Sun Yat-sen's Return To Canton After Expelling Gui-xi

by Ah Xiang


In Southern Chinese Province of Guangdong, Sun Yat-sen and Chen Jiongming would be entangled in the power struggles. (Liu Xiaobo mistakenly eulogized Chen Jiongming's support for so-called "allying multiple provinces for self-determination" as heralding China's forerunner federationist movement.) Yue-jun (i.e., Guangdong native army), headed by Chen Jiongming, was organized on basis of Zhu Qinglan's police/guard battalions in Dec of 1917. To make Chen Jiongming into a real military support, Sun Yat-sen originally dispatched Hu Hanmin and Wang Zhaoming to Governor Zhu Qinglan for making Chen Jiongming into the so-called "commander of governor's bodyguard column". Governor Zhu Qinglan was forced into resignation by Governor-general Chen Bingkun of Gui-xi faction (i.e., Guangxi Province native army that stationed in Guangdong after the republic restoration war). Sun Yat-sen asked Cheng Biguang negotiate with Lu Rongding for relocation of Chen Bingkun and assignment of twenty battalions of Zhu Qinglan's police/guard army into 'marines' under the command of Cheng Biguang's navy. On Dec 2nd of 1917, Chen Jiongming was conferred the post of "commander of Guangdong army for aiding Fujian Province" and was ordered to lead 4000-5000 'marine' army towards neighboring Fujian Province where he expanded his army and developed it into his private warlord or militarist forces. (Meanwhile, Sun Yat-sen ordered that five navy warships attacked Chaoshan area for assisting Chen Jiongming's attack on Fujian Prov. Navy action aborted after Long Jiguang landed from across the Hainan Island Straits.) From 1918 onward, Chen Jiongming refused to answer Sun Yat-sen's calls and stationed in Shantou area for self development. On Feb 26th of 1918, Canton military government experienced another power struggle as Cheng Biguang went through an assassination attempt. (Scholar Yuan Weishi claimed that Sun Yat-sen could be behind the assassination of navy minister since Cheng Biguang had objected to Sun Yat-sen's demands in bombarding Gui-xi army headquarters. Cheng Biguang, a Guangdong native, had earlier defected from the Peking government and escorted Sun Yat-sen to the south with the warships under his command.)

Per DZJ, Sun Yat-sen, having become so wary of the ambitions and disobedience of Chen Jiongming, contemplated on the upbringing of a new military strategist, i.e., Chiang Kai-shek. Sun Yat-sen first wired to Chiang Kai-shek on Mar 2nd of 1918, and Chiang Kai-shek arrived in Canton from Shanghai 3 days later. Chiang Kai-shek was asked to see Chen Jiongming, Deng Keng and Xu Chongzhi in coastal Shandou area of Guangdong Province.
on Mar 11th. Chiang Kai-shek then served Chen Jiongming as director of tactics department for Guangdong army on March 15th of 1918. Chen Jieru memoirs claimed that Chen Jiongming, who always trusted Cantonese only, had assigned Chiang Kai-shek a post as tactician for sake of avoiding offence against Sun Yat-sen.

On May 4th of 1918, with the intervention of Gui-xi army and "zheng xue xi" faction (i.e., political studies clique), Canton’s Parliament representatives re-organized Canton’s military government by depriving Sun Yat-sen of the ‘grand marshal' post. Sun Yat-sen left Canton for Shanghai via Shandou area on Mar 21st of 1918. Chiang Kai-shek recalled the depression and sudden aging that Sun Yat-sen had endured at the meeting during Sun’s Shantou stopover. After discussing with Chen Jiongming for several days, Sun Yat-sen then rode on a Japanese ship and arrived in Shanghai on May 25th. At the urge of Sun Yat-sen, Chen Jiongming's army took over Zhangzhou city on Aug 30th from Fujian army. Chen Jieru memoirs claimed that Chiang Kai-shek, having spent 3 days and 3 nights contemplating over a strategy after Chen Jiongming’s loss of Dapucheng city, was rebuked by Chen Jiongming instead of an acknowledgement. At Zhangzhou, Chen was said to have conducted some philanthropic activities and made speech about ‘federationism’. Chiang Kai-shek returned to Chen Jiongming's army on Sept 18th with instructions from Sun Yat-sen, and Chen Jiongming's army continued on to attack Fujian army in Tong'an area.

