

## Chiang Kai-shek and His Time

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# Chiang Kai-shek's Study in Japan in His Memories

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**Abstract** It is well known that Chiang Kai-shek studied in Japan in his younger days between April 1906 and October 1911. His experience during this period had a great influence on his political leadership and political thought in his later years. This article aims at confirming the facts concerning Chiang Kai-shek's study in Japan and at analysing Chiang's memories about that experience. The main argument is that, in order to place his experience in Japan within the context of the political history of 20th century China and of Chiang's political thought and ideology, Chiang's experience of studying in Japan should be understood as mixture of the facts themselves, the events related as memory in later years, as well as impressions and views about Japan which are from subsequent periods.

**Summary** 1 Reconfirmation of the Facts. – 1.1 First Visit to Japan. – 1.2 Second Visit to Japan – Shinbu Gakkō. – 1.3 The 19th Regiment of Field Artillery of the 13th Division. – 2 Chiang Kai-shek's Study in Japan in His Memories – 2.1 Direct Experiences. – 2.2 Indirect Experiences. – 2.3 Interrelations Between Japanese and Chinese Cultures. – 3 Concluding Remarks – Chiang Kai-shek's Study in Japan and His Politics.

**Keywords** Chiang Kai-shek. Memories. *Daikō shugi*.

It is well known that Chiang Kai-shek studied in Japan in his younger days between April 1906 and October 1911. His experience during this period had a great influence on his political leadership and political thought in his later years.

One of the purposes of this paper is to demonstrate the facts of Chiang Kai-shek's study in Japan. However, his experience in Japan was not only limited to his time in Japan but continued to influence his political leadership and political thought throughout his life. This perspective helps to place his experience within the context of the political history of twentieth century China.

We must note here that he rarely referred to the facts of his study in Japan at that time though we can confirm them partly. Many of his experiences of studying in Japan were revealed in later years. When Chiang discussed his past, he emphasized one aspect while neglecting others. Chiang's memory and the logic extracted from his experiences of studying in Japan were determined by the environment in which it was remembered and by his politi-

cal life and the structure of politics of twentieth century China. Therefore, Chiang Kai-shek's experience of studying in Japan should be understood as mixture of the facts themselves, the events related as memory in later years, as well as impressions and views about Japan which are from subsequent periods. I would like to begin by reconfirming the facts about his study in Japan.

## 1 Reconfirmation of the Facts

In order to elucidate the questions raised in this paper, it is necessary to review the facts of Chiang Kai-shek's study in Japan. However, as I mentioned, his direct statements and the records of his activities are incomplete. First of all, I would like to reconfirm the facts of his days in Japan by mainly using the existing studies.

### 1.1 First Visit to Japan

Chiang Kai-shek first visited Japan for his study in April, 1906 and returned to China "in the winter" or "at the end of the year" in the same year. The exact date of his return is not known (Qin 1978-2008, 1, 14; Huang 2001, 3). What was he doing in Japan during this stay?

Chiang left a reminiscence of events prior to 1916 before formally starting to write his diary in 1917. He wrote about this visit as follows:

I went to Japan (at age nineteen) originally intending to study in the army. However, as the restriction was very severe, I was not allowed to enter the military school without having a recommendation letter from China's Ministry of the Army. That year I was introduced to Sun Zhongshan at Miyazaki Tōten's home by Chen Qimei. I also became acquainted with Chinese revolutionaries who were active in Tokyo. My feelings for the Chinese nation were deepened; moreover I could not contain my desire to expel the Manchu Qing and to restore China. (Chiang, n.d.)

Actually Chiang was twenty years old in 1906. Various sources indicate that he was studying at Seika gakkō in Tokyo during this year (Qin 1978-2008, 1, 14; Wang, 1). Thus we must reconfirm some facts from this period.

The first question regards the Seika gakkō. Liang Qichao established the Tokyo kōtō daidō gakkō in Tokyo in June, 1899 with the help of Overseas Chinese in Japan. He himself became the principal of the school. It was a school to introduce Western knowledge and to educate Chinese students who came to Japan. Subsequently the school faced financial difficulties and was finally taken over by Cai Jun, the Chinese minister in Japan, and named Seika gakkō (Feng 1976, 107-8; Ding, Zhao 2004, 305-10).

What did Chiang Kai-shek learn in this school? He was said to have learned his Japanese language there. Japanese, English, algebra, trigonometric, geometry, physics, and chemistry were included in the records of full-time students; the part-time students could select freely from those subjects (*Guanbao*, 1908, 130-5). It is however not clear that Chiang attended those classes in any capacity.

The second question is whether or not he became acquainted with Chen Qimei and associated with the Chinese revolutionaries through Chen's introduction during this stay. There are, for example, some questions regarding Chiang's meeting with Chen.

It was on October 9, 1906 that Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen) returned to Japan from Saigon. Miyazaki Tōten was publishing *Kakumei Hyōron* at that time. Both Sun's and Miyazaki's chronologies record that Sun often visited the publishing office of this journal. However, Sun's visit to Miyazaki's home is ambiguous. The only source to indicate Sun's visit to Miyazaki's home is found in the records of Miyazaki that refer to "Sun's visit" (Miyazaki 1971-76, 5, 687; Luo 1969; Chen 1991). Even at that time no record is found that Chen Qimei and Chiang Kai-shek visited Miyazaki's home and met Sun Zhongshan. Miyazaki Tōten recalled his visit to Chen Qimei, who became the Shanghai military governor right after the 1911 Revolution, and treated him cordially. However, Miyazaki said, "Chen says he came to my home, but I do not know the fact" (Miyazaki 1973, 4, 312). In this context, the description that Chen Qimei and Chiang Kai-shek visited Miyazaki Tōten and Sun Zhongshan is very uncertain. Even though Chen and Chiang visited Miyazaki and Sun at that time, it was not a significant event for Miyazaki and Sun. Professor Huang Zijin also observed with reservation that "no significant exchange appeared between Sun and Chiang during this stay in Japan" (Huang 2011, 16). Those episodes about Chiang's meeting with Chen Qimei mainly had to rely upon Chiang's memoirs.

