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吳上將軍與汪精
衛往來函札附後



治軍之時興上將軍



軍將上吳之淡隱退

蓬萊吳孚威上將軍殉國記

自叙

昔歐陽文忠有云：『名節之士，不利於苟得，不牽於苟隨，而惟義之所處。白刃之威，有所不避；折枝之易，有所不爲，而惟義之所守。』旨哉言乎，抗戰以來，英異之士，喪所守而失所處者多矣。強敵深入，望氣皆墨，意謂他人入室，行且反客爲主，不爲之先，勢將無及。由是利害戰於中；名位動於外，民族國家之念，侵奪於妻子室家；殺敵致果之心，倏變爲醜顏事仇。禮義廉恥，終不敵於富貴利達。始之不忍爲、不肯爲、不敢爲者，至是無所不忍，無所不肯，亦無所不敢，無所不爲。名節於焉掃地以盡矣。嗚呼！處今之世，益信霍光傳不可不讀也。蓬萊吳孚威上將軍，於北平失陷之後，孤風絕俗，假息一廬，正色負氣，不稍屈抑以取合當時。日本董統鷹揚之將，涓誠肅禮，躬謁於門，乃至曠曠、叱咤、視若無物，委之以財貨不受；淹之以樂好不顧。刲之以衆，沮之以兵，亦死守不懼。大節如金石，確乎其不拔，寧爲玉碎，不爲瓦全。此重安潘先生爲書座隅。茲於敵人重壓之下，始終不屈。舍生取義，誠知行合一，無忝於孟子之所謂大丈夫也。語云：『雪霜大摯，知松柏之後凋；風雨如晦，識雞鳴之不已。』載筆之餘，復爲弁言於首。

中華民國三十五年三月重慶陳廷傑時在北平之雙建盦

蓬萊吳孚威上將軍殉國記 自叙

本書之意義

- 一、此記數陳直言，既嚴雜不文，復無體例，未敢即言著作。
- 二、余與學威，向無雅故，在洛陽漢口時，初無余之迹影。釋兵以後，應招於蜀，患難相從，歷十二載，并束帛之贈亦未之承。故彼此交誼甚為純潔，泚筆所及，確無浮詞。
- 三、記中所述，重在表章學威愛國精神，為國家伸張正氣，推崇敬慕，出自私人，絕不及他。
- 四、學威以身殉國，為其一生最光榮之歷史，尤足徵其人格偉大，千秋不朽。實與榮施，至作不卒之鳴，則非鄙意所及。
- 五、敘述學威殉國，即所以警示將來，願與國人處後憲前，勿忽視帝國主義。
- 六、記中所列，皆係事實，間有張君瑞峯、趙君振鴻、張君劭溥、蘇君應武之補充，復就正於劉君樵山；樵山余之畏友，先是曾為學成長治秘籍，張、趙諸君，又久侍學威，聞見尤切也。
- 七、余曩治川政，因請襄戊戌六君子，致觸當方之怒。繼又反對洪憲，幾陷不測，自審學養不足，三十年來，一以讀書為事，於社會極少接近。疏漏紕謬，自所不免，尚希閱者，賜以匡教。

蓬萊吳孚威上將軍殉國記

重慶陳其南

八年戰爭，由勝利而歸和平。舊雨重集，縱談往事，偶及於蓬萊吳孚威上將軍之死，痛非病，而孚威之牙痛，竟成爲病，且至非常劇烈，因以不起。於時遠近傳聞，孚威係生死患難之交，又始終未離北平，懸知其故，請有以語我。

余非醫者，必就病理上作批評，自非所勝。第就所及知者，略貢其概。孚威牙痛，本其宿疴，至冬輒觸發，要皆三數日即已。民國二十八年冬，復以牙痛間，初以爲固然也，閱數日，遷稱危篤，急往視之，則呻吟牀第，坐臥均不寧帖。左頰突禪，紅而有光，言語蹇澀，至不能成聲，汗且涔涔下。數邀余坐，似有所屬，因見其顫極，力勸小休，勿以國事爲念，詎未三日，即成永別。

孚威平生，崇拜關、岳，奉爲師表；其秉性剛健而少圓融，大類關公；至喜讀書而不愛錢不惜死，則學武穆也。鑒國勢阽危，往往慷慨唏噓，謂隨地隨時皆其死所，故躬遇險患，不怕死，亦不避死。

在川之日，追溯護法護憲諸役。謂吾非好戰，目擊人心陷溺，處處悲感，與其苟全於世，不如從猛烈敵火中求一大解脫。富貴等浮雲泡幻，無一可以令人依戀，故孚威之死，可云求仁得仁，爲勢之所必至。無論死因如何，要之，爲國而死，爲正義而死。

遼瀋之方陷也，時寄四川達縣下八廟，聞訊旁皇，瓦數夕不能成寐。爰決計離川，取道陝甘，經昭烏兩盟地而達北平，意在聯西北東北之軍，爲國先驅，恢復失土，尼者雖衆，志殊堅定，卒冒最大艱險，作半年以上之長征，抵平之後，審機未熟，即閉門謝客，以讀書論道爲事，又設

正一堂，講求身心性命之學，凡日人造謁，皆拒而未納。

翌年國聯調查團，相繼東來，經致書該團，揭發日本獨霸太平洋陰謀，請其對世界及東亞之和平，爲深刻之注意，惜皆不審，共書如次：

『國聯調查團諸君公鑒：國聯會議爲國際上威權最高之機關，調查團諸君，爲中日糾紛，遠涉重洋，而我全國民衆，到處熱烈歡迎，足見我國民酷愛和平，信仰國聯，與希望諸君主持公道之誠意。本人謹就管見所及，約略陳之。日本爲軍國主義最盛之國家，當爲世人所周知。東三省爲歐亞交通樞紐，上海爲東亞商業重心，日本垂涎已久，無從諱言。彼之計劃，實欲置東三省於其支配之下，獨霸太平洋，東抗北美；更欲藉端佔據上海，以扼揚子江上下游，推翻歐美各國在東亞商業之根據，而執東方商業之牛耳。日本果皆如願以償，世界無寧日矣，一國壟斷，萬國生心，東封一肆，西封又啟，不獨中國自身可危，即世界盛衰所繫之軍縮問題，亦詎能實現乎！太平洋與東亞之悲慘戰事，竊恐未易逃避，是歐戰以來，犧牲過千萬生命；拋擲數百億金錢，所建造之和平基礎，爲日本摧殘淨盡矣。是以東三省與上海問題，非僅中國一國問題，乃全世界安危問題；亦非僅公約尊嚴問題，乃人類禍福問題，中國以此嚴重而又迫切之問題，訴諸國聯，意蓋在此，且本人尤鄭重聲明者，我中國人民，雖酷愛和平，但亦酷愛國土，如至萬不得已時，亦惟有武力自衛耳。上年東北事變，我國以深信國聯盟約、九國公約與非戰公約之有效，遂對日暴行，力持退讓，以靜候國聯之公平裁制，並非始終不抵抗，及日本得寸進尺，而侵略愈烈，由遼吉而黑龍江、而錦州、而哈爾濱，更進而擾我天津、青島、福州、以至於上海，我國民慘遭屠殺，橫被損害者不可勝數，是吾人之備受日本蹂躪

