

fortunes are likely to be influenced by a woman of royalist sympathies, whose acquaintance he will make early in 1924. Lloyd George, who at some future date will again be brought into political opposition to Poincaré, is described as still far from the end of his public career.

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PEONAGE IN ARGENTINA

APROPOS of the measures discussed at the Pan-American Congress in Santiago for the protection of dependent races, *La Prensa* points out that this is a question of wider import in Argentina. Not only the uncivilized Indians but citizen laborers are subject to great oppression in some of her northern provinces.

In 1904 Argentina provided by law for 'protectors of the natives' and for some ten years the national Department of Labor has investigated and reported upon their condition. These investigations have revealed serious abuses similar to those that prevailed in Mexico under the Diaz régime, when Indian laborers were recruited in the more thickly settled sections to work upon the henequin plantations of Yucatan.

Recruiters penetrate to the remotest villages of the tropical forests of the northern Argentine in search of labor. The Indians, often accompanied by their families, are induced to leave home by the promise of high wages, promises that are not kept after they have reached their destination. They are brought to the railway in long caravans and transported from that point on flat cars 'with accommodations worse than those provided for live stock.'

They are herded on the estates under the open sky, without sufficient food and destitute of everything that distinguishes men from animals. Notwithstanding this, they are a very valuable class of labor, since most of them combine extraordinary physical strength with natural docility. They accomplish as much as civilized workers of the better class, and the pay they receive is substantially nothing, for their low wages are in the form of orders, valid only at the plantation store, where they are charged incredibly exorbitant prices for the poorest quality of goods. The natives also have a natural love of alcohol, which is played upon to induce them to take their balances at the end of their contracts in liquors.

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FASCISTI AND POPOLARI

WE take the following suggestive comparison of the Fascisti and the Popolari from the Rome correspondence of *Kölnische Zeitung*: —

The conflict is not only between two dictators — Mussolini, the founder of Fascism, and Don Sturzo, the founder of the Popular Party — but simultaneously a conflict between two fundamentally different tendencies. Behind it, if we go deep enough, is the old feud between Ghibellines and Guelphs; between the ancient-pagan and the mediæval-spiritual conception of the State. The Fascisti seek a centralized, nationalist, imperial, highly disciplined, and powerful government, ruled by an oligarchy; the Popolari seek a decentralized, democratic, parliamentary government, with a maximum of personal and political liberty. In the field of foreign policy their differences are equally striking. Fascism champions the *sacro egoismo* of a national imperialism whose ambitions are limited only by the power of its rivals, while the Popolari advocate peace and international coöperation. Don Sturzo has been laboring more than a year to organize a 'white international' embracing the Catholic parties of every country.

PLUNDERING PEKING

BY COUNT ALFRED WALDERSEE

[Field-Marshal Waldersee commanded the international expedition to Peking at the time of the Boxer disturbances in 1900. The following article has been compiled from his notes by Heinrich Otto Meisner. It is published substantially as it appears in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* except for the suppression of certain names and the omission of several footnotes. American readers will recall that the term 'Huns,' applied to the Germans by the Allies, harks back to the Kaiser's exhortation to the German contingent when it left for China; and will doubtless infer certain reticences in General Waldersee's memoranda.]

From *Preussische Jahrbücher*, March

(BERLIN CONSERVATIVE NATIONALIST HISTORICAL MONTHLY)

WHEN the advance against Peking reached Tungchow, the generals assembled for a council of war. General Linevich, Commander of the Russian contingent and the auxiliary troops, declared that his men were so exhausted by the excessive heat that he must halt for two days. He must also wait for the arrival of the river junks with supplies. After a long consultation it was agreed to rest one day and on August 15 to advance with all forces against Peking. During the night of August 13 a movement started in the Russian camp and the advance really began at that time, although the foreign generals were not notified. The other contingents, with the exception of the French, followed as rapidly as they were able. I do not know what caused General Linevich to make this move. Rumor has it that a messenger reached him from the Russian Embassy in Peking, urging the utmost haste.

