one of whom is a preacher, down there getting paid. I said yes, but the folks say they are in the employ of the road and are being paid to get them travel on that road.

"Wouldn't they say the same thing about you?" he asked.

"No sir, they not believe whatever I told them," I said.

Without a word, he reached up in a pigeon hole in his desk, got the pass, signed it, stamped it, and gave it to me. That pass enabled me to travel all over Oklahoma and return. I went down there and spent three weeks in Guthrie, Oklahoma City, and saw the opening up of the government land to settlers. I wrote letters back to the Free Speech telling my readers exactly what I saw, and of the chances for developing manhood and womanhood. Those letters drew people from Memphis and

areas, from other sections of Tenn. Ten weeks after

the lynchings, the colored people of Memphis were as much upset as the first week.

The people already settled in Oklahoma wanted me to bring the Free Speech out there. He had already announced that he would go elsewhere but had not decided where. After seeing the opportunities for growth in the west, I came back to Memphis and laid the proposition before my business manager who was half

owner of the paper. He was not in favor of the idea and I had not the money to buy his interest.

Long before the lynchings I had planned to go to the A.M.E. General Conference which was to be in Phil

delphia in May. I had never been east, nor had seen

Philadelphia in May. I had never been east, nor had seen
A CALL TO ACTION

TO COLORED WOMEN VOTERS OF AMERICA

In the name of humanity and justice, which the inspiring record of the Republican Party, I appeal to you to let no false reasoning, no "pretty sounding phrases" - no promise which cannot be fulfilled - deflect you from entering heartily into this campaign, and continuing until victory is achieved. We would make this a sweeping campaign for every colored woman's vote.

The hosts of women coming from the south must be sought out and informed as to the power of the ballot and their privilege to use it. We must seek out those other groups of young men and women who will have attained their majority since the last presidential election.

I suggest that clubs, classes, schools for first voters be opened in every district and precinct if possible to instruct, to encourage and inspire these young people to rally to the standard of COOLIDGE and DAWES and help win the victory in November.

There are probably enough colored women of voting age to swing a close election. In some Southern States, Negroes are intimidated and prevented from voting. It is all the more necessary that women in sections where they enjoy their rights to vote, should exercise this right of franchise.

The timid, the negligent, the stay-at-homes are the one who defeat a ticket.

There were 2,730,400 colored women of voting age in the United States in 1920. Of these, more than 1 million are in the Southern States where voting rights are often denied them.

These figures show the necessity of an intensive organized effort to arouse every colored woman voter in the Northern States to her great responsibility to her disfranchised Southern Sisters to vote for the highest welfare of the Race.

Hallie Q. Brown,
Director of Colored Women
Republican National Committee
Walter Matthews Harper of that city had invited Memphis
the winter before and invited me to be her guest there.
Mr. T. P. Thorton, the brilliant editor of the New
York Age, who often flattered me by copy his articles
had written to say that he hoped I would give them a
look over before I decided where I would go first.
And so I said I would make the eastern trip first.
When I returned to Memphis, I would decide where
I would go. It was rather hard to get away at that time
having been away so long—but friends kept writing
to call that the conference had been two weeks in session
and I must come at once if I hoped to get there before
its close. It was earlier than we usually took vacations
in July and August when it was too hot to do anything
else—but unless I went then, I did not see the General Con-
ference in session and keep a promise I had made to
Bishop Twelle.
So beginning the third week in May, I left for
Philadelphia, after writing my editorials for that week.
I did not see but little of the deliberations of the con-
ference as it lasted only a few days after my arrival
but I did meet all the big guns of the African ruth
other church. It was my first and last meeting with
Bishop Daniel A. Payne. I sat at the feet of Hannah Jackson,
Coppin and her husband who was editor the A.M.E. Review
and had an interview with Bishop Twelle. And then
I was ready to run over to New York to see what it looked
like. On that Tuesday morning, after the adjournment
of the conference, I had breakfasted with Dr. Ida B. 
Wells. Of the conference, I had breakfasted with Dr. Ida B. 
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Wells.