，全係尊國聯過於退讓所致，苟無維持和平之國聯，彼以武力犯我，我即以武力自衛，不顧及世界之和平，則失地決不致如斯之多，上海抵抗月餘之久，可為明證。今我以維護國聯威信，維持世界和平，而國土與行政之完整被人破壞，倘國聯而不能斷然處置，以保持盟約之尊嚴，維持會員國之權利，則是公法不足恃，條約不足憑，國聯大會不必設置矣。本人深信歐戰而後，非強權戰勝乃公理戰勝，非以武力為神聖，乃以和平為神聖，在日本破壞公約，欺蔑友邦，早已視國聯若無覩；在國聯而能以公法相繩，則世界和平尚可維持於一髮。否則公約失效，暴力橫行，口血未乾，野心又啟；軍縮會議，等於虛設；非戰公約，視若弁髦；國際前途，誠有不忍言者，故本人深盼國聯能以公理相助，如一九二五年解決希臘與布加利亞之糾紛，使此次東亞之糾紛，得循和平正當之途徑而解決。否則我國為強權所迫，又不能求助於公理，亦惟有訴諸武力自衛之一途耳。今後東亞和平與世界和平之曙光，全繫於諸君此行矣，本人謹祝諸君健康，與國聯前途健康。

中華民國二十一年四月吳佩孚。』

蘆溝橋變作，日軍進據北平，孚威嚴局寓廬，不與其軍政當局通往還，雖託轎情款，並予拒絕；有上角利一者，久滯山東，媚蓬萊縣語，改易裝服，詐稱鄉後進，請候起居，以其為鄉人也，逕延之入，上角執禮甚恭，談故鄉事，娓娓動聽，頗為之解，由是造詣頻繁，漸覺其僞，顧已無法屏退，而日人之託名講學者、談道者、卜筮星象緣飾經術者、更接踵於門，阻謝再三，不見不已，土肥原賢二、大迫通貞、阪西利八郎輩，時亦溷迹其間，然涉及政治，孚威均立加呵止。

土肥原賢二及大迫通貞等，雖已不能拒之門外，但屢試其說，訖不見聽，爰使人居間往復，謂中日之事，不願範圍擴大，宜設法趕緊結束，公鑿中外重望，寧忍坐視，孚威因坦率相示，爾

等必須就商於我；首須急速撤兵，次則將所有佔據地方之軍政財政，及一切行政交還，顧問指導官並須取消，經濟統制亦應立刻解除，我為主，日為客，我發命令，日本人亦當極端服從；能如是，自可建議政府，恢復和平，土肥原等唯唯，願歸商朝重臣，後聞西園寺公望頗贊成斯議，而卒遭中梗，土肥原即不復至平，大迫因迭受痛斥，裹足不敢再請入謁：

岡野增次郎者，清季日俄戰役，與孚威遙近東北，後孚威治兵洛陽，岡野來修故人之誼，遂任為直魯豫巡閱使顧問。土肥原賢二說既不售，日政府知岡野之有舊也，更令偕陸軍大佐川本芳太郎來平，初至之日，岡野突介紹川本稱贊門下，孚威未及答，川本已行三跪九叩首禮，公然稱弟子矣。時雖然無法阻止，孚威固知其為國策也，相習稍久，川本藉私誼徐申土肥原之說，拒之如故，陳說再三，仍如示土肥原者示之。岡野見局勢再僵，意殊惶遽，力請稍示通融，孚威作色曰：『無通融餘地。』繼是岡野之書，凡十餘上，俱不置答，後批其函曰：『以小謀大，自取滅亡。』川本岡野，氣為之阻。

川本初至，即約余與晤於方磚廠子學忠院長宅，余與所談，皆主觀言論，與孚威之意不相遠，似頗拂其願見初旨，過此遂無往來，相遇止握手道寒暄，絕不及他。其間尚有一段事實；日偽旁皇計無所出之時，乃嗾人運動吳夫人，吳夫人答曰：『我止知治家不知治國，君等說余，寧非大錯，且問君等，終日皇皇，究為何事？為日本乎？我勸可以不必為亡國加工。為中國乎？我想不應該如此。』說者詞塞。

川本岡野之說，又屢進不入，遂別開一徑，使胡毓坤出為偽河南綏靖主任。發號施令，皆假孚威名義行之，孚威悉置未理，毓坤原為奉軍將領，與孚威素無關係，日人，藉以利用，雖不能顯然反對，而於囁嚅塵上之時，余曾面問孚威云：『真就此職乎？』孚威曰：『否，否，』吾已

密屬中州軍民切勿相應，以故鍾坤久駐河南，一籌莫展，修部屬之禮來謁請命，李成卽慨以他言，視爲尋常賓客，決不及於河南之事，余與胡氏相值，乃至同桌進餐，亦從不與一言。

某日鄭孝胥忽至，李威意其必有所受，立享以閉門羹，不答拜，亦不派人投刺。

拒鄭之後，汪精衛續自上海北來，住鐵獅子胡同日軍部參謀長山下奉文宅，迭由電話約晤，訖無答覆，旋派人至宅欵洽，李威謂：『吾與汪先生皆中國人，如商國事，當相見於中國人住所，出沒日本人宅中，且爲日軍之參謀長，何以使國人釋然吾輩！萬一起譖一黨，日軍部提出何項要求，向吾兩人刦盟，又將何以自處！茲事未必即有，而亦不敢決其必無。』經加考慮，與其遺悔將來，受國人指摘，不如不應汪先生招，任其開罪，斯亦兩全之策也。汪因三宿卽去。

