Guo Moruo was the guide to lead us along the way. The new democracy by Guo Moruo infiltrated people's hearts, broadened the cultural field of the new democracy, weakened the impact of other cultural forms, won the support from the people for the Chinese Communist Party and built a more solid road leading to the New China.

The Counter-Japanese War cultures belong to China as well as the world. It is an important part of the world's anti-fascist culture and the world's culture become more splendid for its existence. The Counter-Japanese War cultures contributed greatly to the defeat of the Japanese invaders and made special contribution to the world's anti-fascist war.

The Counter-Japanese War cultures contain a variety of cultures. The formation of the united front created a free land for the booming of the Count-

er-Japanese War cultures, where the New Democracy culture, Three People's Principles culture, nationalism culture, liberalism culture and traditional Chinese culture all found their places. The awe-inspiring righteousness and the heroic deeds of previous heroes served as the spiritual strength of the public who joined the Counter-Japanese War. This spiritual strength was the primary driving force for the Counter-Japanese War. Throughout the thousands-years history of Chinese culture or the Western culture, there was no single culture in any period that was as splendid as that during the Counter-Japanese War. War is a double-edged sword as it is the culprit for the destroying of the culture of the victim of the aggression, and also promotes the development of culture. China is not a country that can be wiped off the earth by invaders for it had a vast land of anti-aggression, which was exactly the unique value of the Counter-Japanese War cultures.

The research on the Counter-Japanese War cultures of Sichuan is of great significance to the building of modern culture. First, the Counter-Japanese War cultures is a patriotism one, and patriotism is the glorious tradition of the Chinese nation, the huge driving force for the development of China's society, the shared spiritual pillar of the people of all nationalities and an important part of socialist cultural and ethical progress. The research on the Counter-Japanese War cultures is an important part of the education in patriotism, a basic project to improve the overall quality of the entire nation and an important undertaking to guide people, particularly the teenagers in pursuing ideal, forming faith and outlook on life and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Second, the Counter-Japanese War cultures feature the pursuing of ideals and progress and represent an important part of an advanced socialist culture. It will play an active role in removing cultural rubbish and purifying cultural environment. Third, the Counter-Japanese War cultures is a united front culture and culture of the whole nation, and the research on Counter-Japanese War cultures will promote the harmony of cross-strait relations and enhance the cohesive force of the culture of the Chinese nation. Fourth, the Counter-Japa-

nese War culture is an important cultural historical fact of Sichuan with a valuable spiritual and cultural value which has extended its influence over today. It has a prominent local color, a nationwide significance and an influence around the world. It has an irreplaceable role in building Sichuan into a cultural province.

In the 1980s, under the leadership of and support from the Publicity Department of Sichuan Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences, along with Southwest China Normal University, Chungking Normal University and other organizations initiated the research on literature and art of the Counter-Japanese War throughout China. Fruits come out in succession which have had exerted certain influence both at home and abroad. To echo the 70th anniversary of the victory of the world's anti-fascist war, we are extending our research further, advancing towards Chinese Counter-Japanese cultures.

For various reasons, our previous research on anti-aggression cultures failed to deliver a comprehensive description of the history in general and some comments contain inattentive contents and narrow research scopes. Although the Counter-Japanese War ended 70 years ago, some Japanese are still trying to deny it in different ways. They should have admitted the aggressive war which caused casualties of millions of Chinese, and should have apologized like Germany Chancellor Brandt who said "God Forgive us", if they really had natural sympathies that all men have as Mencius said. As researchers of the Counter-Japanese War cultures, in addition to feeling outraged by those who are trying to deny the crime, they should also reveal the historical truth in a rational and objective way in order to prevent history from being twisted by someone who intends to mislead later generations by dressing up history like a little girl.

Multivolume "Counter-Japanese War Cultures Research Series, Sichuan, China" are to be published soon. This series are the fruit of the painstaking efforts by scholars from the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences and universi-

ties and colleges in Sichuan who have authored many related writings. Respect for history is the fundamental principle in studying history, an attitude of historical materialism and a tradition of Chinese culture. Sima Qian paid a lot of attention to collecting facts and true recording of facts when writing the Record of the Grand Historian. I believe the authors of this series can come up with creative, high-level influential academic writings.

“Counter-Japanese War Cultures Research Series, Sichuan, China” is a key project which has won support by the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences in a long term. Related academic writings will be published in batches and are open to criticism.

May 26, 2015

In Baihuatan

( The author is the professor in the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences. )

## 自序

一向不太关注“文学史”这种教育工具，也就没有想过有一天会来写这么一本《中国·四川抗战新诗史》。所以从接受任务起，就一直在琢磨怎么写的问题。

按照通行的体例，时代背景、文学思潮和诗人三大块，自然是最正常，也最省心的写法。但众所周知，四川乃抗战时期中国新文学的中心。这样做，在很大程度上也就意味着把新文学第三个十年的新诗史放大、稀释之后，改头换面以掩人耳目。再说，自苏光文先生的《抗战诗歌诗稿》于1991年面世之后，类似的著作，已经有了好几种。虽然材料和论述都有自己的新发现，但还是想做到思路和框架上，也尽量避免重复前人。也曾经设想以各种地方性文学史的“同乡会”思路，把论述的范围局限在川籍诗人的创作上，以彰显“四川性”。但这样做，实际上等于抹杀了四川在中国抗战史上的中心地位，抹杀了四川对抗战时期的中国现代新诗发展所做出的历史贡献。

时间一天天过去。搜集的材料越来越多。交稿的时间一天天接近，但手头所有的，还是一大堆杂乱而无头绪的片段和草稿。按照“文学史”的标准格式，敲打出数万字后，才逐渐意识到了症结之所在：《中国·四川抗战新诗史》既然根本不可能被用在教学中，成为传播常识的教育工具，为什么还要自讨苦吃，循规蹈矩地跟着“文学史”的标准格式来呢？为什么不借此机会，探索文学史的新可能，尝试一下新的写法呢？

