

"A Time for Kings to Stand Together"

Standing and falling together—Moving toward internationalism

By J. W. MACMILLAN.

Erasmus, who lived in the golden age of kings, has this to say of them.

"Let any physiognomist, not a blunderer in his trade, consider the look and features of an eagle,—those rapacious and wicked eyes, that threatening curve of the beak, those cruel cheeks, that stern front; will he not at once recognize the image of a king—of a magnificent and majestic king? Add to these a dark ill-omened color, and unpleasing, dreadful, appalling, voice, and that threatening scream at which every kind of animal trembles. Every one will acknowledge this type, who has learned how terrible are the threats of princes, even uttered in jest. At the scream of the eagle the people tremble, the senate shrinks, the nobility cringes, the judges concur, the divines are dumb, the lawyers assent, the laws and constitutions give way; neither right nor religion, neither justice nor humanity prevails. And thus, while there are so many birds of sweet and melodious song, the unpleasant and unmusical scream of the eagle alone has more power than all the rest."

It is now several years since the word was passed between the autocrats of Austria, Germany, Bulgaria, and Greece that it was "a good time for kings to stand together." In the midst of the upheaval of nations, with whole populations being slaughtered or starved, amid the flames of burning cities and the shrieks of drowning women, the royal conspirators against mankind felt that their monopoly of ruthless power was in danger. Their craft was in peril—the old guild of tyranny,—with its skill in beguiling throats to their own hurt. It was a just providence which drew into mutual alliance the autocrats of the world. The sword of freedom was flashing as never before. The privileges of high and irresponsible power were threatened.

And to-day, when thrones are tumbling their occupants into ditches, it is again a good time for kings to stand together. Let them stand, not in ceremonial magnificence, aweing their peoples by prestige and pageant, hoaxing them with proud words and subtle policies, mercilessly robbing them, oppressing them, driving them to slaughter, but, clad in shame and misery, let them face the anger of an outraged world at the bar of judgment. Let the world settle once for all with kings.

It is vital, if the nefarious brood is to be exterminated, that we be not misled by appearances, and that we do not insist on trifles. The craft of kingship consists mostly in simulation. They are the supreme actors of the ages, for whom all the world has been the stage. Democracy finds her strength in candor and simplicity. We must not be deceived by words, nor be gulled by our own resentments. We may cheat ourselves of our desperately won victory by impulsive and superficial thinking.

A king may be called something else, as in the case of Turkey. A titular head, who has no proper kingly power, may be called a king, as in the case of Great Britain. It is not at all important that the defeated kings be slain. Human nature being what it is it is better to let them sink into obscurity than to make martyrs of them. Charles the first was beheaded, and was thus transformed into a saint. James the Second was allowed to live on ignominiously, and no one remembered him. One great fact to remember as we face the future of the world is that human nature has queer quirks in it. In the settlement after the war it is the institution which must be kept in mind, not the person.

There is a third sense in which it is true that it is a good time for kings to stand together. Kingship will not be extinguished, but transferred. There must be rule and authority. The intention is that the sovereign people shall inherit the power of the kings. But many things may happen to rob them of the succession. It is a good thing for the nations, if they are to realize their power and rule themselves, to stand together.

The everlasting problem for all rulers is to maintain social control of individuals. Kings have done it, as we have said, by guile and force. The peoples must use other means, which are not always so obvious.

A scrutiny of the human individual is enough to make one wonder that he ever is socially controlled. For he is a creature possessed by such a volume and intensity of desires as would seem to make him a

rebel to any law but that of his own wants. Man is the fiercest beast on earth, as he has proved by winning dominion over the creatures. He is a restless, striving, doing person, an engine of irrepresible and indomitable energy. He inherits an equipment of instincts, explosive in their nature, and wanting only some external stimulus for their discharge, it may be in rage and fury. Any hindrance to his personal ambition, his lust for power, his longing to impress himself, his desire for fame or fortune or woman is apt to provoke him to ungovernable anger.

Add to this that the human atoms have an affinity for each other, and that these phenomena of instinctive activity and energy are multiplied as they become mass movements, and we begin to see how difficult the problems of government are. The wonder is that there is any order and co-operation among men. Napoleon said, "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar." He might have been more inclusive in his dictum and said, with perfect truth, "Scratch a civilized man and you find a savage." We are a daring and disobedient breed. And none of the children of men are more characterized by these masculine and ferocious traits than the races which are the foremost in civilization. The present war has shown that the most highly cultivated races, and the choicest spirits among them, have valor and audacity, on earth or in the sea, or in the air, which has never been surpassed in the long history of human fighting.

Such being human nature the gentlemen who gather about the table at the peace conference might recall the lines,

"Harness me down with your iron bands, be sure of your curb and rein;
For I scorn the power of your puny hands as the tempest scorns the chain."