汪既南還，又託趙尊嶽，陶家瑞先後至平，面申殘敗，李威深惜其離開重慶，爲失去立場，告家瑞曰：『汪先生應再回重慶，與政府協議，或戰或和，來電與我磋商，在日人挾持之下，卽言救國，寔亡國也。我絕不與之同惡相濟。』並於其最後一函，加以批注云：『公離重慶，失所憑依，如虎出山入柙，無謀和之價值；果能再回重慶，通電往來可也。』又於覆函稿中加注云：『若能返駕西蜀，與友邦開談判尤妥。』函內率多箴規語，並敦勸勿組政府，重瀆糾紛。

與汪精衛詣往還間，川本、岡野、大迫運動益力，屢迹日接李威之門，其勢殆不達所望不止。首許建軍四十萬，備款若干千萬，聽其撥用，名位如何建立，惟其所擇，李威慨與拒絕，而彼等詞鋒銳利，竟日強聒，卒至李威怒形於色，甚且擊案碎甌。

川本、岡野等積日陳說，李威堅持如故，爰召集中外記者，請李成發表對於和平意見，計圖由舌人口中，變易其根本主張，從輿論方面，改造事實，使之不能自脫，召集前夕，有人爲豫撰演稿，內多依附日人之詞，出以示余。

余謂君等如自由行動，余不但無力干涉，實即無所喙容。若以見商，則不敢苟同，此稿正須大加刪改，計孚威亦必不謂然，無妨逕請裁可。後竟不出余料，謂吾自有可說之話，不必需此。至日，余因不贊成是舉，未肯參加，及十二時，中外記者蜂集什錦花園吳宅，孚威出立中庭，一握手，向來講演，與對土肥原等者無參差之差，而英日文之對譯，則仍根據前稿，一字不移，旋並登諸報端，輿論爲之譁然。蓋歐美記者，多媚中語，聽之至晰，未易以爲亂真，中國新聞界，雖處敵僞壓迫之下，而事實炳著，亦不肯聽其顛倒，街談巷議，每有抨擊，茲將二十八年二月一日新北京報及英文北京時事日報所載孚威接見中外記者新聞附後：

民國二十二年一月一日新北報

新北報開要聞 (三版) 一月二日八時二刻印行
新北報社編印 三十二年一月三十日

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國會

事件

上附新北京報，爲張君劭溥所存，劭溥久在李威之側，時知該報所載出自僞造，第迫於勢，未能揭發，故存置以至今日，內有書面談話一則，即某人豫撰之稿，爲李威與余皆不同意者。餘更不知何所根據，『出山』二字，突如其来。由彼等策畫召集記者，即加李威以是項名詞，其設計之險，已可概見，近衛宣言，李威向不重視，謂中日問題，即以其宣言爲契機，完全日人口吻，按之李威當日函札，何曾有此類認定？李威對日人，從不肯假以詞色，於土肥原、大迫等，甚至怒罵交加，余慮李威因此貿禍，曾經勸止。李威曰：『他們不知中國，我不教訓，再有何人教訓？』於是已可驗其態度之如何。談話中乃有不以余爲不可教之無聊謙詞，實覺不倫。河南僞綏靖以胡毓坤爲傀儡先驅，李威始終未與置議，如其所談，則李威不特早受僞職，綏靖委員會，並經指有地點，記者復又詢及卦開封行期，是已居然表而化矣。然試由後溯前，有無事實可徵，亦不必再爲之辨。李威身體素健，絕不示老，茲竟歎老稱衰，尤不合其特性，臨時維新兩僞政府，李威最爲鄙棄，竟對之作援助希望，並求日本朝野軍政之同情，寧非矛盾，循分新舊，曾有是作，然絕未以何方爲對象，其產學說，李威並無若何研究，遽云立論駁斥，豈非憑空結撰，覆滅政府，或期其崩潰，以及反對某黨，余爲執筆札十餘年，從無此種論調。蓋李威純一無黨派作用之人。又係在野，且在國難期間，不惟不必，抑實不可，若以汪函對照，更可瞭然其僞。至言軍隊之招撫殲滅，更屬無憑說起；近衛宣言，既未贊同，汪精衛辦法，亦已鮮明反對，問答中所謂「協和要諦」，乃以列爲標的，尤屬可笑！再以該報是日所載吳鐵城通電舊金山華僑，謂恢復失地，早已絕望等語，其荒謬無稽如此，他可知矣。

蘇東坡吳學威上將軍殉國記

Chronicle

LIMA TAKES
OUTCOME
See Page 1

ICE RIGHT THIS MOMENT NEEDS POWER TO ENFORCE IT HE STATES PRELIMINARY TO PACIFICATION ACTIVITY

CLOSE-UPS OF MARSHAL WU



Makes Written And Oral Statements At Interview With Correspondents Of Foreign And Japanese Press

"I HAVE TO DO MY DUTY"

Satisfied With Co-operation Offered By Chinese And Japanese Headquarters In Peking - Further Parley Pressed

The Chinese general in charge of his interview to a group of reporters in the new press center here gathered strength throughout the time. Marshal Wu Pei-fu accorded an interview to foreign and Japanese newspapermen yesterday at his Peking home.

He stated in emphatic terms his desire for peace, as contrasted to his past efforts. He declared that he had to continue in his present endeavor to bring peace, and as far as possible to win the cooperation and support of all Chinese and Japanese government authorities.

The general said: "I have to meet the press immediately." His arrangement of terms was complicated by the fact that his English-speaking adviser, Dr. Chiang Kuo-chieh, his English-speaking advisor, Dr. Chiang Kuo-chieh, who is in charge of the official title and publication committee, was also present. Dr. Chiang was highly recommended by the foreign reporters as being a safe and reliable man.

At one point in his speech the Marshal was interrupted by a Japanese army officer who was present at the interview. Even though it was quite late, the general did not appear to care much for the interruption.

After the Japanese officer left, the general continued his statements of his views.

He said: "I have to do my duty. I have to meet the press immediately."

The Japanese officer, who spoke English fluently,

said: "The Japanese government has accepted our demands and we have no objection to your meeting the press."

