

10.45

Woman's Club Blog The
Raleigh
Negro

"An angry mob, which has neither the head to think
nor the heart to feel."—L. Q. C. Lamar

Mississippi^{miss.} " and The Mob^m



State officials, officers and outstanding members of
State Bar Association, and other prominent Missis-
sippians condemn mob violence and call on officers
to do their sworn duty.

"I give it as my deliberate judgment that there is never an occasion when the resort to lynch law can be justified. However dark and dreadful the crime, punishment should be inflicted by due process of law. Every lyncher becomes a law despiser, and every law despiser is a betrayer of his country. The lynching spirit unrestrained, increases in geometrical progression."

BISHOP CHAS. B. GALLOWAY.

"We believe in only the single standard of morals for all races, and unquestionably in the protection of the womanhood of the races.

We also believe in the LAW and that it should, under all circumstances, be respected and upheld by all citizens.

Therefore, we deplore mob violence for any crime and desire to register our protest against lynching or any other form of mob violence."

MISSISSIPPI WOMEN'S STATE COMMITTEE ON
RACE RELATIONS.

"While mob violence is by no means limited to any section, its presence anywhere and everywhere is a blow at law and order and a blot upon our national life. I recognize only the supremacy of the law, and the equality of every man before the bar of justice. I call upon all the law-enforcing officials in the commonwealth to use every means within their power to prevent lynchings, and thus eliminate a potent cause of race friction and ill feelings."

GOV. HENRY L. WHITFIELD,

Inaugural Message, Jan. 1924.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introductory Statement, by J. N. Flowers, Pres. Miss. Bar Association	1
2. How Lynch Law Got its Name	10
3. Lynching Our Blackest Blot (Statistics)	11
4. Officers Repel Mobs	13
5. How Judge J. B. Chrisman Routed the Whitecappers	13
6. Judge Thompson's tribute to Judge Chrisman	15
7. Rape not "the Usual Cause" of Mob Violence	16
8. Jim Ivy Burning at the Stake	20
9. Suggestions as to How a Mississippi Sheriff May Help Wipe Out Lynching	23
10. Statutory Duties of Sheriff Listed and Discussed	23
10. How Circuit Judges, Lawyers, and Courts Can Help	25
11. Judge Jefferson Hamm's Famous Charge to Kemper Grand Jury	29
12. How the Citizens May Help	33

II.

STATE OFFICIALS, LEADERS OF MISSISSIPPI BAR, AND PROMINENT CITIZENS UNRESERVEDLY CONDEMN MOB MURDERS

1. Governor H. L. Whitfield	35
2. Thomas L. Bailey, Speaker of House of Representatives	37
3. John Sharp Williams	38
4. Chief Justice Sydney Smith	38
5. Associated Justice J. B. Holden	39
6. Associate Justice J. G. McGowen	40
7. Associate Justice W. D. Anderson	41
8. Associate Justice Geo. H. Ethridge	42
9. Hon. Webb Venable	43
10. Congressman B. G. Lowrey	44
11. Hon. Geo. J. Leftwich	45
12. Hon. A. T. Stovall	46
13. Judge D. W. Houston	47
14. Hon. R. E. Wilbourn	51
15. Hon. T. Brady, Jr.	52
16. Hon. J. S. Sexton	53
17. Judge Stone Deavours	55
18. Hon. R. B. Campbell	56
19. Hon. Charlton H. Alexander	58
20. L. Q. C. Lamar	58
21. Bishop Chas. B. Galloway	59
22. Dr. Alfred Hume, Chancellor University of Mississippi	60

23. Major Alexander Fitzhugh.....	60
24. Mrs. Lewis H. Yarbrough, Pres. Mississippi Parent-Teachers Association.....	62
25. Bishop Theodore D. Bratton.....	62

III.

NATIONAL FIGURES JOIN IN CHORUS OF CONDEMNATION.....	64
1. Ex-Governor E. O. Stanley of Kentucky.....	64
2. President Calvin Coolidge.....	65
3. Judge Thomas G. Jones, ex-Governor of Alabama.....	66
4. Rev. John E. White of Atlanta.....	66
5. Hon. Bolton Smith of Memphis.....	67
6. Henry Watterson.....	69

IV.

