

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE PETTY KINGS

THE internal history of China from Chang Hsun's exploit in July, 1917, till the present day presents only the picture of an increasing dissolution, wherein the events and personages are of relatively little importance. Nothing has happened to gather the scattered energies of the country into unified action, and none of the rival leaders has had the strength and opportunity to fight his way into a position dominating the land as a whole.

After the revolution the dethroned imperial family was granted comparatively favorable terms, including the right to live on in the northern part of the Forbidden City and to receive a subsidy, which was, however, only irregularly paid by the republican ministry of finance.

Neither Yuan's tragic attempt to found a Chinese dynasty nor Chang's short-lived effort to reinstate the old imperial Manchu family in power created any great change in the family of the Manchus.

The stage of an imperial court was kept up in that part of the Forbidden City where the young ex-Emperor Hsuan Tung lived. At the northern rear gate of the Forbidden City one might behold on imperial feast days a pale reflection of the ancient splendor. In litters, old-fashioned Peking wagons, one-horse droshkies or automobiles the Manchu princes and nobles, together with other wraiths of pre-revolutionary times, would arrive to affirm their

THE DRAGON AND THE FOREIGN DEVILS

submissive devotion to Hsuan Tung. Finely chiseled faces with the marks of long degeneration, or the fat, withered features of eunuchs could be seen through the carriage windows. Mandarin hats with the button on top and peacock feathers at the back, splendid costumes in the old traditional pattern — the whole was an anachronism in a republican community.

Hsuan Tung, who at the Revolution of 1911 was only five years old, grew up under the instruction of native tutors and of a foreigner, Mr. R. F. Johnston, a finely educated Englishman with great interest in literature and culture.

In December, 1922, Hsuan Tung celebrated his marriage at once with an "empress" and a concubine. The ex-emperor's followers, with small understanding of the consequences, made use of this occasion for an extra performance in ancient court etiquette. Even the foreign legations were invited to an audience given by the newly wedded imperial pair.

There are said to have been other signs that the Manchus and other affiliated circles cherished ambitions that did not fit in well with republican statesmanship.

In short, at the end of October, 1924, when through Feng Yü Hsiang's *coup* an extreme Left party connected with Soviet Russia took control of Peking, the new rulers decided once and for all to make an end of this absurd survival of an apparently outworn and powerless phantom court, which still offered temptations to dangerous combinations.

THE PETTY KINGS

One day the ex-emperor and his little court were unceremoniously driven out of the Forbidden City, the imperial name of Hsuan Tung was taken from him, and he became from that day plain Mr. Pu Yi. What was left of the ancient magnificence, such as furniture and works of art, was confiscated under circumstances of which many fantastic stories are told.

Pu Yi lived at first in his childhood's home in Peking, but Feng's attitude toward him grew so threatening that he took refuge first at the Japanese legation and then at Tientsin, where he now lives in very reduced circumstances.

The once proud and mighty imperial authority of the Manchus had thus sunk into a nonentity, but a strange fate ordained that the same harsh *coup* which in 1924 expelled the ex-emperor also dispersed like chaff the corrupt remains of a parliamentary government.

The various parliaments which had sat at Peking since the Revolution of 1911 had carried out little constructive reorganization, but had preponderantly devoted themselves to finicky party politics. This parliamentary corruption reached its climax in 1923, when Tsao Kun was elected president by a parliamentary majority in which it was generally known that bribes had played the decisive part.

When now in October, 1924, Feng deposed and imprisoned Tsao Kun, this parliamentary majority was stigmatized as a venial horde, and the remorseless hand which drove out the ex-emperor also dispersed the unblest remains of the parliament.

THE DRAGON AND THE FOREIGN DEVILS

There is small doubt that the experiment of parliamentarianism during the first twelve years of the republic was a succession of blighted hopes. If China should submit her fate into the hands of a national assembly with any prospect of success, it must be of a new and purer type controlled by unselfish patriotism without reference to personal gain and petty caballing.

If we turn from the very unheroic history of the parliament to the incumbents of the republic's highest office, the presidents, we meet an, if possible, even more depressing picture. The presidential chair, eagerly sought by the most eminent men in the country, seems to be anything but a healthy position. Men who by their earlier careers have won a respected and honored name have entered upon the office amid high expectations but have soon shown themselves powerless and ended wretchedly or been driven out by some vigorous general.

