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ADVANCE OR RETREAT?

CHEKIANG ARMY REPORTED
COMING NORTH.

Conflicting with the reported defection of the Kiangsu militarists and the withdrawal toward Shanghai of Tupan Sun Chuan-fang, comes a report from Nanking that a Chekiang-

Kiangsu army of 36,000 men started north on the Tientsin Pukow Railway yesterday for Hsuehchow, while a force of 10,000 has already occupied Pengpu, 105 miles south of the front lines of the Fengtien stand.

According to this report, the southern section of the Railway has been repaired and the troops movement got under way, composed of the 2nd and 3rd Divisions and a mixed brigades of Chekiang troops numbering approximately 30,000.

In addition the Kiangsu army of the 4th and 10th Division, numbering 6,000 troops started moving north toward Hsuehchow by way of Yangchow on the Grand Canal.

The Fengtien headquarters has named the Director of the Tientsin Railway as head of the Military Transportation and the movement of munitions of war is reported to have begun, thereby hampering regular traffic.—*Chung Mei.*

SHANGHAI ARSENAL.

SUN CHUAN-FANG TO
REORGANISE IT.

Shanghai, Oct. 28.

General Sun Chuan-fang has given order for the reorganization of the Kiangsuan arsenal for the manufacture of fire-arms for the federated forces of the Yangtze valley provinces.

The Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai is opposing the scheme, but General Sun is determined to reorganize the arsenal.

I. N. A.

MUKDEN FLANKING MOVE.

FOUR WARSHIPS LEAVE FOR SOUTH.

CHEKIANG PLANES TO NANKING.

Peking, Oct. 29.

A flanking movement by the Fengtien forces is reported in the departure of four of the Chinese warships from Tsingtao on Monday *en route* for the south. It is understood that these vessels are heading for Haichow, a sea-coast city in northern Kiangsu, which is on a direct north and south line with Hsuehowfu, the point of concentration of the Allied and Fengtien armies.

Five thousand Fengtien Marines, infantry, telegraph engineers, cavalry and artillerymen, with military equipment, are said to have left on the warships. The vessels were the *Hai Chi*, *Yun Shan*, *Su Yi*, and *Hua Chang*. Previously two others of the fleet, the *Ching Hai* and *Wan Hai*, sailed out of the Tsingtao harbour.

Haichow is approximately one hundred and six miles away from Hsuehow, but it is across country in which communications are difficult and some means of spanning the Grand Canal must be worked out.

Fifty thousand coolies are reported to have been impressed for military service by the Shantung forces.

It now appears as though the battle line at Hsuehow will not be the concentration point of such a large number of the Allied army as the first report of 300,000 claimed. The Chekiang army which was in Nanking, has been moved south to Woosung, due to the fact that Tupan Sun Chuang-fang and his men are

not popular in Nanking.

A Shanghai report states that six aeroplanes were moved to Nanking by the Chekiang military, and will subsequently be transported to Pengpu. The Shanghai magistrate are also said to have raised \$100,000 with which to buy food supplies for the troops at the front.

The failure of Honan to support the Allied campaign continues to weaken the latter cause. It is said that Tupan Yueh Wei-tsun has mobilized troops under pressure from Marshal Wu Pei-fu, nevertheless he would not permit the latter to reach Hsuehow, even if he did come as far as Chengchow on the Peking-Hankow and Lungai Railways.

Tupan Yueh is said to be in touch with Tupan Li of Chihli, and to have assured representatives of the former that he will not be persuaded to join in the present trouble, even going to the extent of preventing any military force from passing through Honan. He is also said to have pledged his allegiance to the Peking Government. The Tupan of Kiangsi, Fang Pen-jen, is reported to have announced that while he joins the Anti-Fengtien expedition, he will support the Tuan Chi-jui Government. The capital of Anhwei at Anking, has been deserted by Civil Governor Wu Ping-hsai and his officials, all of whom have moved to Wuhu. The troops under Wang Pu who were defending Anking, have been evacuated to Wuhu in the face of the rapid advance of Teng Yu-chou, the Kiangsi commander, who is acting in the capacity of Chaban Commissioner on the appointment of Marshal Tuan, but at the same time has publicly announced his participation in the campaign against Marshal Chang Tso-lin.—*Chung Mei.*

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POSSIBILITIES OF KUOMINCHUN-FENGTIEN CO-OPERATION.

