1. I, Scott Matthews, live and work in Jacksonville, Florida. Since 2015, I have worked as a Professor of History at Florida State College at Jacksonville. Before that, I taught at Georgia State University from 2009 to 2015, and at Hollins University from August 2008 to May of 2009. I received my Ph.D. in History in 2008, from the University of Virginia. I currently teach courses in United States History, African American History, the History of Jacksonville, and Florida History. The history of the South and the role of photography are additional interrelated interests. My curriculum vitae is attached as Exhibit A.

2. I believe local history should be widely accessible to the community. In 2019, I began working with the Jacksonville Community Remembrance Project, an organization dedicated to documenting and remembering lynching victims killed in this community. We worked to research and document for our community lynchings initially identified by the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), in Alabama.

3. I have worked closely on this project with other researchers, including Professor David Jamison of Edward Waters University.

4. I have been asked to give my opinions about lynchings in Jacksonville, their relationship to executions, and to other relevant history bearing on trust of government institutions, including the criminal justice system, in the Black community.

A Multi-Racial Government Ended

5. A unique feature of Jacksonville history, interrelating with the lynching history and its timeline described below, was the continued successful participation of Black politicians and leaders in a multi-racial government long after Reconstruction ended. It took a series of reforms by white Democrats to oust Black politicians from power during these years. For years past 1876 or 1877, the understood endpoint of Reconstruction, Black leaders continued to hold important posts, including as police officers, justices of the peace, constables, customs house officers, railroad mail agents, and postal clerks. The 1881 Florida Legislature had representation by two Black senators. Black representatives, including two from Jacksonville, were elected to the State’s 1885 Constitutional Convention Duval was one of few counties to send anti-Democrat delegates to the convention. When Mayor John Q. Burbidge was elected in the spring of 1887, he credited Black voters and pledged to protect Black citizens and serve them. A new election was swiftly called by Jacksonville’s Board of
6. In the election of 1888, the Republicans performed well. Black leaders were elected to significant posts of clerk of the circuit court and clerk of the criminal court, and were among elected justices of the peace and constables. By 1889, Black leaders held positions on the City Council. Black people served in leadership roles within local law enforcement, including as one of three police commissioners in Jacksonville. However, a tide of white push back, linked with concerns over outsiders and carpetbaggers, began to rise. The yellow fever epidemic of 1888 stoked these fears, and Black citizens were denied admission to refugee camps outside of Jacksonville. Supported by the Florida Times-Union, which explicitly called for a legislative ouster of Republican politicians from Jacksonville, Florida in 1889 dissolved local government, passing legislation requiring that the City Council be appointed by the Governor. After it appeared that white Democrats had regained power, the Legislature in 1893 returned this power to the people of Jacksonville, along with new laws curtailing Black voting power, including poll taxes. But Black politicians continued to win elections to at least some seats on the City Council.

7. The City’s great fire of 1901, and the ensuing rebuilding and growth, ignited further white supremacy, fear of outsiders, and efforts to quash any semblance of Black power. Jacksonville’s first Jim Crow legislation, requiring separate seating on street cars, passed in 1905 over the objection of the Council’s sole remaining Black councilmember. A final blow to Black power came with a 1907 redistricting plan, which moved ward boundaries, but required voters to register in the correct boundary before the election. Election officials strategically placed polling stations to allow for easy registration transfers of white voters. In the subsequent 1907 elections, white Democrats swept into power, winning every office. Black politicians and leaders did not regain any political power until 1967.

8. Our community’s history of lynching arose after this relatively late complete seizure of white power from Black leaders and politicians. Lynchings became more likely both because the community was now without Black political representation empowered to address the problem, and because the forces of white supremacy were intent on keeping Jacksonville’s Black community in a subservient position.

9. As I note above, with others, I conducted my investigation of lynching with the Jacksonville Community Remembrance Project (JCRP), a project of 904WARD. 904WARD strives to “create racial healing and equity through deep conversations and learning, trusting relationships and, collective action.” 904WARD exists to “end racism in Jacksonville so all people thrive.”

10. In the JCRP, I serve among other volunteers, including journalists, teachers, lawyers, judges, artists, museum curators, activists, civic leaders, and citizens who have
documented six racial-terror lynchings in which eight people were killed in this community. We have collaborated with community organizations and institutions to disseminate our findings.

11. Professor Jamison and I also created the script for a set of eight illustrated text panels telling the stories of the seven documented racial terror lynchings in Duval County between 1909 and 1925, and the historical context in which they occurred. Community institutions have displayed these panels throughout our community, including at the Museum of Science and History in Jacksonville and the Jacksonville Public Library. We created it through community support, including from Baptist Health and the Florida Humanities Council, with funds from the National Endowment for Humanities. We worked extremely hard on researching and creating these panels, and they reflect the history accurately as we uncovered it.

12. As did Professor Jamison in his related declaration, here, rather than recreate the wheel, I have included the text of exactly what we presented to our community in these panels. Several of the panels also feature depictions of contemporaneous newspaper accounts.

13. As did Professor Jamison in his declaration, when available, I also share the relevant newspaper citations. (I am not attaching the articles, which are attached to Dr. Jamison’s declaration).

14. To set this era of lynching in Jacksonville in context, it is important to understand that while lynchings in this community occurred relatively later in the post-Reconstruction era, they otherwise shared similarities with lynchings throughout the south. EJI and other historians have documented thousands of lynchings during this era. Florida ran only second to Mississippi in the rate of lynchings per 100,000. Each lynching was both a local event of racial terror targeted at an individual or individuals, and also an event with repercussions that reverberated beyond the community. Newspapers, often carrying wire stories, spread the news far beyond the local event. Photography and the creation of post cards allowed images of the gruesome events, and their carnival like atmospheres to spread far and wide.

15. Panel 1: An Era of Racial Terror: Jacksonville’s Legacy of Lynching

a. “When we hear the word terrorism, many of us think of a non-Christian foreigner determined to bring death to Americans. This is not always the case. Terrorist acts are those committed by various individuals or groups who seek to send a public political message through death and injury.”

b. “After President Rutherford Hayes pulled federal troops out of the South in 1877, the deposed white elite who had been running Southern towns before the Civil War worked to reclaim their supremacy over a black population who had been voting, working and prospering since 1865. This new political
reality emboldened the most insecure, vile, and cowardly of whites to engage in the practice of abducting and murdering blacks, and in many cases leaving their bodies on display or staging public lynching spectacles complete with souvenirs.”

c. “This exhibit honors the memories of those whose lives were taken as a political message in a racial battle for social mastery during the Jim Crow Era. This period, spanning from 1877 to 1965, bore witness to tremendous injustice brought about by state laws in the South that reinforced racial segregation, discriminated against blacks, and denied their constitutional rights and freedoms. The legacy of this period of legalized white supremacy remains with us today.”