SOUTHERN NEWSPAPERS CALL FOR OFFICERS TO RESIST MOB VIOLENCE AND FOR CITIZENS TO UPHOLD THE MAJESTY OF THE LAW.....	70
1. The Decline of Lynching—The American, Hattiesburg.....	70
2. Some Different Types of Sheriff—Nashville Tennessean.....	71
3. A Blow at Lynching—Gazette, Kalamazoo, Mich.....	71
4. The Clarksdale Lynching—New York Times.....	72
5. Fighting Mob Violence—Herald-Press, St. Joseph, Mich.....	73
6. A State on Trial—Daily Telegraph, Macon, Ga.....	73
7. The Limit in Lynchings—The Boston Transcript.....	73
8. Judge Lynch—Cleveland Plain-Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio.....	74
9. Judges and the Mob—Age-Herald, Birmingham, Ala.....	74
10. Lawlessness in Mississippi—Herald, Spartanburg, S. C.....	74
11. An Outrageous Affair—The New Orleans States.....	75
12. Lynching Mississippi—The Sun, Charleston, Miss.....	75
13. The Clarksdale Lynching—The Tocsin, Indianola, Miss.....	76
14. A Moment of Crisis—Commercial-Appeal.....	76
15. A Stain Upon the State—The Sentinel, Yazoo City, Miss.....	76
16. Contempt and Treason to Mississippi—Commercial-Appeal.....	77
17. Mississippi on Trial—The Commonwealth, Greenwood, Miss.....	77
18. "With My Own Body"—The Independent.....	78

FOREWORD

The statements and expressions of views contained in this pamphlet, in each instance, carry the names of the persons assuming responsibility for them. No one of the writers vouches for what anybody else has said. But nobody has said anything that all the rest would not be willing to endorse. In fact nothing is said that is radical or even new. All have the same purpose, namely, to awaken the public mind to take aggressive notice of an evil which has come to be accepted as a thing incurable. I have been asked to do this present writing not as president of the State Bar Association but because I happen at this time to hold that position. I have discussed with several members of the association the propriety of doing this and these members encouraged me to do it. And if any good is done they will all commend the effort.

Suppose at a meeting of the State Bar Association there were offered, in order to test the attitude of the members, a resolution like this: "Resolved that this Association do and it does hereby commit itself as approving mob violence in instances where a considerable number of citizens may believe that such independent action is necessary to the well-being of their community." Would a motion to adopt receive a single supporting vote? The lawyers would as readily support such a resolution as they would vote a proposal to tear down all the churches of the land or to abolish schools and libraries or to swap the president for a king.

The lawyer knows the government acts through its regulations published in the form of laws; that to flout its laws is to flout the government; that to defy the government is to charge it with weakness and failure; that

if the government may thus be defied it is in fact weak and is a failure. To approve mob activity is to approve the suspension for a time, in the given locality, of government by law and the substitution therefor of government by crowds ruled by immediate purposes and passions.

The organization of citizens whose supreme duty it is to consider lapses in government functions is the State Bar Association. The members of the bar are in a way the ministers of the gospel of government by law. It requires an enlightened citizenship to accept under all conditions the reign of law. The lawyers should be best equipped to create the sentiment that demands the recognition of one sovereign, namely, The Law. Our governmental plan is built upon this recognition. Our Declarations of Rights, Declarations of Independence, Great Charters, Constitutions, Preambles, homes, railroads, banks, families, farms and factories all owe their existence to the fundamental that Law and not Man is sovereign.

It is not suggested that any duty rests upon the members of the bar to enforce the law in cases where professional duty does not bind them. It is only proposed that they should be able to see and point out the gravity of the evil of organized defiance of law, and should be expected to take the lead in repairing the machinery in such weak parts as invite and allow citizens to organize and curse the government to its face.

The bravest and most loyal citizen does not care aggressively to assume the duty of enforcing the law. As a citizen he elects agents or officers with the authority and duty to restrain the criminally inclined. This is part of our governmental plan. The citizen assumes power and duty when acting as a juror. But when that service is concluded he is under no official duty to see that other

people are law-abiding. He is not a conservator of the peace. He may be called into service in emergencies by the officers he has elected, in which case he is temporarily clothed with authority and charged with a duty. There is a vast gulf between the juror fixing a sentence in his box and the same citizen voting to help kill without legal sanction,—a gulf fully as vast as that between Dives and Lazarus in their places of permanent abode.

