

APPENDIX A

Political and Military Leaders, 1916-1928

<i>Heads of State</i>		
Official title	Name	Tenure in office
President	Yüan Shih-k'ai	March 1912-June 1916
President	Li Yüan-hung	June 1916-July 1917
Acting President	Feng Kuo-chang	July 1917-Oct. 1918
President	Hsü Shih-ch'ang	Oct. 1918-June 1922
President	Li Yüan-hung	June 1922-June 1923
President	T'sao K'un	Oct. 1923-Nov. 1924
Regent (chief executive)	Tuan Ch'i-jui	Nov. 1924-April 1926
Ta-yüan-shuai	Chang Tso-lin	June 1927-June 1928

Prime Ministers and the Tenure of Their Cabinets

Name	Tenure	Name	Tenure
Tuan Ch'i-jui	April 22, 1916-	Wang Ch'ung-hui	Sept. 19, 1922-
	June 29, 1916		Nov. 29, 1922
Tuan Ch'i-jui	June 29, 1916-	Wang Ta-hsieh	Nov. 29, 1922-
	May 22, 1917		Dec. 11, 1922
Li Ching-hsi	June 24, 1917-	Chang Shao-tseng	Jan. 4, 1923-
	July 1, 1917		June 6, 1923
Tuan Ch'i-jui	July 14, 1917-	Sun Pao-ch'i	Jan. 10, 1924-
	Nov. 22, 1917		July 2, 1924
Wang Shih-chen	Nov. 30, 1917-	Yen Hui-ch'ing	Sept. 14, 1924-
	Feb. 20, 1918		Oct. 30, 1924
Tuan Ch'i-jui	March 23, 1918-	Huang Fu	Oct. 30, 1924-
	Oct. 10, 1918		Nov. 24, 1924
'Ts'ien Nun-hsiü	Dec. 20, 1918-	Tuan Ch'i-jui	Nov. 24, 1924-
	June 13, 1919		Dec. 31, 1925
Chin Yün-p'eng	Nov. 5, 1919-	Hsü Shih-yin	Dec. 26, 1925-
	July 2, 1920		March 4, 1926
Chin Yün-p'eng	Aug. 9, 1920-	Chia Teh-yao	March 4, 1926-
	May 10, 1921		April 20, 1926
Chin Yün-p'eng	May 10, 1921-	Yen Hui-ch'ing	May 13, 1926-
	Dec. 18, 1921		June 22, 1926
Liang Shih-i	Dec. 24, 1921-	Ku Wei-chün	Jan. 11, 1927-
	May 5, 1922		June 16, 1927
Yen Hui-ch'ing	June 11, 1922-	P'an Fu	June 20, 1927-
	Aug. 5, 1922		June 3, 1928
Tang Shao-i	Aug. 5, 1922-		Sept. 19, 1928

Province	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Fengtien	Wu Chin-sheng	Wan Fu-lin	Chiu Yü-p'u	Li Yu-ping	Li Yu-ping	Chiu Yü-p'u
Kirin	Hsiungkiaang	Chang Ts'o-hsiang	Chang Fu-lin	Chiu Yü-ping	Li Yu-ping	Wang Ch'en-ping
Chihli	Chihli	Wan Fu-lin	Chiu Yü-p'u	Chiu Yü-ping	Li Yu-ping	Wang Ch'en-ping
Honan	Feng Yü-hsiang	Chang Fu-lai	Hu Chihng-yi	Sun Yao	Yao Wei-chih	Kou Yimg-chieh
Shantung	Chihng Shih-ch'i	Chihng Shih-ch'i	Chihng Fu-lai	Chihng Fu-lai	Chihng Fu-lai	Chihng Fu-lai
Shensi	I Liu Cheung-hua	—	—	Sun Yao	Li Yu-ping	Li Yu-ping
Kansu	Liu Hung-t'ao	—	—	Li Yu-ping	Li Yu-ping	Li Yu-ping
Sinkiang	Ts'ai Ch'eng-hsien	—	—	Feung Yü-hsiang	Feung Yü-hsiang	Feung Yü-hsiang
Kiainsu	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ahuhwei	Ma Liien-chia	—	—	Li Yu-ping	Li Yu-ping	Li Yu-ping
Chekiang	—	—	—	Li Yu-ping	Li Yu-ping	Li Yu-ping
Kwangtung	Hsi Ch'ung-chih	Hsi Ch'ung-chih	KMT	Chen Yi	Meng Chao-yiieh	KMT
Kwangsi	Liu Cheung-huan	None	None	Li Tsung-jen	Huang Shaohung	Huang Shaohung
Szechwan	Liu Ch'eng-hsien	None	None	Liu Ts'un-hou	Liu Hsiang	Liu Hsiang
Kweichow	Liu Hsiem-shih	—	—	Yian Tsu-ming	Chou Hsi-ch'eng	Chou Hsi-ch'eng
Yunnan	Tang Chi-ya	—	—	Yian Hsiem-sheng	None	None
Hubei	—	—	—	Yian Hsiem-sheng	None	None
Jeboi	—	—	—	Yian Hsiem-sheng	None	None
Chihli	Wang Hsai-ching	Chang Hsi-yuan	Chang Hsi-yuan	Chang Chih-chiang	Chang Hsi-yuan	Chang Hsi-yuan
Szechuan	—	—	—	Li Ming-chung	Li Wei-yi	Kao Wei-yi
Shantung	—	—	—	—	Li Yu-fen	Li Yu-fen
Shensi	—	—	—	—	—	Shang Cheung
Kansu	—	—	—	—	—	Ma Fa-hsing

Province	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921
Fengtien	Chang Ts'o-lin	—	T'ien Chung-yü	Meng En-yüan	Pao Ku'e-ch'ing	Sun Li'e-ch'en-g
Kutien	Heilungkiang Pi Ku'e-fang	Hsi Lin-chen	Pao Ku'e-ch'ing	Sun Li'e-ch'en-g	Pao Ku'e-ch'mg	Wu Chin-sheng
Honan	Chao T'i	Chang Hua-i-chih	Chang Shu-yüan	T'ien Chung-yü	—	Yen Hsiang-wen
Shensi	Xen Hsi-shan	Chen Shu-fan	—	—	—	Chen Shu-fan
Shantung	Chihli	Chang Hua-i-chih	Chang Shu-yüan	T'ien Chung-yü	—	Chihli
Kansu	Chang Kuang-	—	—	—	—	Chang Kuang-wen
Sinkiang	Yan Tseng-hsiin	—	—	—	—	Yan Tseng-hsiin
Fukien	Ii Hou-chi	—	—	—	—	Ii Hou-chi
Kiangsi	Ii Shun	Ch'en Kuang-yüan	—	—	—	Ii Shun
Awhwei	Chang Hsün	Ni Tzu-ch'ung	—	—	—	Chang Hsün
Chekiang	Liu Kung-wang	Yang Shan-te	—	—	—	Liu Kung-wang
Kwangsi	Liu Jung-ti	Ch'en P'ing-k'un	—	—	—	Liu Jung-ti
Szechwan	Tai K'an	T'an Hao-min	—	—	—	Tai K'an
Kweichow	Liu Hsien-shih	Liu Ts'un-hou	None	None	Hsing K'o-wu	Liu Hsien-shih
Yunnan	T'an Chi-yao	T'an Yen-k'ai	Chang Ch'ien	Chao Heng-t'i	Ku P'ing-cheng	T'an Chi-yao
Jehol	Chiang Ku'e-t'i	—	—	—	—	Chiang Ku'e-t'i
Chahar	Ts'ai Chung-yü	Chang Chung-yao	—	—	—	Ts'ai Chung-yü
Suiyuan	Chiang Yen-hsing	Ts'ai Chung-yü	—	—	—	Chiang Yen-hsing