We Needs Power

January 21, 1939

By CHANG YING-SWA

Special to the Chronicle

APPOINTED IN EXCELSIOR

A Chinese English-speaking law man, Mr. Chang Ying-swa, has been appointed in Excelesior, Calif., to represent the Chinese in the United States.

Mr. Chang, a native of Canton, China, has been a member of the Chinese Bar Association for many years.

He is a graduate of the University of California and has been a member of the Chinese Bar Association for many years.

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British Attacker Fired On At Sea

Washington, January 21—

It is difficult to believe that the Imperial Airways airship Zeppelin was shot down in the English Channel flying west of the coast island in the gulf of Flanders.

This information is contained in a radio message received from the plane, Captain Waller.

The plane is apparently damaged as it is known that the afterwards landed off the coast of Scotland.

Last information suggests that a search was made and nothing was found.

In the last two weeks, the British have been engaged in a search for the missing plane.

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再就英文北京時事日報，屬由姜君佩玲節譯其與新北京報不同之點，並推闡其意義如下：

英文北京時事日報（The Peking Chronicle）所發新聞，與中文新北京報大有出入，因當時北平乃日敵侵華基地，對國人一切活動，監視甚嚴，統制輿論，尤為積極，所有新聞須經其改造，方准發行，新北京報純為其加工新聞，而北京時事日報，則因有歐美關係（當時日美尚未開戰），不能全面統制，故所發消息，較合實際，然亦難免隱受牽掣，不能盡露真象。觀北京時事日報，可知吳學威並無所謂「出山」之說，即使主張和平，亦須有相當條件，不合條件，平和無從進行，益知當日一切布置與新聞，純為敵偽之陰謀與捏造也。

茲將北京時事日報所載之異於新北京報而為後者所未刊登者，分列闡述於後：

1. „Needs power to enforce it he states preliminary to pacification activity

『彼言在開始欃靖工作之前，必須擁有實權，始克有濟。』

„.....He declared that in order to succeed in the peace movement he would have to have power.»

『彼言為使和平運動成功，彼必須要有權力。』

按上引新聞，吳於談話之中，一再聲言需要權力，而新北京報竟隻字未提，却言需要軍隊，實錯誤也。因若實為需要軍隊之意，則北京時事日報當用「Force」或「Army」字樣，而絕不使用「Power」一字，是時吳學威處境過於惡劣，敵偽雙方鎖目糾纏左右，威脅利誘，迫其出山，而學威則抱定決心，不為傀儡，但見國事日危，不忍坐視，擬盡匹夫之責，又須有其先決條件，其條件則為握有政治、經濟、軍事等之全權，否則寧可一死。關於此點，盡人皆知。

11. „The statement 'If I come out to lead the peace movement' referring to the arrangement of terms, was amplified by Dr. Chang Ying-hwa, his English-

speaking advisor, as meaning, when he comes out in the official title of pacification commissioner. His 'coming, out' he said, was already accomplished. ,'

『當由善操英語之顧問張英華博士引申玉帥所稱關乎議和條件方面之「若本人出山」，倡導和平一語，謂當認為與如果出任綏靖主任一職為同意，張氏並謂出山一舉，當可認為既成事實。』

吳孚威談話之時，本用「假設」二字，可知彼如從事和平工作，必具其所希望之條件，條件未具，自亦不能有所決定。代其譯言之人，因對吳孚威本意，未能澈底了解，致釋其意思為「出任綏靖主任」，且其出山，實已既成事實之錯誤。然當時英文北京時事日報之記者，已完全明白吳孚威所談。故於新聞發表時，明晰舉出何者為吳孚威個人之言；何者為譯者之言；而是日新北京報竟登為此次東山再起。

iii. "The complete trust reposed in the Marshal was evidenced by the fact that not a single Japanese army officer was present at the interview. Even Lieut. Col-Jingo Hiraoka, Army Spokesman who usually facilitates the work of foreign correspondents, did not appear. There were no senior representatives of the Peking or Nanking Government present, but a large number of the Marshal's own Chinese following. It was the Marshal's own party. ,'

『接見記者當時絕無日軍官憲及夙以便利外國記者見知之日軍報道部發言人平闐潤造中佐在場，亦無北京式南京政府之高級代表，所有在場者皆係玉帥親信左右，據此則此次

會見可謂爲玉帥個人所主持之會見，此點可以證明各方對玉帥之信任也。』

當時情形，可知吳學威本意乃完全站在國民立場，對追隨自己之人，尤其是未能深切了解其抱負者，發表談話，而敵僞竟以不同的心理，利用機會，擬造成事實，使吳學威入其圈套，爲使其此種陰謀遂成起見，僞示坦率，不派一人到場監視，以討吳學威之歡心，使其不生疑意，殊知吳學威早具必死絕心，不入圈套也。

由上列數段英文報所載消息，可以證明中文報紙所登「東山再起」種種新聞，純與事實太不相符，吳學威與敵僞亦可云同牀異夢也。

英文北京時事日報新聞，乃出自英籍記者喬治高爾曼（George Gorman）之手，氏在敵僞歷迫之下精神鬱鬱，日以縱酒爲事，日人平野直彥任該社經理後，即將解聘，於一九四二年春，乘交換船返國，其未解聘之先，某日，擬請該報笑料漫畫牛鼻子作者牛作周氏作漫畫一副，圖爲一老人，端作書房，圖書插架滿室，窗外花園，春意盎然，百花爭妍，一妖冶女子入房，一手強拉老人，一手直指花園，老人則以堅決態度，表示不去。時牛氏因故，未能即作，高氏去後，遂爾中止，即是足徵高氏之主持時事新聞，對於吳學威確有認識也。（譯者附記）

經此段事實之後，余頗覺日人之奉行國策，無微不至，其個人努力，千回百折，不止不休，比任何武器均超越可畏。而回視吾國，所謂親日分子，活動政治，乃竟如此，則深可悲也。

自民國二十七年至二十八年，日本軍政兩方之人，雜遷於什錦花園者，時逾一載，計皆不就，其焦急可想。某日閩野與學威促膝宅樓，突言明年元旦（指二十九年），公須登大總統位，屆時一切皆布置妥善，上臺也得上，不上也得上，決不容再事推諉。學威艴然曰：『如不遵從我的話，要威逼我出來，除非吳家父母再生我一回，寧願死在此樓，決不能作此無恥之事。』至是頓