TRIANGULAR CONFERENCE.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Peking, Oct. 29.

Peking has been for the last 48 hours flooded with numerous reports that both Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang and Marshal Chang Tso-lin will co-operate with each other vis-a-vis the present disturbed military and political situation in the country. It is difficult to say how much truth there is in these reports, which have all the appearance of being inspired by interested parties, but it is easy to see that they express at least the pious wishes of the Provisional Government. The life and death of the Government lies in the fact that Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang must remain on good terms with the Mukden War Lord. Any breach between these two leading rival militarists in North China leads surely to the downfall of the Government.

"I will never side with Marshal Wu Pei-fu", Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang is reported to have said to General Kou Yin-chow, who went to Paotou to see him as a representative of Marshal Chang, about the present war situation in the South. "When I was in Shensi, I was forced to leave the province, because Marshal Wu did not like to have me remain there." When I was in Honan, he practically drove me out of the province, and I had great difficulty in getting a foothold in the Metropolitan area. But Marshal Wu was still dissatisfied. He still desired to strip me of all my forces, and deprive me of all my military power." For this ungrateful past, Marshal Feng pointed out that there was no earthly reason why he should take the side of Marshal Wu in the present struggle.

There is no doubt that this recollection of the relations between Marshal Feng and Marshal Wu in the past is based upon facts, and may, therefore, serve to show that Marshal

Feng has no real desire to rush to Marshal Wu's assistance. But this does not mean he can co-operate with the Mukden War Lord in the present struggle without conditions. Both sides have sent special envoys to each other to exchange their views, and this way of negotiation has now reached such a stage that they have decided to appoint two or three representatives each to meet in Peking for a general conference with the authorities of the Government. In this conference, representatives of General Yueh Wei-chun of Honan are also invited to participate. The object is, of course, to bring about mutual co-operation between the Kuominchun and the Fengtien forces, and thus to prolong the lease of life of the Provisional Government. Marshal Feng has already appointed three men, as

his representatives with full power to speak for him. The Mukden representatives are also reported to be on their way now to Peking. As soon as General Yueh Wei-chun shall designate his delegates, the so-called "triangular conference" will take place in Peking. Much of the future of the political situation of the country will depend upon the results of this conference.

Peking, Oct. 29.

In response to the request of the Chief Executive (Marshal Tuan Chi-jun), Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang has sent Generals Liu Chih-lung and Liu Yu-hsing and Mr. Shih Chih-chao to Peking to discuss the present situation.—*Reuter*.

Peking, Oct. 29.

Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang has telegraphically informed the Government that the Kuominchun Army has named Messrs. Liu Chih-lung, Shih-chao, and Liu Shih-hsien as their delegates to confer with the

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representatives of Marshal Chang Tso-lin regarding concrete plans of co-operation in connection with the present crisis.

All the three delegates are in the capital. Mr. Liu Chi-lung is director of the Hateman Octroi and may be considered the representative of the First Kuominchun Army under Marshal Feng.

Messrs. Shih Chih-chao and Liu Shih-hsien are the personal delegates of General Wei-chun and General Sun Yueh respectively. It is, however, understood that in view of the position which Honan occupy in the present situation, General Yueh Wei-chun will appoint two additional delegates, one of whom will be Mr. Chang Pi, former Chief of Police in the Metropolitan Area.

The delegates of Marshal Chang Tso-lin are Colonel Kou Ying-chow and Mr. Yu Kuo-han. Colonel Kou is now in Peking, having returned from a flying trip to Mukden yesterday morning, while Mr. Yu Kuo-han is reported to be on his way to the capital.—Kuo Wen.

Peking, Oct. 29.

Stating that he had no desire to interfere in the administration of the Central Government, Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang advised the Chief Executive that in response to his appeal, he had appointed Liu Chih-lung, Liu Ju-hsien and Shih Chih-chao, to negotiate with the Mukden representatives over the question of maintaining peace. The Fengtien envoy who has been to see Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang at Paotao, returned to Peking yesterday to report to Marshal Tuan.