The failure of the government to suppress mob activity cannot be blamed upon the citizen jurors to any large extent. Such blame is charged by persons who do not appreciate the difficulty of obtaining evidence to warrant conviction. When the citizen becomes a juror he binds himself by an oath that he will try the immediate case solely upon the law and the evidence. After a crime of this nature is committed by a number of citizens, their friends and relatives, being numerous, create an atmosphere unfavorable to the production of convicting evidence. No efforts to suppress the evil of mob violence can succeed which depend alone upon making punishment of mobbers more certain or prompt. The mobbed, in most instances, is a degraded and friendless creature and after he is out of the way people turn to the lives and happiness of the citizens and families involved and these considerations are more potent than loyalty to government. It is idle to talk about exterminating the evil in this State by the use of the exclusive remedy of visiting harsher or swifter punishment upon law-violators of this character. Such punishment ought to be applied and if it were uniformly inflicted the evil would be reduced. But the very nature of the crime makes this remedy ineffectual.

Besides we should as well recognize the truth that respectable and otherwise good citizens have frequently allowed themselves to be drawn into criminal enterprises of this nature. They act under the temporary aggrava-

tion and in the belief that no force will have to be overcome and that no witnesses can be afterwards assembled. The larger the number of participants the safer the enterprise. The crime assumed to have been committed by the victim appeals to the aroused passion for immediate punishment. Men lose their reason. Not being restrained by the immediate official representatives of law and order, they act. Having acted, they do things they never thought themselves capable of doing in order to get out of their trouble. Their cause then becomes more important to the community than the vindication of the law.

The persons who should bear the blame for every killing by a mob are the persons whose duty it is to preserve the peace and enforce the law. Every county has officers charged with these duties and sworn to perform them. They are elected as the representatives or agents of the people to see to it that the law is obeyed. They are clothed with official authority. They may appoint deputies and assistants. The number of these may be increased as the occasion requires. They may summon and arm with weapons and authority, the entire body of the citizenship. Whatever help they need they have the power to command. Then why should they not force people to respect the law? If the officers charged with this duty are not able, in any county, to meet crowds organized for the very purpose of setting the government at defiance then should not such officers resign and allow the positions to be filled by men able and willing to hold down the jobs?

Appeals by persons high in authority, admonishing the people that the time has come when they must rise up and put an end to this career of shame may help to create a public conscience, but the time has come to substitute command for appeal. The citizen knows that for some crimes, in most instances, it is perfectly safe to join a mob organization. He expects to be met by no force.

There may be verbal resistance and earnest appeals by public-spirited citizens. But these make no impression upon men who are aroused by the account of the recent crime. Men in such a state of mind respect nothing but force.

The reader of this is asked here whether he has ever heard of a member of a mob in this state being killed or wounded while acting in the mob enterprise. Statistics are assembled showing the number of lynchings, the nationalities of the lynched, the crimes the lynchers undertook to punish, the localities where such violence is most cravenly allowed. But I have seen no statistics giving the number of sufferers among mobbers. There is no better indication of the safety with which numbers may band together and defy the law than that such adventurers have uniformly come through the enterprise without a scratch. It appears that the law-enforcing officers yield to superior numbers without a struggle,—as if it were not expected of them to resist; as if they were only expected to enforce the law where the thing is easy and their authority respected; as if they had no greater duty by reason of their oath and office.

Since the officers do not resist the mob and the mob knows the officers will not resist, and since the business is known to be safe, it seems that the blame or default is located. And the strengthening should be applied where the governmental scheme is weak. Certainty of resistance would deter men who would otherwise disregard the law. Robbery and burglary would become popular if persons inclined to such activity could know in advance that the officers of the law would not appear with whatever force might be necessary to prevent the crime or apprehend its perpetrators. If ten or twenty or a hundred should undertake in public a robbery or burglary they would know in advance that the law would be backed by force and

arms. Such crimes are therefore planned with caution to avoid detection. They do not take place in the presence of sheriffs and deputies, in the court house yard, with judges, district attorneys and other representatives of law and order pleading with the adventurers to desist. To such, the officers do not say, "Please don't do that." There is no appeal to patriotism or community pride. There is no parleying. The officers of the law assert their authority. There is a show down between government and its enemies.