APPENDIX B

Chronology

1919

- Feb. 20 North-South Peace Conference convened in Shanghai
 May 13 Northern and southern delegates to the Peace Conference resigned
- June 24 Hsü Shu-cheng appointed commander in chief of Northwestern Frontier Defense Army

1920

- March 18 Chihli troops began evacuation from Hunan
 April 23 Military governor of Chekiang, Lu Yung-hsiang, proposed abolition of the *tuchiu* system
- May 26 Hunan troops mounted offensive against northern troops
 June 11 Chang Ching-yao dismissed as military governor of Hunan
 July 3 Ts'ao K'un and Chang Tso-lin denounced Hsii Shu-cheng's crimes
- July 6 Anhwei troops mobilized for war
 July 14 Chihli-Anhwei war began
 July 19 Chihli-Anhwei war ended with Anhwei's defeat
- Nov. 1 Hunan declared self-rule

1916

- June 6 Yuan Shih-k'ai died. Li Yuan-hung succeeded as president
 Sept. 21 Chang Hsin called conference of provincial leaders at Hsüichow
 Oct. 30 Feng Kuo-chang elected vice-president

1917

- Jan. 11 Chang Hsin called conference of provincial leaders at Hsüichow
- March 10 Parliament voted to break relations with Germany
- May 23 Premier Tuan Ch'i-ju dismissed from office
- May 29 Military governors severed relations with Peking government
- June 2 Rebellious military governors set up headquarters at Tientsin
- June 12 Parliament dissolved
- July 1 Chang Hsin restored monarchy
- July 6 Restoration failed. Feng Kuo-chang became president
- July 14 Tuan Ch'i-ju appointed premier
- Aug. 14 Peking government declared war against Germany and Austria
- Sept. 18 Hunan generals declared independence from Peking government. Premier Tuan ordered a punitive expedition
- Nov. 15 Chihli militarists favored peaceful solution in Hunan.
- Dec. 18 Tuan Ch'i-ju became director of War Participation Bureau

1921

- April 25 Tientsin conference among Ts'ao K'un, Chang Tso-lin, and Wang Chan-yuan
- May 30 Chang Tso-lin acquired control over Jehol, Chahar, and Suixian.
- June 29 Mutiny in Wuhan brought Hunan and Chihli to war
- July 7 Wang Chan-yuan resigned as military governor of Hupeh; was succeeded by Hsiao Yao-nan
- Sept. 1 Truce between Hunan and Chihli troops in Hupeh
- Sept. 20 Szechwan attack against Hupeh repulsed by Chihli troops

1922

- Jan. 1 Hunan promulgated provincial constitution
- Jan. 6 Wu Peifu declared opposition to the Liang Shih-i cabinet
- Jan. 19 Chihli militarists demanded ouster of Liang Shih-i as premier
- March 31 Chang Tso-lin sent troops to the vicinity of Peking
- April 8 Fengtien and Chihli forces began mobilizing
- April 29 Chihli-Fengtien war began
- May 5 Chihli-Fengtien war ended with Fengtien's defeat
- May 15 Chihli generals petitioned Li Yuan-hung to resume presidency
- June 3 Chang Tso-lin declared autonomy for Manchuria
- June 11 Li Yuan-hung resumed presidency

1923

- Jan. 23 Sun-Joffe Declaration issued in Shanghai
- Feb. 21 Sun Yat-sen returned to Canton and assumed the post of ta-yüan-shuai of the military government

1924		
March 6	Sun Ch'u-an-fang of Chihli invaded Fukien	
June 13	President Li ousted from office	
Oct. 5	T'sao K'un elected president	
Oct. 13	Sun Yat-sen declared an expedition against T'sao K'un. Feng-tien and Anhwei declared opposition to T'sao's presidency	
1925		
Jan. 21	Kuomintang held congress and announced plan for party reorganization	
Feb. 23	Peking government bought \$4 million's worth of Italian arms	
Aug. 25	Canton Chamber of Commerce challenged KMT	
Sept. 1	War broke out between Kiangsu and Chekiang	
Sept. 4	Chang Tso-lin and Sun Yat-sen declared support for Chekiang	
Sept. 17	Chihli declared war against Chang Tso-lin	
Oct. 13	Chekiang defeated	
Oct. 15	Canton Chamber of Commerce uprising suppressed	
Oct. 23	Feng Yu-hsiang seized government in Peking	
Nov. 2	T'sao K'un resigned presidency	
Nov. 8	Chihli-Fengtien war ended with total defeat of Wu P'ei-fu	
Nov. 24	Tuan Chi-iui became chief executive	
Dec. 31	Sun Yat-sen arrived at Peking to confer with northern leaders	
1926		
Jan. 7	Fengtien troops occupied Anhwei and Kiangsu	
Feb. 1	Rehabilitation conference began	
March 12	Sun Yat-sen died in Peking	
April 20	Rehabilitation conference ended	
Oct. 15	Sun Ch'u-an-fang attacked and forced Fengtien troops to withdraw from Yangtze valley	
Oct. 21	Wu P'ei-fu assumed post as commander in chief of allied forces from 14 provinces, and declared war against Chang Tso-lin	
Nov. 22	Kuo Sung-jin revolt	
Nov. 23	KMT's western-hill faction met in Peking	
Dec. 5	Feng Yu-hsiang's Kuominchün began operations against Fengtien	
Dec. 24	Kuo Sung-jin's revolt crushed	
Dec. 30	Hsii Shu-cheng murdered near Peking	
1927		
Jan. 4	Feng Yu-hsiang relinquished command over Kuominchün.	
	Wu P'ei-fu directed troops to attack the Kuominchün.	
March 20	KMT moved against the Communists after the Chung-shan Incident	
April 9	Tuan Chi-iui ousted as chief executive by Kuominchün generals	
April 15	Kuominchün relinquished control over Peking government and withdrew to the northwest	
1928		
Jan. 9	Chiang Kai-shek resumed post as commander in chief of National Revolutionary Army	
April 30	KMT forces occupied Chinan	
May 3	Chinese and Japanese troops clashed over Chinan	
May 19	Japan advised Chang Tso-lin to withdraw to Manchuria	
May 25	Chang Tso-lin rejected Japanese advice	
June 3	Chang Tso-lin left Peking for Manchuria, killed in explosion	
June 8	Yen Hsi-shan's forces entered Peking. Northern Expedition concluded	

Notes

Complete authors' names, titles, and publication data are given in the Bibliography, pp. 267-75.