A Chinese report of an interview with the envoy, Kuo Ying-che, quotes him as saying that Marshal

Chang was greatly pleased with what Marshal Feng had told him at Paotao. As a consequence, a few days after reporting to Marshal Chang, Kuo Ying-che, said that the Chihli and Jehol authorities had been instructed by Marshal Chang to withdraw the troops from Langfang, Shichiaohwang, Taining, and Kupeikou, where they had been previously stationed as a precaution against the Kuominchun troops.

Similarly the munitions which Marshal Feng had sent to Yueh Wei-chun in Honan were ordered released by Tupan Li who had detained them, while the inspection offices of the Fengtien and Kuominchun armies in Peking and Tientsin were closed, due to the possibility of a misunderstanding arising.—Chung Mei.

Peking, Oct. 29.

Colonel Kuo Ying-chow, Marshal Chang Tso-lin's emissary to Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, arrived here yesterday from Mukden on the invitation of the Government, after reporting the result of his last mission to Paotou to his chief. He is to represent Mukden in the forthcoming Peace Conference of delegates from the military leaders, including Marshal Wu Pei-fu, called by the Chief Executive.

In an interview with a press correspondent Colonel Kuo asserted that both Marshal Chang and Marshal Feng are satisfied and sincere in their expressions regarding the plan of co-operation in dealing with the political crisis. In order to remove all misapprehension and misunderstanding, the Fengtien forces garrisoned at Langfan, Shichiaohwang, Taining, Kupeikou and other strategic points have been ordered to withdraw and all precautionary measures at the Chihli-Honan and Jehol-Chahar borders cancelled.

At the order of Mukden, Tupan Li Ching-lir has permitted the passage of 400,000 rounds of artillery and large quantities of rifle ammunition from Kalgan to Kaifeng via Chihli and railway trucks and rolling stock detained have been returned to their owners. The Military Inspection Offices established along the Peking-Tientsin line, which have caused much misunderstanding, have all

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been abolished; all cause of conflict have thus been completely eliminated.

Continuing, Colonel Kuo pointed out that his mission to Paotou was undertaken at the invitation of Marshal Feng's lieutenant, General Chang Shu-sheng, who accompanied him in the trip. According to Colonel Kuo, Marshal Feng emphatically declared his determination to co-operate with Fengtien to "lick" Wu Pei-fu and Sun Chuan-fang, pointing out that the spirit of mutual co-operation between the two parties has been firmly strengthened, though trifling misunderstanding consequent upon the inspection of trains on the part of their subordinates could not be avoided. With regard to the proposal of the organisation of the Chen Kuo-chun (National Pacification) Army jointly by the Kuominchun and the Fengtien army, Colonel Kuo

said that it has received the approval of Marshal Chang, and his presence here is mainly connected with this matter and Marshal Feng's emissary, General Chang Shu-sheng, who should have reached Mukden by this time, was sent for discussion of this question specially. Tientsin will probably be selected as the site for the Headquarters of this new organ, Colonel Kuo said.

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WU PROLONGS STAY IN HANKOW

LITTLE POEM WHICH
REFLECTS HIS AIMS.

PLANS NOT YET COMPLETED.

A representative of the *C. C. Post* had the good fortune to have another short interview with Marshal Wu Pei-fu. Notwithstanding the busy time he must have been having lately the Marshal looked less tired than he did on other occasions and he appeared to have no doubts in his mind as to how his duty lies. Asked if it had yet been settled where he was going to after Hankow, he replied that plans were not yet complete. The other provinces had troops of their own and would determine their own course of action. He was a man of peace and if the people voted to have no fighting then he would obey the people's will. For the present therefore he could not say if there would be any fighting with the Fengtien troops at Hsuehchow, for if these went back to the Three Eastern provinces by themselves there would be no complaint.

He was asked whether he would take any steps to stop the Tariff Conference and replied that he could not stop it from opening. According to his own idea it should not take place at the present time for the Powers were conferring with an illegal government, and nothing should be done till China was in a settled state. He was one of the people and therefore could express a personal opinion, and personally he did not care whether the Conference was held or not.

Speaking about the restoration of the Constitution the Marshal emphasised that this was completed in the 10th year of the Republic and was quite correct, but details could be easily fixed by the people. When hostilities came to an end he said that he did not believe in establishing a government by committee instead of a President. Such a government would not be any good as

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EX-PRESIDENT LI.