The third question is about the reason and circumstances as to why Chiang Kai-shek had to return to China at the end of 1906. He wrote that: "I was not allowed to enter the military school without having a recommendation letter from China's Ministry of the Army".

The "Regulation concerning the foreign-sponsored students in the school under direct control of Japanese Educational Ministry" (the Ordinance no. 11 of the Ministry of Education) had already been issued in Japan on June 4, 1900. Students "were supposed to be allowed only with the sponsorship of China's minister or consulate to Japan". In addition, the "Regulation concerning the public and private schools which allow Chinese students" (the Ordinance no. 19 of the Ministry of Education) was proclaimed on November 2, 1905. This document was intended to control students from China. Article 1 of the 1905 ordinance states, "when the public and private schools accept the Chinese students, they must attach a letter of introduction from their diplomatic mission to Japan to their ap-

plication forms” (Sanetō 1981, 186-7, 461-3). Chiang Kai-shek did not have the letter of introduction from Chinese diplomatic mission.

This ordinance was considered to regulate the Chinese students, and therefore provoked an opposition movement. One of the leaders to protest this measure, Chen Tianhua committed suicide at the seashore of Ōmori on December 8, 1905. It was during these student movements that Chiang Kai-shek came to Tokyo and returned to China at the end of 1906.

## 1.2 Second Visit to Japan – Shinbu Gakkō

Chiang Kai-shek went to Japan for the second time in the spring of 1908, and entered the Shinbu Gakkō in March the same year. There is a very detailed analysis by Professor Huang Zijin about Chiang during the days of Shinbu Gakkō (Huang 2001). Here, relying on those achievements, I would like to reconfirm some facts from my own perspective.

First of all, the question Chiang Kai-shek had to solve for this second visit was that, considering the experience of his first visit in 1906, he had to get qualification to study in Japan. For that purpose he entered the Tongguo lujun sucheng xuetang in Baoding in June, 1907. The Ministry of Army held an examination to select the students to study in Japan from among those who were specializing in Japanese language in that school in winter of the same year. Although Chiang was not majoring in Japanese, he passed the examination. Passing the exam was a guarantee by the Chinese government to study in Japan (Liu 2001).

Shinbu Gakkō, established in 1903, was a preliminary school for Chinese students who were going to study military affairs in Japan. Right after its establishment Yuan Shikai contributed 20,000 yen for expanding the school. The Japanese Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of the Army shared the expenditures other than the tuitions collected from the students. Chiang Kai-shek entered the school with its eleventh class in March 1908, using the name Chiang Zhiqing (Huang 2001, 16, 25-6).

Professor Huang Zijin analyzed in detail the curriculum while Chiang was a student. According to Professor Huang, the curriculum was divided into military and general courses, with an emphasis on the latter. The general course included Japanese language, history and geography, mathematics (arithmetic, algebra, geometry and trigonometry), physics and chemistry, natural science (physiology and hygiene) and drawing. Many hours were devoted to Japanese language and mathematics among those subjects. According to Professor Huang’s evaluation, “the level of those subjects was on the standard of ordinary Japanese students of middle school”, but “for Chiang all of them were new fields for learning and the basis for his knowledge of modern civilization” (Huang 2001, 26, 30).

What did Chiang Kai-shek learn in this school? The contents of education contained broad fields from humanities to natural sciences. Looking at his school record at his graduation he was 55th out of 62, and the average grade point was 68. Incidentally Zhang Qun who followed Chiang in later years, was in the same class. His record was 3rd, and his average grade point was 95 (*Shinbu dai 11-ki hitsugyō-sei kibō heika ichiranhyō*).

Considering the nature of Shinbu Gakkō, education of Japanese language was regarded as important. There are few sources referring to Chiang Kai-shek's Japanese language ability. As he was living among the Chinese students in Shinbu Gakkō, he could to a large extent manage his daily life in Chinese. However, the teaching was conducted basically in Japanese in that school. Training in the 19th regiment at Takada was naturally done using Japanese. Therefore, his ability to read and write was considered substantially high. Newspaper articles during Chiang's visit to Japan between September 28 and November 8 in 1927 confirm his speaking ability. According to those articles, Zhang Qun served as interpreter in many cases, but Chiang responded in Japanese to Japanese reporters at Kobe on October 3. The article on this occasion reported that Chiang's Japanese was "fluent" and "skillful".<sup>1</sup>

It was also important for Chiang to learn other than Japanese language at Shinbu Gakkō. It is important to examine what sort of knowledge he acquired and how he placed himself and China in the world by getting new knowledge. The question to be examined here is not to reconfirm the concrete contents of what he learned, but to find his frame of mind formed by the knowledge which he supposedly learned in his Japanese education. The four text books used at Shinbu Gakkō will be referred to here,<sup>2</sup> though their analysis are to be omitted.