自诞生以来，现代文学史就承担着总结历史经验，探索历史规律以指导实践的宏大使命。而我们从小就知道的常识是：历史规律是不以人的意志为转移的，正确的历史道路和历史规律都是唯一的。所以很自然地，从一部文学史到另一部文学史，我们发现的总是同样的历史规律，总结出来的总是同样的历史经验。同时，也叙述着彼此大同小异的时代背景，处理

着相差无几的材料和作家。这当然是必需的。但我想的是：既然如此，作为“地方文学史”的《中国·四川抗战新诗史》，就不妨偷个懒，把总结历史经验和揭示历史规律的宏大任务交给“国家文学史”，自己做点别的。说得堂皇些，就是从现代性宏大叙事的圈套中解脱出来，探索文学史的新可能。

但这绝不意味着要用“历史没有规律，只有故事”的后现代历史观，取代现代性历史观。从逻辑上说，断言“历史没有规律”，其实和断言历史必然“有规律”，并没有什么两样。“总结历史规律”者假定自己站在历史之外而获得全知视角，摆脱了历史规律的支配和束缚。“讲述历史故事”者，则幻想着牢牢占据讲述者的位置，保证自己在“没有规律，只有权力”的场域争夺中立于不败之地。这种尼采超人式的幻想，除了让一班“讲述文学史故事”者从自己讲述的故事中学会了市侩式的场域争夺之外，目前还看不出对现代文学史的研究有什么不可替代的贡献。所以，本书虽然采用了后现代叙事的术语，把研究目标设定为“讲述现代新诗如何在抗战时期四川得以发生的故事”，但讨论的却是另外的问题，绝没有指点历史当事人如何在场域之争中立于不败之地的意思。笔者关心的，也只是在“地方文学史”中才有其位置的诗人群体。

因为在我看来，除了在“总结规律”和“讲述故事”这两个极端来回倒腾之外，文学史，尤其是像《中国·四川抗战新诗史》这样的“地方文学史”，不妨借助于中国古代方志叙事的传统，做点自己的事。这“自己的事”，就是在摆脱了“总结规律”的宏大负担的同时，拒绝“讲述故事”的魅惑，以地方志书写的低姿态，承担一点“历史记忆”的功能。正如“总结规律”必须从历史事实出发一样，“讲述故事”也得有材料作为支撑。以“历史记忆”的方式，保存基本事实，以备“总结规律”或“讲述故事”之用，当然算不得什么“高大上”的努力，但也绝非可有可无的无效重复。至少，它像鲁迅所说的那样，“我借此知道它还非空虚”。再说了，历史规律被放逐之后，“讲述故事”者，也未必就能像尼采留给自己的选择那样，永远占据“讲述者”的要津，而不会沦为“学术史故事”里的材料，乃至笑料。

这个低姿态，首先是“后退一步”，把“总结规律”的任务交还给“国家文学史”，省略掉了交代时代背景、勾勒新诗主潮等内容。与此同



时，是最大限度地回避那些在“国家文学史”中已经得到了充分的，甚至是多次重复的论述与关注的诗人，而把注意力转移到那些没有资格跻身“国家文学史”，但又曾经为中国现代新诗的发展与繁荣尽自己的努力，同时也不完全是毫无特色的诗人身上。

唐弢先生当年曾经说过，把毛泽东的旧体诗词不伦不类地放在现代文学史里，其实是一种侮辱，而非尊重。循此，我也想，想方设法把郭沫若、艾青等大诗人拉进《中国·四川抗战新诗史》这样的“地方文学史”里，也未必见得就是对他们的尊重。真正的尊重，在我看来是各安其位，把郭沫若、艾青这样的大家还给“国家文学史”。而“地方文学史”，则致力于处理“次一级”的作家，关注所谓“一方之士”的创作实绩。需要说明的是，大作家和“次一级”作家之间的划分，并非“国家干部”式的官僚等级，而是一个动态的概念。在我看来，不少当前公认的“大诗人”，其实绩和成就未必就能永远“大”下去。而本书处理的“次一级”作家，也未必就没有成为“大诗人”的潜质和实力。

一般人总觉得历史事实的混乱不清，乃是年代久远之后才有的事。但事实上，任何一种遗忘和混乱，都首先必须是当下的事，才能演化为若干年之后的学术研究对象。在实际写作过程中，搜集和辨识“一方之士”和“次一级”诗人的材料，其难度和复杂程度，绝大多数时候都超过了“大诗人”。而这，也反过来印证了“历史记忆”的必要和价值。

在具体的行文上，也想避开一般文学史的俗套，写得有点“新”和“诗”的味道。最直观的是，本书引述诗作的数量，远远超过了一般文学史。这样做的目的，一个是想把“历史记忆”落到实处，避免把一个诗人变成一个干巴巴的词条。事实上，不少诗人，如果不是恰巧有撰写《中国·四川抗战新诗史》这么一个机会，我想象不出来还会有哪一本文学史会提及他们名字，读者还会有机会读到他们的作品，窥见他们的风格和特色。其次则是以王佐良撰写《英国史诗》《英国浪漫主义诗歌史》为榜样，想把自己关于诗歌作品的阅读体验和感受，尽可能丰富地保存下来，让读者体会到一点现代新诗的味道和艺术特色，包括其完整的排列形式。

既然本书不可能作为传播常识的教育工具，则在处理不同对象时，也就没有完全遵循常规体例。一部分诗人，是代表作举隅和赏析。还有一些，是借其创作以辨析相关理论问题或文学史现象。总之，是想尽可能摆