If persons about to kill or punish without the sanction of law should be convinced in every instance that the officers would meet them with force Mississippi would lose its disreputable rank among the communities that allow mobs to suspend the laws at pleasure. In many reported instances determined officers have drawn a "dead line." It is not recorded that any member of a mob has crossed such a line. They may be so aroused as to be willing to help punish or destroy the victim at hand but they are not so beside themselves that they are willing to rush a brave officer armed with guns and authority.

Does it not all come to this, that aggregations of citizens who defy the law act with the assurance of safety and only where they have such assurance? The man is out of the ordinary who is willing to risk his life to punish or kill a sorry creature who will in a short time get what his crime calls for through the established forms of law. Every man contemplating joining a mob should know in advance that it means going into a life-and-death battle. Then he won't join.

When states are at war and a captain or colonel is found unable or unwilling to do his duty and hold his lines where the forces at his command are sufficient, he is removed and another is put in his place. No sort of pub-

lic sentiment can keep in his place an officer who has failed in his duty when face to face with an enemy. Why should men elected to preserve the peace and enforce the law not forfeit their places if they allow citizens to band together and publicly set the law at defiance? Are the people too strong for these particular officers? Is the job too big for them? Are they able to perform the duties of their office only when such duties are light and public sentiment is supporting? Does the sheriff take oath to support the law only in the event the ruling sentiment backs him?

Citizens generally will endorse the following observations:

1. Mobs could not in most instances be organized if it were known in advance that each participant would hazard his life.

2. The sheriff is a man who knows the nooks and corners of his county and the personnel of its citizenship. He could arrange through deputies and friends for prompt information of the commission of crimes. He knows what crimes might provoke summary punishment; that any crime may do it; and what citizens are likely to take part.

3. The sheriff with his deputies can in almost every case keep the law in control if he will demonstrate that force will be employed.

The practice in this state of citizen organizations taking into their own hands the punishment of persons guilty or supposed to be guilty of heinous crimes is so prevalent as to call for measures more or less severe. The just and logical way to stop the practice is to place the responsibility where it belongs, that is, upon the chief law-enforcing officer of the county. This officer should pre-

vent it in his county or forfeit his office. Not only should he forfeit his office but he should be rendered ineligible to hold the office again.

Such a provision in the law would at first glance seem to be harsh. And it would be perhaps if applied to an officer who was elected at a time when there was no such penalty provided. But if a man is willing to run for the office and assume its responsibility when he knows that he will take it under penalty of forfeiture if he allows a lynching in his county it would not seem harsh. He would be backed by his friends and supporters. They would not want him to lose his position. His deputies would not want their chief to lose out, the relatives and friends of the sheriff and his deputies would lend their backing. The sheriff could have deputies in all parts of the county and no organization could be effected without the knowledge of the sheriff or his friends. It would need only that the sheriff and his deputies should let it be known, in a manner that would convince the public, that any attempt on the part of citizens to use force would be met by the necessary force. This would result in no conflicts except in very extraordinary instances.

No man need run for the office unless he is willing to assume all its duties and accept all its conditions. The sheriff would have the impelling motive, would have his office at stake, his eligibility ever to hold the office again at stake—and he would be active not only in the execution of his sworn duty but also in the defense of himself and his good name. There would be few instances where an active and determined sheriff would lose his office or kill a citizen.

Since the legislature has failed thus far to exercise the authority conferred by Section 139 of the Constitution and empower the Governor to remove sheriffs and other officers

for failure to do their duty, the long and difficult method prescribed by Section 175 is now exclusive. To my mind the time has come to give the Governor power to do something more than issue statements and express regrets. The framers of the constitution contemplated that he should have power to remove officials for cause, and left it to the legislature to prescribe the conditions. If mob violence is to cease, the legislature must give the chief executive the necessary authority to deal with the matter as an enlightened and indignant citizenship demands.