After learning systematically about the invasion of foreign powers into Asia through those text books, Chiang's sense of national crisis and existence intensified.

1 Professor Iechika Ryōko in her paper "Jiang Jieshi 1927 nianqiu de fang Ri - 'Jiang Jieshi riji' yu Riben xinwen baodao de bijiao fenxi" (Chiang Kai-shek's 1927, Travel to Japan: A Comparative Analysis of Chiang Kai-shek's Diary and the Coverage of the Japanese Press), presented to the international symposium *Chiang Kai-shek's Diaries and the Study of the Republican era* held in Taipei, December 2010, includes an extensive research on the Japanese press reports about Chiang's visit to Japan in 1927. For example, the articles about Chiang's fluency of Japanese language can be found in *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun yūkan* (1927 October 4) and *Ōsaka Asahi shinbun* (1927 October 4).

2 These books were Naka Michiyo (rev.), Kuwabara Jitzuzō (ed.), *Chūtō tōyō shi* (A Intermediate History Textbook of the East), Dai Nippon Toshō 1898; Yoshikuni Tōkichi; Wada Kanae, *Seiyō shi* (Western History), Uchida rōkakuho, 1899; Yatsu, Shōei, *Shinsen gaikoku chiri* (A New Compiled Geography of Foreign Countries), rev. ed., Maruzen kabushiki gaisha, 1902; Yatsu Shōei, *Chūchi bungaku* (Intermediate Literature), Maruzen kabushiki gaisha, 1899.

The last question to be examined about Chiang's days at Shinbu Gakkō is that the author of his chronology stated that Chiang participated in the Zhongguo Tongmenghui in 1908 with Chen Qimei's introduction and engaged himself in the publication of a journal, *Wuxue zazhi* (*Bugaku Zasshi*) (Qin 1978-2008, 1, 16). No document exists concerning Chiang's participation in the Tongmenghui. However, he possibly did so considering that he referred to this matter (Chiang, n.d.) and observing his activities in later years.

The question is his participation in *Wuxue zazhi*. The formal name of this journal was called *Wuxue* (*Bugaku*) and was published by Bugaku Henyakusha in Tokyo. The editors and publishers were Lu Guangxi and Fang Rizhong. It was a Chinese journal exclusively devoted to military affairs. I personally own several volumes though incomplete, published in 1908-09.<sup>3</sup> It covered very broad military affairs; building of the army, military strategy and tactics, discipline and education of army and soldiers, the problems of infantry, artillery, cavalry, and of horse, sapper, military police, transport soldiers, problems of land and sea forces, conscription system, columns for literature and research. Some of them were translation from Japanese literature, but Chiang Kai-shek's name is not found among the authors of these literary pieces. It is not probable that Chiang who was studying at Shinbu Gakkō, was able to write technical articles on military affairs or to be engaged in editing a journal of this sort. We can assume that Chiang who was studying military affairs, acquired military knowledge through this journal.

### 1.3 The 19th Regiment of Field Artillery of the 13th Division

After graduating from Shinbu Gakkō, Chiang Kai-shek entered the 19th regiment of field artillery of the 13th Division stationed at Takada, Niigata Prefecture as a second class soldier on December 5, 1910. He belonged at that time to the 5th company of the 2nd battalion where Zhang Qun was also serving. He was 169.4 cm high and weighed 59.2 kg. He was promoted to the first class soldier on June 1, 1911 and to the artillery leader on August 1, but was not promoted to the artillery sergeant for unknown reason at the same time with Zhang Qun who attained this position on October 1, 1911. Chiang Kai-shek together with Zhang Qun and Chen Xingshu slipped out of the regiment after the revolution broke out in Wuchang on October 10, 1911, and went back to China. The date

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<sup>3</sup> No. 1,3,5,6,9,10 were used here.

when they left the regiment is not certain, but three of them “withdrew from the army because of the accident”.<sup>4</sup>

As to the military training in the 19th Regiment, Professor Huang Zijin introduced one year of the curriculum of the field artillery by using the “Table of One Year Education for Field Artillery” (Huang 2001, 40-1).

The year was divided into four terms, and the contents of each term consisted of “academic subjects” and “military subjects”. Here, the concrete contents of training are to be omitted.

As to the military training during this period, I would like to point out several issues in terms of Chiang Kai-shek’s memoirs from later years. The first issue is concerned with the table of training program used by Professor Huang Zijin, which was prepared in 1899. However, Chiang actually had his training in 1910-11. As eleven years had passed since its publication at the time of Russo-Japanese War, we must confirm whether there were changes of the contents of training during this interval.

Although there are not enough materials to thoroughly examine this question, we will begin by comparing the table of subjects for training with the *Yahōhei kyōkasho* (*Educational Book for Field Artillery*) published in 1907 (Bajōsei 1907). Although the contents of subjects are almost the same between two documents, the most important difference was that the latter text book added a supplement about “three-eight field artillery”. This field artillery was introduced from Germany into Japanese army in 1904 as new weapon (Rikujō Jieitai Fuji Gakkō Tokkakai hen 1980, 81). This fact was reflected in the subjects of the academic training.

The introduction of “three-eight field artillery” also influenced the subjects of military training. The military training dealt with the actual education and training of the army. The *Yasen hōhei sōten* (*Field Artillery Drills Book*) which was revised and put into effect on December 19, 1910, presupposed to introduce new weapons (*Yasenhōhei sōten*, 1911). According to the explanation at that time, “three-eight field artillery and cavalry gun is very different in its structure from three-one running artillery. Therefore the handling of them was also greatly different”. This indicated that the revision was made “in order to adapt itself to three-eight artillery” (*Rikugun kyōiku shi*, 1910). Chiang Kai-shek’s training in the 19th regiment was practiced within this context.