The Russians marched along the main road north of the canal with the Japanese upon their right. The English and the Americans followed the main highway south of the canal. Since the 'Chinese City' (of Peking), which lay directly in the line of march of the latter, was not defended, a few Indian soldiers managed to scale the outer wall

and to open a gate from the inside, permitting their forces to march through. Later they attacked the much higher southern wall of the inner or Tatar City, the English striking it at the Hata Gate and west of that point facing the business quarter, while the Americans advanced against the Chien Gate.

Both the Hata Gate and the Chien Gate were defended by Chinese, but the wall between was not garrisoned. This enabled a few Englishmen to crawl under the wall without firing a shot, at the point where it is pierced by the canal that divides the business section into two parts. They thus were able to enter the Tatar City. Immediately the Chinese abandoned the two gates, which were opened from the inside and seized by the English and the Americans. The English troops were utterly exhausted and rested the remainder of the fourteenth, but the Americans exchanged shots from the Chien Gate with the Chinese, who had fortified themselves at the two gates and the temples south of the Forbidden City.

The Russians, with the Japanese upon their right, struck the Tatar City along the eastern wall, which was heavily garrisoned by Chinese. They attacked vigorously, and late in the

afternoon forced their way into the city with the loss of some two hundred men, taking possession of the quarter lying nearest them. The Japanese pushed forward farther than their neighbors. The French pillaged Tungchow on August 14, and were reported to have perpetrated great atrocities there. Numerous Chinese, including many Christians, were slaughtered.

The first troops that France sent to China were colonial forces under the command of General Frey. The other contingents engaged in the advance against Peking — that is, the English, Americans, Japanese, and Russians, particularly the latter — had a very poor opinion of these forces. The French were charged with being ill-disciplined, especially when on the march and toward the natives, with falling behind the other troops, and with lack of snap and spirit. Russian officers were especially severe in their criticisms, which they expressed so frankly that relations between the two contingents were from the outset most unfriendly. Russian generals spoke very contemptuously of the French. The Brigade Baillaud and the Regiment *Chasseurs d'Afrique*, which came later, and the artillery, were unquestionably much better, but discipline was inferior throughout the French forces, especially in case of the infantry.

The French did not reach Peking until early on August 15. They joined the Americans in light skirmishing on the southern edge of the Forbidden City and the western portion of the Tatar City. Among all contingents a disposition to pillage grew with the obstinacy of the Chinese resistance. The French officers were not able to get their men forward to the Catholic Cathedral, which was hard pressed and where more than three thousand Chinese and European Christians, with Bishops Favier and Jarlin, had found

refuge. This cathedral had been besieged since June 14. The Christians shut up there were not rescued until the sixteenth, and then by the Japanese, who penetrated to that point from the north of the Imperial City. On the fifteenth the Americans had serious friction with the Russians and the French over the delimitation of the districts that they were to plunder. Rumor has it that they came near to exchanging shots.

The Japanese were the driving force in the advance against Peking. Had it not been for their push and energy, the expedition would have been appreciably delayed. In addition, they were far better equipped and better informed concerning conditions and topography. All the other contingents were clumsy in their field operations. The leading spirit among the Japanese was not General Yamaguchi, the division commander, but General Fukushima.

During the six weeks of anarchy that had reigned in Peking, the Chinese wrought wreck and ruin on every hand. This was quite as true of the Government soldiers as of the Boxers. Many civilian inhabitants of the city had also participated in the carnival of pillage and destruction. The Imperial City was garrisoned by reliable troops and was completely cut off from the Tatar City and the still remoter Chinese City that successively encircled it; but beyond its borders burning, pillaging, and murder were unchecked. The first victims were naturally the Christians, of whom there were at least ten thousand in Peking, and the numerous missionary institutions. The next victims were those reputed to be friendly to foreigners. False witness and private vengeance played a great part in these atrocities, as always happens in China. Hordes of beggars and thieves also took advantage of the opportunity to enrich themselves.

When the international troops entered, they found entire streets and numerous private buildings in ruins and many residences completely looted. All the wealthier inhabitants who could do so had fled, and many houses of the better class were unoccupied.