<i>Biographical Dictionary</i>	<i>Hsü Shu-cheng tien kao</i>
<i>CWR</i>	<i>KMWH</i> <i>Ko ming wen hsien</i>
<i>CYB</i>	<i>NCH</i> <i>North-China Herald</i>
<i>CCWH</i>	<i>TFTC</i> <i>Tung fang tsa chih</i>
<i>CHMKRKWSN</i>	<i>Chung-hua min ko k'ai kuo</i> <i>wu shih nien shih lun chi</i>

Chapter I

1. William Tung has analyzed a total of 72 documents of the 1911-18 period, including constitutions, constitutional drafts, laws, and regulations governing the organization of national, provincial, and local governments. He concludes that these rules and laws were seldom obeyed or implemented (pp. 380-85).

2. Ch'en Hsi-chang, *Pei-yang ts'ang shuang shih hua*, 2: 503-8.
3. For example, see Chen Kung-fu, *Chung-kuo ko ming shih*, and Li Fang-ch'en, *Chung-kuo chin tai shih*.

4. Ralph L. Powell was the first to emphasize the importance of the military in Republican China; his *Rise of the Chinese Military Power* gives a detailed account of the origin of the Peiyang Army. F. F. Liu's *Military History of Modern China* focuses mostly on the Nationalist military machine and its political impact.

5. Sheridan, *Chinese Warlord*, and Gillin, *Warlord*.

6. Pye's *Warlord Politics* does aspire to present "warlord politics" in a theoretical framework. However, although it was published as recently as 1971, the book's basic research was done two decades ago and drew primarily upon English-language materials and a few Chinese works then available. It has not incorporated the considerable amount of relevant primary and secondary work that has since appeared. This unfortunate defect is shown throughout the descriptive parts of the book and inevitably affects the theoretical analysis.

7. Some of the theoretical problems involved in making a choice between microscopic and macroscopic studies of politics are ably discussed in J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problems in International Relations," in Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba, eds., *The International System: Theoretical Essays* (Princeton, N.J., 1961), pp. 77-92.

Chapter 2

1. Ralph L. Powell, pp. 17-18.
2. Kuhn, Part IV.

3. Franz Michael, "Military Organization and Power Structure of China During the Taiping Rebellion," *Pacific Historical Review*, 18 (Nov. 1940): 478-83.

4. The agenda included such items as (1) reaffirmation of respect for the terms of the Manchu abdication; (2) the inviolability of Yüan Shih-kai's family and property; (3) convocation of the parliament to carry out constitutional government; (4) a demand that the southwest renounce its independence or face punitive action; (5) opposition to the participation of "extremists" in politics; (6) discussion on strengthening local defense and reducing taxes; and (7) the holding of future consultations among members to coordinate their policies. See T'ien P'u-i, 6 (1967): 32-41.

5. *Ibid.*

6. T'ao Chü-yin, *Tu chün t'uan chuan*, pp. 18-19.

7. T'ien P'u-i, 6: 32-41.

8. T'ao Chü-yin, *Tu chün t'uan chuan*, pp. 140-41.

9. T'sao Ju-lin, pp. 172-73.

10. Li Chien-nung, 2: 509.

11. NCH, Jan. 26, 1918.

12. NCH, Nov. 24, 1917.

13. HSCTK, nos. 1-4.

14. NCH, Jan. 5, 1918.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Pan-li, pp. 184-85.

17. HSCTK, nos. 19-64.

18. NCH, March 16, 1918.

19. HSCTK, no. 103.

20. NCH, March 23, 30, 1918.

21. Li Chien-nung, II, 515.

22. For a discussion of how the Tuan party perceived T'sao's alienation, see HSCTK, nos. 120, 125, 136, 139, 140, 148, 159, 223.

23. HSCTK, no. 293.

24. T'sao Ju-lin, pp. 173-74.

25. NCH, June 2, 1918.

26. Reinsch, pp. 292-94.

27. NCH, April 20, 1918.

28. Li Chien-nung, 2: 516.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 517.

30. NCH, April 27, May 11, 1918.

31. *Ibid.*, June 8, 1918.

32. T'sao Ju-lin, pp. 174-75.

33. Li Chien-nung, 2: 528-29.

34. T'ao Chü-yin, *Wu P'ei-ju chiang chün chuan*, p. 20.

35. NCH, April 6, 1918.

36. These included the Japanese arms, and Ch. \$1,200,000 for the initial mobilization of the Fengtien forces. NCH, April 13, 1918. When Hsü Shu-cheng was invited to serve as the deputy commander of the Fengtien forces inside the Great Wall, he also became responsible for their provisions and training expenses.

37. NCH, April 3, 1920.

38. *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, Feb. 28, March 6, 1920.

39. "Chih-wan chan cheng shih mo chi," *Chin tai shih tsu liao*, no. 2, 1962, pp. 80-88.

40. For instance, Odoric Wou, who has done some quite exciting pioneer work in the analysis of militarism, explained T'sao K'un's behavior prior to mid-1918 by saying, "T'sao K'un, though a Chihli militarist, sided with the Anfu Clique in favor of war" (p. 268).

41. HSCTK, nos. 120, 125, 136, 140.

Chapter 3

1. For a theoretical treatment of father-son and brother-to-brother relationships, see Francis Hsü, especially pp. 59-63.
2. *Biographical Dictionary*, 1: 62.
3. For instance, Lu Jung-t'ing, the leader of the Kwangsi military group, was the brother-in-law of T'an Hou-min, military governor of Kwangsi from 1917 to 1921. T'an's brothers also held important military posts in the Kwangsi army. Huang Shao-hung, 1: 87.
4. T'ao Chü-yin, *Pei-yang chün fa t'ung chih shih ch'i shih hua*, 1: 14.
5. *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 445.
6. NCH, Nov. 11, 1922.
7. Jung Meng-yüan, "Pei-yang chün fa ti lai yüan," *Li shih chiao hsüeh* (April 1957), pp. 22-24. Wen Kung-chih, 1: 15.
8. Huang Shao-hung, 1: 59-62, 107-9. Kao Tung, *Li Tsung-jen*, Huang Shao-hung ch'i chia chen shih," *Chün chiu*, no. 74 (Aug. 1, 1960), pp. 9-10.
9. Wu-chih-chung-tzu, 1: 88; *Biographical Dictionary*, 1: 62-63.
10. *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 330-31.
11. *Biographical Dictionary*, 2: 24-26.
12. Apter, pp. 270n, 319-21.
13. Sheridan, pp. 78-83, 170, 210.
14. *Wu Pei-fu hsien sheng nien pu*, pp. 1-9.
15. Krech et al., pp. 438-42.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 434.
17. Richard H. Solomon, "Mao's Effort to Reintegrate the Chinese Polity: Problems of Authority and Conflict in Chinese Social Process," in A. Doak Barnett, ed., *Chinese Communist Politics in Action* (Seattle, 1969), pp. 271-351.
18. Wen Kung-chih, 2: 12.
19. NCH, Jan. 31, 1920.
20. Odoric Wou, for example, divides the membership of the Chihli clique into six different categories—*ta-yüan-lao, ti-hsi*, branches, adopted sons, *chun Chih-hsi*, and *ch'in Chih-hsi*. Based on this elaborate typology, he proceeds to draw up a "genealogy" for the Chihli clique during 1918-1924. Odoric Wou, "A Chinese Warlord Faction: The Chihli Clique, 1918-1924," in *Columbia Essays in International Affairs*, pp. 249-73.
21. For a discussion of how this term was used in the traditional context, see Francis Hsü, pp. 122, 273; and Hsiao Kung-ch'uan, pp. 342-43.
22. For instance, Wen Kung-chih, the most authoritative military historian, lists the following as constituting the *ti-hsi* of Chihli under the leadership of T'sao K'un in August 1920: Feng Yühsiang, Hsiao Yao-nan, Ko Shu-p'in, Lu Chin, Peng Shou-lsin, Sun Yao, Tung Chen-kuo, T'ao Yin, Wang Ch'eng-pin, Wu Pei-fu. On the other hand, Odoric Wou lists Feng Yühsiang, Sun Yao, and Lu Chin as adopted sons. Neither spells out the basis for making such classifications. Furthermore, the scheme becomes further confused when one tries to differentiate qualitatively be-