The second point to be noted is the question of horses. The *Yasen hōhei sōten* describes: “ammunition and horses are important elements for the

4 Professor Kawashima Shin confirmed and elucidated those facts by using *Takada shinbun*, *Takada nippo*, *Takada-shi shi* during that period. I also would like to call attention to the existing article of Huang 2001, 37-40. The common materials use by three authors including me is “Yasenichi hōhei dai jūku rentai rekishi, Meiji 38-nen 4 gatsu tsuitachi (1905 April 1) - Taishō 4 nen gatsu tsuitachi (1915 April 1)” (Field Artillery 19th regiment history, 1905 April 1-1915 April 1), National Institute for Defense Studies Library collection.



artillery to show their special function. Therefore, they must try to groom and protect them". Seven items are included in the above mentioned curriculum of field artillery. As will be discussed, the question of horses was one of the most important interests for Chiang in his memories of his days in 19th regiment. In this context, we need to pay attention to the question of horses.

The third point was that "Imperial mandate for the military" was included in the curriculum. Chiang Kai-shek often referred to the education, spirit and discipline of Japanese army in later years in his recollection of his student days and the experience in Japan thereafter. The "Mandate" was not the only basis for his evaluation of Japanese military men, but still was an important source. Within this context, I would like to examine the points of the "Mandate" in terms of his memories.<sup>5</sup>

This document had long sentences, but every soldier was requested to learn by heart. However, it is not certain that Chiang Kai-shek as a foreigner was able to memorize it. He also never referred to this document. What then did this document mean to Chiang?

We must pay more attention to the latter half which generalized the spirit of soldiers as "right way of the universe and common practice of morality". It consists of five items:

- a. The soldier must be loyal to his duties, which is related to the spirit of patriotism.
- b. The soldier must be polite, a clear consciousness of upper and lower ranks and solidarity.
- c. The soldier must respect bravery. The importance of justice, courage and consideration.
- d. The soldier must respect faith and loyalty. Faith means to put into practice his words and loyalty implies to devoting himself to his duties.
- e. The soldier should make it a principle to be modest. It is a warning to avoid luxury.

Lastly, the document concluded that "honesty is the only guarantee" to realize the five items. Those five elements were closely related to Chiang's standards used to evaluate Japan in later years.

The last point to be noted from this period is the "facts" of Chiang Kai-shek's life in Takada. Although some episodes about his contacts with Japanese society remain, very few of them were confirmed as real facts. Through investigation in 1975 Sankei Press found the site of a small restaurant at Takada where Chiang often went. They interviewed Ms. Watanabe Teru who was the daughter of the restaurant owner, and asked

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<sup>5</sup> The "Imperial mandate for the military" was promulgated under the name of Meiji Emperor on January 4, 1882 and the original document was broadly promulgated in the past. Here I quoted from the document included in Bajosei 1907.



her to tell her story (Sankei shibunsha 1975, 213-5). I myself had an opportunity to visit the site of Takada 19th regiment of field artillery at Jōetsu City (former Takada) in Niigata Prefecture in December, 2009. At present the Japanese Self-defense Army stationed at Takada occupies that site. A part of the barracks from Chiang's time and a small space for his exhibition can be found there.

## 2 Chiang Kai-shek's Study in Japan in His Memories

Based on the facts mentioned above, I will examine Chiang Kai-shek's speeches and writings regarding his days in Japan.<sup>6</sup> He recollects his days in Japan in his memories through speeches and writings. The recollections are not the facts themselves, but selective memories of some aspects of the facts. His selection is based on his position, thought and necessity.

Looking at Chiang Kai-shek's memories of his days in Japan throughout his life, we can distinguish three categories of speeches and writings. The first is his direct experience in his days in Japan between 1905 and 1911. The second is not limited to the above mentioned period, but more generalized and indirect expression of his experience in Japan. The third is a comparison of civilization between Japan and China stemming from his perspective as a Chinese leader. What did Chiang Kai-shek try to insist through those memories? In my opinion, his characteristics of political leadership manifested themselves in those categories.

### 2.1 Direct Experiences

Chiang Kai-shek's speeches and writings about his memories of Japan between 1906 and 1911 are already quoted in many writings. Relying on the existing writings, I would like to re-examine this question from my own perspective.

The first problem Chiang Kai-shek was concerned with in his memory was a habit of spitting by a Chinese student which he saw on the boat to Japan in 1906.

<sup>6</sup> I owe many of Chiang Kai-shek's writings used in this paper to the existing works. Huang (2005) picked up and edited Chiang's speeches and writings relating to Japan for his entire life. And, the quotations of the book edited by Sankei shibunsha (1975) overlap on many points with mine. Those overlapping passages were confirmed by Chiang's speeches as basic documents and by using Qin Xiaoyi (1984). Different from the two documents mentioned above, I considered the quotations not the facts, but mainly a part of his memories.