To the train for New York.
The Morals Court

In 1924 - 1,338 girls from 16 to 20 years of age were arrested

4,777 " 21 to 25 " " " "

Total of 6,075 from 16 to 25 years of age

The Court of Domestic Relations

In 1924 - 4,343 cases in this Court involving home situations

Other Municipal Courts

Importance of Court Visiting

IV. Recreation

1. Municipal

Municipal recreation unsupervised has all the dangers of unsupervised commercial recreation, those inevitable dangers found in large promiscuous recreational crowds:

Our Parks
Beaches
Forest Preserves
School Playgrounds

2. Commercialized Recreation

Commercialized recreation may exist for profit but with no exploitation and can be socialized:

The Dance Halls of Chicago
The Pool Rooms
Commercialized recreation on the other hand may have in it exploitation and vicious, demoralizing, criminal elements:

The "Closed Dance Hall"
" Cabarets
" Roadhouses

V. Censorship

Adverse and often subtle influences, as well as the wilful exploitation of the sex instinct of youth, are found in the movies, the theatre, the indecent, suggestive publications and post-cards; representing not only local but national and international problems:

Objectionable Magazines
Indecent Post-cards
Theatres
The Movies

VI. Our Responsibility for Public Departments and Officials

Problems in individual cases and conditions direct our attention to certain public officials and departments, all of which should be continuously subjected to understanding, intelligent, tolerant scrutiny, resulting in recommendations; endorsements; protests:

Our Police; Policewomen; Police Stations and Jails
Our Courts
Our Institutions
Cook County Social Service
Care for the Feebleminded and Defective
The Administration of Justice in relation to the so-called "Crime Wave"
The fortune met me in Jersey city according to agreement. His greeting was:

"Will we've seen a long time, getting you back to New York, but now you are here to stay."

"I can't see why that follows, said I."

"Well, he said, from the purpose you have kicked up feel sure of it. Q I know it was you, it sounds just like you."

"Will you please tell me what you are talking about?" I asked.

"Haven't you seen the morning papers?" said he.

I told him no. Thereupon he pulled a copy of the New York post which contained an associated press dispatch from Memphis, Tenn., which stated that a committee of leading citizens had gone to the offices of the Free Speech the night before, and ran the editor, J. M. Heming, out of town, destroyed the furnishings of the office and left a notice on one ting to publish the paper again or be finished. The article went on to say that the paper was formed by David Haskell, who was traveling with it. I had been warned by my own people that this would happen if I did not leave Kansas on the night of 3 months before. I had expected whatever thing would be to take place when I was at home.
Lynched because I expected some cowardly relations from the lynchers. I felt that one might as well die fighting against wrong and injustice as for any other reason. Determined to be prepared to tell my life as clearly as possible. The feeling that if I did take even one along with me, I would be happy, and even up the score a little bit.

But fate decided that the blow should fall when I was away and thus settled for me the question whether I should go west or east. My first thought after recovering from the shock caused by that information, was to find out if the Fleming got away safely. I inquired for the telegraph office and sent a telegram to B. F. Booth, my lawyer, that details be sent me of the home address of Mr. Fleming, his safety, and begging me not to retreat. My friends declared that the threat and my home were being watched and by white men who promised to kill me on sight. They also told how colored men were organized against me if I should return. That if I would mean these bloodthirsty men, widows and orphans, and that now I was out of it all to stay away where I would be safe from harm.

Because I saw the chance to be of more service to the cause by staying in New York than in returning to Memphis, I accepted their advice, took a position in The New York Age and continued my fight against lynching and lynchers. They had destroyed my papers, made me an exile, and threatened my life for truths at the truth. I felt that I owed it to my race and myself to tell the whole truth. With the splendid help of Thos. Fortune and Jerome Peterson, owners and editors of the N.Y. Age, I was given the temerity to tell the world the true story of lynchings.
killed the goose that laid the golden egg of Memphis's prosperity and negro contentment, and they were amazed that colored people continued to leave the city.