It is a time for kings to stand together. If we are to be rid of war we must substitute peaceful law

for national revenge. It was a mighty stride forward when society took over the righting of private wrongs. Not until then was there freedom from family feuds and personal vengeance. Every interest of man was furthered when the individual gave up his custom of being judge, jury and executioner in his own quarrels. Neither life nor property were safe till then. We are in a similar position regarding international quarrels. The property and lives of human beings are unsafe till an international society has taken over from the nations their right to make war. The moment is propitious for such a move, for the world is weary and sick of war. We cannot count on it remaining so. In another generation this war will have become a romance, and the pugnacious instinct of mankind will be ready for another provocation. Let it never be forgotten that while, on occasion, men may be disgusted with war, the prevailing attitude of man is admiration of war. It is easy, except immediately after a disastrous war, to rouse the war-spirit in any people.

There are parties forming in all the countries concerned who will oppose any effective internationalization of the world. They will rally round the national flags and beat the drums of patriotism. They will strive to avoid financial loss from political arrangements which will interfere with their exploitation of their fellow-countrymen. They will appeal to ancestral race hatreds. And they will draw many after them. It behooves men and women whose goodwill is staunch to remember the last words of Edith Cavell, "Patriotism is not enough."

Slowly, during measureless centuries, moves the race of man toward co-operation. And, at the same time, the movement towards complete individualization accompanies it. Man in his primitive condition is neither as much of a man nor as much of a citizen as civilized man. The more complex his relations with others the more vigorous and clear-cut is his individuality. One does not lose in the smaller sphere by gaining in the greater. A man is not the worse husband because he is a good neighbor. A man is not a worse patriot because he can admire and co-operate with men in other countries. It is not treachery to Canada to be British. It is not treachery to Britain to become a citizen of the human brotherhood.

The Great Armistice

Germany handcuffed till final peace terms are settled

The following speech delivered by President Wilson to Congress on the afternoon of November 11, gives the situation in which belligerent nations now find themselves.

"Gentlemen of the Congress: In these times of rapid and stupendous change it will in some degree lighten my sense of responsibility to perform in person the duty of communicating to you some of the larger circumstances of the situation with which it is necessary to deal.

"The German authorities, who have at the invitation of the Supreme War Council been in communication with Marshal Foch, have accepted and signed the terms of armistice, which he was authorized and instructed to communicate to them. Those terms are as follows:

1.—MILITARY CLAUSES ON WESTERN FRONT.

"(1) Cessation of operations by land and in the air six hours after the signature of the armistice.

"(2) Immediate evacuation of invaded countries—Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxemburg—so ordered as to be completed within fourteen days from the signature of the armistice. German troops which have not left the above-mentioned territories within the period fixed will become prisoners of war. Occupation by the Allied and United States forces jointly will keep pace with evacuation in these areas. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated in accordance with a note annexed to the stated terms.

"(3) Repatriation beginning at once and to be completed within fourteen days of all inhabitants of the countries above-mentioned, including hostages and persons under trial or convicted.

"(4) Surrender in good condition by the German armies of the following equipment: Five thousand guns (2,500 heavy, 2,500 field), 30,000 machine guns, 3,000 minenwerfer, 2,000 aeroplanes (fighters, bombers—first D, 73s, and night bombing machines). The above to be delivered in situ to the Allies and the United States troops in accordance with the detailed conditions laid down in the annexed note.

"(5) Evacuation by the German armies of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. These countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be administered by the local authorities under the control of the Allied and United States armies of occupation. The occupation of these territories will be determined by Allied and United States garrisons holding the principal crossings of the Rhine, Mayence, Coblenz, Cologne, together with bridgeheads at these points, in thirty kilometre radius on the right bank and by garrisons similarly holding the strategic points of the regions. A neutral zone shall be reserved on the right of the Rhine between the stream and a line drawn parallel to it forty kilometres to the east from the frontier of Holland to the parallel of Gernshiem and as far as practicable a distance of thirty kilometres from the east of stream from this parallel upon Swiss frontier. Evacuation by the enemy of the Rhine lands shall be so ordered as to be completed within a further period of eleven days, in all nineteen days after the signature of the armistice. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated according to the note annexed.

"(6) In all territory evacuated by the enemy there shall be no evacuation of inhabitants. No damage or harm shall be done to the persons or property of the inhabitants. No destruction of any kind to be committed. Military establishments of all kinds shall be delivered intact, as well as military stores of food, munitions, equipment not removed during the periods fixed for evacuation. Stores of food of all kinds for the civil population, cattle, etc., shall be left in situ. Industrial establishments shall not be impaired in any way, and their personnel shall not be removed. Roads and means of communication of every kind, railroad, waterways, main roads, bridges, telegraphs, telephones, shall be in no manner impaired.

"(7) All civil and military personnel at present employed on them shall remain. Five thousand locomotives, fifty thousand wagons, and ten thousand

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