16. Panel 2: Lynching in Duval County

a. “Duval County was like many other parts of the South during the Jim Crow Era. When certain members of its white population felt the need to send a message to the black population at large, they did it. Of the more than 4,000 racial terror lynchings in the South, more than 300 occurred in Florida, which had the second highest per capita lynching rate in the nation. Duval County ranked 11th out of the 49 Florida counties that experienced lynchings between 1877 and 1950. EJI has documented eight racial terror lynching victims in Duval County. Local historians continue to research other possible lynchings in our community’s past, including dozens of attempted and prevented lynchings, recognizing that because many such lynchings occurred in the midst of fear, intimidation, and law enforcement inaction, many victims cannot be documented.”

b. “Duval County’s lynchings were brutal expressions of racial fears and anxieties. Between 1910 and 1930, when most of Duval County’s lynchings occurred, the area’s population more than doubled. With rapid growth came fears of increasing crime and concerns that the legal system was ill-equipped to maintain order. At the same time, new generations of black people demanded equality and respect. Lynching, along with new segregation laws and restrictions on black voting rights, became the foul means of maintaining white supremacy.”

c. “People who engaged in racial terror lynchings were never the majority of any region’s residents. However, many white people stood silent while these acts were committed, and quite a few silently or explicitly condoned these crimes. The white press sensationalized these acts and cursory investigations rarely led to the prosecution of white perpetrators.”

d. The text in this panel is accompanied by a map, indicating the six known sites of eight lynchings in Duval County described below:
17. Panel 3: *A Lynching at Cambon*

a. “At dusk on May 8, 1909, a white mob took a black man into a wooded area near Cambon, ten miles west of downtown Jacksonville. There they shot him multiple times before slitting his throat. This man’s name is lost to history, as are those of his killers. Nevertheless, newspaper accounts reveal how this incident relates to the era’s broader lynching epidemic, in which nearly 25 percent of documented lynchings stemmed from accusations of sexual assault.”

b. “According to the Florida Times-Union, the mob lynched the ‘unknown’ man after a white woman named Sarah Deas identified him as the person who sexually assaulted her as she herded cattle in her pasture. The newspaper proclaimed the man’s guilt and rationalized his death, characterizing the lynching victim as a ‘brute’—a dehumanizing descriptor commonly used for black men, who were stereotyped as hypersexual threats to white womanhood. In the article, an ‘angered crowd’ told the sheriff that the mob brought the suspect before Mrs. Deas to make sure they had the right person. But the sheriff could not ask friends or relatives of the suspect, nor could he investigate alibis or timelines, because the suspect was dead and any other corroborating evidence was ‘unknown.’ The newspaper did not condemn the lynching, but rather justified the white mob’s actions as ‘quick revenge for the outrageous crime.’ This newspaper practice of proclaiming black men guilty until proven innocent, common at the time, also impeded any attempt to identify and apprehend the members of the mob. No one was held accountable for the lynching.” See *Negro Lynched for His Crime*, Florida Times-Union
18. Panel 4: The Lynching of Bownam Cook and John Morine
   a. “Early on September 8, 1919, a mob of fifty white men, facing no resistance from law enforcement, kidnapped two black men, Bowman Cook and John Morine, from the Duval County Jail in Jacksonville. The mob drove both men to the entrance of Evergreen Cemetery on Main Street and fatally shot them. They left Morine’s body in a ditch and dragged Cook’s corpse behind a car for nearly fifty blocks, leaving it on display in front of the Windsor Hotel downtown. The mob had sought to lynch Ed Jones, another jailed black man, but after discovering that Jones has been transferred, the mob focused their rage on Cook and Morine instead.”
   b. “Cook and Morine were military veterans, and their lynchings occurred during the Red Summer of 1919, when major American cities experienced anti-black violence resulting from tension that arose when black WWI veterans returned from service unwilling to accept racism and discrimination after fighting for America abroad. During this conflict, black cab drivers in Jacksonville had staged a protest against the city’s refusal to investigate recent cases in which white riders had murdered black taxi drivers. On August 20, a white man named George Dubose indignantly fired his gun into a black crowd after being denied cab service. Cook and Morine were accused of killing Dubose, and in an era when accusations against blacks rarely faced scrutiny, both were lynched without a chance to stand trial. As with all racial terror lynchings, this public violence was intended not only to inflict brutal harm upon the individuals killed, but also to send a message of white dominance to the entire black community. No one was ever arrested or charged for the murder of Cook and Morine.” Two Negroes Charged with Dubose Murder Lynched Early Today, Florida Times-Union (Sept. 8, 1919); Jacksonville Negro Lynched, The Watchman and Southron (Sumter, S.C.) (Sept. 10, 1919).

19. Panel 5: The Lynching of Benjamin Hart
   a. “On the night of August 24, 1923, a mob of white men, some posing as deputies, arrived at a logging camp near Dinsmore Duval County looking for Benjamin Hart, a black man who worked there and lay sleeping in a shanty. A white girl had accused Hart of peeping into her window early that morning. The mob kidnapped Hart and drove him to a place along Kings Road, three miles northwest of downtown Jacksonville. There, they shot him five times in the back before driving off. Residents nearby heard the gunfire and discovered Hart’s dead body lying in a ditch, handcuffed.”
   b. “The lynching of Benjamin Hart was the tragic consequence of a presumption of guilt hastened by pervasive white fears of sexual contact between black men and white women. While a new generation of young men and women were less beholden to the racial etiquette of the past, the narrative of white supremacy had conditioned many older whites to believe that black men were threats to white women and needed to be controlled by violence. Hart’s fellow
black laborers and his white employer had vouched for his whereabout during the early hours of August 24. The white girl’s allegations to police were inconsistent and she refused to go with the mob to identify Hart. None of this mattered to the men involved. ‘They lynched an innocent negro,’ Duval County Sheriff W.H. Dowling said during his investigation. Though the police promised to do so, no one was ever arrested for the crime.” See Negro Found Hanged Near Jacksonville, Boston Glove (August 26, 1923) Wrong Negro Slain, Miami News (August 25, 1923); Promise Arrests in Connection With Slaying of Innocent Negro, Tampa Tribune (Aug. 26, 1923).