The lamentation comes from different quarters that local government is in many respects a failure. The impression is general that the federal government can enforce laws better than the states. Amendments to the Constitution are slowly taking power from the states and putting it into the central government at Washington. At intervals it is proposed in Congress to exercise federal power to stop the practice of lynching. This federal interference will sooner or later come unless the states themselves take steps to handle the problem. Federal officers are further removed from the scene and therefore do not have friends to protect or public opinion to fear. It is to the absolute interest of this state to adopt measures that will change the conditions that allow citizens to get together and administer punishment without the aid of the courts.

J. N. FLOWERS.

HOW LYNCH LAW GOT ITS NAME

"Charles Lynch, whose name has been thus unjustly defamed, was an honorable Quaker gentleman, a justice of the peace in Bedford County, Virginia, and a gallant officer in the Revolutionary militia. In 1780, when his State was threatened with invasion by Cornwallis, Lynch discovered a Tory conspiracy to seize certain stores that had been collected in his county for the American army under General Greene. As justice of the peace he had the conspirators arrested and confined till the danger was ended by the reverse to Cornwallis at Guilford Court House. When the war was over the men arrested threatened to sue him for damages, on the ground that he had overstepped his powers as a mere county official. But Lynch, who was then a member of the State Legislature, succeeded in getting through an act to the effect that:

'Whereas divers evil disposed persons in the year 1780 formed a conspiracy and did actually attempt to levy war against the commonwealth, and it is represented to the present General Assembly . . . that Charles Lynch and other faithful citizens, aided by detachments of volunteers from different parts of the State, did by timely and effectual measures suppress such conspiracy, and whereas the measures taken for that purpose may not be strictly warranted by law, although justifiable from the imminence of the danger,

Be it therefore enacted, that the said Charles Lynch and all other persons whatsoever concerned in suppressing the said conspiracy or in advising, issuing or enacting any orders or measures taken for that purpose, stand indemnified and exonerated from all pains, penalties, prosecutions, actions, suits and damages on thereof,"—(Thomas Walker Page, "Race Relations in the South." *North American Review*, Vol. 206, page 248.)

It is a far cry from Charles Lynch of Revolutionary days going out with a detachment of volunteers to take "timely and effectual measures" to suppress "divers evil disposed persons" who "did actually attempt to levy war against the commonwealth," and the lawless lynchers of today. Should this honorable old justice of the peace come back to the South today he would be the first to defend the county jail against lawless and violent attack upon the constituted authority by a mob seeking to take a prisoner from the officers of the law.

LYNCHING OUR BLACKEST BLOT.

During the last forty years (1885-1925) mobs murdered 4,144 men and women. 1,036 of the victims were white and 3,162 were colored. Eighty five of the number were women—sixty eight negro women and seventeen white women. Every state in the union has had one or more lynchings with the exception of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island. Mississippi has 530 lynchings to her discredit.

More Americans have been hanged, burnt, and otherwise illegally slaughtered by mob violence than were killed in the Spanish-American War. More Americans have died at the bloody hands of an angry mob than were killed in the battle of St. Mihiel. Twice as many American citizens have had their lives snuffed out without due process of law in Mississippi as died when the Maine was blown up in Havana harbor. More than four times as many Americans have been lynched in Mississippi by the "frightfulness" of our own people as went down to a watery grave when German ruthlessness sank The Lusitania.

These figures patiently and persistently gathered over four decades do not tell the full story of bloodshed and lawlessness. They do not take into account the hun-

dreds killed in the bloody race riots at East St. Louis, Tulsa, Washington, and Chicago, or the isolated individuals done to death in the dead of night by craven cowards, with no feature story in the newspapers and little or no investigation in the grand jury room.

But the actual statistics are enough to stagger and to shame us. It is hoped that their publication will galvanize every thoughtful, law-abiding citizen into positive action which will put an end to mob violence for ever and a day.

Statistics running back to 1882 show 505 negroes and twenty five white people lynched in Mississippi, a total of 530 lynchings against 521 for Georgia, the two states together standing arraigned before the bar of humanity with more than one fifth of all the lynchings in America charged against them. The continuance of mob violence constitutes a challenge to our citizenship, our civilization, and our Christianity.

AN ENCOURAGING DECREASE.