tween the "adopted sons" and the "quasi-Chihli faction"; the categories are not logically exhaustive and mutually exclusive. Wen Kung-chih, 2; 12; Odoric Wu, "A Chinese Warlord Faction," in *Columbia Essays in International Affairs*.

Chapter 4

1. Ralph L. Powell, *The Rise of the Chinese Military Power*, pp. 317-18.
2. Morton H. Fried, "Military Status in Chinese Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57, 4 (1952): 349-50.
3. Tao Meng-ho, "I ko chüan tui ping shih ti tiao ch'a," *She hui k'o hsüeh ts'a chih*, 1, 2 (June 1930): 92-115.
4. Chiang Fang-cheng, *T'sai ping chi hua shu* (Shanghai, 1922), 1: 3-4.
5. NCH, Sept. 4, 1920. For a vivid description of how the 21st Division in Hupeh staged a mutiny in defiance of the order to disband, see NCH, June 18, 1921.
6. It was a consistent pattern for northern militarists to take northern troops with them even when they went to a southern province. For examples of Hupeh, Chekiang, Kiangsu, Fukien, Kiangsi, etc., see Wen Kung-chih, 2: 190-91, 208-9, 232-34, 269-70, 273, 284.
7. For comparisons of the levels of living conditions, agricultural productivity, and income between the north and the south, see Tawney, pp. 49-70; Buck, *Land Utilization*, p. 281; Perkins, pp. 89-96; and Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy*, pp. 82-89.
8. CYB, 1921-22, pp. 820-21.
9. Perkins, p. 92; Teng Yün-te, pp. 130-32.
10. Sonoda, pp. 476-77.
11. Gillin, p. 25; Wen Kung-chih, 1, chap. 2.
12. Sheridan, p. 75.
13. Liu Ju-ming, "I ko hang wu chüan jen ti hui i," *CCWH*, 2, 4 (Oct. 1942): 18-22.
14. Sonoda, pp. 418-26.
15. Ko ming wen hsien, ed. Lo Chia-jun (henceforth referred to as *KMWH*), 7: 19.
16. *KMWH*, 10: 27-36.
17. "Even the common soldiers . . . shared in the good fortune, flaunting gold rings and gold watches, and . . . earning more in a day than ordinary people spent in a month." Sutton, p. 256.
18. Sheridan, p. 161.

Chapter 5

1. Chang Tso-lin once lost one million dollars in a single night's gambling. Ts'ao Ju-lin, p. 145. Chang Tsung-ch'ang was another reckless gambler. When he was a brigade commander in the Fengtien army, he once lost in one night of gambling \$100,000 he had just received as payment for his troops. Chou Chun-shih, "Chang Tsung-ch'ang ti fa chi chi ch'u wen," *CCWH*, 7, 3 (Sept. 1965): 42-47.
2. For instance, Ts'ao K'un reportedly embezzled \$20 million during

his stint as military governor of Chihli. Kung Kan, Shou K'ang, "Erh shih erh sheng ti hsien chuan," *Ku chih*, 1, 2 (Oct. 1922). For a list of leading militarists' personal wealth, see Lai Hsin-hsia, "Peiyang chian fa tui nei sou kua ti chi chung fang shih," *Shih hsüeh yüeh kan* (March 1937), pp. 8-11.

3. One report said that the 70-mile stretch between Changsha and Pingkiang was totally desolate after being visited by northern troops in 1918. The situation was the same in other parts of Hunan. NCH, April 1918. By August 1919, the northern troops had been without pay for five months and were on the verge of another breakdown of discipline. The various chambers of commerce, acting with the local magistrates, hastily decided that the local gentry and merchants must "stamp up" for public safety. As a result, the Changsha chamber of commerce paid \$100,000, and Hsiangtan paid \$70,000 to the soldiers. NCH, Oct. 4, 1919.

4. Huang Shao-hung, 1: 41-42.

5. NCH, Oct. 5, 1918.

6. Sutton, pp. 210-12; *Ting chi T'ien Ch'uán chün tou chi lu*.

7. Tao Chi-yin, *Wu Pei-fu yü Kuo-min-tang*, *Hsiang tao*, no. 24 (May 9, 1923).

8. Wen Kung-chih, 2: 128; Gillin, p. 27.

9. Sheridan, pp. 121, 210, 213.

10. Sheridan, pp. 93-94.

11. Feng Yu-hsian, *Wo ti sheng ho*, 3: 101-28.

12. Garthoff, pp. 47-48.

13. Mao Ssu-ch'eng, pp. 335-39.

14. Wilbur and How, p. 200.

15. The commander was to direct all military operations, and the political commissar was to undertake political administrative chores and to supervise the sanitation conditions. See Chiang Kai-shek's speech (April 8, 1926), quoted in Mao Ssu-ch'eng, pp. 643-45.

16. Ch'en Hsun-cheng, 1: 95-96.

17. F. F. Liu, pp. 19-20. During the Eastern Campaign of 1925, Whampoa's propaganda department prepared 500,000 pamphlets for the soldiers, 100,000 leaflets for the peasants, and 50,000 texts containing revolutionary songs. The political workers then distributed this large quantity of written propaganda materials, and they also organized labor and peasant unions and conducted mass meetings to complement military activities.

18. Liu Chih, p. 16.

19. Mao Ssu-ch'eng, pp. 245-46; F. F. Liu, p. 13.

20. Mao Ssu-ch'eng, p. 396.

21. *Pei fa chan shih*, 1: 183-84.

22. A most celebrated case involved Kuei Yung-ch'ing, a Whampoa cadet who later became the Nationalist commander in chief of the Navy and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Kuei had confiscated some "enemy" property without authorization, for which he was sentenced to death. The Whampoa cadets filed a joint petition for clemency, and it

took the KMT Central Executive Committee to pass a special resolution for the death sentence to be commuted. Mao Ssu-ch'eng, p. 412.