POLITICIANS SCHEME TO GET HIM INTERESTED.

Hankow, Oct. 27.

Strenuous efforts are being made by the M.P.'s and leaders of the 1911 Revolution to organize a strong union to call out ex-President Li Yuan-hung to head a new Government.

Although Marshal Wu has declined to discuss the question of Government organization, Mr. Chang Pei-lieh, former Vice-Speaker of the House of Representatives, is working in conjunction with Wu Ching-lien, for the purpose of supporting Li Yuan-hung.—*Central Press*.

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the Presidential system would be much better. It was then pointed out to the Marshal that it was not quite clear as to his standing with Feng Yu-hsang and the Kuomintang if he was so decidedly against Bolshevism. Could he explain how he would deal with the Bolsheviks? He replied that he would not allow them to exist. Enquiries as to how long he would stay in this centre elicited the answer that it was not yet certain. As for Henan declaring neutrality the Marshal declared with reference to Yuo Wei-chin the Tupan that "He is one of us."

Our representative then informed the Marshal about the telegram reporting that Wu Kwan-hsing, China's Minister of War having a three hour's conference with Baron Shidehara and requesting Japan's aid for China, and the Marshal was asked whether General Wu was acting for Chang Tso-lin or Tuan Chi-jui. He replied that General Wu would be acting for Marshal Tuan but that he was also friendly with him, Marshal Wu, himself. On the statement being made to Marshal Wu that the Japanese government had informed General Wu that nothing could be done as Japan was bound to act in concert with the other Powers, Marshal Wu replied "That is good."

This brought the interview to an end but before going the Marshal was asked, as it was well-known that he was an outstanding poet, if he would write something in an autograph album. He politely acquiesced with the modest statement that he was not talented, but in proof of his brilliancy he wrote without the least hesitancy a four line Chinese poem with reference to Europe and Asia which read in gist:—

The clouds that hang o'er east
and west

Assume an ever changing mien,
But as in past is now the deeds

Of Heroes are unaltered seen
Beauty that in the flowers grow

Last but a three month span
So 'tis the call to always strive

To be a summit man.

SZECHUAN'S GESTURE.**PREPARING FOR REAR
ATTACK ON HUPEH.**

14/10-31

A T T

Hankow, Oct. 26.

Marshal Hsiao Yao-nan has ordered his troops on the Upper Yangtze to make military preparations in order to prevent the advance of Szechuan forces.

The proffered friendship of Szechuan is doubted by Marshal Hsiao, who received the report that Szechuan is now making the move in compliance with a hint of the Chief Executive, who has asked the Szechuan generals to attack Hupeh from the rear.

Even though it is not taken seriously that Szechuan will really co-operate with Tuan Chi-jui by attacking its neighbour, it is an open secret that many Szechuan generals are awaiting the first chance to seize more territory.

General Yang Sen has arrived in Hankow, and immediately joined Wu Pei-fu at his Hankow headquarters. He was given a hearty welcome by Wu.—*Central Press.*

MARSHAL WU'S PROTEST.**DIPLOMATS' ACKNOWLEDGMENT, BUT NO COMMENT.**

14/10-31

A T T

Hankow, Oct. 26.

Marshal Wu Pei-fu has received a telegraphic reply from the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps in Peking acknowledging receipt of the wireless message signed by Marshal Wu dated October 23, in which the Marshal protested against the holding of the Tariff Conference before there is a legally constituted Government in China. In the reply, however, no comment whatsoever is made by the Dean of the Diplomatic Body with respect to Marshal Wu's protest.—*Central Press.*

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"THE BATTLE OF SHANHAIKUAN."

LITTLE HSU SAYS MUKDEN DID NOT PLAY THE GAME.

NEVER REWARDED FENG FOR HIS TREACHERY.

THE LITTLE ONE'S ADVICE TO CHANG.

Peking, Oct. 29.

"Tell Marshal Chang Tso-lin to stay in the Three Eastern Provinces and give up the land both south and north of the River," is the advice cabled by "Little Hsu" from abroad to Civil Governor Wang Yung-kiang of Fengtien.