20. Panel 6: The Lynching of Eugene Burnam and Edgar Phillips

a. “On December 30, 1923, a Jacksonville Heights resident discovered an exposed part of Edgar Phillips’ body in McGirt’s Creek, twelve miles southwest of Jacksonville. He had been decapitated and his body weighed down by two railroad irons fastened with wire.”

b. “Later that day, residents along Kings Road reported seeing a black man, Eugene Burnam, screaming for help while inside a car with four white men. Other witnesses said they saw the white men beating Burnam with the handle of an axe or hammer. The car drove to a wooded section near Dinsmore, six miles west of Jacksonville, where witnesses report the men riddled Burnham with bullets before hitting him in the head with the handle. Burnham staggered into a nearby ditch, where he died.”

c. “Eugene Burnam and Edgar Phillips were reportedly moonshine bootleggers and were lynched in Jacksonville within a day of each other, so at the time local police theorized that they were killed because they had been cooperating with federal revenue agents who were shutting down local moonshine stills. Unlike prior lynching cases, Jacksonville police gained confessions and made arrests in the killing of Eugene Burnam. One of the perpetrators, Fleming Pickett, who later became a Jacksonville police officer, spent several months in jail before being released on a $10,000 dollar bond in late June 1924. Though the case remained on the docket as late as 1926, no one was ever tried for murdering Burnam or Phillips.” Liquor Men Vent Wrath on Negro, Montgomery Advertiser (Dec. 31, 1923); Headless Body Found in Pool That of Negro, Florida Times-Union (Dec., 1923)


a. “Sensationalized newspaper reports led to the consecutive lynchings of two Jacksonville men in early 1925. On January 30, amidst a gathering mob, a police detective shot and killed Willie Washington, marking the end of what the Florida Times-Union described as ‘the most intensive man search’ in Duval County history. Police believed Washington to be responsible for several recent assaults, including one on the wife of a prominent white businessman. The only evidence linking Washington to the crime, however, was the identification given by three black men who had given him a ride.
Police concluded that the men had picked up Washington after he inexplicably had abandoned a car he had stolen earlier. After headlines of ‘Negro Assaults Prominent Jax Woman’ and ‘Seeking Blacks Who Attacked White Women,’ police displayed Washington’s corpse in the jail’s rotunda for the public to view as an ‘object lesson.’"

b. “One week later, a second white businessman apparently took advantage of the anti-black hysteria. On February 8, another white Jacksonville woman was assaulted. Once reports of a black man attacking another white woman flooded the newspapers, mobs formed and began shooting into random black homes. In March, Urban League field secretary Jesse Thomas reported that during that violence ‘a colored man was killed.’ Soon after this lynching, the assault victim shed light on the crime. She had been having an affair with a married local business man, and when she became pregnant, that man hired a white ex-convict to disguise himself in blackface and assault her.” *Negro Attacker of White Woman is Killed by City Detective*, Florida Times-Union (Jan. 31, 1925); *Negro in Florida Dead, Community Terrorized, When White Man Black Face and Joins Plot to Assault White Woman*, New York Age (March 7, 1925).

22. Panel 8: Local Responses to Lynching

a. “The lynching epidemic that gripped Jacksonville and the nation galvanized many in the black community. They bravely mobilized to mount various forms of anti-lynching protests, including armed self-defense, civil rights activism, and moral suasion.”

b. “In 1888, a group of black Jacksonville residents organized a mass meeting to protest the lynching of a black man in Suwanee County. Four years later in July 1892, a group of black residents armed themselves and surrounded the Duval County Jail to prevent the lynching of Benjamin Reed. Three years later, Rev. J. Milton Waldron, the pastor of Jacksonville’s Bethel Baptist Church, preached a sermon against the immorality of lynching and the white mobs’ use of violence to maintain social control. In 1919, Jacksonville native and NAACP field secretary, James Weldon Johnson – who himself was almost lynched in the city in 1901 – argued that black laborers in cities like Jacksonville should strike until their communities committed themselves to ending lynchings. Though no strike occurred, many black Jacksonville residents, who resented the Cook and Morine lynchings and had suffered their own disrespectful treatment by white insurance agents, cancelled their policies in favor of a black firm, A.L. Lewis’ Afro-American Life Insurance Company. In 1922, humanitarian Eartha White helped lead Florida’s Anti-Lynching Crusaders Committee for the NAACP.”

c. “A small number of white people in Jacksonville also joined the anti-lynching cause. In the 1930s and 1940s white Jacksonville women such as Jane Cornell and Jane Havens chaired Florida’s chapter of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.”
23. While local efforts to prevent and stop lynchings had mixed success, and lynchings did ultimately cease, the criminal justice system did not play a role. From 1900 to 1934, no one in the State of Florida was ever convicted of lynching.

Legal Executions

24. The above history of lynching runs parallel to and interrelates with legal executions beginning before the Civil War. This history reveals that although executions were government sanctioned and carried out in the name of the law, the same considerations of racial discrimination and white supremacy remained paramount.

25. On September 22, 1848, an enslaved woman known as Celia, of mixed white and Black parentage, was executed by hanging. A jury had convicted her of killing her putative owner, Jacob Bryan, who was also likely her father. Some accounts say that Bryan then fathered more children with Celia, his daughter. She killed him as she was fighting off his efforts to discipline her. A six-person, all-white jury convicted her of manslaughter, rather than murder, and recommended mercy. The judge overrode the jury, and ordered her execution. Although Celia had supporters, many whites felt that she should be made an example to deter any future violence by enslaved people. Exhibit B (Execution of a Slave, New Orleans Weekly Delta, Oct. 9, 1948 (reprint of Jacksonville News Story)); see also Franklin Robbins, Jr. and Steven G. Mason, Florida’s Forgotten Execution – The Strange Case of Celia, Florida Supreme Court Historical Society (Spring/Summer 2014), https://www.flcourthistory.org/Resources/Documents/Execution.pdf.

26. Five years later, the Florida Supreme Court confirmed in Luke v. State, 5 Fla. 185, 192-93 (1853), that Florida’s death penalty punished differently by race, even for the same violations of criminal law. White people faced punishment by fine for various assaults, while Black people faced punishment by death; white people faced punishments of fine, pillory or stripes for robbery and burglary, while enslaved persons faced death.

27. In the fall of 1865, as the Civil War was all but over, Black Union soldiers garrisoned in Jacksonville could no longer be enslaved but continued to be treated as inferiors by their commanding officers. White officers hung a Black enlisted man by the thumbs on the Jacksonville parade ground for stealing a jar of molasses. Black soldiers objected. A melee ensued, gunfire was exchanged, and enlisted officers and soldiers fought hand to hand. Six Black soldiers were tried for mutiny, convicted, and executed.