形決裂，遂不歡而散。

次日，學威戲演鄧康節梅花數，得山地剝卦，其占辭曰：「食虧滅鼻。願在側賓僚曰：『此卦示我，如出而肉食，必無面子。我對此事，原無躊躇，再決之數者，藉堅諸君之意，共期無爲讐言所亂。』」不數日，遂以牙病死於樓。

日本之侵略吾國也，皆本其一貫之策，對於可以利用者，始動以利，既衒以位，再不就範，則出以最後之對待；奪朝鮮如此，占東北及成立南京之僞組織，固不如此。誠彼所自誇之不變鐵則也。雖智勇兼優之人，一入其彀，殆如受催眠術之失其知覺，惟有坐困，迄無法可以自脫。不意吾國聰明才俊之士，竟有墜其術中而不知覺者，斯亦大可異矣。學威自艱危荼苦中，磨鍊數十年，深明世界大勢，又久戍東北，洞悉日人之技，故始終堅拒，不受其利誘威脅，及至情見勢拙，無可轉圜之際；彼即出以非常手段，自不能認為奇異之舉。

時有日本經濟學博士上田辰之助，至平講學，請謁學威，而學威已病，訖未得晤；就余索書，即賦與「士可殺不可辱」六字，藉表學威及吾人之堅決，博士以深領斯意，旋即以冠其新作之首，然學威於余書字之次日，即以殉國聞，亦可云識也。

爲學威拔牙之伊東豐作，及施手術之同仁醫院外科醫士寺田幸夫，皆未得吳氏家屬同意，由川本岡野等帶至吳宅，必謂其帶至之時，即有意不利學威，固屬無此左證，而揆以公平心理，亦不容有此武斷。惟伊東旅平甚久，治牙係其專業，兼負有時名，何至拔牙之後，復經消毒，反形增劇，甚至大汗淋漓不止，晉帶亦腫，致不能發言。此誠令人大惑莫解，左頰紅腫，有人疑其膿血填溢爲害，議請寺田稍加挑剔，俾膿血向外潰流，藉免毒液內延，仍亦不爲無見，但頰之與喉，部位隔離，何以一經操刀，遽及喉部，奇離如此，更苦索解末由，醫用手術，例須得親屬之許

可簽字，孚威病臥在宅，親屬未離左右，寺田果何所稟承，竟不商之吳氏家庭，亦不邀其許可，並不請其簽字，直昂然入室，橫加刃傳，致令哎喫一聲，立與世辭（民國二十八年十二月四日）！嘖嘖人言，抑奚足怪！

孚威既逝，羣情憤激，咸謂因其不甘傀儡，致遭暗算，宅中隨從人等，均摩拳擦掌，誓與伊東寺田等拚命，經吳夫人含悲吮痛，迭加慰阻，衆怒始戢，然由是物議朋興，集矢於日本駐平之軍部，軍部爲衆怒難犯，亦局脊不自安，爰請余與張將軍佐民，至電臺講演孚威病逝之經過，余與張將軍無秦儀之否，自亦無法代爲辯護，第有述孚威之強毅，不惜以一死以報國耳。演詞如下：

『吳孚威上將軍永別了這個世界之後，有許多人因平日崇拜他，又惋惜他，對他的人格更十分推重，真是五體投地，稱道不置，有的知道我與吳上將軍有十餘年的關係，更盼將他人格，講給大衆聽聽；給一般人得到一個永久紀念，并且可以作個大大的模範，我想吳上將軍的人格很偉大，決不是一夕話所能够說得完呢？況且平日知道他的人很多，也用不著從頭至尾的敘述，但是講到他人格偉大，究竟從何處看出，我却不能不加一番的解釋來增加大衆的敬仰，我以為凡是一個人，要表現出他的人格，絕不能在順適環境裏頭，得到一個定論，因爲處在順適環境的時候，有權威、有勢力、誰也不敢說一個不字，並且有許多攀龍附鳳的人，要格外討好，格外巴結，沒有不歌功頌德，恭維到天上去了，還嫌不够。若是一朝失勢，專門會恭維，會巴結討好的人，轉眼都烟消霧散。好聽的話，便聽不到了，却是真是非，真道理，也就隨着這烟消霧散的時候發現出來，所以孔夫子說過一句話：叫做「歲寒然後知松柏之後凋」，這是比譬一般人，在平日無事時，好像春夏秋三季的花草，美麗芳香，都有一種燦爛精神表現，令人發生美感，發生愉快，松柏一類的植物，老是保持著他蒼翠的顏色，和樸野的形態，並沒什麼出奇，與其他有香有色的

花草比較，真是落伍極了。然而到了天氣嚴寒的時候，雪壓霜欺，凌冰更冷得可怕，這時各種美麗芳香的花草，全都伏藏起來，不敢再有什麼表現，只有松與柏依然蒼翠，常態不改，任他嚴霜大雪，怎麼的冰凍，他無絲毫懼怯，並且要同他奮鬥，自料他的命運，自厲他的勁節，絕不信有禍傷的末路！就便萬一不幸，形質虧殘，精神終歸是不能消滅的。說到吳上將軍，從前在洛陽時代，可算是雲蒸霞蔚，極盛一時，康有爲先生送他一聯有云：『八方風雨會中原。』這是何等氣象！但是照我眼中看來，這不算他的偉大；他的偉大，要從失勢以後，才見得出個實際，才令人生出無限的敬仰，即如說他不住租界。若論平日，有什麼稀奇，世間不住租界的人多得很呢？何獨於吳上將軍。大家這樣的稱贊呢！因為不住租界，是到危險極了的時候，所謂禍不旋踵，無論何人，只得暫避一避，似乎於人格也無大損失，吳上將軍臨到這個關頭，却態度堅決，一點也不肯遷就，硬挺挺的沒有絲毫驚懼，這真是我佛世尊大無畏的精神，不是隨便可以學得到呢！他養成這種精神，第一；是以身許國，把自己身家置之度外。第二；是以國家的禍福爲禍福，自己直然無禍福可言。第三；是將身與國看作一事，自辱其身，便是自辱其國。第四；是將人生觀看得透澈，死生二字，簡直是無足計較。還有一層，他的精神強烈，迥異常人，凡事經他下了個定見，是無法搖動的，若在平日，還可通融轉變，越是危險的，越是困難的關頭，他寧願玉碎，不願瓦全，絕不有所追悔，亦絕不中途變計，所有責任，也絕不推諉他人，所以追隨他的下部，總是對他刻骨銘心的，感激到無話可說，即如此次牙痛，到了最危險時候，德國醫生勸他到東交民巷德國醫院去診治，他說：『我一生不肯求庇護於外人法權之下，所以屢次臨到非常時期，決不置身租界，使館界雖與租界小有不同，却亦爲我國法權所不到地方，無論如何，不能貪生怕死，改變向來宗旨，勢至今日，寧願一死，斷不徼幸苟活，』像這樣的決心，這樣的強烈，那能不教人