In casting about for a cause for all this restlessness and dissatisfaction, the leaders of the movement concluded that the only way to restore peace, the Free Speech was the disturbing factor, and they were right. They felt that the only way to restore harmony between the races, and be rid of the Free Speech, yet not harm the negroes' autonomy, could be done in such a way as to convince the negroes themselves—those that were left whom they wished to educate. Accordingly it was three months after the lynching before such an opportunity came, in the form of black codes in which they appeared to be defending the honor of their women. Like many another person who had read of lynchings in different parts of the South, I had accepted the idea that he conveyed that while lynching was irregular and contrary to law and order—no one could overcome the unreasonable anger over the terrible crime of rape—the deed was done, the brat deserved death anyway, and the mob was justified.

But Tom Hood, Calvin McDowell and Will Stewart had been lynched in Memphis, one of the leading cities of the South in which no lynching had taken place before, with great much brutality, and they had committed it in crime certainly nothing against white women! It was this which opened my eyes to what lynching really was: an excuse to get rid of negroes who were gaining manhood and speaking out. In our case the world had been told that there men kept low dive and fired on officers who were hunting a criminal they were harboring.

Reasoned that if they lied in one case...
of men of irreproachable character and murder them
in cold blood, it was possible that those other "lynchings"
were also an "excuse to terrorize," lynch and keep the negro
down." I began to investigate every lynching that I read
about, and stumbled on the amazing statement that in every
case of rape reported in that three months, it only became
such when it became public. Many cases were like that of
a lynching which happened in Tunica county. Miss. The
associated press report said the big bully Tate was lynched
because he had raped the seven year old daughter of the
sheriff. I visited the place afterwards and saw the girl
who was a grown woman, more than 19 years old, who had
been found in the negro's cabin by her father, who had
helped lynch him. In order to save his daughter's reputa-
tion, the negro was a helper on the farm.

In Hatchie race, one of the most beautiful homes of
one of the leaders of society was pointed out. One, and it
was told the story of how she had given birth to a child
unmistakable, white, and how her colored washerman left town
on hearing the news. The Memphis Commercial published a story
of how a young girl who had made a mistake was sent to
the confinement in one of the homes. Kind-hearted wo-
men had provided for those such cases; and how she
too had given birth to a colored child, and because she
whistled the name of the "rake" she was bundled out
of the home to the county hospital.

I had also the sworn statement of a mother, whose
son had been lynched, that he had left the place where he
worked because of advances made by the beautiful daughter
of the house. And that the boy who had fallen under the
knife, met her often until they were discovered and the
two of them had been raised. It too had been horrible lynched.
With these and other stories in mind that in that last week in May, 1892, just before leaving town for the East I wrote the following editorial:

Eight Negroes lynched since last issue of The Free Speech. These were charged with killing white men and five with raping white women. Nobody in this section believes the old threadbare lie that Negro men assault white women. If southern white men are not careful (a conclusion will be reached which will be very damaging to the moral reputation of their women.)

This then was the excuse.

This editorial furnished at least an excuse for doing what they had been long wanting to do—put an end to the Free Speech. The packet appeared the Saturday after deep home Monday morning bright and early. The Commercial Appeal appeared reproducing that editorial and calling on the chivalric white men of Memphis to do something to avenge the honor of their women. A call was made for a mob of white men to go to the exchange at the corner of Main & Madison Sts., a pair of tailor shears held in hand, and there should be burned at the stake.