According to my memory, when I went to Japan for the first time at age 19 (in 1906), I found that a Chinese student unconsciously spit on the forecastle deck. A Chinese sailor discovered it and told him that an ordinary Japanese would not spit anywhere. If he did it, he would spit in his handkerchief or in the tissue paper, and then put it in his pocket, bring it back home to wash or to throw away. (Chiang 1969, in Qin 1984, 29, 390)

This speech is a part of Chiang Kai-shek's long report to the Tenth National Congress of the Guomindang made at the beginning of the congress in March, 1960. This strong impression remained in Chiang's memory even after over 50 years. Chiang even at that time thought that Chinese people lacked a "common sense of modern life". It was a necessary attitude for a party member and ordinary people in general to master in order to promote ongoing reforms. For Chiang it was indispensable in building state and society for the Chinese people to liberate themselves from traditional bad habits and to become a polite modern person. Here he took out his memories of his days in Japan.

As to his study in Japan, Chiang Kai-shek most often referred to his experiences in the regiment at Takada. Coldness left strong impression on him as southern Chinese.

Takada is a city located in Niigata Prefecture near Hokkaido. The climate of this area is very severe. They have heavy snow every winter. Such heavy snow cannot be found even in the northern frontier of our country. (Chiang 1944, in Qin 1984, 20, 316)

Coldness was not confined in itself. It had more effect.

I was not physically strong when I was a young boy. I came to Japan to study in the army at twenty years old and entered the regiment at Takada. I tried hard to train myself. It snowed hard there. I sometimes washed my body with snow or cold water. My body became stronger after difficult training of washing my body in this way, and the spirit also became healthier concurrently with strong body. (Chiang 1933, in Qin 1984, 11, 557)

Coldness contributed to strengthening of the human body and spirit. Washing the face with cold water in the morning was also a Japanese custom to be noted for Chiang Kai-shek. For every Japanese

washing his face with cold water became very popular custom all over the country. If someone does not do that, the others certainly consider him to be barbarous and not patriotic. What we know is that always

washing the face with cold water can inspire a man's spirit and make his mind clear. That custom also strengthens his skin and makes him immune to colds. More importantly it can save time by doing so. The Chinese lack this custom. (Chiang 1934a, in Qin 1984, 12, 77-8)

It is clear in Chiang Kai-shek's memory that washing the face with cold water was closely related with awakening spirit, strengthening the body, rationalizing life, resisting against Japan and reviving the nation. In other words, choosing the fact of washing the face with cold water of his memories in his days in Japan, was based on the challenge of the problems he faced.

As a part of the question of coldness, Chiang Kai-shek also referred to cold meals taken by the Japanese people in the army and in daily life.

Ordinary Japanese take cold meals every day. [...] He will carry a packed cold meal when he goes out during the daytime. [...] This is, in other words, a basic military training and military activities. They have got into the habit of working hard and enduring difficulty at home from their childhood, because their whole life has been militarized since early years and their soldiers could become strong. [...] The New Life Movement which I am advocating now [...] intends to militarize completely the life of whole nation. [...] Militarization means good order, sanitation, simplicity and naiveté. [...] Only by accepting these value, one can become a member of modern nation who has a sense of propriety, justice, honesty and honor, and is fitted to live in the modern world. (Chiang 1934a, in Qin 1984, 12, 78)

Thus the Japanese custom of eating cold meals was introduced into the targets of Chiang's New Life Movement, that is, militarization, good order, sanitation, simplicity and naiveté, sense of propriety, justice, honesty and honor, and creation of the new nation. Furthermore, this custom was considered one of the sources of strength of Japanese army. In this sense, eating cold meals by the Japanese people was one of Chiang Kai-shek's choices concerning his memories of Japan.

Chiang Kai-shek's memories of his military life in Japan had broader implications. Looking over his whole life, the attitudes of "self-cultivation" and "self-strengthening" which meant to influence other people were important (Yamada 2009). In this context, he was attracted by the good discipline of Japanese army.

He paid attention to the discipline of "our enemy, Japan" brought about by military education. It was in October, 1940 when this speech was made during the Sino-Japanese War. His experience in the Japanese army still had meaning for Chiang Kai-shek even at this point in time.

As I saw in my days in Japan years ago, when the senior officer of the army examined bedrooms and a hall, at first they would see whether or not every corner of the room being clean and tidy, then examine the dust of backside of the door. They touched the bar of the door with white gloves. If they found dust on the gloves, the room was immediately judged not well in order and they had to clean it again. Then examining the spittoon, they had not only to see whether it was in good sanitary condition, but also to see whether water reached at the regulated level. [...] I saw here the key to successful Japanese military education.[...] The only secret of the success of education of the Japanese army lies in the fact that everything required for their whole daily life from cooking rice to washing all charged by soldiers, and need not to turn to outsiders. (Chiang 1940b, in Qin 1984, 17, 487, 492)

The military education of Japan penetrated even into the daily life of the army, which contributed to maintaining discipline. Chiang Kai-shek found the strength of Japanese army in this aspect. Furthermore, military education and discipline was related to the problems of sanitation, cleanliness and order. These problems constituted in part to the strengthening of the Chinese army, party and nation which were compatible with his New Life Movement.

Other elements Chiang Kai-shek abstracted from his memory of disciplined life in the army were simple meals and monotonous time. As to a simple life of eating, he stated:

[After entering the regiment] each person could eat only a medium-sized cup of rice in the Japanese army, and had to eat a boiled mixture of rice and barley several times during the week. Three pieces of pickled radish or salted fish were on the rice on other occasion. It was only on Sunday when we could eat some bean curd, green vegetables and meat. Regardless of being full or not, the amount of rice and vegetables for each person was limited to this volume. (Chiang 1944, in Qin 1984, 20, 317)

Even in this condition,

the lower officers and soldiers in general were physically very good, and there was no health problem. This practice to limit the food was tried at Yunnan Chiangwutang earlier. According to their investigation, many of the students fell ill before having limited the amount of food, but the number of sick students even decreased three months after the restriction of food. (Chiang 1942, in Qin, 19, 185)

Thus, limiting the amount of food in the Japanese army resulted in strengthening Chiang Kai-shek himself and Chinese soldiers.