General Hsu Shu-tung sent copies of his cable to the Chief Executive and other Peking officials. It reads: To the Civil Governor Wang and Chief of Staff Yang:—"It is certain that you have already read the telegram sent by Marshal Chang on the 18th. On thinking over the matter, I presume that it must be caused by General Yang's taking up the Tupan-ship of Kiangsu. General Yang has always been proud and persistent and he would never have one thing undone if he had a mind to do it. But it is fair to have the right or wrong of the things that happened in the past year known and it is expected that General Yang will remain silent and lend his ear to it."

Last year, General Yang assisted Marshal Chang in contending with ex-President Tsao and Marshal Wu, and they declared that they wished to make Marshal Tuan the Chief of the Government. On thinking of the reputation and popularity of Marshal Tuan, I should say that he ought to be made manager of State affairs instead of the carrying out of one's personal orders. If that was practised, a failure would surely come and even if there might be a chanced success, at the end, a very poor result would be obtained. This had been discussed with Marshal Chang in the presence of General Yang. And when I was in Tientsin, the same thing was repeated before Marshal Tuan. So at the beginning of the war, nothing

was said by Marshal Tuan. While seeing that the Mukden side showed a tendency of being beaten, Marshal Tuan, then showed a little of his attitude favouring the Fengtien side. At the battle of Shanhaikuan, if Marshal Feng had remained still, it would be hard to judge the result of the war. After that, both personally and officially, the Mukden side ought to have rewarded the Marshal.

"Unfortunately, besides giving him no important post, the Marshal was not even given a place to stand on. How can this be fair, if one would stop to think over the whole matter? Then after Marshal Feng removed his troops to the North-west, General Yang was quite satisfied. He was trying to do everything in his own way. Whenever a demand was forwarded to the Peking Government, General Yang would say to the Governmental authority that Marshal Chang insisted on getting the demand carried out. While in Mukden, he would say to Marshal Chang that Marshal Tuan had decided to do the thing. I have read some of the documents and statements to the Government, worded that 'Marshal Chang personally has ordered that such and such a thing be done' in such and such a way and thus it is begged that you will take it into consideration." Even the authorities of the different provinces had to hear the instructions. And with the title of Chief of Staff, General Yang took the most important post of the Kiangsu Tupan. Now can this be done under a well-organized Government?

The general is only trying to please Marshal Chang himself without caring for the whole country and the latter generations. What does he think about Marshal Chang and what would the people think about him? With the frank and earnest friendship offered by Marshal Chang, is it fair to repay him with this kind of ill-management?

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When the mandate appointing General Yang as Tupan of Kiangsu appeared on the 30 of August, a Peking friend sent a special telegram to inform me of the fact. The addresses said that it would be easy to see a peaceful time since a very fair share had been obtained. At that time, I said in my reply that the appointment would rather cause more trouble instead of bringing peace and unification. Unfortunately, the prophecy came true and came so suddenly that it was beyond my expectation.

General Yang ought to know very well the real military force of the Mukden army. On account of the numerous bandits and the poor financial situation and the people who are watching at the back, it would be very hard to hold on fighting in so far a land as the south. If the attention be aimed only at the South, it is sure that within several months, gross confusion would follow. And if ever ruin befalls, how can the General see Marshal Chang? Even if he may not take Marshal Chang into account, at least, the native

provinces should be taken into consideration. At present, the best thing to do is to plan for the safety of Marshal Chang and that no arms be employed if it is only for the sake of taking personal revenge. The land at the south of the river should not

be contended for, or even the land at the north, it should all be given up. The Marshal should be advised to stay within the border of the Three Eastern Provinces. In spite of the military forces kept by the provinces, the Marshal should be asked to behave righteously and act loyally. Then a reputation and popularity would be obtained and it would then be very easy to get any kind of authority.

Governor Wang is considered as having a fair knowledge of the general situation. And it is perhaps your fault that no advice be carried to General Yang. Whether the above is right or not, other more considerably Hsu Shucheng, 22nd.

Another telegram to Tupan Chang Tso-hsiang and Tupan Wu Tsunsheng from "Little Hsu" reads: "The telegram issued by Marshal Chang dated the 18th ought to have been read. It is understood that the affair was caused by General Yang's taking up the Tupaniship of Kiangsu. The advantages and disadvantages have already been made known to General Yang as well as Governor Wang. They are requested not to take personal revenge by neglecting the important effect which might be produced by it. You are well acquainted with the conditions of the Three Provinces. If the military force of to-day be nourished and made ready for future employment, a brilliant era would easily be obtained. Otherwise, to the Mukden military force of now-a-days, the warfare would mean a struggling one.