In August 1918, Sun Yat-sen renamed the "Zhonghua Guomin Dang" to "Zhongguo Guomin Dang". In Oct 1918, Sun Yat-sen published the membership regulations for "Zhongguo Guomin Dang", stipulating that the members of "Zhonghua Geming Dang" automatically became a part of the new party and that the former KMT members had to re-register for "Zhongguo Guomin Dang" or Chinese KMT (abbreviated here as CKMT for distinction from KMT but treated same as KMT in the future reference).

During the several rounds of arguments between Sun Yat-sen and Chen Jiongming, Chiang Kai-shek resigned multiple times and left Guangdong for Shanghai. On June 29th of 1919, Sun Yat-sen wrote to Chen Jiongming to have Guangdong army withdraw from Fujian Province, but Chen Jiongming did not heed Sun's call. Sun Yat-sen intended to have Yue-jun (i.e., Guangdong army) expel Gui-xi (i.e., Guangxi Army) from Canton & Guangdong Prov. In the summer of 1919, at the residency of Zhang Jingjiang, 13-year-old Chen Jieru accidentally encountered Dr Sun Yat-sen who had brought along Dai Jitao & Chiang Kai-shek. Thereafter, Chiang Kai-shek would pursue Chen Jieru for two years till their marriage at Shanghai's Yong'an Building in late 1921. After the marriage, Chiang Kai-shek, as a plight, promised to Chen Jieru that he would make Sun Yat-sen the only "guardian-god" of the Republic of China should he rise to power, and later Chiang Kai-shek tried to destroy the photos and negative with Sun Yat-sen serving as secretary to Yang Quyun. In Shanghai, during this leave of absence, Sun Yat-sen wrote two books, observed developments of May 4th 1919 Students' Movement, and edited the "Construction" magazine in Shanghai on Aug
In Feb of 1920, among Dian-jun (i.e., Yunnan Province army) in Guangdong Province, Li Genyuan tried to take control of Li Liejun's two divisions in northern Guangdong Prov. The internal conflicts between the two Li would lead to the split of the Canton Military Government and the Extraordinary Session of the Parliament when many contra-Gui-xi generals and Parliament representatives left Canton. On June 29th of 1920, Sun Yat-sen dispatched Liao Zhongkai and Zhu Zhixin to Zhangzhou of Fujian Province for persuading Chen Jiongming into a comeback to Canton for expelling Gui-xi [i.e., Guangxi Province army] from Canton. Liao Zhongkai and Zhu Zhixin promised to Chen Jiongming with more economic stimulus package. Yue-jun generals, like Xu Chongzhi and Deng Keng, also agreed to returning to Canton. Chen Jiongming hence made a deal with Fujian's Governor-general Li Houji: evacuating from Fujian Province in exchange for financial and logistic reimbursements from Fujian. Chen Jiongming, in order to avoid fighting with Gui-xi army, secretly negotiated with Gui-xi for a compromise. Zhu Zhixin got enraged and left for Shanghai. In Shanghai, Sun Yat-sen decided that Chiang Kai-shek could be a good candidate for working with Chen. Chiang arrived in Zhangzhou via Gulangyu of Amoy on July 16th and held talk with Chen the next day. At that time, Chen's army had swelled to over a dozen brigades, with personal cronies like Ye Ju, Chen Yanxiong, Chen Jiongguang, Yi Ji, Weng Siliang, Zhong Jingye and Yang Kunru. Chiang Kai-shek promptly returned to Shanghai to report to Sun Yat-sen about Chen's reluctance.