As to monotonous life in the regiment, Chiang Kai-shek stated:

I spent one year in the regiment as mere soldier. The life was extremely monotonous and severe. At that time I felt it unreasonable because of the restriction of discipline, monotone of life and boringness. However, recollecting the past now, the basis for me to be able to live a simple life every day, to work constantly and to live a life for forty years as usual, was surely established in this one year of training as soldier. I feel that my will and spirit of revolution for my whole life thus became patient and not afraid of anything thanks to one year's experience as soldier. (Chiang 1946, in Qin 1984, 32, 154)

Enduring a monotonous life also resulted in Chiang Kai-shek's present strength.

Another question to be examined about Chiang Kai-shek's memory at Takada regiment was grooming a horse. As pointed out, taking care of horses occupied an important position in the training of the artillery regiment. As to grooming a horse, Chiang stated as follows:

After washing the face, the senior officer takes us to the stable and leads us to rub a horse down. The task of rubbing a horse starts from hoofs and thigh to the back. We would rub from the horse's back to the head and tail. We had to rub every joint and muscle of the horse by bundle of straws with all our might. Then, the whole body of the horse would get warm after rubbing for about an hour, and the pulse would get smooth. We ourselves rubbed a horse down with strength and worked hard. Thus we came to feel not cold in this cold weather, and our body, hands and feet got hot, and sometimes sweated. [...] After finishing rubbing a horse, we again take it to the horse bucket outside of the stable covered with snow and lead it to eat and drink water. After the horse had enough food, we finally went back to our barracks and had breakfast. In the evening again we went to the stable and rubbed a horse down, and after that could finally eat supper. (Chiang 1944, in Qin 1984, 20, 316-7)

This grooming of a horse was for Chiang "the greatest training in my whole life. Nowadays I believe that it was on this occasion that I had the inspiration to consider worry to be happiness, and not to be afraid of difficulty" (Chiang 1944, in Qin 1984, 20, 316-7).

Chiang Kai-shek also referred to grooming a horse on another occasion. "I found the spirit of Japanese army in this aspect at that time. That is the point we especially have to learn" (Chiang 1940a, in Qin 1984, 17, 41). That is to say, for Chiang grooming a horse was not confined in itself. The experience at that time constituted his spiritual basis. The Japanese army was a model to be followed.

## 2.2 Indirect Experiences

In this chapter I will deal with Chiang Kai-shek's life in Japan and with what he learned and heard there other than the period when he was a student. We must ask what he tried to extract from that experience, and how that experience was related with his memories in his student days in Japan.

The most distinct contrast between his memories of his days in Japan and his view of Japan during the rest of his life was his feeling of humiliation toward Japan. The aspect of conflict occupied many years of Chiang's entire life. Needless to say, the conflict was most severe during the time of Sino-Japanese War.

"Wiping out humiliation" (*xuechi*) toward Japan was related with "saving the nation" (*jiuguo*). "If we try to save our nation, first we must save the spirit of our nation. If we try to save the nation, first we must save the nationhood. Therefore, in order to revive the spirit of the nation, then we must surely begin by self-governing and self-strengthening" (Chiang 1932a, in Qin 1984, 10, 529). Chiang Kai-shek's attitude confronting the Japanese invasion resulted in wiping out humiliation, saving the nation, self-governing and self-strengthening. This showed that Chiang for everything started from strengthening one's own power position.

The next point to be noted is that Chiang Kai-shek tried to selectively extract useful elements for China from his experiences in Japan including his life in the army. He got the *Soldier's Handbook* of the Japanese army in 1940 amid the Sino-Japanese War and chose the following items from "the preface" consisting of 20 paragraphs. "Absolute obedience to the military officer and acting with courtesy" was required. "Courtesy" meant "keeping of discipline". The soldier "must do his best to help and support his war comrades, highly respect mutual courtesy, and further have the spirit to sacrifice himself for others" (Chiang 1940a, in Qin 1984, 17, 37-43).

A soldier must deal with the affairs of his family well and get rid of worry before going to war. The will to fight beyond life and death was important. Keeping the training, sanitation and health while awaiting orders are included with those items. Furthermore, this handbook required grooming a horse, having a will not to retreat when wounded, to respect the war dead and the wounded, not to be deceived by Japanese army, and to highly regard the importance of propaganda and espionage. These were general matters for the officers and soldiers to keep in mind when engaged in directing the army. However, looking all the items, they have common traits with his memories from his student days in Japan such as discipline of the army, unity and mutual assistance and the spirit for sacrifice. "We must surely pay attention especially to the morals of the army and military law" (Chiang 1940a, in Qin 1984, 17, 37-43). Within this context, the second volume of this handbook which exclusively dealt with the army morals, was important.

As an extension of this tendency Chiang Kai-shek summarized on other occasions what he learned from the Japanese army into the following three points:

- a. We “must absolutely obey the law of government, keep strictly to the discipline of the army and execute the order of senior officers”.
- b. We “must highly regard the importance of political training, establish our core principle, fight for Three People’s Principles (*sanmin zhuyi*), engage in the military service with strong will and complete the great task of revolution and building the nation”.
- c. We “must try to learn a sort of necessary skill for our daily life and train the middle cadres to build the nation and to remodel the society” (Chiang 1944, in Qin 1984, 20, 319).