Yuan Shih Kai was in many respects a case by himself. He assumed his high situation as the first pilot of the republic in Peking at a time directly after the fall of the empire, when the air was full of vernal dreams and people hoped with childish optimism that the new dispensation would come soon and easily. Yuan had the whole land under his control, the provinces paid their taxes to Peking as in the imperial days, and he further had at his disposal a large amount of money in the form of a foreign "re-organization loan" of twenty-five million pounds sterling. At the start he met with much determined

THE PETTY KINGS

opposition from the first parliament, but with a very skillful parceling of favors and threats he succeeded in getting clear of the troublesome legislative body and afterwards guided the realm with the firm hand of a dictator.

At one time, when by clever diplomacy he succeeded in parrying Japan's attempt to fetter China with her famous twenty-one demands, Yuan's popularity was enormous. Had he not listened to the flatterers and adventurers who whispered to him that he ought to be emperor and had instead remained as president to reorganize the realm, a genuine popular opinion might at last have given him the imperial title as a national reward. As it was, he and his advisers, in carrying through the monarchistic movement, met on all sides with such a violent opposition that in the end his death on June 6, 1916, came as the simplest way out of an untenable situation.

Li Yuan Hung served as a young officer under the famous vice regent, Chang Chi Tung, and later studied military science in Japan. At the outbreak of the revolution he held an important position in Wuchang and was forced by a handful of desperadoes to put himself at the head of the revolutionary forces. When the revolution had been successfully completed and the Manchu dynasty forced to abdicate, he was chosen vice president of the republic. During the time when Yuan governed China as president, Li lived in the island palace, which is situated in the midst of the lake region west of the

THE DRAGON AND THE FOREIGN DEVILS

Forbidden City and in its time had a reputation as the place of deportation for Emperor Kuang Hsu. During this time Li lived a very isolated existence and kept aloof from Yuan's monarchical ambitions.

At Yuan's death Li automatically assumed the position of president. Many hopes were then directed to him, for he was regarded as a man of honor who was truly devoted to the republican form of government. Nevertheless it soon became evident that his ability for statesmanship was far from equalling his undisputedly honorable and well-meant intentions. After a number of tactical blunders he was ousted in a quite shameful way by the emperor-maker, Chang Hsun, a melancholy story which I have related in the chapter "Peking once more under the Dragon Flag."

The vice president in Li Yuan Hung's first administration was Marshal Feng Kuo Chang, who as governor of Kiangsu with his seat of authority at Nanking held the key to the important Yangtze provinces and thus for a time played the significant rôle of balance weight in Chinese internal politics.

After the collapse of Chang Hsun's attempt at a restoration, Feng, on August 1, 1917, assumed the dignity of president, but it was not long before he showed himself little fitted for this heavy task. When he died a year later, his sons disputed over his property, but public opinion paid no more attention to him who only a year before had been China's strong man.

THE PETTY KINGS

Hsu Shih Chang was now elected president. He was a man who on his succession to office might lay claim to the honorable title of one of China's "elder statesmen." During the last decades of the empire he had held in succession nearly all the highest offices in the country: Minister of the Interior, Minister of Communications, Vice Regent, Member of the High Council, and Guardian of the Emperor. After the revolution he occupied in the last-named office a special position as protector of the dethroned emperor and the Manchus, and on some occasions Hsu succeeded in saying a good word to those in power for the benefit of the ex-imperial court, which was in constant economic difficulties.

Hsu served as president from September 4, 1918, till June 1, 1922. This was a time of increasing financial difficulties for the central government, which received no taxes from the provinces but on the contrary had to give up much of its scanty resources to those of the disputing generals who had for the moment the greatest influence in Peking. Twice the sound of cannon reached Hsu as he sat in his palace: first in 1920, when Tsao Kun, or rather his general Wu Pei Fu, in combination with Chang Tso Lin, crushed the Anfu party, which had then the power in Peking; and again in 1922, when Wu Pei Fu overwhelmingly defeated Chang Tso Lin close to the capital. It is asserted that in these critical days "old Hsu" played a double game, in consequence of which Wu gave the old gentleman instructions to vanish promptly on penalty of being forcibly removed.

THE DRAGON AND THE FOREIGN DEVILS

Hsu understood the hint, laid down his office on June 1, and departed next day to Tientsin.