The Mukden force would lose all it had and if a failure be seen, there would be very little hope for a rehabilitation. And, moreover, the general situation of the country would become more and more disturbed. Since you are very popular, I hope that you can consult this thoroughly with Marshal Chang. Since the Marshal stands in the centre of all the parties favouring Marshal Tuan, his affairs are considered the same as state affairs. So I dare bother you with the meddling some talking above.—Hsu Shucheng.—Chung Mei.

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Tientsin Saturday, Oct. 31, 1926

THE KEY—AND TWO DOORS.

BELOW all the surface talk of peace conferences, new or old alignments, dissensions, troop movements, and all the other things that figure so prominently in the propaganda with which the public are being deluged just now, the secret bargaining on whose issue the peace of the North depends is actively proceeding. It has been said so often that Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang holds the key position that it has become trite. It is also true. Kalgan may not be able to control events in Honan; it may not even be able to direct the Kuominchun in that province, now subjected to exceptional pressure. But in the last analysis, and in the ultimate determination of the future balance of power, the Christian General is unquestionably the dominating factor. That being so, it seems necessary to examine precisely what is his position, if we are to get some reliable comprehension of an extraordinarily complicated, as well as perturbing, situation.

It is not to be supposed that Marshal Feng has regarded with any other feelings than chagrin and jealousy the increasing hold of the Fengtien Party on the Peking Government, or that he was intensely amused with the game of hide-and-seek which, disguised under the description of a "strategic retreat", he has been compelled to follow since the so-called Regency Cabinet was eliminated soon after the *coup d'état*. The Government formed by Marshal Tuan, while at first predominantly Anfu in complexion, was brought up with a round turn immediately, it became a trifle too independent or too grasping in the allocation of official posts. It pleased the Government to make a concession or two to the Kalgan Clique, but only in pursuance of a policy that, when not entirely subordinated to the dictates of Mukden, was directed by the familiar and galling tactics of playing one off against the other. Only the outbreak of the Shanghai disorders preserved the Government from the fate which Marshal Chang Tso-lin had mapped out for it. Perhaps the Kalgan Clique might have been a

trifle more daring but for the consciousness that, as the result of the *coup d'état*, its leader had completely forfeited the confidence and regard of the public. Hence the desperate and bellicose appeal to the patriotic gallery which ensued in the summer. We may not be in a position unreservedly to approve this recognition of the efficacy of public opinion. But it must be admitted that the Christian General did pay particular attention to the need of bringing back some of his lost popularity.

It is nevertheless a dangerous thing to pose as a super-patriot. The martyr who not only evades martyrdom but prefers to put his own ambitions above everything else is certain to be caught out. Marshal Feng's position in this respect is not so strong as he would wish it to be. Of that there is no question. The articulate section of public opinion were

quite ready to forget much and overlook more in their drive against the Imperialists, but it needs merely a slight jolt to remember. It is safe to say that the people generally have a far more vivid recollection of the political escapades of the Marshal to-day than they have of his warlike utterances during the heat of the summer. That is a factor which makes for cautiousness. The other factor against precipitate action is the vision of the Great North-West, a semi-independent sub-continent stretching from the environs of Peking to the fastnesses of Central Asia. The Kansu appointment was not merely a sop in exchange for the definite extension of Fengtien power to Anhwei. It might have been less irritating had it been so. But it was a cunning contrivance to tempt the Christian Militarist's gaze westward, to persuade him to turn from the ephemeral futilities of Peking, whose fascination, fatal as it has so often been proved to be, is hard for foreigners to understand, and to launch out on a great career of economic Empire-building in the Far West. Did China have a Government, a stabilised political system, and an administrative service like those of other States, over whose heads political storms pass harmlessly, the North-West and the North-East would be the great outposts of endeavour, appealing to bold and adventurous spirits, as once the Far

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West of America appealed to men seeking new fields to conquer.