One of the most hopeful features of the whole bloody business is the marked decrease in the number of mob murders during the last three years. There were sixty four lynchings in 1921; fifty seven in 1922; thirty three in 1923; and only sixteen during 1924. The Mississippi figures declined from fourteen in 1921 to two cases in 1924. But five persons have already died at the hands of mobs during the first nine months of this year, thus indicating the need for public opinion to assert itself. It is apparent that the time has arrived to wipe out this evil altogether and this can be accomplished only by focussing public opinion on the question as never before.

OFFICERS REPEL MOBS.

It is most encouraging to find that as the number of lynchings has decreased very materially each year so the number of prevented lynchings has increased each year, thus indicating that the sheriffs of the South are coming to realize to a greater degree than ever before, their sworn duty to stand against the mob with the same determination which they would show in running down fleeing felons.

Over against the sixty-four lynchings in 1921, stand seventy-two instances where officers of the law prevented lynchings, eight rescues being in the North and sixty-four in the South.

In 1923 there were thirty-three lynchings, while forty-six threatened lynchings were prevented by the vigilance of officers, forty of these cases being in the South.

In 1924 almost three times as many lynchings were prevented as occurred, 16 persons dying last year as victims of mob violence, while forty-five others were rescued by officers of the law, who in nine of these instances used armed forces to repel the mob.

These figures indicate quite clearly a finer appreciation of duty on the part of the sworn officers of the law and a growing determination on the part of these officers to enforce the law against all who attempt to defy its authority.

HOW JUDGE CHRISMAN ROUTED THE WHITECAPPERS.

The most heroic and spectacular instance of manly bravery and judicial boldness in Mississippi's annals oc-

curred in 1893 when Judge J. B. Chrisman routed the "Whitecappers." That stalwart Mississippian was presiding over the circuit court of Lincoln county and the grand jury had returned indictments against a number of alleged law breakers who had been confined in jail. The court was busily engaged in the trial of a civil case when a cavalcade of some two hundred men and boys was seen approaching the court house. The object and purpose of the band of whitecappers were readily understood as rumors of threatened release of the jailed men had been rife.

The raiders came in a sweeping gallop. The court went to pieces. The jury in the box, unceremoniously left the court room. The Judge descended from the bench and rapidly proceeding toward the business center of the town returned in double quick time flourishing the largest and biggest pistols ever before seen in those parts, followed by a dozen or more brave and determined men all well armed, whom he had hastily but successfully mustered into service, to preserve the majesty of the law and the life of his court.

He and the men who aided him charged the mob which had surrounded the Court House and jail and promptly routed it. The stampede of the white-cappers and their departure was as amusing as their on-coming had been serious and alarming. Judge Chrisman's superb courage on the occasion inspired the bravery of all persons in sympathy with his cause and made craven cowards of those whom he assailed. The incidents related not only prove Judge Chrisman's worth as a man but the good citizenship of the town of Brookhaven as well.

Judge R. H. Thompson, associate of Judge Chrisman in the Constitutional Convention of 1890, and now the beloved nestor of the Mississippi Bar was then a citizen of

Brookhaven and was engaged in the trial of the law-suit so rudely interrupted. We are indebted to him for the description of Judge Chrisman's superb courage and bravery.

The following is the dedication to McWillie & Thompson's Mississippi Digest of 1910, in which the incidents here related are fittingly and eloquently stated by Judge Thompson:

"A great and patriotic exploit should never be allowed to sink into oblivion. It is a part of the common heritage of the people for whose sake it was performed, and, like the shield of a fallen hero, should be burnished and kept bright.

"Yielding to this sentiment, the authors of the present work most reverently dedicate it to the memory of the lamented Joseph B. Chrisman, who, on the 4th day of May, 1893, finding the courthouse in which he was presiding as a circuit judge of the state assailed by a large force of armed and defiant men seeking to rescue prisoners then in custody for trial before him, descended from the bench, called the law abiding citizens to arms, and leading them in person at great peril to his life, put the invaders to ignominious flight. This memorable vindication of the honor and dignity of the state whose commissin he held, this splendid illustration of judicial dignity and civic virtue is not surpassed by anything in the annals of Rome in her proudest day, and should serve both as an insipration and a lesson for future generations. But superb as was his achievement it has been in no way commemorated; no medal was ever struck in honor of it; no monumental bronze or marble perpetuates it; no vote of thanks ever was tendered by the law-making department of the government. The fame of it lives alone in the recollection of persons who will soon pass away, leaving it to the uncertainty and obscurity of

tradition. If this poor tribute shall to any extent aid in preserving so noble a feature of our judicial history, its authors will feel that they have greatly honored themselves and afforded a gratification to the bench and bar of the entire state. Mississippi has had many great judges, but it remained for Judge Chrisman to show, more than any other, the power of one man when personifying the majesty of the law and panoplied with courage and invincible determination."