Li Yuan Hung was now recalled, but on this occasion also his exit was very undignified. Along with Chang Tso Lin and Wu Pei Fu a new man, Feng Yü Hsiang, the Christian general, had raised himself to a dominating military position. His forces were stationed close to Peking and he was thus in a situation to exercise a direct influence on the political fortunes of the capital. In the spring and summer of 1923, when there was a general wish that Tsao Kun should accede to the presidency, Li stood in his way. He became the object of much direct pressure, which could hardly have been without Feng's silent connivance. When at last poor Li's water supply was cut off and the electric wires to his home cut, he was finally induced to depart to the home which he had prepared in one of the foreign concessions at Tientsin.

Tsao Kun had won a respected name as an officer, and some of the leading generals, such as Wu Pei Fu and Feng Yü Hsiang, had graduated from his school. He was for a time chief of the Third Army Division, which later won such fame under Wu. During the years 1917-1923 he was military governor of his native province of Chihli and in the latter part of that time inspector general of the provinces of Chihli, Shantung and Honan.

Tsao had the reputation of being a good-natured, decent fellow, but he came more and more under the influence of his brother, Tsao Jui, who was



GENERALS CHANG TSO LIN AND WU PEI FU

THE PETTY KINGS

characterized as his evil genius. This brother and a number of conscienceless politicians started a campaign to have Tsao Kun chosen president, and on October 5, 1922, they attained their object by a parliamentary majority secured through liberal and well-distributed bribes.

Tsao's elevation was not long-lived, and his fall was more dramatic than that of his predecessors. On October 22, 1924, when Feng Yü Hsiang moved into Peking and instituted his famous revolutionary *coup*, he first attacked Tsao, who was imprisoned and threatened with an investigation and sentence for the immense bribery proceedings which had led to his presidency.

After Tsao's fall the then coöperating generals Chang Tso Lin and Feng Yü Hsiang called upon the old Tuan Chi Jui to head a provisional government as the "chief director" of the country. Tuan was an old general who had served the land so as to win general respect during the last stage of the empire and under Yuan Shih Kai. But he was powerless in the tug of war between the rival generals who were contending for the mastery. He has recently been forced to give up his rôle as "chief executive."

During the period just described the presidents have in many cases had little influence on the course of events, and much of the executive power has, at least apparently, resided with the cabinets, which have varied greatly in type and composition. In these rapidly changing governments there have been a large number of very able men, inspired by an

THE DRAGON AND THE FOREIGN DEVILS

active wish to save the country from its distress. The direction of foreign affairs should be noted as particularly good, with men such as W. W. Yen, Wellington Kou, and C. T. Wang, diplomats who can hold their own with the best the occident can show.

The position of Minister of Finance has always been a difficult one. Without support from the provinces, but with one or more generals always demanding money, the unfortunate incumbent has faced an impossible task. He has often had to hide himself among his friends to get any rest from the growling bears.

As a common objection to the composition of the government it should be said that generals have too often been taken as premiers. These generals, even if they were worthy men personally, have rarely had any other fitness for the office than that they were favored by some still greater general outside Peking. Another deplorable fact, especially in the last few years, is that the government was often formed by a compromise between various parties, besides which some general would often send representatives rather as spies than as useful heads of departments.

The observant reader has surely now a clear idea of the reasons why the country suffered by a constant process of dissolution after the death of Yuan Shih Kai. The barrier to any work of constructive reform in all this time has been that the country has been divided into loose and constantly shifting minor kingdoms, each under a great general who either

THE PETTY KINGS

defied Peking or, what was almost worse, dominated the president and cabinet, or in extreme cases played one governmental function against the other.

In describing this rule of small kings we may properly begin with a man who was not military by profession, although for a time he figured as general-in-chief of the Cantonese armies. I allude to Sun Wen or Sun Yat Sen, as he was most often called in European papers. Sun studied medicine under doctors in the English mission and took his degree as doctor at Hongkong, 1892. He practised for some time at Macao and Canton, but soon became an active revolutionary. When he arrived in England in 1896, he was forcibly detained and taken to the Chinese legation to await an opportunity of being shipped home to China as a dangerous character. Sun, however, succeeded in throwing a letter out of the window and thereby rousing the London authorities, with the result that after several days of discussion he was set free.