By mid-July, civil war among Zhi-xi and Wan-xi of northern warlords broke out. Gui-xi army in Guangdong colluded with Zhi-xi in attempting on i) Chen Jiongming's Yue-jun in Fujian Province and ii) Duan Qirui's Wan-xi Governor-general of Fujian Prov. Gui-xi army, simultaneously, induced the navy into an ally by promising the land of Fujian for the navy. Li Zongren memoirs pointed out that Chen Jiongming's 1st Corps of Guangdong Province army converged with Xu Chongzhi's 2nd Corps at Zhangzhou. On August 12th of 1920, Chen Jiongming decided to take initiative by launching three prong attacks at Gui-xi army in Guangdong, with Xu Chongzhi, Ye Ju and Deng Keng in charge, respectively. This would be termed the War of Yue [Guangdong] versus Gui [Guangxi]. Li Zongren pointed out that generals under Guangxi Province had discords among themselves: Ma Ji [a crony of Lu Rongting] had friction with Shen Hongying, Liu Zhijian & Liu Daqing [Mo Rongxi cronies]. Lin Hu [2nd Corps Chief of Republic Restoration Army] and Li Genyuan [Yunnan Province army stationed in Qiongya] showed neutrality. Li Zongren joined 15000 army which was sorted out from Lin Hu's army for deployment against Guangdong Province army. Lin Hu's army drove off Hong Zhaolin's Guangdong army at Danshuixu. At Danshui, Li Zongren noticed that officer Huang Yexing deliberately encouraged soldiers in pillaging as a way of elevating morale, and soldiers were busy at auctioning off robbed goods. Li Zongren chased Guangdong army to Nianxu where they defeated Yang Kunru's Guangdong army after one day's fierce fight. Li Zongren chased Guangdong army into
Haifeng county. Li Zongren stated that while Guangxi army made progress on Huizhou side, the leftside suffered setback. Li Genyuan & Shen Hongying retreated after a defeat.

Meanwhile, Zou Lu and Yao Yuning organized volunteers in Chaoshan area to answer Chen Jiongming's campaign. By Aug 16th, Yue-jun (i.e., Guangdong army) took over Dapu, Chaozhou and Meixian by defeating Mo Rongxin's Gui-jun army and Li Genyuan's Dian-jun [i.e., Yunnan Province army] army. On Aug 21st, Chen Jiongming swore the 'oath of war' for his army at Shandou, and Sun Yat-sen sent over congratulation. By late Aug, Sun instructed Deng Keng to continue on against Huizhou, and wired Chen Jiongming to cooperate with Lai Shihuang of Gan-jun (i.e., Jiangxi Province army that previously served under Li Liejun's Dian-jun). Yue-jun's rightside prong continued to take over Zhilong, Longchuan and Heyuan by defeating Gui-jun's Shen Hongying and Lin Hu, the middle prong took over Yong'an, and leftside prong reached 40 li distance away from Huizhou. Li Zongren memoirs stated that there were rumors stating that Wei Bangping [Canton garrison commander & Perl River defense commander], Li Fulin [Henan Province army] & Humen [tiger gate] Battery conspired to rebel against Guangxi governor-general office.

More Guangdong revolutionaries rose up against Gui-jun [Gui-xi] in West River and North River areas. Zhu Zhixin, on Sept 6th, successfully instigated the uprising of Humen Battery at Huangpu (Whampoa), but later on Sept 21st, Zhu Zhixin, at age 36, sacrificed his life when he tried to mediate between Deng Keng's army and the defector army. Chen Jiongming organized 18 battalions among the civilian armies in West River and North River areas. To take over Huizhou, Sun Yat-sen contacted Fujian's Li Houji, i.e., ex-Wan-xi army, for collaboration. Min-jun (i.e., Fujian army) agreed to it. On Sept 26th, police chief of Canton (Wei Bangping), Gui-xi's regional official in charge of Guang-hui areas (Li Fulin) and commander of guards for Jiangmen area (Chen Dechun) declared independence from Gui-xi governor-general. Gui-jun was cut off from their retreating route back to Guangxi Prov. On Oct 1st, Sun Yat-sen wired to Governor-general Tan Yankai of Hunan Province for concerted attack at Gui-jun in North River area of Guangdong Prov. Navy joined hands with Yue-jun in pressuring on against Gui-jun. On Sept 30th, Chiang Kai-shek, at the request of Sun, left Shanghai for the south. Chiang arrived in HK on Oct 3rd and arrived in Shandou for meeting with Chen Jiongming on Oct 5th. Chiang Kai-shek joined the rightside prong army and persuaded Chen into a strategy of leftside defense & rightside attack.

When Wei Bangping announced a defection to Guangdong army, Lin Hu's army evacuated towards Zhaoqing. Mo Rongxin replaced Lin Hu and Ma Ji with Li Genyuan at Huizhou for sake of having Lin Hu & Ma Ji go after the rebelling Wei Bangping & Li Fulin. On Oct 20th, Chiang Kai-shek substituted Xu Chongzhi as the chief of 2nd Corps and took over Taiwei from Gui-jun. The next day, Yue-jun's 2nd Corps closed in on Huangmapo, while Xiong Luu occupied Huangli and Deng Keng had a liaison with leftside army. The following
day, Yue-jun took over Huizhou city.