佩服！那能不敬呢！他平日對人度量很大，從未聽他說過仇恨何人，要用什麼計策報復那個，經過二十餘年，我很知這他受了幾多打擊，他却依舊坦坦白白的，沒有計較，嘗說我是以救國為重，凡能赤心為國的人，無論他的宗旨與我同不同，我總是拿善意對他，止要對國家好便了，對私人好不好沒有關係！他的心純然大公無私，認定凡是國家的人才，都要使他有機會去替國家做事，所以他對於政治上，軍事上的人才，總是一視同仁，絕沒有界限，洛陽時代，有人勸他另外樹一種勢力，編練基本軍隊，他竟完全拒絕，說軍隊是國家的，我替國家做事，凡是國家軍隊，都是我的軍隊，另造私人軍隊，中國歷史上，有不少的教訓，禍國殃民，皆原於此，民國以來，內訌不息，就因有私人軍隊之故，後來經了幾次變故，仍不改變宗旨，他說這種教訓，我儘管受着終有一日可以達到我國家軍隊的希望，若因一時變態，便打破信念，回頭為自己打算，不但害國，實是粉碎了我的毅力。看他這樣的抱負，又這樣的堅定，敢說實在少見，再說他這樣剛強的人，對人却十分和藹，遇著兵士們，鄉下老百姓們，農工商界的人，都是歡顏笑語，表現出十分的誠懇，不管走到什麼地方，可以說他的精神，同一般民眾，凝和在一塊呢。從前由河南走到四川，經過地方，總是有人招待，有人歡迎，綠林豪傑，也一樣的尊崇他，絕沒有遭人的冷淡，二十年由成都取道松潘草地，經過甘肅，並由河套到綏遠等處，來到北方，計程差不多一年，川甘連界一帶草地，向來少人通過，就是川甘軍民長官的命令，容或也不易貫澈；因這裏部落，向來同一般隔絕，性情又很強悍，地方又很險峻，平常固不是可以隨便進去呢？就是讓你進去，不但無住處，無飲食，連水也找不出，這是何等的困難！何等的危險呢！獨有吳上將軍到了，他們焚香頂禮，跪在地上迎接，並備辦許多牛羊乳酪，盡量款待，這裏人都稱為愛百姓愛國家的吳大帥，所以他們的歡迎，簡直是個特例。不但熱烈，抑且非常隆重，更是出於至誠，絕非勉強得

來呢，就這樣看來，可以說凡是有人類的地方，都有吳上將軍的深刻印象，這是何等的偉大。何等的光明呢！」

分化中國，爲日本五十年來處心積慮，而未一息或忘者，故凡爲民衆所翊戴，而能主治中國統一之人，必竭其所能逮，離間挑撥，並求一可與對立者，嗾其互相鬥爭，互相抗拒，縱橫雲擾，至於無可休止，而復於相抗之下，挑撥離間，逐漸分化，更促成多頭之對立，多方之抗拒，是則舉國騷然，即可從容囊括，盡中國而爲所有矣。民國成立，事經屢見，前述未遠，具可覆按，孚威顯然一抗日情緒熱烈之人，彼必不憚其煩，反覆敦迫而不忍釋手者。（一）以其聲譽足資號召，中國統一，必能因其一出，即形瓦解，（二）以其舊日部屬，所在皆是，若受其擁戴，必可大張僞組織之聲勢，（三）冀與汪合作，一則誘致黨人，一則呼應軍隊，黨軍湊泊，定可予政府以種種之不利，（四）各會團深入民間，對孚威胥有相當之認識，可藉以減少抗日力量，（五）其策如達，傀儡政府，自必運用任意，更可增進其所謂之軸心勢力，策動外交，殊竟遭孚威之根本破壞。

余與孚威共處患難十二年，惟本於道義之結合，劉君泗英，曾謂爲無條件之犧牲也，受託以後，經經之志，未忍一息稍弛，乃至身家妻子，亦不遑顧，私固爲友，公亦爲國，今孚威就義，對國誠爲不負，余因孚威勉盡棉薄，亦差信不負孚威，並不負所以助孚威効忠於國之志。

孚威旣逝，南京僞政府之組織，遽形積極，並承專派某君約余與張將軍聯袂謂虛院部之席相待，見智見仁，取徑已殊，而尤使人不忘溝壑之志，因與張將軍婉言遜謝，用期上不負國，次不負友。

述孚威殉國之事竟猶有不能已於言者，和平爲人類所希求。在此科學競爭之世，戰禍慘酷，

幾無噍類，非祈禱和平，無以維護世界之生存，自納粹集團挫敗，聯盟國日以族尊永久和平為務，甚欲躋世界於大同，八年之間，吾國不得已起而應戰，亦正為亞洲之永久和平，非有他也。甲午戰後，日本所以侵略吾國者及五十年，愈言親善，愈肆其豺狼之毒；愈言同種同文，而對吾國之文化，愈致其摧殘；對吾炎黃世胄之種族，愈期其翦滅，國土視為甌脫，人民等於芻狗，所謂「大東亞共榮圈」，則為大和民族以外之民族築墳墓也。所謂解放大東亞，更為大東亞之各個國家增鎖鍊也。所謂大東亞之戰，直殘殺大東亞民族之序幕也。抗戰最激烈之候，日人輒向李成揭露和平，余嘗謂抗戰於死中求活，猶可幸其不死。縱令一蹶不振，是否即頽與作頑民，尙有待於吾人之良心裁判，蓋三軍之帥可奪，匹夫之志不可奪也，若不倍加審慎，誤入偽和平歧途，適足斷送國家，使之萬劫不復，為琉球、朝鮮及偽滿洲之續耳，時李成深諳余言，余非謂李成之不為日本所誣，即由余言之誤動，然竊信其有鍼芥之合也。顧有攀附其間，妄生希幸者，因其策屢敗，李成旋亦不起，乃反唇相稽，謂是項運動，實由於李成之默許，余不欲為之辨，亦即不必為之辨也。何以故，為明其真象，有李成與汪精衛之往來函札在，謂覆函出於余之代言，不足憑信，尙有李成之親筆批注在。今李成往矣，余幸不即死，復能為叙述其殉國之事，殆天特留余以完此一段友誼，兼為世人之愛護李成者廓清疑障也。