When the revolution broke out in Wuchang, Sun was in England, but hastened home and was chosen president of the newly proclaimed republic. He was, however, compelled to yield place to the more artful Yuan Shih Kai. After an abortive attempt to rise against Yuan he lived for some years in Japan. In April, 1921, he was elected president of a so-called parliament, which had assembled at Canton, but his attempt to maintain a South-Chinese federation of a socialistic or more nearly Bolshevistic type was crowned with but slight success. In the summer of

THE DRAGON AND THE FOREIGN DEVILS

1922 he was driven out by a general with whom he had previously been allied, but in February, 1923, he was again in power at Canton. In the course of a year the position became again too warm for Sun, and when Feng executed his *coup* at Peking, Sun accepted the invitation to come to the northern capital. He was, however, taken sick on the trip, and his condition grew worse, so that on his arrival at Peking, December 31, he could not receive the ovation which had been prepared for him by the party of the Left. At Peking he could never take any part in the political developments and on March 12 he died. His funeral was conducted with great solemnity at the Central Park in the southwest section of the Forbidden City. Thus fate ordained that this remarkable politician ended his days in the capital against which he had fought through his whole career.

Sun Yat Sen was an idealistic fanatic who had little contact with political realities. In comparison with the other leaders of "independent" parts of China he stands out as a faithful standard-bearer of his radical ideas.

Chang Tso Lin, the "uncrowned king of Manchuria", is in every respect the opposite of Sun. I have never heard that Chang advocates any special political ideas. He is said to have cherished sympathy for the restoration of the Manchu dynasty as long as that question was mooted, but one might well believe that on any suitable occasion he would be prepared to shake an emperor out of his long coat.



Photo by Keystone View Co.

DR. SUN YAT SEN

THE PETTY KINGS

Chang's origin is somewhat obscure. He first became conspicuous during the Russo-Japanese War, when as leader of a robber band (the *hung hu tze* = redbear) he did scout service for the Japanese in Manchuria and carried on a profitable guerilla war. At the end of the war Chang and his brigands were enrolled in the Chinese army, where the leader won rapid promotion. In 1911 he became military governor of the province of Fengtien (southern Manchuria) and in 1918 inspector general of all Manchuria. In May, 1922, when his armies pressed forward toward Peking, he was thoroughly beaten by Wu Pei Fu, and in October, 1924, these two antagonists met again in a life-and-death struggle at Shan Hai Kuan. The position here was critical for Chang but was saved by the treachery of Feng Yü Hsiang toward Wu. Late in the winter of last year (1925) Chang's power trembled in the balance, when one of his young generals, Kuo Sung Lin, suddenly and in the boldest fashion rebelled against his master and made a forced march to Mukden. It might have been all up with Chang then, had not regulations as to the Japanese-controlled railroads in south Manchuria given the Japanese the right to protect their old friend Chang, so that he had time to reorganize his defenses. When Kuo could not follow up the surprise attack on which he had counted, his plan collapsed and this adventure which looked so dangerous for Chang ended with the capture and execution of Kuo and his wife. At present Chang is more secure and powerful than ever. His troops are around

THE DRAGON AND THE FOREIGN DEVILS

Peking, where he, in casual alliance with his old enemy Wu, is trying to break down the resistance offered by the armies of Feng.

Despite all the contests which Chang has waged against Wu and Feng, Manchuria has under his leadership made tremendous progress in the improvement of agriculture and commerce. Manchuria may be considered at present as one of the best-governed provincial groups, and the credit for this is undoubtedly due in large part to Chang. How far he may presume to be the savior of all China, the strong hand that shall hammer the kingdom together, is very doubtful. He has been strong as long as he kept to his own territory, Manchuria, but his ambitions "inside the Wall" have on two occasions, 1922 and 1925, collapsed in pitiful fashion.

Wu Pei Fu, if any one, is the national hero among the contending generals. He was Tsao Kun's pupil and followed him as chief of the Third Division, which under Wu's command attained an unique reputation for discipline, initiative and courage. Wu and his division first attracted attention in the spring of 1918, when they were sent to Honan to win back the cities of Yochow and Changsha for the Peking Government.

In the summer of 1920 Wu and his troops came up to Peking to fight the Anfu Party, which was then trying to pawn the country's natural advantages to the Japanese. The miserable overthrow of the Anfu-ites was chiefly Wu's work.