That editorial was written by a man named Carmack, his mail afterward became an editor in Nashville, Tenn. where he pursued the same tactics against another white man and was shot down in the street as a mad dog would have been. The people of Memphis however tore in the Cotton Exchange building the same Monday evening after the appearance of this hectic editorial, and after much speechmaking a committee was sent to the Free Speech office, who destroyed one type furnishing, etc., and put up the notice of warning.
Suggested Juvenile Protective Association Programs

prepared for the

Social Service Department
of the
League of Cook County Clubs

I. Care and Training of our Young Women Offenders
Of all "causes" that of the criminal, the adult offender is the least popular. We are getting used to the young men criminals and their crimes, we understand them, but our young women are arrested for those offenses which are of another world than ours - sex offenses - and we have long neglected their care.

A Program

A Woman's Bureau in our Police Department

A Central Detention Station for all women and girls arrested

A State Reformatory

II. Our Child Laborers

In Industry

On our Streets

On the Stage

The child who can contribute to industry has one of the most powerful organizations arrayed against legislation to protect him; the little boys who get our newspapers to us at all times of the day and night contribute to our comfort, and we are blind to the hazards of their occupation; and the increasing number of children on the stage have not only their own proud, ambitious parents but the pleasure-loving public to resist all efforts to protect them.

III. The Socialization of our Courts

The Juvenile Court demonstrated what a socialized court could accomplish. We have attempted to extend that procedure to family problems and to our older delinquent boys and girls through the establishment of Special Courts. We have not, however, established for them centralized professional social service, and without it these Courts cannot function as they should.

The Boys Court

In 1924 - 14,331 boys from 16 to 21 years of age were arrested

48,705 " 21 to 25 " " 

Total of 63,035 from 16 to 25 years of age
Long afterward, I learned that one of the leading citizens of Memphis, who had been a Union man during the Civil War, sent word to the business manager, that the committee was coming and for him to leave town. This was why the committee didn't find him. He wrote me that he was through with newspaper. He had been the county clerk in Marion when he first started in the newspaper business—publishing a harmless little sheet called The Marion Headlight. He had been reelected, because of his politics in the overthrow of the Negro domination by white Democrats in 1888. When he came to Memphis he joined forces with Rev. Taylor Rightmire and they published the Free Speech-Headlight—a combination of each of their papers. Then they invited me to join forces with them and made me editor. The paper became simply the Free Speech. He had just begun to make money and we were on our feet. To lose everything a second time was almost more than he could bear. He came to Chicago and found as many old Memphis friends, they persuaded him to try again and he started The Free Speech No. 2 again. With no more and help, he soon gave up and went west. He connected and helped, he soon gave up and went west. He connected with a journal in Kansas and remained in himself with a journal in Kansas and remained in Kansas until he was called from labor. He left several children to whom he bequeathed a stake in manhood. He was an ideal business manager, in that he looked strictly after the business end of the work and in that way made the paper a success financially.
Having lost my peace, a price put on my life, and an exile from home, for hinting at the truth, I felt that I owed it to myself and my race to tell the whole truth, now that I was where I could do so freely.

Accordingly the issue of the New York Age that first week in July 1892 contained a seven column article on the front page giving facts about negro lynchings and rapists. I gave names, dates and place of many such lynchings, and showed conclusively that my editorial in the Free Speech was based on facts of illiterate associations between white men and white women. Such relationships between white men and colored women were notorious, so much so that they had blacked the negro race and filled it with the offspring of these union known as mulattoes, quadroons and octaroons. All my life I had known that such conditions existed.

The wife of negro girls and women had begun to come back in small, slow, and continued without the for- bidden without check or reproof from church, state or press, until there had been created a race within a race and all designated by the exclusive term of "colored." Thus the white man of the South practiced at his own for himself, he assumed to be unthinkable in white women.

They professed an inability to imagine white women falling in love with negro or mulatto men. Whenever they did so and were found out, immediately the cry was raised and the lawless elements of the white South were turned loose to wreak their feudish exactions on those to whom it helped themselves. No tortures of helpless victims of leather savages or cruel red Indians, ever exceeded the cold blooded savagery.