汪精衛第一次函

趙萼獄面致
民國二十八年

蓬萊吳孚威上將軍殉國記

續精衛第一次函 趙尊嶽函致

民國二十八年三月二十日

予至先生的聲譽威望向來為人所知
在石房陳陳情願拜託先生為此函
之發章發

鑒察稿序

宥宣意甚深及備讀之頗得深
摺奉申曰兩國產數則而信為
故往文則善固難達蓋其於不常數十
年未得終始信贊信止於今。
遂以據謀製一而於此據謀指
此引一入於占就其事極非誠大
不可以止今此實反覆他道也
固此宜人發此也連織稿子不

敵君一息一安而縱桂枝坤則耶
僕海內仁人志士之心力以共深入
易紓不濟我

公功在民國萬目顯危被知必
憚且有勤於中地諸自為圖之
不直矣。鑑察接連河內未嘗別
不諭盡蓋以此身。當奉與者後政
局雖遠不逞言不深而由西。三際深
維多于三宿而陰出畫一萬不憚
每三字數以期重慶者苟之故以
覺修今此中已他召得不易地序
走期而海內素優共謀德政既

吾弟抵此向復照及朋友故常

以於二月間為有賜電道達

阻隔而今未獲拜誦至深歎

不諳此時謝並乞蒞原勿勿

此謹此及

教示

吳子玉先生勑

汪兆銘遙賀慶見并託轉
前此

謹此謹此及

在開羅口源而開羅尼羅之口越
之非傍流和平告以西陳共禱外
莫世界大革命繼續統一暴力自
由獨立之政府應以莫定和平
公老則謀更公有所示極願小
報請一遵之悉此當你易見
處但承有虛於國事仍請陰密所
不計區々之報特此轉附此先生
謹此謹此

復此謹此

音書

物易

復此謹此

音書

吳子玉
敬啟

敬啟

李成復江精衛第一次函稿

父趙尊毅手

民國二十八年八月七日

渡江兆銘

精耕先生執事 暱雅先生暨拜展
參書讀竟深感不置中日輪卓
相依為敵為友利害各自昭然而國
當枯皆一時賢雋智慮周遠詎謂
見不足山徒因乘涼就景賴漸已久
吾固自甲午燭師君子子等廿八年事變
憶恩依舊事游京士歲歲

上由金之策彼豈識其愚也
既無才志其雖發乎病穢也得寸
進尺於斯乃亦嘗嘆爲無以報也
賴舒曉得情急可憐者不可謂無
愧今是亦收存後亦不復有遺失
萬物猶在少病煩惱身終歸一塚
而又內外情形較難回風雲大更不
假安樂姑死者平情論事固足嘆不
過過客其會儻而固遺有以致之不
必盡在人也

公林懷居止於喧厄輶軒之中經年窮
其新音宦天窗舍苦晚燈春半於風
雨同舟之艱苦日啖青蘋皮衆連吟
且陰寒朝嘗高振大韻喚求海內仁
人惠士共計匡帷

為國之內憂
堪敬佩并承

生寧月訪履華遠游應試

國故欲增威聲竊謂中華民國四

萬民衆定爲主權民意起歸服

以抗敵爲然則惟何據雖均可集計

著民皆庶厥相與之國體有成大業

興滅威之非即宜於恤因也專就品

育安以奉行經久圖不和之謬以絕言

威廉第二矢辟晚一時警才人聽傾狂

量不情激舊存尊爲氏族合誠相扶

為邦本和與一固一爲次則應而庶第

自不能不以民意之向背爲準繩也第

今僑軍人昔亦無以武力為基附經

難察因情狀觀世界大勢乃於太公

所謂全勝不以火兵無制備鬼神

者一以政治之原理權衡其陰陽盡操

然經國之略初不必盡恃藉於疆場

之缺勝也誠自屢湧古起凡嘗持
奉所信念日以督導和平爲事和平
要領則以保全體立缺濟宣推為惟

之主張臣一時急病幸與

公商有誠芥之食丸鼎

鴻鵠道不休矣

專滿謂作經織織二有力自由獨立

七政府海以東定和平確爲挽要

之言與詩兄之正細行蓋不如是不仁

無以冀定和平且亟一見諒因人並垂

以啟國際之經觀能嚴共本始義力固

邁進友邦誠能具充公國理解奉

贊同申曰真正之親善固可係次一奉

而彼所禡禦於世界之聖斷意義甚

可即事寃為之惺明近德意於品性

牙撤此復歸其政權於某國哥歐洲

該官回之謂消此因大利

柯

士

昌

人初為臣者也必盡忠誠之極于其事
家生存因甚命運萬能不以無常也

計已及章

四

國朝雖舊有財物之積

故益頻施賚為餉量度以資其急

客自己者也修時奉旨求望

統事

惠始錄

為國珍重十萬枚領

勸解

英昌群督

道常五八司庫之

汪精衛第四次函 陶家瑞函致 民國二十八年十月九日

子石先生勸進中華民國運動會

宗教教會一切主權

精神緩和而政治高明 諸君

不苟安而民心重振而而上場不也相等

數月以來社會更進而政治復復密布未

敢道王者顯而銷之則事勢一急焉而

不言將來必有失人之憾者何

吾患雖止上轉受盡言故於此一吐胸懷十
五年身尚

公嘗與國大革命年年均無往不至彼時

員立室三常而

公討國民政府始終抗節不屈其見今

者一二以志加國民政府主謀進前

公前我嘗責此謬有所據不空

三所而不徒而定及國民政府一中列
列公之于終年六歲遇槍斃事或以未
軍事挫敗初半生就隨之以赴不惟周
良友人極慘後兩所政府以收於時苟
即廢立黨以外之一平。不獨我國民主不
滿不開民以從不獨於晉天子。被者主
今之南猶舊也並不失國民黨人甚以
仍之差於北的一事對外又為一事甲子
難以不謂本未識者以謂無犯難之原
本於以事主義和之未聞易以爲掩護也
然之工次政戰既固戰雖漸知之傳威
唐之退往如之易帝制乃共知得復國
庶民之自決而商討、換回連在國社黨
得政之監督對外辭職、任東西執事