It was not strange, therefore, that our expeditionary soldiers, who had become habituated to pillaging and plundering on the march to Peking, and also had been sedulously excited to a fanatical hatred of the Chinese, should be tempted, upon finding the city in this condition, also to take to looting. The Indian and Japanese troops thought they had a perfect right to all the booty they could lay hands on. Every nation except the Germans had already received a thorough training in plundering at Tientsin, so matters naturally took the course they did at Peking. It was not until three days had elapsed that the generals agreed to put a stop to looting. After that the worst atrocities ceased, but for a long time thereafter security of property was practically unknown. Since Captain von Usedon did not permit his men to enter Tientsin until after the fighting there was over, and since the German troops did not reach Peking until plundering had been forbidden, our soldiers did not participate in this period of pillage. Neither did the Italians or the Austrians.

It is useless to discuss whether the Russians, Japanese, English, French, or Americans most distinguished themselves in these exploits. All shared in them. The Japanese plundered with system and discipline, as they always kept their men well in hand. No one was permitted to loot for private profit. Each soldier was required to turn over what he secured. The Japanese were naturally better informed than others as to where valuables were to be found, and concentrated their attention upon

silver and gold bullion. A Japanese general assured me that the booty taken by his forces at Tientsin alone amounted to two million taels — or about a million and a half dollars in American currency.

The Americans afforded the most striking contrast to the Japanese. They were fond of professing that their laws forbade plundering under heavy penalties, and that consequently their men did not participate in the pillaging. But as a matter of fact their soldiers did loot, to a certain extent with the countenance of their officers, most efficiently. For weeks you could buy openly in the American camps, from officers and privates alike, articles of every kind, and it was not unusual to see American soldiers peddling their booty. Furthermore, a great number of American buyers were on the ground purchasing loot. Unquestionably American officers permitted these proceedings, and probably they participated in them. If I remember rightly, it was in May when it was reported to me that our police had detected Chinese letting down valuable articles by ropes during the night from the southwest corner of the walls of the Forbidden City. The offenders were turned over to the Chinese courts, and I was assured later that the evidence proved that the Americans assigned to guard this part of the Forbidden City were implicated in these proceedings.

When the Forbidden City was restored to the Chinese late in 1901, the greater part of that portion which had been under Japanese protection was in good condition, but the American section was almost completely looted. The official speeches delivered when the town was turned over to its proper owners must have been absurd. The Americans solemnly asserted that they had carefully protected everything, and the Chinese, with unconcealed sarcasm,

replied that they were deeply obligated for the favor.

The American —, Mr. X, and his wife were regarded as the luckiest buyers among the foreigners. They were very wealthy, and invested large sums, mostly for things bought at ridiculously low prices — as was quite possible at a time when most of the objects were still in the possession of individual soldiers. The latter had no idea of the value of their loot and did not dare to keep it in their own possession. This couple continued making purchases up to the time I left. They were well advised by a Mr. P——, who had lived forty years in China. Whenever I visited them, new articles were to be found in their drawing-room, mostly cloisonnés, porcelains, and red-lacquer wares. Mr. X personally told me that he had bought so much that his big residence in New York would not begin to hold his purchases. The newspapers criticized him severely, but he had good friends at home, and everything went smoothly.

A report by Major-General von Hoepfner, dated October 25, 1901, upon the condition of the Winter Palace previous to and at the time it was taken over by the Germans states: —

Countless little national flags of both nations testified to the activities of the Americans and the English in the part of the city later turned over to the Germans; as did likewise English inscriptions upon the looted houses, and the fact that the Americans made several attempts after our occupation to secure possession of quantities of iron, coal, and railway material to which they falsely claimed title by virtue of ostensible bills of sale.

Indian troops — and with the exception of the artillery all the British troops were Indian — took it as a matter of course that the property of a defeated enemy should be looted. That used to be provided in the terms of

surrender. If, as English officers assert, this is no longer the case, it is none the less admitted that the evil still exists. Their troops were ordered to take possession and bring in property without a claimant, in order that it might be sold later for the common profit of the soldiers. The depository for such goods in Peking was the English Embassy and the adjoining Imperial Wagon-yard. All the goods brought in were classified at this point and auctioned off. The amount of 'unowned' property thus discovered may be gathered from the fact that the auctions lasted between six or seven weeks, and there were many other special sales later. In fact, during my own presence in Peking, two months after the city was captured, such auctions were of frequent occurrence. It was good business practice not to hasten these sales, because every day brought a host of new buyers to the city. They came from Shanghai, Tientsin, Japan, and later even from the United States. I saw with my own eyes regular detachments of Indian soldiers arrive at the Embassy loaded with loot and deliver the property to Sir Claude Macdonald, the English Ambassador, or General Gaslee, the commander of the English contingent.