28. By the 1890’s, Black men were almost exclusively executed for murders of white people. This was a change from earlier, when Black men were executed for killing other Black men.
29. In 1895, Alexander Sims, a Black man, was legally executed for shooting a white police officer. His execution took place after he only narrowly escaped a lynching. The public execution resembled in many respects a lynching. Twenty Black women “wailed” before and after the execution. The victim’s mother looked on to witness the hanging. Exhibit C (One Murderer Less – Alexander Sims Pays the Death Penalty, Florida Times-Union, July 11, 1895).

30. In 1898, Edward Hinson, another Black man, was convicted of assaulting a white girl. As with Sims, a large crowd gathered to witness the public execution. It was the first hanging ever filmed in American History, and photographed.¹

¹ The photograph was taken by a soldier with Company F, 1st Wisconsin Regiment who was stationed at Camp Cuba Libre in Jacksonville during the Spanish American War. A colleague assisting me with research for my course on Jacksonville history, Jennifer Grey, read a letter by a Wisconsin soldier (Anthony Palica) who mentioned taking photographs of the hanging. Ms. Gray then searched the Wisconsin Veterans Museum's digital archives and found references to the photographs there, with the museum subsequently digitized and made available.
31. People in the crowd rushed to acquire the hanging rope. This “legal execution” resembled in many respects a spectacle lynching. Exhibit D (Hinson Hanged – Paid the Death Penalty at the County Jail Yesterday – Large Number of People witnessed the Execution, including the Condemned Man’s Victim, Florida Times-Union, July, 1898).

32. Through 1924, 73% of those legally executed in Florida were Black, and 90% of those lynched were Black.

Jacksonville Papers Oppose Lynching and Support Legal Executions

33. Some in Jacksonville understood that lynching was bad for business, and bad for tourism. Newspaper editorials encouraged the use of the death penalty more consistently to prevent lynchings. See Exhibit E (Editorial, How to Stop Lynching, Florida Times-Union, Oct. 9, 1902)).

34. In an 1895 Editorial in the Florida Times-Union, the paper wrote of the need to streamline legal processes to ensure that perpetrators received justice and to ensure that the people did not resort to mob violence. See Exhibit F (Editorial, Lessons of a Lynching, Florida Times-Union, April 4, 1895).

35. Similarly, an 1897 editorial argued that swifter legal processes and a more vigorous use of legal executions for murder would reduce lynchings. Exhibit G (New York Times reprint of Florida Time-Union, Editorial, To Stop Lynching, Aug. 12, 1897).

36. Another 1895 editorial blamed juries. People who paid poll taxes were permitted on the jury, but not people of character and education. Good men shunned jury service. People did not fear the law. The duty to serve should not be shirked. “Surely questions involving life or death should not be left to the decision of the corrupt or the ignorant.” Exhibit H (Editorial, Carnival of Crime, Florida Times Union, July 27, 1895).

37. A 1909 editorial argued that lynching had revived in Florida and Jacksonville because of the increased use of pardons, inflaming opinion that justice would not be carried out. Exhibit I (Editorial, Florida Times-Union, Who is Responsible for Lynching, May 15, 1909).

Lynchings End as Executions Ramp Up

38. In 1923, the Florida Legislature took executions out of the control of local sheriffs, decreeing that executions beginning in 1924 would be by electrocution in a state execution chamber. 1923 Fla. Laws, V I, Ch. 9169, at 175-77.

39. As noted above, Jacksonville’s last lynching recognized by EJI was in 1925. (Some people consider the 1964 murder of Johnnie Mae Chappel in Jacksonville to qualify
as a lynching.) Either way, frequent lynching in Florida seems to have ended in the 1920’s.

40. Executions continued to be predicted by race, as lynchings had been before. As noted above, despite a police investigation identifying suspects, none of the white men who killed the two Black men Burnam and Phillips in Jacksonville even stood trial.

41. Between 1924 and 1964, Florida executed 196 persons, 132 or 68% of whom were Black. Black people then made up 20 to 25% of the population. Of the 43 people executed for rape during this time period, 41 were Black. In 77% of the cases in which a person was executed for murder, the victim was white.

42. Just as the Jacksonville newspaper editorials had earlier predicted, as the number of executions rose, lynchings declined. The political scientist James Clarke documented this on the national scale in James W. Clarke, Without Fear or Shame: Lynching, Capital Punishment and the Subculture of Violence in the American South, 28 B.J. Pol. S. 269-289 (1998):

43. The historian Margaret Vandiver documented this same trend, albeit on a smaller scale, in Marion County, 100 miles from here. In Lethal Punishment, Lynchings and Legal Executions in the South (2006), she recounts a history of lynchings and racial violence not unlike the history in Jacksonville described above. And like the above history, the end of lynching came with the rise of legal executions.

44. The history she documents begins in 1860, when three enslaved persons were informally tried for killing their master by a group of twelve citizens and then lynched. Near the end of the Civil War, several Black Union soldiers were lynched
after supposedly trying to recruit other Black men to the Union Army. The Ku Klux Klan was active, and lynched suspected murderers of a white man, hanging the skeleton of one of their victims from a tree. Echoing the sentiments of the Jacksonville papers, judges and lawyers suspended criminal jury trials for more than a year rather than seat integrated juries. White workers attacked Black laborers at a lumber camp, wounding them with gunshot and chasing them away.

45. While four legal executions occurred for murder in Marion County between 1885 and 1930, nine people were lynched for murder, and nine Black men were lynched for sexual offenses. One was lynched for a different offense, for a total of 19 lynchings. As Vandiver documents in Table 8 of Chapter 5, during this period, no white person was executed or lynched:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Executions</th>
<th>Lynchings</th>
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<tr>
<td>Black</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexual offense</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4 (100%)</td>
<td>19 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexual offense</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
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</tbody>
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*Note: Sexual offenses include attempted rape and one case of writing an insulting letter to a white woman. The offense of murder includes attempted murder and complicity.*

46. Most of the lynching cases she was able to document involved a mob capturing the victim from the custody of law enforcement. Most of the lynchings were carried out by hanging, with shots fired to the body, and took place before large crowds. The local press often reported the lynchings with an approving tone.