政府機關內政子彈頭槍手刀

軍列回話而說

不懂也為空口許願而說是無法保證
以至收穫以心之大德
林主席雖在

所以忠實不虛以一假空的東方的
原則

法律上所失規定不負實勞政府責任
故軍事局宣判參贊成科被拘及

本立局帶兵監缺空首西征難捨伸
主辦黨之大敗

宣政組而主席地位不宣主力以有誤

公私了得一力

制制與行至於制兵以度之戰相反
名於以望種制更力勇更政主安於
國民大會議定之為所制而不外不

公王大總帥接林淮、林西林
公三人轉尾所政仰賴於一舉之
景共誠相報

利遠者而惟志遠而得其全志而是
志之空也。人主之務復國而政事者
勉而為之

唐秦之書事之書所政於
齊並不至

孫策兵以遠謀主計非圖大事人志主謀
孫策兵以遠謀主計非圖大事人志主謀

江北諸將四
十一

吳子玉先生集解

三
四

卷之三

萬物皆有裂隙，那是神在教我們，一縫
圓化萬物的智慧。

卷之三

卷之三十一

辛威覆汪精衛第四次函稿 陶家瑤帶去
民國十八年十一月三日

濟江北銘

精衛先生執事星如北來再荷十月九日

手書兼聆種切辱承

抑示中情意氣勤懇令人益深感仰

大難同膺救亡圖存為舉國一致之心理
漏舟風雨舊事寧復堪言因

公之坦懷慷慨在心夢亦不得不稍據固
恤民國初建英俊雲蒸同氣相求政聞

育抑又未識其音容憂時之處境抑以
武將精神持人；慷慨相怡，其其
誠意朕不喜特賜其考耳。精忠堅忍此
謂朝廷急人情宜先錄令全國人知
能集中於統一大業已下不給舍野蠶天
下才為天下用。精忠之局庶幾可慕遇
此無他。

公與海內豪傑共謀之意時矜其德有

蔚起政策政治上即應至折衝時先集
國家然十年乃至數百年經營終告成
始獲者吾皆嘵嘵傳以奉其諭本此終
至相輔協一舉之六則主導原政黨政治
奉憲培國家義由之常道吾得取列不
惟本題固當於隆平善且導人民於唯
廣淮橘為根柢及所期乃悟國人既垂
政治之修養復步道德之黃陶固民教
奉憲培國家義由之常道吾得取列不

此嘵也

公以此次定安立席只負實際政治之責
任軍事當局宣引各將領^{○因寫言餘}素之精熟莫以爲不過^{○因寫言餘}適逢其
會期不以有所歸咎然若作法理上之
討論抗議於政府之政策且因之宣泄
為憲令回軍事之權政惟軍事當局是
公似不免稍失其主顧

公持憲大之論勸免內懶不協外墮示人
以開大難深夷尤以將相謀詳為宜以開
公私自重更以開計和平於利已得圖風
政名於外聲威在內中行友鄰研討
者此變日勤於接頭諸宜無以時時為
過

主廣為全面一商於國便內外交際
惠輯一政務能勿質直而為與清達
公之國民政府當收拾此局人情則於維持

方面即不能同時否而政治之存在萬一

倘內系經權制如謀已轉不熟二方即以公
政府而重慶之政府依然健在故^{○因寫言餘}此
雖惟或數有微和約之處但凡人臣以
尊親盡不盡臣民益不一堪自悟
大抵對於所持者固數上海所發公報
誠因本不專由之九之章不一准

公曾為開心辭金之約

公謂竹帛據之地之據全憑得其折衝的
兩觀一過度者并博確莫解得其據不置
會當支節則其始一切意可得行如是
頃遇紛喪餘記舊如見而信下幾三教
道

英○拜辭

三月三十日

汪來函共四次，孚威亦覆四函，并余主稿，其中兩次，止短牋道寒暄而已，孚威甫逝，即有人指索上列兩函，云：「南京坂垣征四郎大將須展閱，」答未在吾處，又迭次向吳宅索取，吳夫人云已付之丙丁，自是之後，余遂為駐平日憲兵隊所注視，便衣偵邏，時躡吾蹤，使署外勤，頻至於宅，而華北學院教務長鄭浩然，事務長蔡增棠並即為日憲所逮捕，原華北學院為平中著名抗日之學校所購平市舊禮王府校址，平城陷後偽滿鐵即首以兵力強據，旋復施以種種摧殘，不得已賃虎坊橋湖廣會館一隅，作臨時校址，藉免校課中輒，知余輔助孚威不肯入日人牢籠遂推余為之長，於時師生奮起抗日益烈，寧甘餓死不求苟活，絕不受敵偽接濟，兩事本風馬牛不相及，而竟因以牽涉及於專志教育之鄭蔡兩君，同受羈累，實余中心所至為不安者也。



正誤表

頁	行	正	誤
一	一六	時行程達甘肅之武威	時寄四川達縣下八廟
一	一六	北還	離川
三	一九	繫	擊
四	八	時雖無法阻止	時雖然無法阻止
六	一	容喙	喙容
一〇	一九	亦無北京或南京政府之高級代表	亦無北京式南京政府之高級代表
一一	一	端坐書房	端作書房
一二	八	竟有墜其術中而不之覺者	竟有墜其術中而不知覺者
一四	一二	無禍福可言	然無禍福可言
一四	一五	追隨他的部下	所以追隨他的下部
一五	二	我很快知道他受了幾多打擊	我很快知這他受了幾多打擊
一六	六	由是則舉國騷然	山是則舉國騷然
一七	一	聯盟國日以啟導永久和平爲務	聯盟國日以族導永久和平爲務
一七	六	直殘殺大東亞民族之序幕也	直殘殺大東亞民啟之序幕也
一七	一〇	妄生希幸者	妄生希辛者
一七	一五	汪精衛第一次函一行刪去	

有 所 權 版
究 必 印 翻

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