get it. . . . How can we expect patients to eat plenty of food and chew well when they are thus handicapped in the most essential point of the treatment? . . .

One way to help is to create more dental dispensaries, endow them so that good work may be done, the workers paid and the material furnished gratuitously to worthy patients. Every sanatorium or special hospital for consumptives should have one or several dentists attached to its staff, with a well equipped office and an abundance of material needed for the efficacious treatment of all patients whose teeth need attention.

Dr. J. J. Cronin of the New York Health Department described its work for dental hygiene, William Church Osborn of the Children's Aid Society, which for two years has been experimenting in the subject and conducts three clinics. suggested that the educational work be carried directly into the schools in New York. Others who spoke were Dr. S. Josephine Baker, chief of the New York Division of Child Hygiene; Katherine D. Blake for the committee on physical welfare of the Women Principals Association.

Many requests have come from other cities and towns for the exhibit, and it will be shown at the National Education Association convention in Boston in July; in Brooklyn, Baltimore, Jersey City, Hoboken, Newark and other places, generally under the auspices of the boards of education with the co-operation of the local dentists. It is hoped that every city in the country will be reached before long and for the purpose of easy traveling the exhibit will be incorporated in a form which may be set up, packed and expressed with a minimum of time and effort.

So, though comparatively young, it is safe to say that the "clean mouth campaign" has proved its right to existence, that it will maintain its place in the army fighting for national vitality and develop progressively in scope and strength.

CLOSING THE LITTLE BLACK SCHOOLHOUSE
SECOND NATIONAL NEGRO CONFERENCE RESULTS IN NEW ORGANIZATION
MAY WHITE OVINGTON
BROOKLYN

At the second annual conference of the National Negro Committee in New York May 12-14, the subject under discussion was disfranchisement, the effect of political disability upon the Negro. The day sessions in the United Charities Building were closed to the public, while open meetings were held at Berkeley Theater and Cooper Union.

The committee stands for a full and frank discussion of conditions among Negroes in the United States. It gathered its speakers from many parts of the country, bringing together men and women of widely differing opinions upon social and economic questions, but one in their desire for justice and opportunity for the Negro race. Among its colored speakers was the novelist, Charles W. Chesnutt of Cleveland; Dr. DuBois of Atlanta, scholar and prose poet; Kelly Miller, professor of mathematics at Howard University, one of the few speakers who enlivened his subject with humor; Rev. Reverdy Ransom, George H. White, Ida Wells-Barnett of Chicago and Mary Church Terrell of Washington.

The speakers of the white race ranged all the way from a conservative Virginian, Oscar Crosby, who closed the Saturday night meeting, to the labor champion, Clarence Darrow of Chicago. Among the educators were Superintendent Maxwell of the New York public schools, Professors Dewey and Boas of Columbia, Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard, and Horace Bumpstead, ex-
president of Atlanta University. Albert E. Pillsbury, ex-attorney general of Massachusetts, and Moorfield Storey represented the law. Rev. John Haynes Holmes of New York, made a ringing speech, and Rev. Percy Stickney Grant of the Church of the Ascension presided at the Cooper Union meeting. This evening was rich in speakers, including Congressman Bennet of New York, author of several bills to reduce southern representation, and Ray Stannard Baker. Altogether the meetings were so full of interesting presentation and discussion of Negro conditions that it was voted hereafter to have them open to all.

The conference brought out clearly a few definite facts. First among these was the accomplishment in the southern states of the complete disfranchisement of the colored man. Whether or not a few hundred Negroes are allowed to drop their votes into a ballot box, conditions show conclusively that the Negro's power as a voter is nil, that he can effect nothing in the conduct of the government; that the men in the legislatures, in the judgeships, the supervisors of education, are responsible to the white voter only. This was the first fundamental fact brought out by a study of southern state constitutions and by the testimony of colored men as to how the constitutions work.

Accepting the fact of disfranchisement, Moorfield Storey proceeded to show how it affects the Negro in the courts.

Disfranchisement enables the white voter to elect judges who share his prejudices, but leaves the colored man without the present or potential influence which public opinion properly exercises upon judicial action. The courts are made responsible, not to the whole of the community, but only to the white part of it. Every argument by which an elective judiciary is defended tells against the system which disfranchises a part of the community.

Mr. Storey went on to say that we must battle against the state of mind which, with or without disfranchisement, denies the Negro his rights. He showed how this state of mind has shown itself among those highest in authority, citing the cases of the two troops of United States soldiers, the Fourteenth Battery of Artillery and the Twenty-fifth Infantry. Some soldiers belonging to the Fourteenth Battery, stationed at Athens, O., in 1904, attempted to break open a jail to rescue a comrade and in so doing killed one militiaman and wounded at least two others. The facts were clear. For this, one soldier was sentenced to a year in the penitentiary and another fined. In 1906 it was charged that some of the soldiers of the Twenty-fifth Infantry fired upon the town of Brownsville, Texas. No evidence was found to fix the guilt upon any one, but these soldiers were discharged without trial though in the case of the Athens soldiers the secretary of war had declared that "no matter how guilty a man is he is entitled to be defended by counsel." The only reason, Mr. Storey believes, for the difference in treatment of the two sets of men was that the men of the Twenty-fifth Infantry were black.