47. This all came to an abrupt halt in the 1930’s. As Professor Van Diver documents, until the 1930’s, no Black person accused of raping a white woman had been legally tried in the county. But in the 1930’s, a long sequence of lynching ended when three legal death sentences were imposed in quick succession, in the cases of three white women who reported having been raped by Black men (one of the condemned men, whose guilt was very much in doubt, ultimately received a life sentence). The legal proceedings often resembled nothing better than the informal trial that resulted in the lynching of the three enslaved person described above.
48. For example, in 1931, John Green was executed for the rape of a 14-year-old white girl. Arresting officers evaded a mob and confined him in an unknown location, and mobs continued to show up while he was moved from jail to jail. The judge held no preliminary hearing, because of the continuing threat of a lynching. The accused had no legal representation until trial, where they failed to cross examine key witnesses, refused to present his brother-in-law’s testimony, and presented no argument to the jury. The jury convicted him in three minutes, with no recommendation of mercy, as a mob gathered around the courthouse. The trial transcript was eight pages long. The accused was executed eight days after he was condemned to death, without an appeal or any request for clemency having been filed.

49. The trial of Lee Jacobs in 1932 was more extensive, as were the deliberations. But the efforts of defense counsel to defend their client were little better, while the judge infused the trial with racist language about the accused and the Black witnesses. The governor initially raised questions about the credibility of the complaining witness, but the white community rallied around her in anger, signing a petition contending that Black people were “showing signs of departing from the humble and restrained position that they have recently assumed” and that they had “allowed the law to take its course,” instead of lynching, on the assumption that he would be executed. The governor relented, and Florida executed Jacobs shortly thereafter.

50. Also in 1932, Will James was convicted for the rape of a white woman. He was also tried in the shadow of the lynch mob, which searched the jails where he had been taken. The evidence was weak. The elderly victim had poor eyesight, was unable to positively identify him, and he had an alibi. The jury however convicted him within fifteen minutes, without a recommendation of mercy. The judge sentenced him to die. James attempted suicide while on death row, by happenstance or not, during the execution of another condemned man. This captured the attention of two newspaper reporters present for the execution, who became interested in James’ case, interviewed him, saw the infirmities in the proof, and found lawyers. The judge disclosed to new defense counsel that he too had doubts about James’ guilt, and ultimately his death sentence was reduced to life. He served fifteen years in prison before being paroled, for a crime Professor Vandiver concluded he likely did not commit.

51. From her study, Professor Vandiver concluded that in the “minds of many Marion County whites, the goal of trials and lynchings seem to have been identical. Both . . . were methods of maintaining the status quo of white dominance. . . . Marion County thus provides an example of a jurisdiction where legal executions replaced lynchings.”
Conclusion

52. In my opinion, Jacksonville’s and Florida’s history from the time of slavery and Reconstruction included continuous attempts to maintain white supremacy through racial violence and intimidation. The violence of lynchings eventually was channeled to the use of legal executions. In my opinion, this historical record could serve as a basis for increased distrust in Black communities of Florida’s death penalty.

I was willing to testify, and still am, but understand that as of the time of this declaration, no judge has permitted a hearing. This declaration attests to what I would have testified to if called to the stand. Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have read the foregoing declaration and that the facts stated in it are true.

Scott Matthews
4/3/23
Date
Exhibit A
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August 2007 to May 2009

Courses taught:
- United States History Survey
- History of the American South
- History of Documentary Expression in America

Teaching Assistant and Instructor  
University of Virginia  
August 2001 to May 2006
Courses taught:
- History of the Civil Rights Movement (Teaching Assistant)
- History of the Slave South (Teaching Assistant)
- History of the Twentieth-Century South (Teaching Assistant)
- Rural Poverty (Teaching Assistant)
- “White Supremacy: The Central Theme in Southern History?” (Instructor)

Publications

Books


Chapter in Edited Book


Journal and other Publications


http://www.southernspaces.org/contents/2008/matthews/1a.htm
Exhibit B
The Hanging of Celia - Reprint of article from Jacksonville News, Oct. 23, 1848
Exhibit C
ONE MURDERER LESS
Alexander Sims Pays the Death Penalty.

DIED BY STRANGULATION
Neck Not Broken by the Six Foot Fall.

SHERIFF SPRINGS THE TRAP
In Twenty Minutes Life Had Fled.

DOOMED MAN HAD NO NERVE
His Legs Tottered and His Neck Wobbled.

HIS VICTIM'S MOTHER PRESENT
Her Gaze Was Always Steady.
"He Will Never Shoot Another," She Said.

Alexander Sims was executed yesterday morning in the jail yard for the murder of Policeman Ed. Minor. At 11:21 Sheriff Bowden, with his own hand, sprung the trap in full view of all, the body dropped six feet with a "chauff," a shudder through the frame of the negro, and an upward cry of the negro, and a convulsive clenching of the hands. A few moments later the upward of the knees and terrors were repeated, but they gradually became less frequent. The three physicians---Dr. Maxwell, Livingston and Stollenwerck---felt Sims' pulse.

Fourteen minutes after the drop there was a slight pulsation. It was almost imperceptible. Six minutes later there was none at all. Undertaker Clark then placed a plain pine coffin beneath the body, the rope was cut and the corpse was driven to the undertaker's shop to be prepared for burial.

The Florida Times-Union, Thursday, July 11, 1895.

WILLIAMS HELD FOR MURDER
CORONER'S JURY ON THE BODY OF RIVERS FINDS A VERDICT.

THEY DO NOT FIND THAT THE KILLING WAS JUSTIFIABLE.

THE EVIDENCE SHOWS RIVERS TO HAVE BEEN AT FAULT.

Dr. Livingston says the knife blade went through the heart.

The jury of inquest on the body of Matthew Rivers, who was shot by William L. Williams, met at Justice Smith's office yesterday morning and after hearing the testimony of several wit- nesses, including Dr. L. W. Livingston, who made the post-mortem examination, brought in a verdict to the effect that Rivers came to his death from a knife wound inflicted by J. E. Williams.

The verdict was drawn up in legal form and in part was as follows:

"That the said Jesse Williams with a certain knife, then and there did kill and murder, in and upon the said Mitchell Rivers a mortal wound did inflict, of which said mortal wound said Mitchell Rivers died, and that the said Jesse Williams, in the manner aforesaid, said Mitchell Rivers then and there did kill and murder."

The verdict was signed by D. P. Mord, C. R. Thomas, H. F. Pritt, O. M. Grier,

DESIGNATED UNITED NATIONS ACCOUNTS OF BANKERS AND ITALIAN.

Capital and Interest: Issue our own draft on England, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal and Genoa.

JACKSON CITY.

Ham.

Baseball Scoreboard.

DREW'S BOOKSTORES, 51.

the board.

Dr. Romero, city health officer, gave notice yesterday that all the orders of the board of health were obeyed in regard to the closings on the old Mitchell building, quarters of the Negro children who were discharged. The city council, however, would order the closings up.

There are a large number of small children at risk in the two buildings, which have been reported as being in an unsanitary condition.