23. She-ling-waishih, "Pao-ting chüan kuan hsieh hsiao ts'ang shang shih," *Ch'un chiu*, no. 63 (Feb. 16, 1960), p. 203.

24. Ch'in Teshun, pp. 128-29. In practice, however, its applicants were not always graduates of Paoting or even the other preparatory schools. For instance, Huang Hsü-i-chu was graduated from the Kwangsi Army Short-Course School, which was actually comparable to a primary school, and went on to attend the Military College in 1913. Huang Hsü-ch'u, "Pa Kuei i wang lu," *Ch'ün chiu*, no. 153 (Nov. 1963), p. 11.

25. Ralph L. Powell, pp. 338-39.

26. Jerome Ch'en, "Defining Chinese Warlords and Their Factions," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London, 1968), 31, part 3: 568. These figures must be treated with caution. In the first place, "brigadier" denotes a military rank rather than a command position. At times, it was purely honorific with no substance; or the holders might occupy administrative positions. If we are interested in those who actually command troops, say the commander of a brigade or a larger unit, the total number would be drastically reduced, which in turn might alter the percentage in favor of the educated militarists. Second, there is some problem with the accuracy of the statistics. For instance, Ch'en listed 29 brigadiers as having graduated from the military school in Tientsin. This is a curiously small number, since it is well known that this was the most important military educational institution of the Peiyang Army. My spot check revealed that among those whose surnames began with C (English transliteration) alone, Ch'en omitted nine graduates of Tientsin—Chang Chiu-ch'in, Chang Huaichih, Chang Fu-lai, Chao Yü-k'o, Ch'en Kuang-yüan, Ch'i Hsichyuan, Chiang Yenhsin, Chin Yünn-ao, and Ch'en T'iao-yüan. All of these men held actual command positions, of brigade commander or higher.

27. Hu Shih, *Ting Wen-chiang ti chuan chi*, pp. 61-62.

28. Ts'ao Chiü-jen, pp. 7-8.

29. Huang Shao-hung, 1: 15-16.

30. Ch'in Teshun, pp. 109-17.

31. There was no comprehensive, standardized plan from the Ministry of War for this internship. The lower-echelon officers in the units had little education themselves and did not know how to teach the students. They were also unwilling to treat these temporary guests seriously. Huang Shao-hung, 1: 26-27.

32. Huang Shao-hung, 1: 29-30.

33. One school, the Shantung Army Survey School, which had produced 35 graduates in the previous four years, had only one instructor. Another, the Metropolitan Army School (*pu chüan t'ung lin ya men chiang hsiao yen chiu so*), which produced 221 officers and 879 non-commissioned officers during the same period, had only four instructors altogether. *Lu chüan t'ung chi*, 5, part 2, chap. 1.

34. *Lu chüan t'ung chi*, charts nos. 19, 20, 22; Wen Kung-chih, 1: 90-139.

35. *Lu chüan t'ung chi*.

36. Sun To, "Wu P'er-fu yü Kuo-ming-tang," *Hsiang tao*, no. 24 (May 9, 1923); *CYB*, 1923, p. 573; T'ao Chü-yin, *Wu P'er-fu*, pp. 95-96.

37. Gillin, p. 26; Wen Kung-chih, 2: 128.

38. Soviet Advisers' report on the first Kuominchün officers, written shortly after April 1926, in Wilbur and How, p. 365. Shyu Nae-lih estimated that only two of Feng's 25 top commanders in 1925 had graduated from military schools before they began service. See his "Feng Yü-hsiang and the Kuominchün" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1960), pp. 11-13.

39. Sheridan, pp. 76-87, 121.

40. The number of Soviet advisers in Feng's army in 1925 is a matter of disagreement among several sources. There were at least 36 Russians, but there may have been as many as 200. See the minutes of meeting held in the Soviet Embassy in Peking, Dec. 2, 1925, in Wilbur and How, pp. 344-48; the Soviet adviser Ya-en's report on the Kalgan Soviet Group, in Wilbur and How, pp. 355-59; Sheridan, pp. 166-67, 167n.

41. Mao Su-ch'eng, p. 275; *Pei fa chan shih*, 1: 102.

42. My preliminary survey of entries in the *Biographical Dictionary* turned up 25 persons who had served on the faculty of Whampoa. Of these, five had attended the Shikan Gakko or its preparatory school in Japan, seven had studied in colleges and universities in Japan, two had studied in the United States, two had studied in France, and nine had graduated from Paotong Military Academy.

43. F. F. Liu, p. 14.

44. The chief of the Soviet Group was General Galen (or Galin), whose real name was Vasil Konstantinovich Blücher (1889-1938), a hero of the Russian civil war who later became one of the Soviet Union's most outstanding military leaders. Other distinguished members of the Group included A. I. Yegorov, Victor Rogacheff, and possibly G. K. Zhukov. F. F. Liu, p. 6; Jan J. Solecki, trans., "Blücher's 'Grand Plan' of 1926," *China Quarterly*, no. 35 (July-Sept. 1968), p. 18.

45. Garthoff, pp. 46-47.

46. Mao Su-ch'eng, p. 595.

47. Len Hsi, "Hsüeh sa Hui-chou ch'eng," *CCWH*, 3, 4 (Oct. 1963): 13.

48. She-ling-wa-she, *Ch'un chiu*, no. 64 (March 1, 1960), pp. 4-5.

49. Mao Su-ch'eng, p. 675.

50. *Pei fa chan shih*, 1: 104-8, 114; Mao Su-ch'eng, p. 382. It should be further pointed out that before the Northern Expedition, officers' training had already extended to other KMT armies with some Soviet assistance. Kisanko reported that "there are officers' schools in the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Armies." The Second Army had 750 students in the officers' school and 550 in the enlisted men's school. In the Third

Army, there were 800 in officers' school and 600 in supplementary school. Wilbur and How, pp. 191-97.

Chapter 6

1. In 1916 the survey conducted by the Ministry of War indicated that the following varieties of rifles were in use in different armies: by countries of origin—German, Russian, Italian, British, Austrian, French, Belgian, Japanese, American, and Chinese; by models or calibers—63, 68, 70, 79, 80 mm rifles; old-styled mausers, single-barrel mausers, double-barrel mausers, and "miscellaneous types." *Lu chün t'ung-chi*, 1-2.

2. CYB, 1921-22, p. 516.

3. The 1916 survey of the Ministry of War listed 24 kinds of artillery, from Germany, Japan, France, Britain, and China's own arsenals. *Lu chün t'ung-chi*, 1-2.

4. TFIIC, 15, 5 (May 1918): 181-86.

5. In 1916 there were at least six different models and five calibers. *Lu chün t'ung-chi*, 1-2.

6. CYB, 1921-22, p. 516.

7. NCH, July 21, 1923.

8. Hu Shih, *Ting Wen-chiang ti chuan chi*, p. 86.

9. T'ien Pu-i, 4: 98.

10. CYB, 1924, p. 954.

11. CYB, 1928, p. 1285.

12. *Lu chün t'ung-chi*, 1-28.