In the spring of 1922 Chang Tso Lin had pushed

THE PETTY KINGS

his armies to Peking, and the "Manchurian Tiger's" strength was greater than ever before. Thereupon Wu and his men arrived at the capital, determined to undertake the apparently hopeless struggle against the well-equipped Manchurian armies. Day after day we heard in the city the thunder of the heavy Manchurian¹ artillery, and bulletins from the front told of the successes of Wu's troops.

Then suddenly it was found that the invaders were in wild flight. While the main body of Wu's men kept up a steady bombardment, a minor detachment had made an encircling movement around a mountain. When this force began a rear attack on Chang's troops, the whole proud Manchurian enterprise tumbled to the ground in a few hours' time.

Wu now undertook an exploit which recalls the boldest feats of our Swedish hero kings. At the railroad junction of Fengtai south of Peking he gathered some hundreds of men and got on a train which had been taken from the material left after Chang's flight. With this handful of soldiers he rode down to Tientsin across the path of the retiring Manchurian hordes, who were following the railroad line. He was there surrounded by myriads of his fleeing enemies, and had but a single superior Manchurian officer had his wits about him, Wu would have been lost. The mere fact that Wu had got to Tientsin was enough to scare Chang's troops

¹ Manchurian has in this case nothing to do with the East-Mongolian race, Manchus, but indicates the troops, artillery, etc., from Manchuria, in other words Chang's armies, which were composed of Chinese, Manchus, Mongolians and "White Russians."

THE DRAGON AND THE FOREIGN DEVILS

so, as they streamed in from all directions, that they surrendered incontinently.

One of my Chinese friends visited Wu in his railroad carriage as he was at Tientsin letting his victory ripen around him. When my friend came down to the station, Wu was asleep and his chief of staff received the visitor. He talked about the Third Division, which had never been defeated, and of Wu's courage and coolness on the battlefield.

During the conversation two captive division commanders were brought into the train. They expected the worst, but Wu's chief of staff gave them a chance to wash and then bade them sit down and eat with him. Wu, who had now waked, came into the dining car and sat down very quietly to talk to his captured foes.

He was now at the height of his power but never mixed in with politics. On the contrary, he returned to his military post of Loyang in the province of Honan and there continued to drill his troops.

Chang Tso Lin had meanwhile taken instruction from his bitter lesson and turned resolutely to reform and enlarge his armies. The next time the two antagonists met, which was at Shan Hai Kuan in the autumn of 1924, Chang was a much more dangerous opponent than at Peking two years earlier. His armies were well equipped for the cold season, besides having trench mortars and superior artillery in general. The conflict raged for many days without any decisive advantage on either side.

Then came Feng Yü Hsiang's famous treachery

THE PETTY KINGS

toward Wu. Feng was placed as Wu's subordinate at the head of the Third Army, which was to march in the direction of Jehol. Feng departed in good order, but as soon as Wu became engaged with Chang's main body, he turned in a forced march on Peking, which he occupied, thus forming a terrible threat against Wu's military base, Tientsin.

Wu hastened in an express train to Tientsin so as to arrange for a defence at his rear, but this effort failed and he boarded a government ship which took him to the Yangtze valley. After Wu's departure his proud Third Division was annihilated at Shan Hai Kuan in a rear-guard action, and later the whole defense gave way before the attack of the well-equipped Manchurians.

After a year of retired life Wu is once more one of China's leading men, allied for the moment with his old enemy Chang in an effort to suppress Feng.

Wu has around him the glory of a courage that despises death. The most remarkable of his exploits next to his railroad trip to Tientsin in May, 1922, was doubtless his relief of the city of Ichang in the western part of the province of Hupeh in the Yangtze valley. In this city a little garrison of Wu's troops was hard pressed by an army from Szechuan, and the fall of the city seemed to be a question of days and hours. Wu, who was then in the district of Wuchang, took a few hundred men with him and hastened to the relief on board a river steamer. He arrived at the last moment, when the enemy had already won the citadel at many points. The addition

THE DRAGON AND THE FOREIGN DEVILS

in military strength which Wu and his handful of soldiers brought to Ichang was of minor importance. Yet he had reasoned correctly: the mere presence of the great conqueror made the garrison follow him to a counterattack, and in a few hours Ichang's fate was saved.