On Oct 23rd, Chen Jiongming held a military meeting at Huizhou for a campaign against Guangzhou (Canton). Three prongs pushed on towards Canton. On Oct 24th, Mo Rongxin revoked his military government at Canton, and the generalissimos, including Cen Chunxuan, Lu Rongting, Lin Baoyi (navy) and Wen Zongyao, all resigned their posts. Lin Baoyi (navy), however, declared an alliance with navy of the northern government. Lin Hu's troops had to circumvent around Canton where Mo Rongxi agreed to go into exile in HK after being promised 500000 yuan as military funds for relocation. After crossing North River, Lin Hu's troops, Ma Ji's 1st Corps and Han Caifeng's army, totaling 30-40000 people, retreated towards Guangxi on the crowded road. Li Zongren, as a battalion chief, failed to rein in a group of armed soldiers who raped a woman at a small town between Zengcheng and Conghua.

On Oct 25th, Yue-jun took over Shilong, and Gui-jun retreated towards Zengcheng and Dongguan. On Oct 26th, Mo Rongxin, before exiting Canton, declared allegiance to Peking government in the north by revoking Southwestern autonomy. On Oct 27th, Yue-jun entered Canton. Gui-jun remnants in East River area, under Ma Ji, circumvented around North River for return to Guangxi Prov. Before Zhaoqing would be a small Liantang valley as long as 15 kilometers. Li Fulin & Wei Bangping had dispatched Guangdong soldiers for guarding Liantangkou Pass via train. At the request of Lin Hu & Ma Ji, Li Zongren's battalion, which was left at the rears for disciplining soldiers, were pulled to the front for attack at the Pass. 500 soldiers and 4 company chiefs followed Li Zongren in charging at enemy positions. With a casualty of over 100, Li Zongren sacked Liantang Pass and went onward towards Zhaoqing.

On Nov 1st, Chen Jiongming arrived in Canton. On Nov 10th, Sun Yat-sen, from his military government office in Shanghai, issued the order to have Chen Jiongming act as governor of Guangdong Province and commander-in-chief of Yue-jun army. On Nov 6th, Chiang Kai-shek left for HK after rebuking Chen Jiongming for diversion to North River instead of attacking West River area. Chiang Kai-shek arrived in Shanghai on Nov 12th and explained situations to Sun.

On Nov 25th, Sun Yat-sen led Wu Tingfang and Tang Shaoyi etc for Guangdong. Meantime, Yue-jun took over Wuzhou and Zhaoqing in West River area. Guangxi army, having abandoned Zhaoqing without a fight, retreated towards Wuzhou. Lin Hu & Ma Ji rode on ships along West River. Li Zongren, at Yuecheng, on north bank of West River, was cut off by Yang Kunru's Guangdong Province army which came over to sack Lubuxu via Sihui & Shigou. After one day fierce fighting, Li Zongren, Huang Yexing, Han Caifeng & Ma Xiaojun defeated the Guangdong army. Li Zongren incurred a casualty of another 100 soldiers, including company chief Qiu Mingxi. During the Battle of Lubuxu, Li Zongren
came into acquaintance with Bai Chongxi & Huang Shaohong, two company chiefs under Ma Xiaojun.


Sun Yat-sen and Chen Jiongming differed on the matter of revolution. To curb the influence of Chen, Sun assigned Sun Ke, i.e., his son, the post of mayor of Canton and named Xu Chongzhi the chief for 1st Corps and Huang Dawei the chief of 2nd Corps. Ultimately, Chen Jiongming rebelled against Sun Yat-sen and aborted Sun Yat-sen's northern expeditions. Sun Yat-sen, after fighting Chen Jiongming rebels on warships for 1-2 months, would have to vacate to Shanghai. It would be Chiang Kai-shek who later led his Whampoa cadet army on two Eastern Expeditions against Chen Jiongming and expelled Chen Jiongming to HK from Guangdong, which set the foundations of the national revolution that would overthrow the northern warlord lineage government and unite China under KMT's southern government. (Also see Li Zongren's pushing for northern expedition & Li Jishen's volunteering to be herald troops of the northern expedition.)