It is evident that Chiang was trying to directly apply what he learned from Japan to the execution of Chinese revolution.

The third point to be noted about Chiang Kai-shek’s indirect experience of Japan is that he was trying to find the source of the strength of Japanese army. From this perspective he paid attention to the importance of education in comparison with China. “Hereafter if we wish to build our state and revive our nation, there is no other basic way than developing education. Therefore, education is essentially the greatest work for saving and reviving the nation” (Chiang 1934a, in Qin 1984, 12, 75).

Recollecting his life in the Japanese army at the beginning of the New Life Movement, Chiang Kai-shek stated that the education which was equivalent to “the sense of propriety, justice, honesty and honor” was going on in Japanese army. “They (Japanese) nowadays finally built such a rich and strong state after carrying out an education of this sort for more than several decades” (Chiang 1934a, in Qin 1984, 12, 77). Education was the source of the strength of Japanese army.

I paid attention to three major points Chiang Kai-shek extracted from his indirect experiences in his life in the Japanese army. The common element of those three points was his attitude to try to find the source of strength of Japanese state and army and to apply them to strengthening China. As referred to in the previous chapter, it was also related to the elements he tried to extract from his direct experiences in his student days in Japan. However, it must not be forgotten that war with Japan had been going on for most of the years during which Chiang formed these attitudes.

### 2.3 Interrelations Between Japanese and Chinese Cultures

Chiang Kai-shek referred to the characteristics of Chinese culture on various occasions. When he discussed Japanese culture in comparison with its Chinese counterpart, he had his own logic. While he based his analysis



on his direct experiences in Japan, it revealed his view of Japan beyond those experiences.

Japan's "national soul" or "Japanese military soul" make up "Bushidō" and the "Japanese Spirit". Its contents consist of "loyalty and patriotism, respect for chivalry and fondness for justice" (Chiang 1934b, in Qin 1984, 12, 362). Japan's strength, however, originated "not in the influence of Western science but in the philosophy of China". What then is this Chinese philosophy? It is the "Confucian Way", which can be traced back to "Zhuxi's Scholarship" from the Song Dynasty. Chiang highly evaluated "Wang Yangmin's Scholarship" and emphasized the concepts of "the unity of knowing and doing" and "encouragement of natural knowledge" (Chiang 1950, in Qin 1984, 23, 313-4; Chiang 1932b, in Qin 1984, 10, 534-5).

Here I will not deal with the contents of the concepts themselves referred by Chiang Kai-shek. The issue is in his logic. According to Chiang, the Japanese way of thinking mentioned above was the source of their strength. Supposing that the Japanese thinking and philosophy originated in Chinese thought, it is logically appropriate then to return to Confucianism as China's traditional thought in order to enrich and strengthen China. However, when Chiang referred to Chinese tradition for the sake of nation building, he did not necessarily presuppose the existence of Japan.

Chiang Kai-shek's logic concerning the interrelationship between Japanese and Chinese cultures had a complicated nature. On one hand "if both cultures have an intimate relation, we should consider how we can be friendly and should try to live together in mutual prosperity" (Chiang 1938, in Qin 1984, 30, 279). On the other hand, he stated as follows:

The reason why Japan succeeded nowadays as a conquering nation, is only because she partially put into practice the philosophy of Wang Yang-ming. Unfortunately Japan did cut off a part of Chinese philosophy, and did not extract its whole essence. (Chiang 1932c, in Qin 1984, 10, 604)

According to Chiang's logic, Japan became strong relying on distorted Chinese philosophy and invaded China by what she stole from China. This logic explained Japan's invasion while he was expecting peace. It also manifested his ambivalent feelings of love and hatred toward Japan.

### **3 Concluding Remarks – Chiang Kai-shek's Study in Japan and His Politics**

The words, "Chiang Kai-shek's politics" sounds ambiguous. Here I intended to discuss his psychology and attitude as a Chinese politician. Therefore, specific policies, thought and ideology were not the objects of analysis. It will, however, define all framework within which the individual policies

of Chiang and Guomindang can be understood. Furthermore, it contains an element which was universally applied toward the political leaders of modern China.

As is well known, Chiang Kai-shek went to Japan for study twice between 1906 and 1911. This time includes three periods; Seika Gakkō, Shinbu Gakkō and no. 19 Regiment of no. 13 Division Field Artillery at Takada. The 'facts' regarding Chiang's activities in Japan during this period are not necessarily clear enough. Much of the existing research on Chiang during his student days in Japan, is mainly based on his memories from later years. That is to say, 'memories' were treated as 'facts'. However, 'memories' are not 'facts'. 'Facts' are chosen through 'memories'. That is to say, some aspects of a fact are deleted, while others are added. The 'facts' chosen through 'memories' are not the fact itself, but manifestations of the imagined scenery by the people who remembered that scene at various times. Thus, I began by confirming the facts about Chiang's activities in his student days in Japan, and tried to reconstruct his memories about his days in Japan which were expressed in later years. His later memories of Japan are not the facts themselves, but rather showed his psychological attitude toward Japan and his own politics.

What characteristics can we extract from his memories of Japan?

Firstly, he tried to show a strength and superiority obtained through his experiences in Japan. Chiang Kai-shek as a leader wanted to show himself to be superior to the ordinary masses intellectually and physically and had to prove his own strength. It was the logic of "self-strengthening" (*zhiqiang*) which prioritized his own strength over others. Within this context, he felt his experiences in Japan strengthened him and chose those experiences from his memories.