13. CYB, 1921-22, p. 532.

14. CWR, Feb. 9, 1924.

15. For example, the Techow arsenal in Shantung was completely dismantled in 1926 by Chang Tsung-ch'üang. The Chengtu arsenal of Szechwan was burned in 1925. When Mo Jung-hsin was forced out of Canton in 1920, he tried to destroy the Canton arsenal, causing considerable damage. CYB, 1929-30, pp. 751-53.

16. For instance, in two separate battles at Mi-lo in Humin and Hosheng-ch'iao in Hupeh in July 1926, the KMT forces on the offensive expended more than 630,000 rounds of rifle and machine-gun ammunition. KMWH, 12: 149-52.

17. For a discussion of the sums of money involved, see Li Chien-nung, 2: 516.

18. The original signers were Britain, Spain, Portugal, the United States, Russia, Brazil, France, and Japan. The Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium, and Italy later endorsed the document. CYB, 1923, pp. 598-99.

19. "Mr. Straw and the Gun-running Business in China," CWR, Dec. 11, 1926.

20. CYB, 1924, p. 957.

21. CYB, 1924, p. 957.

22. The crucial role played by foreign arms in China's civil wars is discussed in Jowett.

23. "The Japanese and Recent Chinese Arms Deals," CWR, Feb. 4, 1928.

24. Jowett, "Who Sells the Guns to China's War Leaders?"

25. For instance, in the summer and fall of 1922, the Chinese Maritime Customs authorities at Shanghai and Tientsin discovered that large shipments of Italian, Japanese, German, and Russian arms and ammunition were making their way to Canton from other Chinese ports. Peter S. Jowett, "Who Sells the Guns to China's War Leaders?" CWR, April 18, 1925.

26. See Kisankō's report, in Wilbur and How, pp. 191-97.

27. The first shipment of Soviet arms arrived in Canton on October 8, 1924, with some 8,000 rifles and 4 million rounds of ammunition. It is estimated that the Soviets provided a total of 3 million rubles for the initial expenses of the Whampoa Academy alone. Garthoff, p. 46. For other estimates of Soviet assistance during this stage, see Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China*, p. 272; KMWH, 10: 4.

28. CYB, 1928, p. 802. For an eyewitness account of Soviet shipment to China in 1926, see Abend, pp. 18-19.

29. F. F. Liu, pp. 26-27.

30. CYB, 1928, p. 802.

31. Mao Ssu-ch'eng, pp. 663, 686. In fact, the *China Weekly Review* estimated that the Soviets sold some \$10 million worth of arms to the KMT during 1926-27. "The Japanese and Recent Chinese Arms Deal," CWR, Feb. 4, 1928.

32. For instance, the KMT 7th Army from Kwangsi does not seem to have benefited from Soviet assistance at all throughout the Northern Expedition. Huang Hsü-ch'u, "Kuo min ko ming chün ti ch'i chü shih shih," *Ch'un chiu*, no. 247 (Oct. 16, 1967), p. 19; no. 250 (Dec. 1, 1967), p. 21.

33. CYB, 1928, p. 818.

34. One estimate put the Soviet aid in 1926 to Feng at 24 guns, 10 trench mortars, 90 maxim guns, 25,970 rifles, 24 million cartridges, 22,000 artillery shells, 10,000 hand grenades, and 1,000 French mortar shells. J.A.J., "The Futility of the Arms Embargo," CWR, Feb. 11, 1928.

35. In Szechwan, for example, the sulfuric acid used by the provincial armories to make white gunpowder had to be carried from Kunming through Kweichow on ponies, each carrying only two jars. The transportation cost was very high, and there were considerable losses on the rocky, mountainous trails. Yang Chao-jung, "Hsin-hai hou chih Ssu-ch'uan chan chi," *Chin tai shih tszu liao*, 23 (1958): 57.

36. Ch'en Hsin-cheng, 3: 364-88.

37. For instance, during the height of the 1924 war, planes of the Fengtien faction made 24 sorties in eight days to the Shan-hai-kuan area, where large Chihli forces were concentrated. The bombs killed five soldiers, felled two trees, and partially damaged one hotel. And Fengtien even managed to lose two planes. *Feng Chih chen shih*, pp. 41-42.

38. For instance, one eyewitness reported that during the 1924 Chihli-

Fengtien war, the soldiers regarded the planes more as a curiosity than a threat, and scrambled for bomb fragments as souvenirs. Impey, "Chi-

nese Progress in the Art of War."

39. Chang Chün-ku, 2: 360-93; *Feng Chih chan shih*, pp. 65-82.

40. *Pei fa chan shih*, 4: 1065-66.

41. Of the nine main "national highways" in existence in 1916, seven radiated from Peking, and all but one traversed the northern plains of China. No major roads existed between other cities, and even these "highways" were no more than "tracks or mere footpaths" which could accommodate a very small amount of traffic. *CYB*, 1916, pp. 240-41.

42. *CYB*, 1923, pp. 403-13.

43. "Silas Strawns Describes China Conditions," *CWR*, Dec. 4, 1926.

44. Feuerwerker, *The Chinese Economy, 1912-1949*, pp. 40-44.

45. *CYB*, 1925, pp. 347-77.

46. For more detailed illustrations, let us look at the Peking-Hankow railway, which had a distance of 892 miles. In 1916 this line had 129 locomotives and 2,867 cars in operation, and carried 2,690,000 persons and 3,520 million tons of goods. "Min kuo wu nien kuo yu t'ieh lu ko lu tsang k'uang," *TFTC*, 15, 1 (Jan. 1918): 165-66. Thus, if the militarists fully controlled the line, they could transport about a quarter of a million soldiers with nearly 300 million tons of war materiel from Hankow to Peking within any month of the year. By 1924, this line had 229 locomotives and 4,200 cars, a substantial increase from 1916. *CYB*, 1925, pp. 347-77. Though we have no figures on this point, it is natural to assume that its transportation capacity also increased substantially.

The Peking-Mukden railway played a crucial role in many civil wars. After the conclusion of the first Chihli-Fengtien war of 1922, the press reported that 1,500 railway cars had been concentrated at Ching-huang-tao by Wu Pei-fu to move his troops back to their bases at the rate of 5,000 men per day. *NCH*, July 8, 1922. During the second Chihli-Fengtien war of 1924, more than 600 trains were mobilized by Chihli to move troops and equipment. To facilitate this operation, thousands of cars were borrowed from other lines. Chien Pei-yu, "Chinese Railways Recovery from War Effects in North," *CWR*, Jan. 17, 1925.

47. Huang Shao-hung, 1: 157-58.

48. During 1913, the water level in Wu-chow recorded a difference of 73 feet. *Ibid.*

49. Ch'en Hui, p. 38.

50. *NCH*, July-Aug., 1923.

51. *NCH*, May 1918; Huang Hsü-ch'u, "Pa Kuei i wang lu," *Ch'un chiu*, no. 160 (March 1, 1964), pp. 15-16.