At these auctions you could buy anything that China produced — porcelains, cloisonnés, bronzes, red-lacquer wares, furs, silks (mostly in bales), embroideries, clocks, real pearls, precious stones, and various ornaments. One of the most eager buyers was Lady Macdonald, who took it exceedingly ill if anybody ventured to bid against her. She bought vast quantities of treasures, naturally at ridiculously low prices. An undated report of our Chief Quartermaster, Major-General Freiherr von Gayl, says: 'The departure of the Russian troops from Petchili brought to light astounding quantities of luggage, as did also the departure of

the late English Ambassador from Peking.'

These auctions were regularly advertised and published. Chinese were frequently bidders — it was rumored for the purpose of getting back their own property. I must make it plain that such sales were considered strictly regular and legal, though I often had the sad conviction that English hypocrisy knows no limits. The proceeds were regarded as a sort of prize money, and distributed to the British expeditionaries according to a sliding scale, which must have given the Commanding General a small fortune. Naturally all the loot was not turned into the common stock. For a long period you would meet on the streets Indian soldiers who had articles to sell.

When the English and Italians occupied the Summer Palace, they had all the objects of value in their respective parts of the building gathered in a great room and put under guard. But a mere glance revealed the fact that this was only part of the original contents. The Russians had already got away with the best. I do not know what became of this property, but fancy it could now be found in England. Whenever it was to their advantage, the English appealed to my authority as supreme commander. They twice asked me for permits to remove the articles in question. I naturally replied that in this matter they must follow instructions from their home Government. I could not refrain from suggesting that they would please the Russians by taking these things, since what was left was of comparatively trivial worth.

I am convinced, therefore, that the English troops were on the search for articles of value during the whole time that I was in Peking. They were particularly interested in bronzes, and got possession of a great number of Buddhas, which they found at temples in

Peking and elsewhere. The Chinese authorities complained of this to me. I was able to convince myself that all the life-size bronze Buddhas had been gradually carried off from a large temple near the English headquarters. In fact, a French officer called my attention to the fact. It was later proved that the firm of Arnold and Karberg in Tientsin had bought more than a thousand hundredweight of bronze Buddhas from the English, and that several freight cars loaded with Buddhas had been unloaded at a large warehouse in Tonga. I had further information as to the fate of these Buddhas from a Dr. Müller, who was making purchases in China for the Berlin Anthropological Museum. He was highly indignant over the practices of the English. Buddhas were not taken for their historical or artistic value, but merely on account of their metal. They did not go to museums but to foundries.

Of all the plunderers, the Russians were the frankest and most brutal. They delighted not merely in plundering but also in destroying. Not only did they plunder on private account, but also officially. They were particularly keen for the art objects that were so abundant in the Summer and Winter Palaces, and in the private palaces under Russian protection. Whole wagon-trains of these objects were shipped to Tungchow, where they were transhipped to Pei-ho river-boats. We were told frankly that these articles were going to Port Arthur to be placed in an East Asiatic Museum projected by Admiral Alexeiev.

When the Russian troops were about to withdraw from Tonga to Port Arthur, and it was rumored that the Russian authorities in the latter city had received strict instructions to collect duties upon these goods, the Russian soldiers offered great quantities of

loot for sale at ridiculous prices, and there was a boom in the curio trade at Tientsin. I personally saw what the Russians left behind at the Summer and Winter Palaces, and could form some opinion from that of what they had taken away. The evacuation of the two palaces occurred somewhat sooner than was anticipated, so that they could not carry off everything that they had prepared to seize. This was shown by the fact that all articles had been inventoried and tagged with European numbers. In order to palliate their own offense, the Russians were accustomed to invite every visitor — whether diplomat, army officer, commercial traveler, or press correspondent — who came to learn the secrets of the Imperial residences, to accept a little souvenir of the occasion. Furthermore, the Russians took the remarkable precaution of evacuating the Palaces twenty-four hours earlier than had been agreed upon, so that the Chinese had a free run of them. Naturally they later attributed the losses to the plundering of the latter.