Dr. Romero says he does not want to change the orders, but the orders must be obeyed. The orders have stated that the conditions must be satisfied in ten days, otherwise the buildings would be closed. The city council ordered the buildings closed up today unless assured that the order will be obeyed.

MUNICIPAL COURT CASES.

Only Four Defendants Before the Court Yesterday.

The cases disposed of in the municipal court yesterday, in addition to those mentioned above, were as follows: Frank McLeod, charged with disorderly conduct, for fighting and using abusive and threatening language, was found guilty of the same offense, and today on account of the absence of one of the defendants.

George Jonas and George Washburn, two Minor Boys for fighting, were both discharged.

The continued case of Julia Green, arraigned for the same offense, was continued at the request of the defendant.

Obituary.

Yesterday, at 2 p.m., Mr. Robert E. King, of Blytheville, died at his home in that city. He was 56 years of age, and had been a resident of Blytheville for many years. He was a member of the Methodist Church, and a respected citizen.

MINOR'S MOTHER SAW IT ALL.

The only white woman present at the scene of the tragedy was Mrs. Minors, whose home is in this city. She was present at the scene of the accident, and heard the last words of her son, as he lay dying in the arms of his father.

The mother of the dead policeman was much distressed at the news of her son's death, and she and her husband went to the hospital, where they found her husband, who had been shot, lying on the floor. They went home, and the mother expressed surprise that she had not seen her son before.

Why shouldn't I go?" she exclaimed. "I want to kill my boy and try to kill him.

While she was binding the man, she said, "I want to kill him.

When the officer fell down, she gave a sigh of relief and said, "I'll never shoot another.

Crimson Cafe open from 6 p.m. until midnight; J. W. Barberfield, M. P., owner.

At the Harriet House, Savannah, Ga., rates reduced to $1 per day; no fancy price.

MAYNARD'S TICKET AGENCY.

Felix Garcia, Manager.

For information call at this office, 102 Main St., Augusta, Ga.

Crystal Cafe open from 6 p.m. until midnight; J. W. Barberfield, M. P., owner.

At the Harriet House, Savannah, Ga., rates reduced to $1 per day; no fancy price.

HERBERT W. BISHOP DEAD.

A telegram was received by the city yesterday morning by Mrs. A. W. Knight, announcing the death of her husband, Herbert W. Bishop, 59 years of age, who had been a resident of this city for many years.

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The Florida Times-Union

Semi-Weekly Edition

Issued every Monday, Terms, $2.50 a year.

The Jacksonville Times-Union has the exclusive right to publish the semi-weekly editions of the Florida Times-Union in Florida everywhere, the State of Florida.

GENTS' FURNISHINGS

WE GIVE A LIST OF A FEW OF THE BEST FURNISHINGS.

Scientific Suspender Belts

German Collars

Bath Robes

Manhattan Shirts

Summer Coats

Belts

An inspection of our stock will enable you to select the colors and styles of the most up-to-date styles.

J. A. CRAIG & BROS.

29 Laura St., near Keene's, Easy shaves, Easy haircuts and charitable work.

PANAMA BARBER SHOP
The Murdered Man's Funeral.

The funeral of Mitchell Rivers, who was killed Tuesday afternoon by Mrs. A. W. Knight, bermann, the widow of a man who was killed in a barroom brawl, was held on Saturday afternoon at St. Mark's Church, with Rev. Mr. W. J. DeLacy officiating. The remains were interred in the cemetery.

Herbert A. Bishop Died.

A telegram was received in this city yesterday morning by Mrs. A. W. Knight, announcing the death of her husband, Herbert A. Bishop, formerly of this city, but for the past five years of St. Petersburg, and formerly of the Globe Mining Company, of Ortona, Italy. He was in his 60th year and in the city.

When the head fell off and heavy hair fell on his face, and the ship refused to leave the dock, Carter's Little Liver Pills. Don't forget this.

PALACE BAKERY SHIP
200 LaSalle St., near Keene's. Easy shaver best hair cut in city. Everything new and different.

C.L. L. DECKER, Proprietor.

CLOTHING

Close out our entire stock of spring and summer clothing, hats and shirts regardless of cost. The

KNIFE

Has been placed in each article so deep nothing is left of former

PRICES:

Every garment will be sold at half, which means a saving of

A. GREENBERG
Clothier, Hatter and Furnisher, 15 East 2nd Street, New York.
Exhibit D
HAINON HANGED.

PAID THE DEATH PENALTY AT THE COUNTY JAIL YESTERDAY.

Large Number of People Witnessed the Execution, Including the Condemned Man's Family.

Edward Heinson, a young negro, was hanged by the county jail yesterday morning, having been convicted at the spring term of the Circuit Court for murder. The victim was 24 years old and lived near the city. The crime occurred on Monday, April 11, 1899.

Condemned under the laws of the state, the execution was carried out by Mr. Public Safety, with Mr. Skull taking care of him and keeping him away from the city. It is further stated that the long-drawn-out case before the public.

Payment of Bills:

At the execution, the estate of L. E. Engle, the following was adopted unanimously:

There were several accounts against the county and these are unapplied. The proposed modification of these accounts must be given the necessary consideration before they are paid. This has been done, and the bills must be paid.

Resolved: That all accounts against the county be paid and settled at once. The same shall be presented to the proper officers twenty-four hours before the hour appointed by the county commissioners.

Chairman of the Board of Public Works, who appears before the county commissioners and the city council, has been appointed to take care of the property at the courthouse.

A communication was received from the Tax Assessor Turner requesting three weeks' additional time to assess the value of the property. He has been unable to finish them within the time prescribed. The request was placed on the table, to be considered at a special meeting of the board next Monday. The cause was referred to the committee on finance, with the resolution that the assessor be compelled to make in his office the list of State lands.

Bond Approved.

The bond of B. B. Daniel, as Superior of Registration in the sum of $50,000, as required by law, was approved by the county commissioners.

County Treasurer Holmes suggested that the county should use Treasury Bond coupons on county bonds as cash vouchers.

The bond of T. W. Reeder, as Auditor of State, was also approved by the county commissioners.
against the county are much involved in such accounts excepted from the negligence of those interested in delaying the collection of county taxes. This is especially true in session.

That no accounts against the county will be considered unless the same shall be presented to the proper officers within thirty days after the same shall have been noted in the office of the County Commissioners.

The Clerk of the Board of Public Works appeared before the County Commissioners, under whose direction the work is being done. He reported, Springfield, the property of the city, and now used as a public park, has been completed and the County Commissioners have certified that it was not liable to taxation.

The board directed the proper steps to be taken for securing the property of the park and for taxation.