52. Wen Kung-chih, 2: 9-10; Lai-chiang-chu-wu, "Chih Wan chan cheng shih mo chi," *Chin tai shih tsu liao*, no. 2 (Aug. 1962), pp. 93-96. 53. Close, p. 57; Gale, pp. 110-11; T'ao Chü-yin, *Tu chüen t'u'an chuan*, p. 128.

54. Sheridan, pp. 22-23.

55. T'ien Pu-i, *Pei yang chün fa*, 4: 98-104; Reinsch, pp. 270-85.

56. Lai-chiang-chu-wu, *Chin tai shih tsu liao*, no. 2 (1962), pp. 99-101; *NCH*, Aug. 7, 1920.

Chapter 7

1. Peng Yu-hsin, "Ch'ing mo chung yang yü ko sheng ts'ai cheng kuan hsi," *She hui k'o hsüeh tsu chih*, 9, 1 (June 1947): 83-110; Ralph L. Powell, pp. 23-26.

2. "China's Finances under the Republican Regime," *CWR*, Nov. 1, 1925. Supplement.

3. Hsieh Keng-min, "Ti fang shui chüan ti chih shan pien chi chi shih shi," *CHMKKKWSN*, 1: 621.

4. Perkins, pp. 176-77.

5. Chou K'a-ch'ing, *Min-kuo Ssu-ch'u'an shih shih*, pp. 225-37.

6. Feuerwerker, *Chinese Economy, 1912-1949*, p. 49.

7. Chou Te-wei, T'ao Yü-ch'i, "Kuan shui yü kuan cheng," *CHMKK-KWSN*, 1: 540.

8. For cases of local confiscation in Yunnan, Szechwan, and Kwangtung in 1916-18, see Adshead, pp. 199-200. For cases in Kwangtung and Kwangsi in 1918, see *NCH*, March 16, 23, 1918. For cases in Manchuria in 1919, see *NCH*, Oct. 11, 1919.

9. *CYB*, 1926-27, pp. 507-10.

10. Adshead, p. 197; *CYB*, 1926-27, pp. 507-10.

11. For a good example in Fukien in 1926, see C. Martin Wilbur, in Ho and Tang, *China in Crisis*, 1, Book 1, p. 211.

12. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were at least 23 regional and provincial likin bureaus, 790 local stations, and 1,446 sub-stations, staffed by some 25,000 people. (Figures for Hupeh, Kiangsi, Kwangtung, Shansi, Kweichow, and Chihli were incomplete.) Peng Yü-hsin, "Ch'ing mo chung yang yü ko sheng ts'ai cheng kuan hsi," *She hui k'o hsüeh tsu chih*, 9, 1 (June 1947): 83-110.

13. For instance, although Kiangsi had only 58 likin stations, it had another 511 substations. Kan Lee, "Likin and Its Abolition," *CWR*, Aug. 20, 1927. Moser estimates that the number of likin substations and barriers for the whole country ran into the thousands. Moser, *CWR*, Aug. 7, 1926. Ma Yin-ch'u, the foremost Chinese economist of his time, estimated that these likin offices employed some 1.5 million people. Ma Yin-ch'u, p. 292-93.

14. Feuerwerker, *Chinese Economy, 1870-1911*, Table 21, p. 65.

15. Moser, *CWR*, Aug. 7, 1926.

16. *CWR*, Nov. 15, 1924; Liu Yen, 2: 121-37.

¹⁷. One study suggests that between 1911 and 1927, Japan provided nearly 40 percent of China's foreign loans. The Western capitalist countries were left far behind: 15.45 percent for France, 14.66 percent for Great Britain, and 5.03 percent for the United States. Hsü I-sheng, p. 244. Also see *Ts'ai-cheng-pu chin kuan wu chüeh shih tan pao wai chai piao*.

¹⁸. Hsü I-sheng, pp. 148-97, 240-41.

¹⁹. CYB, 1923, pp. 703-12; CYB, 1929-30, pp. 657-60. For other years, see Woodhead, *The Truth about the Chinese Republic*, pp. 130-31; A. G. Coons, *The Foreign Public Debt of China* cited in Liu Ping-jin, pp. 194-97.

²⁰. Hsü I-sheng, pp. 148-97. For a case in Kwangtung in 1916, see TFTC, "Chung-kuo ta shih chi," 14, 2 (Feb. 1917); 211; for Fukien, see NCH, May 8, 1919; for Hunan in 1921 see TFTS, "Chung-kuo ta shih chi," 18, 5 (March 1921); 133.

²¹. Hsü Ts'ang-shui, charts between pp. 22 and 23.

²². Ch'i'en Chia-chü, "Chiu chung-kuo fa hsin kung chai shih ti yen chiu," *Li shih yen chiu*, no. 2 (April 1955), pp. 112, 118.

²³. Ch'i'en Chia-chü, *Chiu chung-kuo kung chai shih tzu liao*, Preface, p. 10.

²⁴. Lai Hsin-hsia, "Pei yang chün fa tui nei sou kua ti chi chung fang shih," *Shih hsieh yüeh kan*, no. 3 (March 1957), pp. 8-11; Ch'i'en Chia-chü, *Li shih yen chiu*, no. 2 (April 1955), p. 112.

²⁵. Ch'i'en Chia-chü, *Li shih yen chiu*, pp. 112-15.

²⁶. To cite a few examples: in 1918 the Finance Commissioner of Kiangsu province floated a short-term provincial bond issue in the amount of Ch. \$1,500,000, bearing interest at 7 percent per annum. NCH, July 13, 1918. Then in 1921 Kiangsu issued two more bonds totaling nearly Ch. \$9 million. Hsü Ts'ang-shui, Appendix, pp. 3-6.

For cases in Hunan in 1918-21, see Hsü Ts'ang-shui, *ibid.* For cases in Manchuria and Shantung in 1926, see TFTC, 23, 12 (June 25, 1926): 142; and 23, 13 (July 10, 1926): 138.

²⁷. NCH, Oct. 6, 1917.

²⁸. Ch'i'en Chia-chü, *Chiu chung-kuo kung chai shih tzu liao*, pp. 369-70.

²⁹. Shang Hsich'ing, "Ti fang yin hang," *Chung hua min kuo k'ai kuo wu shih niem shih lun chu*, 1: 685; T'ao Chü-yin, *Tu chün t'u'an chuan*, p. 29; CYB, 1928, p. 658. There are minor disagreements among scholars about how many banks issued their own currency in significant amounts. For instance, Chin Kuopao lists 38 large banks, both public and private, as having issued currency. Chin Kuo-pao, pp. 126-29.

³⁰. For cases in Kwangtung and Kwangsi, see Huang Shao-hung, 1: 80-90; for Chihli and Shantung, see TFTC, 23, 16 (Aug. 25, 1926): 142.

³¹. T'ao Chü-yin, *Tu chün t'u'an chuan*, p. 29.

³². C. Martin Wilbur, in Ho and Tang, *China in Crisis*, 1, Book 1, p. 210.