But we would be forgetful of the inevitable psychological reactions from such a situation if we imagined that this offer, boundless as its opportunities undoubtedly were, was welcomed with unreserved satisfaction. The motive of the appointment no doubt weighed quite as much as the opportunities in the human and resentful mind of the Kalgan leader. But he began to move westward. It was the obvious policy while defiance might have involved him in a disastrous war with the whole strength of the Fengtien Party, and, possibly, with the old Chibli forces sharing in some measure the personal feelings of Wu Pei-fu. He began to build roads and to advance the preliminary work for the construction of a railway to Ninghsia. It was good work, however we apportion the motives that prompted it, and of course it was exploited for the edification of the public and the advantage of Marshal Feng's political favour. And why not? If all Militarists used their troops in this way, the potential public benefit would be of greater concern than the immediate strategic advantage of a leader who dreams of political power. But Kansu is not going to be quite so easy a prey. The Mohammedan Generals do not refer to the Christian General in terms either of admiration or affection. They have other designs of their own, in which a Chinese General—who happens above all to be a convert to Christianity—could not possibly have a part. There would be no room for a Chinese in an independent Moslem State reaching to the borders of Russian Turkestan (and perhaps beyond, for if all we hear is well-founded the vision is almost as far-spreading as that of the mightiest of the Mongols). Kansu can be conquered, but it would require a

definite abandonment of any hope of power in Peking. A *Jehad* is always possible. It is whispered that fanatics are already preaching it. And even ill-equipped Moslem troops, backed by an excited populace, can be very formidable under the incitements of the mullahs, as we, who claim to be the predominant Moslem Power, know only too well.

Peking is now beckoning more strongly than ever. Marshal Feng does not possess the urge of the explorer, the craving for the silent spaces of the earth, the peculiar ardour of the pioneer. The whispering corridors and secret cabinets of one of the world's most ancient capitals, the obsequious homage of place-seekers rather than the frank comradeship of rough men in the wilds, command his inmost soul. He is among humanity as it figures in the large. How far he has actually gone from Kalgan remains uncertain; certainly he does not appear to have gone beyond Paotouchen. A little aloofness, even if it be merely geographical, is useful in giving verisimilitude to his expressions of political disinterestedness. Marshal Feng has not told the emissaries of the other rival parties that he is utterly indifferent to what is passing north of the Yangtze. He has decided to mediate, and certain things have happened which go to show that the suspected breach with his Soviet advisers has been healed and that the agents of Moscow are again playing an active part in determining his future course. They want him in Peking. The grandiose scheme has not yet been abandoned for the lesser ideal of domination by disintegration. Mongolia is a means to an end, not an end in itself. But if China cannot be captured in whole, the Far West, with its Mohammedan population, can be dealt with separately. It is not a satisfactory alternative. It is slow, and it lacks the pressure on the intractable Capitalistic Powers which central power in Peking would exercise.

Therefore, we may be sure that Marshal Feng will mediate. Which means that he will intervene, peacefully at first, and by armed force if and when necessary. We should not be surprised if his mediation consists, insofar as the Fengtien Party is concerned, of a demand for the complete withdrawal of Marshal Chang Tso-lin's influence outside the

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Wall. If that could be effected, no doubt the Honan Kuominchun could be persuaded to hold up the Yangtze Party, share ultimately in the provinces which would fall to them, and then demolish Marshal Wu Pei-fu and his followers. But Marshal Feng has the weakness of his strength. If he attacks prematurely, the Fengtien Party will immediately leave the field to the Yangtze forces on the Pukow Line, and concentrate in the vicinity of Tientsin to protect their communications, and to resist the Christian Marshal. Such a *contretemps* would be extremely embarrassing for the Honan Kuominchun. They would probably have to join the rivals of the Kalgan Clique against a common enemy, and the Yangtze Party would no doubt in the end acquire a weight in the balance of power equivalent to that of which Fengtien had been deprived. We cannot suppose that Marshal Feng is anxious

to root a contemptuous Peter to pay a bitterly antagonistic and revengeful Paul, especially as the party of revenge would in all likelihood ultimately comprise both the Fengtien and Yangtze leaders.