A communication was received from the Tax Assessor on a change of time in which to complete the assessment rolls for 1897, as it has been decided to finish the work by the 15th of the month. He requested a time of November 15th, 1899, and to the further orders of the Assessor, the Board of County Commissioners has been compelled to make an order in his own office of the State banks.

Bond Approved.

The bond of R. Bowen Daniel as Supervisor of Public Works was approved, with John C. Lingle and Charles S. Adams as sureties.

It is generally known that he is a man of high character and that he is well-liked in the county. The Board has decided to approve the bond as presented.

The bond was approved by the Board of County Commissioners.

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Exhibit E
"How to Stop Lynching" - 1902 editorial from T-U

Clipped By:

sm3mb
Thu, Jan 24, 2019
Exhibit F
LESSONS OF A LYNCHING.

Night before last the reputation of Florida was stained by a lynching. The victim had not committed the crime which usually results in lynching in the South. If guilty at all, he was guilty of murder—murder for dollars and cents, murder cowardly and brutal. Blood was spilled in his defense. Is he guilty? Is a citizen's inquest the court of last resort in Florida? Is it just, it is humane, it is necessary to treat the victim's inquest, which was only intended to serve justice. In the last race, the victim's inquest, his former wife, his daughter, his signature. The city of postmaster, General of the.

GULLICK FOR SPEAKER.

He Will Be Nominated With the Consent of the Government.

LONDON, April 25.—The jubilant Mail, Post is informed from an authoritative source that William Gullick, liberal M. P. for Carlisle, will be nominated for the speakership of the House of Commons, 10, with the approval of the government. The government will not, of course, be consulted on the nomination. Mr. Gullick is a member of the government, and will be the first minister to hold the office.

SKY-SCRAPING HOTEL.

To Be Erected by Venable Brothers, Atlanta.—Will Cost $500,000.

ATLANTA, Ga., April 25.—The Venable brothers have started work on a hotel building in Atlanta, and cost will be $500,000. The hotel will be located at the northwest corner of the old capital. The building will be of granite and steel, and will have 200 rooms, 100 of which will be furnished. It will accommodate one thousand guests, and is to be completed in the fall. The building will face the post-office block and the Grady street.

TELEGRAPH TICKS.

At Dover, Del., another bell was taken yesterday by the legislature for the safety of the state. It is reported that the bell will be strong enough to withstand all tempestuous and tempestuous weather. The bell is expected to weigh about 1,000 pounds. It is constructed of iron and steel, and is 9 feet in diameter. It is 2 feet thick, and is expected to last for a century. It is intended to be used in the storehouse of the state capitol, and to be placed in the tower of the capitol. It was manufactured by the Ohio Bell Mfg. Co., of Cincinnati.

H. Colton, the advance agent of "Lost in New York," is in the city, and is preparing for the opening of the play at the Fullerton Theatre. The company will appear at Park opera-house on March 12. Jerome Madden, of Chicago, who has been spending the winter in this city, will return to his home in Chicago next week. The play is expected to open on March 12.
where one innocent man would be punished in this way a dozen innocent men would be saved from the vengeance of the law.

CUT OFF PRIVATE BILLS.

The legislature will probably be in session for another five days. The session will probably adjourn at the same time it opens. The session is the only time when the legislature can consider bills that are likely to pass without a majority vote.

THE WORLD OF SPORT.

Three Favorites in Front at New Orleans.

NEW ORLEANS, April 3.-A large crowd assembled at the hotel to hear the reading of the bill. The meeting was well attended and the bill passed. The track was in good condition and the newspapers give the following results:

First race—Six furlongs, Currie, 9 to 5, Colonel Atmore, 2 to 1, second, Colonel Atmore, 3 to 1, third, Colonel Atmore, 4 to 2.

Second race—Seven furlongs, selling, Sydney, 9 to 5, Miss Thompson, 2 to 1, third, Miss Thompson, 3 to 1, fourth, Miss Thompson, 4 to 2.

Fourth race—Eighteen lengths, selling, Sydney, 9 to 5, Miss Thompson, 2 to 1, second, Miss Thompson, 3 to 1, third, Miss Thompson, 4 to 2.

Fifth race—Nine furlongs, selling, Sydney, 9 to 5, Miss Thompson, 2 to 1, second, Miss Thompson, 3 to 1, third, Miss Thompson, 4 to 2.

The Massachusetts mill men are in no mood for praise.

CHARLOTTE, N. C., April 3.—The Massachusetts mill men, who are traveling in the South, are not in the least disposed to praise the Southern legislatures. The Massachusetts mill men, who are traveling in the South, are not in the least disposed to praise the Southern legislatures.

Mr. Loring is an argument to the contrary. He says that Southern competition is not one reason why the Massachusetts mill men are in no mood for praise.

Mr. Tomkins of Charlotte, N. C., says in a letter to the editors of the Charlotte Observer that the Southern mill men are not in the least disposed to praise the Southern legislatures.

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Exhibit G
Exhibit H
CARAVAN OF CRIME.

What is the matter with Florida? We seem to be having a peculiar caravanserai of crime. It is humiliating to the law-abiding people of the state, and would be vastly more humiliating if it were not for the good reason to think it a mere speck on the bill of indictment as of the rateless lawlessness.

Crimes and calamities go in epidemic. Sometimes one state and sometimes another is afflicted. This wave of crime which now swells over Florida will soon pass on, and when it rises again, will rise elsewhere.

But while it would be unfair to judge our state by the records of the past few years, we must confess that crime is far too common and in some parts of the state, human life is too cheap. We make this confession because it is necessary to make it in order to appeal to the people to put down crime. Not one man in a hundred in Florida—perhaps not one in a thousand, in its nature and in the habits of the masses of a people who respect life as it is here—is anywhere. The trouble is, there is not enough of that respect for law that is inspired by fear.

We have a bad jury system in Florida. The jury box was made up from the list of those who had paid all their poll taxes. Character was not a qualification for jury service. Intelligence was not. The payment of poll taxes was proof that any man could be on the jury. The failure of an all-white jury to put off any man from service. A large number of good men were left, and the professional juror was not in evidence. Under such a jury system it is not wonder that the penalties of the law were overlooked.

All this is changing now, and men can no longer exempt themselves from jury duty by failing to do another. Good men are supposed to be selected for juries, but now the laws are being more strictly executed than formerly. The change, however, is too recent to be generally appreciated.

When men get accustomed to the presence of crime, crime will become less frequent.