³³. Feng Yühsiang, *Wo ti sheng ho*, 3: 164-65.

³⁴. *Ibid.*

³⁵. Charles Dailey, "Chinese Militarists on Road to Bankruptcy," CWR, May 28, 1927.

³⁶. For a description of how Feng Kuo-chang and other high Peking officials were involved in an opium scandal, see Woodhead, *Adventures in Far Eastern Journalism*, pp. 75-76; NCH, Sept. 14, 1918; Jan. 11, 1919.

³⁷. CYB, 1923, pp. 886-93; CYB, 1928, pp. 528-35.

³⁸. Chou Hsien-wen, "Chung-kuo chih yen ho chi chi ts'e," TFTC, 23, 20 (Oct. 25, 1926): 33-34.

³⁹. Chung-kuo ching chi lun wen chi, 2: 34-37. For some provincial figures see CYB, 1923, pp. 886-93; CYB, 1924, p. 572; Ma Yin-chu, 3: 136; CYB, 1928, pp. 528-35.

⁴⁰. As a result, in 1924, for example, the transit taxes collected by Hupelh militarists amounted to about \$15 million. Chou Hsien-wen, "Chung-kuo chih yen ho chi chi ts'e," TFTC, 23, 20 (Oct. 25, 1926): 33-34.

⁴¹. Huang Shao-hung, 1: 154-55; also Huang Hsü-ch'u, "Pa Kuei i wang lu," *Ch'un ch'u*, no. 177 (Jan. 16, 1964), pp. 14-17.

⁴². CYB, 1928, pp. 528-35.

⁴³. CWR, July 26, 1924.

⁴⁴. Silas H. Strawn, "China Today," *Annual Report, 1926-1927 (London)*, pp. 13-14, as quoted by C. Martin Wilbur, in Ho and Tang, *China in Crisis*, 1, Book 1, p. 210.

⁴⁵. NCH, Feb. 10, 1917.

⁴⁶. NCH, April 23, 1923.

⁴⁷. Ts'ao Ju-lin, p. 171.

⁴⁸. Chien Chia-chü, *Li shih yen chiu*, no. 2 (April 1955), p. 118.

⁴⁹. Ts'ao Ju-lin, pp. 169-71, 175-76; NCH, May 11, 1918.

⁵⁰. Kung-kam, Shou-k'ang, *Ku chün*, 1, 2 (Oct. 1922); Wu-Liao-tzu, pp. 33-34, chap. 3.

⁵¹. Sung-kaو, "Feng Chang ju kuan yü Pei-ching cheng chü," TFTC, 28, no. 13 (July 10, 1925): 3.

⁵². *Shan hou hui i kang pao*, no. 2, "Resolutions," p. 27.

⁵³. CYB, 1929-30, p. 635.

⁵⁴. NCH, Feb. 5, 1921.

⁵⁵. Chen Han-sheng, of Academia Sinica, quoted in Nich, p. 38. For other years see NCH, Feb. 5, 1921; Kung-nu, "Lu chün yü ts'ai cheng," *Ku chün*, 1, nos. 4-5 (Jan. 1, 1923).

⁵⁶. *Shan hou hui i kung pao* contains information to show that in province after province military expenditures exceeded regular income, sometimes by over twice as much.

⁵⁷. Myers, pp. 276-77.

⁵⁸. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁵⁹. Ma Yin-ch'u, 2: 16-17.

⁶⁰. KMWII, 20: 1572-82,

⁶¹. CYB, 1928, pp. 1338-39.

⁶². KMWII, 20: 1616-22.

⁶³. *Ibid.*, pp. 1677-82.

65. Tsou Lu, *Chung-kuo kuo-min-tang shih kao* (Chungking, 1944), 2d ed., pp. 290, 299n2.

Chapter 8

1. For example, Jerome Ch'en points out that many militarists were stout defenders of the Confucian tradition, and some of them even went so far as to write expositions on Confucian virtues and political doctrines. Jerome Ch'en, "Defining Chinese Warlords and Their Factions," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 31, part 3 (1968): 569-70.

2. Redfield, pp. 42-43.

3. For a more detailed discussion of this trait, see Robert Ruhmann, "Traditional Heroes in Chinese Popular Fiction," in *Confucian Persuasion*, ed. Arthur F. Wright (Stanford, Calif., 1960), pp. 141-76.

4. Pearl Buck, "Chinese War Lords," *The Saturday Evening Post*, 205, 43 (April 22, 1933): 77. As quoted in Sheridan, p. 20.

5. Lucian Pye's content analysis of some 300 circular telegrams, public addresses, proclamations, and interviews by the militarists shows that the references to "personal associations," "attacks on personalities," and "appeal for moral virtues" outnumbered other themes (such as republicanism and anti-imperialism) by a considerable margin. See his *Warlord Politics*, Table 7.1, p. 116.

6. Mao Ssu-ch'eng, pp. 954, 966-67; Ch'en Hsi-chang, p. 310.

7. Wen Kung-chih, i: 444.

8. Wang Gungwu, "Comments," in Ho Ping-ti and Tsou Tang, *China in Crisis*, 1, Book 1, p. 269.

Chapter 9

1. Mao Ssu-ch'eng, pp. 384-85, 878, 726-29, 736.

2. The battle plan for the KMT's first eastern expedition in January 1925 was drawn largely by General Blücher, the chief Soviet adviser. Garthoff, p. 49.

3. A. I. Cherepanov, *Zapiski voennogo sovetskika v Kitae* (Memoirs of a Soviet Military Adviser in China; Moscow, 1964), quoted in Garthoff, p. 50.

4. Garthoff, p. 50.

5. MacNair, *China in Revolution*, p. 108.

6. For a theoretical discussion of the peculiar features of an international system as distinct from a national system, see Morton A. Kaplan, "Problems of Theory Building and Theory Confirmation in International Politics," in *The International System*, ed. by Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba (Princeton, N.J., 1961), pp. 13-17. For a different set of reasons why international political theory can be used to study national politics, see Fred W. Riggs, "International Relations as a Prismatic System," *ibid.*, pp. 144-81.

7. For an incisive discussion on the different shades of meaning of the

term "balance of power," see Ernest B. Haas, "The Balance of Power: Prescription, Concept, or Propaganda?" in *World Politics*, 5 (July 1953): 442-47.

8. For different interpretations of this common theme, consult Toynbee, p. 233; Taylor, p. xx.

9. Claude, pp. 43-51. For a discussion of why such uses of the term should be rejected, see Organski, chap. 2.

10. Kaplan, p. 23.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-28.

12. Pan-li, p. 237.

13. Li Chien-nung, 2: 559.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 562-63.

15. Wen Kung-chih, 2: 119-232.

16. Pan-li, p. 239; Li Chien-nung, 2: 576.

17. Li Chien-nung, 2: 574-98.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 591-96.

19. Pan-li, pp. 319-27.

20. Li Chien-nung, 2: 648-49.

21. Wen Kung-chih, 2: 181-96.

22. Pan-li, p. 375.

23. Sheridan, pp. 160-69.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-85.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 221-23.

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