It is very hot during the summer in Takada, and the humidity was high. But, Chiang Kai-shek chose coldness, suggesting that he became physically and spiritually strong and healthy by the life-style experienced in this coldness. He noticed the frugal meals instead of luxurious food which he failed to get. He felt that this experience contributed to preserving himself in good health. Furthermore, he became patient by enduring the monotonous daily life in the army.

Secondly, Chiang Kai-shek presented himself as a model for military men and the ordinary masses by his spirit of "self-strengthening". He suggested that they behave in the same way. The process of "self-cultivation" leading to "self-strengthening" was important for Chiang. Within this context, his memories of his student days in Japan were useful.

Chiang noted that in Japan the senior officer went into the bedrooms of soldiers and the halls and directed the arrangement of the rooms, in order to keep the discipline of army life. Thus keeping discipline was connected with cleanliness and sanitation. For example, his attitude manifested itself in his criticism of spitting.

Indirectly Chiang's observations and experiences in Japan influenced his New Life Movement beginning in 1934. The aims of the Movement such as militarization, order, sanitation, simplicity and naiveté, sense of propriety, justice, honesty and honor, were adopted in order to create a new and strong modern nation. The various elements indicated in his style of life had an important meaning in the process from Chiang's self-cultivation to self-strengthening which were related to his experiences in Japan.

Thirdly, Chiang Kai-shek tried to find the origin of the strength of Japanese army in his memories from his days in Japan. This effort came from his desire to understand his own weaknesses and to strengthen the nation. His ultimate goal was to create a strong nation and army. This attitude was ultimately related to his logic of self-strengthening. He wanted to build a nation and an army surpassing Japan during Sino-Japanese War while being aware of the experiences of Japan as an enemy. His formula included wiping out humiliation, saving the nation, self-governing and self-strengthening. As discussed above, this attitude appeared in Chiang's experiences and memories.

According to Chiang, the Japanese customs of washing the face with cold water and eating cold meals, and their attitude of saving and simplicity were sources of the strength of Japanese army. Ideological education and complete penetration of discipline, and diffusion of education throughout Japan also contributed to strengthening Japan and Japanese people.

The fourth point is the question of the horse. As referred to earlier, training and grooming a horse were among the most important duties for field artillery. He established his spiritual basis through his experience of grooming a horse. He considered that experience to be a valuable model to learn from the Japanese army.

The fifth point is Chiang's comparison of Japanese and Chinese cultures. Chiang considered that the spiritual basis of Japanese and Japanese army was in the "Japanese Spirit", "Bushidō" and loyalty and patriotism. This ideological system was the foundation on Japanese strength. However, according to Chiang, the spiritual basis of Japanese was formed under the influence of a part of China's traditional thoughts consisting of Confucianism, Zhuxi's scholarship and Wang Yangming's scholarship. This fact had two implications. On one hand, it implied that Chinese thought and philosophy still had superiority over the Japanese people. On the other hand, Japan became strong by a philosophy imported from China. China however, experienced humiliation being invaded by Japan. This logic was an manifestation of Chiang's ambivalent feelings of love and hate toward Japan. Chiang Kai-shek articulated his political position through positive experiences in Japan. However, his humiliation experienced during the Sino-Japanese War also must not be forgotten.

The sixth point is that Chiang Kai-shek acquired broad knowledge and insight about China and the world through his study in Japan. At the same

time it gave him an opportunity to participate in Chinese politics leading to the 1911 Revolution through acquaintances with Chinese revolutionaries there. In this context, participation in the revolutionary movement was a by-product of his study in Japan, and was also the aim itself.

Lastly, let me consider Chiang Kai-shek's politics within the whole structure of modern Chinese politics. In the past I proposed to adopt a concept of "Daikōshugi" (substitutionism) as an element of continuity of Chinese politics in the twentieth century. It is defined as "a system and style of political leadership, in which a group of elite sets up the target of reform in place of the people, puts political consciousness into them, mobilizes the people for the realization of their targets, but lacks the institutional guarantee for the people to participate in politics voluntarily" (Yamada 2007). This definition involves some questions. The first question is what political target the political leaders set up for the people. That is the leadership of political leaders over the people. The second is how the leaders put political consciousness into the people. In this case, the conditions of politics are to be determined by how the political leaders judge the degree of political consciousness of the people. The third point is the degree of institutionalization of raising objection by the people against the state and the party. The question to be asked is to what extent the government and party allow the voluntary political participation of the people. The system lacks institutional framework to solve the political conflicts. The fourth point concerning substitutionism is that maintaining the power of the leadership required absolute priority over the people, and therefore the apparatus, means and resources for that purpose must be taken into consideration. However, all of these questions were not necessarily connected directly with Chiang's student days in Japan; for it was before he came into power, and in this context he did not confront the question of institutionalizing the people's political participation. Rather, the question of what the political leaders should be in substitutionism, was his major interest in terms of his experiences in Japan.

In terms of Chiang Kai-shek's memories centering around his student days in Japan referred to earlier, these do not conclude all aspects of his life in Japan. These memories were selected from various aspects of his life in Japan. His attitude toward "self-strengthening", his consciousness of intellectual and physical superiority over the people, his desire to create a strong China, and his feeling of humiliation constituted a part of leadership of substitutionism. In this sense, Chiang Kai-shek's attitudes discussed in this paper are to be located in the broader context of Chinese politics in the twentieth century.

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