In the meantime, no intelligent and upright citizen should shirk jury duty on any pretext. Allegations regarding the state of crime in Florida, and the phrase that "the child who is in the basket" should not be used

FROM LONDON:

A letter from London, dated May 31st, states that the British government is considering the possibility of introducing a bill into the Parliamant that would make it illegal to discriminate against people based on their sexual orientation. The letter also mentions that the government is working closely with various organizations to ensure that the bill is as inclusive as possible.

OBITUARY.

Francis McCabe, of the town of McCabe, died August 31st, 1982. Francis was a respected member of the community, known for his kindness and generosity. He leaves behind a legacy of love and dedication to his family and friends. May he rest in peace.
Exhibit I
WHICH IS RESPONSIBLE FOR LYING?

The very esteemed Columbia State seems reason to lament the "reenactments of lynching" especially the cases in which blacks have been lynched, with practically all the Southern states except the Carolinas and Virginia. Thereupon the State proceeds to deliver sentence and declares:

We believe that primarily the responsibility for such an outrage lies in the press. A vigilant and courageous press, which will hammer out the truth about these mob murders, and arouse the nation, is needed, if the public good is not to be endangered. The press can make it very uncomfortable for delinquents and cowards, and this can only be done by turning a mob over to a mob with any genuine sympathy to protect its members; and on the other hand this press can be the "fundamental princes of political economy," spoken of by the Times Union.

The trouble is that so few of us take the pains to send men to the capitals to make our laws. If society involves the capacity to reason, if a balanced mind and the proof of capacity to think straight are all that is required, a temper will be required for the consideration of the laws and the making of the laws. What sort of an aggregate have we sent to present us as a whole, and what is our responsibility to the man in the street? To form an opinion on the capacity of the South, it is necessary to differ with the}]
Scientists say women are lacking in mentality. They also have something to do with men being more unbalanced.

To the man who weighed Jacksonville and has for several years been suggesting that he use a new scale and a large one.

New York has imported four hundred German frogs to test the weather by their wriggling. What's the matter with Willis Moore?

Another gun animal, name unknown, has been captured—one alive—by Mr. Roosevelt. That should be good for quite a number of dollars.

In these wakening days a Tennessee woman is wearing her little girl handcuffed to her arm. To what extremes some women will go to attract attention.

Anyhow, it's a relief to know that Jim is not going to be affected on account of insanity. But bull is the threads which entangle Black Jacobites in Manhattan.

To kill a man seems such a terrible thing in the old man's mind, yet the courts smile and say, "Discharged," or slaps their feet for a new trial.

The suffragettes are not ready to leave the States in a rickety boat, dubbed Dreadnought. American humor would appreciate the joke.

Tennessee wants interurban highways. Ordinary roads are good enough for Florida if the legislature will only give us an appropriation to build them.

The sweet girl graduate is all right. We have no cause to be fault with her essays upon how to bring about the millennium, for it's coming some day anyway.

The test that has been discovered in this country is lost again. Let us hope they'll take the boat and join forces with the Duke of Abruzzi, who is acting funny lately.

The New York Tribune protests that congress cannot justly and fairly revise the tariff while it is lacking the data on which to base proper conclusions. Bring forth the data.

The Wrights have landed in their own country, and like true Americans prefer the welcome of their homestead people. Pity their home folks waited until the boys got weary of foreign hands and moneys.

The society editor of the Washington Herald says Charles Taft took several of his boy friends to the beach. "Sure," he said, "though he did not live in the White House."

The poor man in Florida reads the news from Tahiti, and, if he be wise he murmurs: "Save me from my friends, and I can look after my enemies." But nobody can save him from such friends, and their power to hurt was given by his folly.

It will be noted that Senator Guggenheim did not turn insurmountable when he was offered rich returns in protection on lead, for the cost of his seat. But there was an apparent lack of motive to accept cash in return.

And a group of New York will now decide whether they should support the candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives.

Well, it is not for me to make it very uncomfortable for delinquents and delinquent officers who turn over prisoners to a mob without any general interest to protect such officers; and on the other hand this case can be handled in such a way as to bring it home to the people who dare to interfere. Therefore it has been a source of vexation to us to learn that the Times-Union, for example, will publish any piece of scandalousness and libelousness which can be put into their column with enough speed to be read by the public who are interested in the subject.

The Times-Union did its full share in repealing lynching, and it fought for the law. The people who violate it—i.e., the usury laws—violate it. For usury laws were made to work for the benefit of the people, and not for the benefit of those who were enemies of the state and the people. If the law was enforced, the sentences of the courts were carried out and outrages duly punished. But it is not necessary to have this done to the same extent as it was done before.

The times have changed, and we have done all that in our power to bring these promises fulfilled to the letter.

Then there came a pardon for a wronged woman. The pardon was not unwarranted, and the law was not therefore enforced. The pardon power is one of the most important and useful of the powers of the executive. And we have had a pardon for that woman, and we have done all that we can and we shall continue to do all that we can to carry out these promises made to the letter.

If it be desired that the state become dry, certainly the revenues from the saloons will be cut off. Now if the revenues from these licenses be dropped from the revenue, how is the state to pay its current expenses? Certainly a sane legislator who desired to deny the people the right to use the saloon would provide for the existence of the state without it; if the state cannot pay the way without the licenses, then why not to cut them. These are some of the ways that may be right or wrong, but the legislator who prescribes prohibitions for the purpose of preventing the use of saloons simply lacks reason or sanity or sense—call it what you like.

Take another instance. Some of these wise legislators think it is popular or necessary to propose laws against the saloon—perhaps some of these are right, and that would be the proper thing to do. But the question of making a lobby necessary to defeat their bills. But the constitution denies them the right to pass special taxa—taxation must be uniform. Giving them credit or discredit for the wish to drive the saloon out of Florida is that primary care. And then it must come down and the ox cart again dominate the situation, the same mind would go about the work in a logical way, and there would be at least an attempt to pass a law that would be constitutional, and would be enforced. This is the power of the states to control conflicting property by oppressive taxation. On the proposition that the legislature is sane, we can only conclude that they issue a bluff to induce the corporations to assume the defense through a lobby they cannot control, and to get into the field as a side-show. Which horn of the dilemma will they embrace when they appear for judgment?

But whatever be the opinion of these legislators, we must forbear an expression of opinion as to the voters. The voters are in the situation of such freaks in legislative halls. Did some of the voters understand that the state desired to make an exhibit of portentous character for the benefit of the saloons or moralists? Did some of us think to advertise the safety of those at home by presenting the allurements of foreign saloons? Or was it desired, as has been suggested, to get rid of a lot of folly in some localities for a brief period by sending the worst away and keeping the better-minded.

English law provides that the representatives of the people shall do themselves.