RAPE NOT "THE USUAL CAUSE."

Many of our most thoughtful and law abiding citizens—men who despise the mob and all its works—are under the mistaken impression that rape or attempted rape is not only "the usual cause" of lynching, but the chief cause. Yet statistics show that less than one fourth of the victims of mob violence were even accused of rape or attempted rape. In short three out of every four persons lynched were charged with some other offense than a crime against our womanhood.

1360 of all the mob's victims were charged with murder and 202 more with murderous assault; 601 with Rape and 239 with attempted rape; 263 with robbery and theft and sixty two with insults to white women. 882 human beings had their lives snuffed out on such trifling charges as throwing stones, turning state's evidence, being troublesome, enticing labor away, drunkenness, and being a bad nigger.

Judge Gilbert T. Stephenson of Winston-Salem N. C., in a powerful address at a Southern law and order conference in 1917, carefully examined the figures and declared:

"The fact is that less than one fourth of the lynchings are for assaults upon women. In 1915, a typical year, peo-

ple were lynched for murder, resisting officers, poisoning mules, stealing hogs, meat, and cotton, wife-beating, and barn burning, and for other offenses, some of them trivial, and in no way connected with any criminal assault."

LAWLESSNESS or Civilization—Which? page 17

National statistics for ten years, with reference to crimes with which the victims were charged are as follows:

	Murder	Murderous assault	Rape	Attempted Rape	Insults to White Women	Robbery and Theft	Mis- cellan- eous
1915	26	10	11	9	3	8
1916	20	7	3	9	2	8	5
1917	6	2	7	5	2	2	14
1918	28	2	10	6	...	2	16
1919	28	3	9	10	6	1	26
1920	22	9	15	3	3	...	9
1921	19	7	16	3	3	...	16
1922	15	5	14	5	2	4	12
1923	5	5	6	1	1	1	14
1924	4	2	5	2	3
Totals	173	52	96	44	31	21	120

Of the 537 lynchings listed above during the last decade, 171 were the result of charges relating to rape, attempted rape or insult to white women, while 173 victims were accused of murder and 193 of other crimes entirely disconnected from an indignity suffered by a white woman. In other words more than two thirds of the lynchings had no connection with the crime of rape at all.

THE "RAPE OF THE LAW."

One of the most shocking phases of mob violence is the frequency with which jails are broken into or officers overpowered in order to get the body of the victim. The hunting down of a desperate criminal by aroused members of a peace-loving community has its historical origin in the ancient "hue and cry", it being the duty of every citizen of the old English township to pursue a fleeing felon when the "hue and cry" was raised. But even then, once the alleged offender was caught, a trial was conducted with all the solemnities then known to the law.

Today not only does the mob visit vengeance upon alleged offenders run down in mad pursuit, but in addition flouts the law and scoffs at authority by taking helpless persons from the hands of duly constituted officers.

Of twenty-eight persons lynched in 1923, seven were forcibly taken from jails, and six from the custody of officers outside of jails. Of sixteen victims lynched in 1924 six were taken from jails and three from officers outside of jails. Not only were the members of the mob who killed these persons guilty of murder in taking the law in their own hands, but they defied the law and scoffed at organized government by breaking down doors of jails and defying the authority of sheriffs and other officers.

SIX LYNCHINGS LAST YEAR.

Six lynchings occurred in Mississippi during 1925. Two of the victims charged with murder of white men were captured by a posse of citizens, delivered to the officers of the law, and then forcibly taken from these officers and lynched by a mob. The third case is that of a sixteen year old negro boy who was accused of attempting to seize a little white girl seven or eight years old, on her

way from school obviously for the purpose of ravishing her. The negro was placed in jail and later released on bond by a local justice of the peace. The negro went home and was taken from his bed under cover of darkness by a mob and lynched, though the local Justice of the Peace evidently did not think the facts of the case sufficiently incriminating to deny this boy bond.