It should be borne in mind that there have been practically no troop movements outside the Wall since the crisis began. The Fengtien Party are facing the Yangtze forces with the troops that were stationed south of the Wall. Trains have been ordered and are kept in readiness beyond Shanhaikuan, but they have not yet moved. Evidently Marshal Chang Tso-lin is taking no chances with the Christian General, and it is known that the bargaining that is going on between the emissaries on both sides is based, on his part, on ideas of the situation quite at variance with those of the Kalgan Clique. The latter suggest that peace would be served and a duty done to the people if Marshal Chang Tso-lin abandoned any further interest in Peking politics and the provinces south of the Wall. The Fengtien representatives are telling the Christian General's agents that they demand the most definite guarantees before they turn on their Yangtze attackers. They want a joint organisation of the two armies, with headquarters in Tientsin. That would involve a good deal more than the creation of a new bureau in the Chihli Tupan's yamen. The questions that Marshal Feng and his advisers are asking one another, no doubt, are whether they dare reassure Fengtien, and let the latter go ahead and deal with the Yangtze forces; or whether they dare menace Fengtien, become involved in war with that Army, and thus allow the Yangtze troops to advance northward almost without opposition, and to watch the Fengtien and Kalgan forces destroy each other, and then reverse the rôles of the October *coup d'état* last year. Kalgan holds the key, but it does not know which to open of the two doors it happens to fit.

MARSHAL FENG LOYAL.

TO CENTRAL GOVERNMENT,
AND TUAN CHI-JUI.

Peking, Oct. 30.

Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang has pointed out to the Chief Executive in connection with meeting the latter's request that representatives be sent to Peking to discuss with the representatives of Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the question of maintaining peace, that the policy of Marshal Chang Tso-lin in giving way during the Cheking advance coincided with his own views for the maintenance of peace.

The Christian Marshal further explained that he would remain faithful and loyal to the Central Government and would follow the instructions of the Chief Executive. He added that the sending of delegates would facilitate discussion much better than the exchange of telegrams or letters.

Marshal Feng likewise expressed the view that while perhaps it was not proper for militarists to send delegates to a conference in the capital, the request of the Chief Executive had to be met and the action of Marshal Chang in so doing followed.—*Chung Mei*.

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BATTLE NEAR HSUCHOW.

FENGTIEN CLAIMS CHEKIANG FORCES DRIVEN BACK.

THE HAICHOW LANDING.

INCIDENT AT LAOFA.

Although trains have been ordered and kept in readiness at Mukden, there have been no actual movements of troops, of any consequence, outside the Wall.

Two trains passed up the line yesterday toward Laofa. Aircraft have been sent to Peitsang, which is apparently to be the aviation headquarters of the Fengtien Army. Entrenchments have been begun outside Laofa.

It is reported that a Fengtien officer in charge of a detachment at Laofa drove out the Chinese caretaker of the British military post at the railway station and occupied it. The matter was brought to the attention of the Chihli Tupan, who immediately gave orders that the premises should be evacuated.

WINNING OR LOSING?

Peking, Oct. 29.

It is stated in Fengtien circles in Peking that the forces from Tsingtao have effected a landing at Haichow and occupied part of the town, but it is stated that fighting is still going on there. *Reuter*.

Peking, Oct. 30.

Though no details were made available, it was stated in Chinese official circles this morning that General Chang Tsung-chang had telegraphed to Peking the news of a Fengtien victory over General Sun Chuan-fang's forces south of Hsuehowfu on October 29. General Sun is stated to have withdrawn his army to Pengpu.

Up to the present there has been no confirmation of this, although some foreign despatches from the South report that the southern section of the Tientsin-Pukow railway has now been repaired sufficiently to permit General Sun Chuan-fang to transport his forces northward. Those

despatches state that during the last day or two the Chekiang army has been moving towards Hsuehowfu by rail, while part of the Kiangsu units have been proceeding up the Grand Canal by way of Yangchow. The Chekiang forces engaged in this movement are stated to total 30,000 and to consist of the 2nd and 3rd Division and part of the 10th.

It was further mentioned in those reports that the Chekiang vanguard, numbering 10,000, had already reached Pengpu, so that the possibility of a clash having occurred is not out of the question.

Marshal Chi Hsieh-yuan arrived in Chekiang on October 28 and, after conferring with General Fang Ping-jen (Tupan of Kiangsi), left for Hankow the same day.

An official statement claims that a satisfactory understanding has been

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