But the effect of disfranchisement upon education is the phase of the question probably most interesting to readers of THE SURVEY, believing as they must that all our children should have the opportunity of training in good public schools. The situation today of the colored child in those states where the Negro is disfranchised was discussed by Dr. DuBois in a lengthy and careful paper. Among the facts for which he brought conclusive proof were the following: That while the state appropriates money for education according to the per capita school population, black and white, this money is distributed unequally, the white receiving a far larger share than the black. That, secondly, there is an attempt to decrease the efficiency of present Negro schools by a reduction in salaries and a lowering of the standard of the teachers. Thirdly, that all the supervisors of colored schools are white men. And, fourthly, that the method of appropriation and distribution of school funds is causing much discontent in those counties where white children predominate; since the white child in the black belt, profiting by the Negro child's presence, receives a better schooling than the white child in the white hill counties.

Dr. DuBois dwelt upon the double sys-
tem of taxation by which the Negro, de-
prived of nearly all the public school 
funds, is forced to tax himself a second 
time to secure decent schooling. It is as 
though the laboring population of a 
northern community were dependent 
upon raising money outside of their 
regular taxes to secure education. The 
only alternative for the Negro is to beg 
money from the North.

Touching upon the tendency to pay 
such low salaries as to prevent the able 
Negro from following public school 
teaching as a profession, Dr. DuBois 
quoted Hoke Smith, late governor of 
Georgia, in a speech at Hartwell to the 
whites. "You must stop Negro educa-
tion," he said, "and to do this you must 
put into the schools Negro teachers who 
are not able to do the work. Do not 
offer inducements to highly trained 
teachers."

After many quotations from official 
sources, Dr. DuBois assured his hearers 
that the real conditions were worse than 
the printed reports: He said:*

For instance, in Wilcox county, Ala., the 
report showed that there were 2,000 whites 
and 10,000 Negroes with fifty-five schools for 
the whites and forty-eight for the Negroes. 
This is bad enough, but consultation with 
three reliable citizens in whom I have the 
utmost confidence, and who know their 
county, reveals the fact that they have no 
knowledge of more than six schools open 
for colored people during the year 1909, and 
they declare that the public school system 
for Negroes in this county is practically 
given up. In the six schools the teachers 
get from sixteen to eighteen dollars a month.

The last point made by Dr. DuBois, 
the better schooling given the white child 
in the black belt than the white child 
in the hill counties, is one which people 
outside of the South know little about. 
Yet it is a vital issue there, and frequent-
ly agitates state legislatures. We find, for 
instance, such a condition as this: A black 
belt county spends from nineteen to 
thirty dollars a head in education for its 
children, while a white belt county must 
be satisfied with five or six dollars. As 
the white children of the black belt are 
largely children of fairly prosperous 
land-owners while the white belt children 
are children of the poor, the injustice 
becomes the more striking. But if the 
white belt objects to this the black belt 
threatens to let the Negro vote, and to 
give him schools, and the white belt dis-
likes the alternative sufficiently to con-
tinue the present peculiar situation.

So we have, in the black belts of the 
South, a result of Negro disfranchise-
ment analogous to the increased power 
of the white voter of the South over the 
white voter of the North. We have 
black belt legislators representing a very 
small constituency, and the same num-
ber of white belt legislators representing 
a large one; just as we have a United 
States congressman elected by 1,200 men 
in Mississippi, while a New York con-
gressman is elected by 75,000 voters.

At its business meetings the confer-
ce adopted a plan of permanent organi-
ization. The committee was to become 
the National Association for the Ad-
vancement of Colored People, with head-
quarters in New York. Three forms of 
membership were decided upon, at one 
hundred dollars, ten dollars and two dol-
ars, all carrying with them the right to 
vote. A committee of one hundred was 
chosen with an executive committee of 
thirty, fifteen resident in New York. On 
the committee of one hundred are 
Jane Addams, Henry Moskowitz, Paul 
Kennaday, Anna Garlin Spencer, Lil-
lian D. Wald, Celia Parker Woolley, 
Charles Edward Russell, William Eng-
lish Walling, Rabbi Silberman, Dr. 
Stephen S. Wise, John E. Milholland, 
Oswald Garrison Villard, Judge Wendell 
P. Stafford, Prof. Edwin R. A. Selig-
man, Bishop Alexander Walters, Wil-
liam L. Bulkeley, Pres. W. S. Scarbo-
rough, and others, including many who 
spoke at the conference meetings. The 
secretary of the committee is Frances 
Blascoer, who can be addressed at 20 
Vesey street, New York. If sufficient 
financial support can be secured it is pro-
sposed to engage Dr. DuBois as the head 
of a committee of publicity and research. 
The enthusiasm with which this propo-
sition was received at the Saturday night 
meeting speaks well for its fulfillment. 
The committee publishes its proceedings 
and has much interesting matter at its 
headquarters for free distribution and 
for sale.