The Italians packed up and shipped off everything they could lay hands on in the portion of the Summer Palace that they occupied. I myself saw great rows of packing-cases standing there. For fear of offending public opinion, they did not venture to ship these things home immediately, and great groups of Buddhas and bronze lions, and hundreds of cases of goods, were still stored at their Embassy as late as the summer of 1902. Altogether they carried off a great deal from Peking and vicinity. I often saw personally columns of eight or ten laden wagons entering their Embassy.

The French looted freely, with the encouragement of General Frey. Most of the larger objects of value were in the great temple-compounds where General Frey had his headquarters, close to the

Winter Palace, and were shipped to France in packing-cases from that point. However, this aroused such criticism in the Chamber of Deputies that the things were sent back. I actually saw much such property returned and unpacked in the temple north of Coal Hill. But evil report has it that the greater part remained in France. In the summer of 1902 many articles were still stored in the French Embassy, among other things the astronomical instruments. I noticed when I called on General Boyron, the commander of the French contingent, that his quarters were often adorned with new art-objects.

Some of the loot was delivered to Bishop Favier to compensate him and his converts for their own fearful losses. Favier sold these articles little by little. I personally bought a number of furs from him at a very low price.

When General Boyron arrived in Peking he established himself in a group of buildings close to the Winter Palace and requested General Hoepfner to turn over to him the Old Cathedral with its annexes, which had hitherto been occupied by German troops. Hoepfner complied, and incidentally delivered to the French, I fancy without knowing it, great quantities of beautiful art-objects that had been collected at the Cathedral, among other things the gifts that had been sent to the Empress from all parts of the Empire at the time of her jubilee. The building seems also to have served as a furniture storehouse, for it contained a great quantity of beautiful carpets.

Pierre Loti asserts that all these articles were removed to a temple — without giving any reason for it — and later returned to the Chinese. Had that been the plan, they might have been left where they were. Personally I believe they are now in France.

Chinese participated in much of the

robbery and plundering. Chinese officials stole right and left, especially in the Palaces, and naturally tried to put the blame upon the foreign troops. European and American curio-buyers also played a great rôle. Vast quantities of stolen property fell into the hands of the Chinese and were sold by them to soldiers. But most of the loot acquired by the latter was stolen off-hand. The Chinese were exceedingly skillful in hiding things; and it is natural to hide property dishonestly acquired. You never would find much for sale at the shops of the regular dealers, but as soon as the few articles they had on display were disposed of, others immediately took their places. The peddlers, who brought things to sell to

Europeans never had more than one or two objects in their possession, but they always had a new supply the following day. Much loot was buried or hidden away in the subterranean passages so numerous in Peking.

When the foreign troops evacuated the city and turned over the control of affairs to the Chinese police, a vigorous search was made for stolen property, especially that taken from the Palaces. This resulted in numerous executions. After the Imperial Court returned, many of these articles came to light; for rich Chinamen bought up the plunder from the Palaces, with the purpose of winning the gratitude of Her Majesty by presenting it to her when she returned.

TURKEY GOES DRY

BY M. P. GENTIZON

[Turkey's determination to prohibit the liquor traffic in the Land of the Crescent has been one of the obstacles to a speedier settlement of diplomatic difficulties between France and that country.]

From *Figaro*, April 28
(FRENCH RADICAL DAILY)

THE melancholy results of prohibition in the United States have not daunted the Nationalists of Angora. A law prohibiting the manufacture, importation, sale, and consumption of all alcoholic drinks is already in force in Anatolia, and will soon be applied in Constantinople. Persons detected drinking in public, or in a state of intoxication, will be punished by flogging or by a fine of fifty to one hundred Turkish pounds. The Cabinet is drafting regulations controlling the use of alcohol in medicines.

Thus the dark campaign against the 'bottle divine' is encircling our planet. The ancient East copies the New World. Angora follows in the footsteps of Washington. Is this mirth-destroying cobweb of prohibition to be spun around the whole globe? The evil is spreading. It has struck root in America and in Asia; and to-morrow its tentacles will have embraced one corner of Europe — Constantinople. The great and ancient metropolis of the Bosphorus will be the first dry city of our old continent.