

only one of the causes of unrest. There are several others.

First: The cause which an inquirer hears most about in talking with negroes is the changing attitude of the Federal Government toward them. It has been a deep and comforting feeling among negroes ever since the Civil War that, no matter what happened, Uncle Sam was their friend and protector. Without entering at all into the merits of the case, the movement to segregate negro workers in the departments at Washington and the failure of the Democratic Administration to reappoint most of the negroes who occupied important Federal positions have been regarded by negroes as a body blow at their aspirations.

Second: Negroes feel a steadily changing sentiment in the North. The older generation of men who fought for the abolition of slavery, and who looked upon the negro with peculiar sympathy, has passed away; and the men of the newer generation are not only not interested, but are impatient of being worried with a problem so essentially disagreeable. They dislike, quite frankly, to see negroes crowding into Northern cities; and they are more than willing that the South should deal with its own problem in its own way, so long as they are not disturbed.

Third: Nowhere in the Southern States has the negro any direct political power (though, in a peculiar way, he does possess an enormous indirect influence), and segregation laws in cities are gradually becoming more strict. The recent vote at St. Louis in favour of the segregation of negroes in certain sections of the city is a case in point.

Nor is this all. The negro is now being threatened at the very point at which his opportunity for development has been the widest and freest, that is, in the country districts of the South. It was the wise advice of the late Booker T. Washington, as it is the advice of Major Moton, his successor, to the coloured man to "get land," "own a home," and thus make himself independent. But now that negroes have actually acquired millions of acres of Southern land, and are renting millions more (negroes now own or control a territory equivalent in acreage to twice the state of South Carolina), a movement starts, supported by a leading agricultural paper, to force segregation also in country districts and to restrict the freedom of the negro to purchase land where he will.

Fourth: Though negro children represent about 40 per cent. of the school population in 11 Southern States, they are getting only 12 per cent. of the school funds expended in those States; and in certain States the coloured people do not even get back all the money for their schools they themselves actually pay in taxes. That is, in these States, they are not only paying for their own schools, but contributing to the support of the white schools. In Louisiana, the amount spent for education is only \$1.60 a year for each negro child of school age.

Fifth: Once, it was asserted that negroes were lynched only for the "usual crime," but now they are lynched for all sorts of crimes and offences, sometimes of the most trivial character, and there are numerous recent cases in which wholly innocent negroes have been lynched. While for twenty years, down to 1905, there was a rapid and hopeful decrease in the number of lynchings, the last ten years, during which the progress of the negro has been most rapid, have shown little change.



And they said he was done for!
—The Passing Show (London.)

T. R. WRITES HIS VIEWS

*Insists on Universal Service for
All Americans*

WHILE Washington walks calmly into war with Mexico Roosevelt is, among other things, thundering away about "universal service" for Americans in the Metropolitan Magazine. Universal service should, he declares, be accepted as a matter of course in any country enjoying universal suffrage; for those who enjoy the suffrage as a right should perform the service as a duty; and the duty and the right should be correlated. In time of war different kinds of service would have to be rendered by different men. The skilled mechanic who could do a particular thing better than any one else should be kept at it and not sent to the front. It should be the duty of the government in time of peace to find out what the peculiar fitness of each man is, so as to be ready to utilize him where he can best perform the work if the country is assailed. Such training as I advocate should be welcomed by every one. Above all, it should be welcomed by those men, working men or farmers, who have been most apt to be suspicious of a regular army; for this would make a potential army which would be nothing whatever but the people themselves, the people trained not only to the use of arms, but to obedience and discipline and orderly liberty, expressed and secured by their own actions. Such universal training for universal service has nothing in common with militarism. Switzerland and Australia are two of the least militaristic commonwealths in the world. It has nothing in common with any system that produces armies bent on war. Its aim is to fit the people to defend themselves. It would not produce soldiers capable at the outset to hold their own against equal numbers of the long-trained troops of the great military powers of the Old World; and it would have to be supplemented by special camps or schools for tens of thousands of men to be trained as officers. But it would produce men who could very speedily, in the event of danger, be trained to reasonable efficiency, and who after a short time would be trained to a high degree of efficiency. Therefore, back of our regular army, which should be able to do the ordinary international police duty (such as it ought to do and is not doing in Mexico) and to act with instant efficiency so as to secure us the necessary breathing spell if we are assailed as a great military power, we would have a great force of men who, instead of being a mob, would possess such training that very speedily they could be sent forward to supplement the regulars.

BRYCE ON THE FUTURE

*Late American Ambassador Forecasts
Results of War*

WILL the effect of this war be to inflame or to damp down the military spirit? Some there are, says Viscount Bryce in the Hibbert Journal, who believe that the example of those States which had made vast preparations for war will be henceforth followed by all States, so far as their resources permit, and that everywhere armies will be

larger, navies larger, artillery accumulated on a larger scale, so that whatever peace may come will be only a respite and breathing time, to be followed by further conflicts till the predominance of one State or one race is established.

The effects which the war will have on the government and politics of the contending countries are equally obscure, though everyone admits they are sure to be far-reaching. Those who talk of politics as a science may well pause when they reflect how little the experience of the past enables us to forecast the future of government, let us say in Germany or in Russia, on the hypothesis either of victory or of defeat for one or other Power.

Economics approaches more nearly to the character of a science than does any other department of inquiry in the human as opposed to the physical subjects. Yet the economic problems before us are scarcely less dark than the political. How long will it take the great countries to repair the losses they are now suffering? The destruction of capital has been greater during these last eleven months than ever before in so short a period, and it goes on with increasing rapidity. It took nearly two centuries for Germany to recover from the devastations of the Thirty Years' War, and nearly forty years from the end of the Civil War has elapsed before the wealth of the Southern States of America had come back to the figures of 1860. One may expect recovery to be much swifter in our days, but the extinction of millions of productive brains and hands cannot fail to retard the process, and each of the trading countries will suffer by the impoverishment of the others.

This suggests the gravest of all the questions that confront us. How will population be affected in quantity and in quality? The birth-rate had before 1914 been falling in Germany and Britain; it had already so fallen in France as only to equal the death-rate. Will the withdrawal of those slain on the



The Kaiser (to Ananias): "Prosit!"
—Kirby, in New York World.

restore the productive industrial capacity of each country? More than half the students and younger teachers in some of our Universities have gone to fight abroad; and many of these will never return. Who can estimate what is being lost to literature and learning and science, from the deaths of those whose strong and cultivated intelligence might have made great discoveries or added to the store of the world's thought? Those who are now perishing belong to the most healthy and vigorous part of the population, from whom the strongest progeny might have been expected. Will the physical and mental energy of the generation that will come to manhood thirty or forty years hence show a decline? The data for a forecast are scanty, for in no previous war has the loss of life been so great over Europe as a whole, even in proportion to a population very much larger than it was a century ago. It is said, I know not with how much truth, that the stature and physical strength of the population of France took long to recover from the losses of the wars that lasted from 1793 till 1814. Niebuhr thought that the population of the Roman Empire never recovered from the great plague of the second century A.D.; but where it is disease that reduces a people it is the weaker who die, while in war it is the stronger. Our friends of the Eugenics Society are uneasy at the prospect for the belligerent nations. Some of them are trying to console themselves by dwelling on the excellent moral effects that may spring out of the stimulation which war gives to the human spirit. What the race loses in body it may—so they hope—regain in soul. This is a highly speculative anticipation, on which history casts no certain light.

SOMETHING IN THE WAY.



The Landstrum Abroad—Will His Majesty tell us how? We've been trying to get to the Fatherland ever since the war started.

—Racey, Montreal Star.