Wu has also the good name of being an absolutely honest and loyal man. That he remained quiet at Loyang while Tsao Kun's circle bribed parliament and so secured him the presidential title was only out of consideration for his old chief, Tsao.

It may, however, be questioned how far Wu could be the man to establish a united China. One has rather the impression that he is first a good army leader and a man of rare valor, but much less an administrator of such capacity as is needed for him who can successfully become dictator of China. Had he been sure of his ability as statesman, it seems as if, after his overwhelming victory over Chang in May, 1922, when he was tremendously admired, loved and feared, he would have gone straight to Peking, which lay open to him and where he could have taken the helm of government without opposition.

Wu is in all respects the most attractive of the great military leaders and he has the advantage of being national Chinese and not of relying on any foreign power, as does Chang on Japan and Feng on Russia.

Feng Yü Hsiang, "the Christian general", is a peculiar type, very difficult to describe. It seems probable to me that both those who exalt him to the

THE PETTY KINGS

skies and those who see in him only a traitor are unjust, and that Feng is a mixture of good and bad qualities, both exhibited in gigantic proportions.

Feng's best deed is his soldiers, who are in China of unique excellence. I myself made their acquaintance one night under the city wall of Peking, some days after the *coup* of October 23, 1924. Not only were these soldiers conspicuously well disciplined, so that one felt absolutely safe among them, but they were polite, helpful and intelligent. They sat ranged like good boys on the edge of an open baggage wagon, listening with interest to our descriptions of the journey from Kansu.

One hears the same good opinion of Feng's troops from all quarters, and it may safely be said that there must be much good in the man who can create such a splendid soldier type.

When Feng came as military governor to Sianfu in Shensi, it is said that he gave the women of the streets forty-eight hours to leave the city and that opium smoking was severely punished. When he came in the same high capacity to Kaifeng, the capital of Honan, he came out against not only the singing girls and sellers of opium but even against the use of silken clothing. There is much confirmatory evidence that he is a fanatic with a violent temperament.

What is most held up against Feng is the desertion of his superior, Wu, in October, 1924, when he also attacked his old chief, Tsao Kun. Loyalty is a thing taken for granted among the Chinese, and Feng's

THE DRAGON AND THE FOREIGN DEVILS

offence against this virtue has caused great masses of the educated people to lose confidence in him.

I should not, however, be just to Feng if I did not add that something can be said in his defense. First there is his personal feeling: Feng considered that he had been ill-treated by Wu and it was therefore human that he took his revenge. Feng further asserts that Wu was ill-equipped and inferior to Chang that it was therefore only to prevent useless bloodshed that Feng ended the war with his *coup*. On the contrary it may be asserted that Feng afterwards, last winter in fact, did not hesitate to storm and capture Tientsin with a disregard of human life that is unique in China's recent civil warfare.

Feng is the only one of the great generals just described whom I have met personally. It was in April, 1925, shortly before my departure from China. I had submitted a proposal for a geographic-hydraulic investigation of western Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan with regard to the possibilities of putting the desert into cultivation by means of extensive irrigation projects. Feng was interested in this plan, and I was requested to come along with Doctor C. T. Wang, the great diplomat, when he went to Kalgan to visit his friend Feng.

I had read much of Feng's simple manner of life, but what I saw surpassed all I could have imagined. The great marshal lived in what had been our countryman Larsson's weaving establishment, which had been somewhat spruced up to serve for human habitation. Round these little huts passed numerous

THE PETTY KINGS

sentries armed with executioner's axes, but peace reigned in Feng's courtyard and his little children played in front of their papa's window.

Feng appeared dark and gloomy, and he said himself that he had little time to think of such remote questions as those I spoke of. I went home with the feeling that I had visited a deeply unhappy and lonely man.

Feng himself is said to be now on his way home from a visit to Moscow to consolidate the work in which he coöperates with his Russian comrades. Meanwhile his armies are fighting north of Peking against the allied forces of Chang Tso Lin and Wu Pci Fu.

The civil war in China will continue till a leader shows himself in a position to strike down all his rivals and unite the country. I can not tell whether this will prove to be Chang, Wu or Feng. Perhaps the man of the future is sitting on his study bench at the university or is serving as a young officer with one of the great war lords. In such a case the civil war will continue to rage for some years to come.