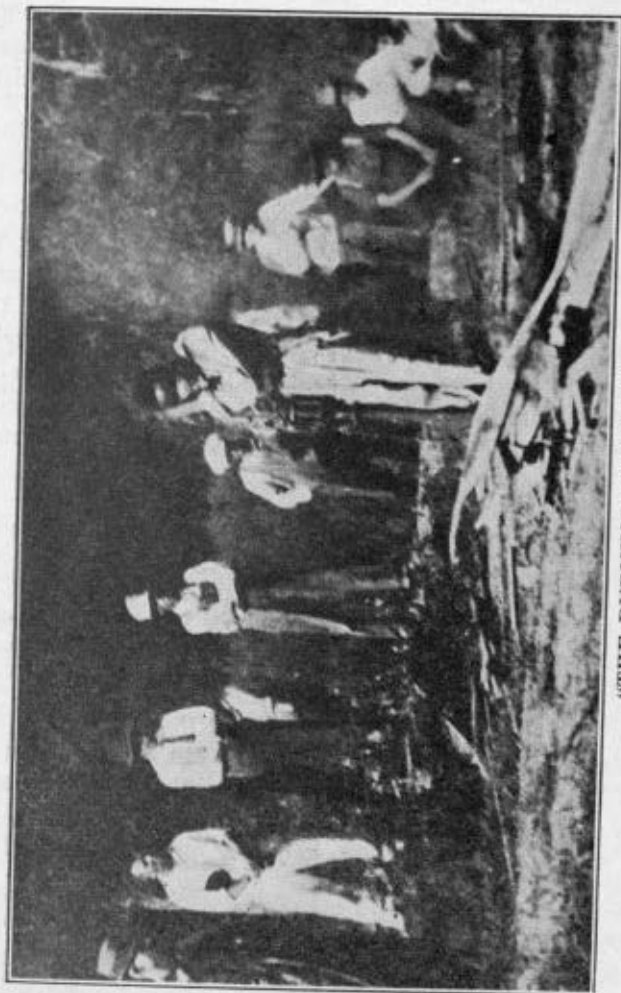
The fourth occurred August 11th at Scoobey when Sidney Townes, an insane negro, himself near death from wounds inflicted by a brother of his white victims was shot to death by a group of people returning from the burial of his victims. The Commercial Appeal of August 12th states that this negro was violently insane and attacked his own wife who ran for protection to the home of some white friends followed by her insane husband, who killed the respected white gentleman and his sister who sought to stop him.

With regard to the lynching of this crazy man the same newspaper report says:

"With guns drawn, leaders of the crowd approached the Sheriff and threatening him with death if he interfered, seized the negro, took him from his house and killed him."

This insane negro was not legally responsible for his acts. The members of the mob were. They wilfully broke the laws of God and man. We wonder what their plea will be when they stand before the Judgment Bar of Almighty God.

The fifth lynching further to blacken the record of this State this year occurred in Union County on Sunday, September 20th, when a mob took the alleged negro rapist, Ivy, from two sheriffs near the Myrtle bridge and burned him at the stake. Two sheriffs and their deputies had taken this negro into custody and for purposes of identifi-



"THE BURNING OF JIM IVY,"
Sunday, Sept. 20th, in the Year of Our Lord 1925.
Rocky Ford, Union County, Miss.

cation brought him to the hospital where the unfortunate victim of his lust was confined. Upon leaving the hospital a few moments before church time on this September Sunday, the mob sought to overpower the officers, and it was only through the efforts of United States Senator Hubert D. Stephens, and other law abiding citizens and the determined resistance of the sheriffs and their deputies that a lynching in front of the hospital was averted. There is nothing in the newspaper accounts indicating that the officers offered resistance when they found their pathway blocked at the Myrtle bridge.

"I watched a negro burned at the stake at Rocky Ford, Miss., Sunday afternoon. I watched them pile wood around his helpless body. I watched them pour gasoline on this wood. And I watched three men set this wood on fire.

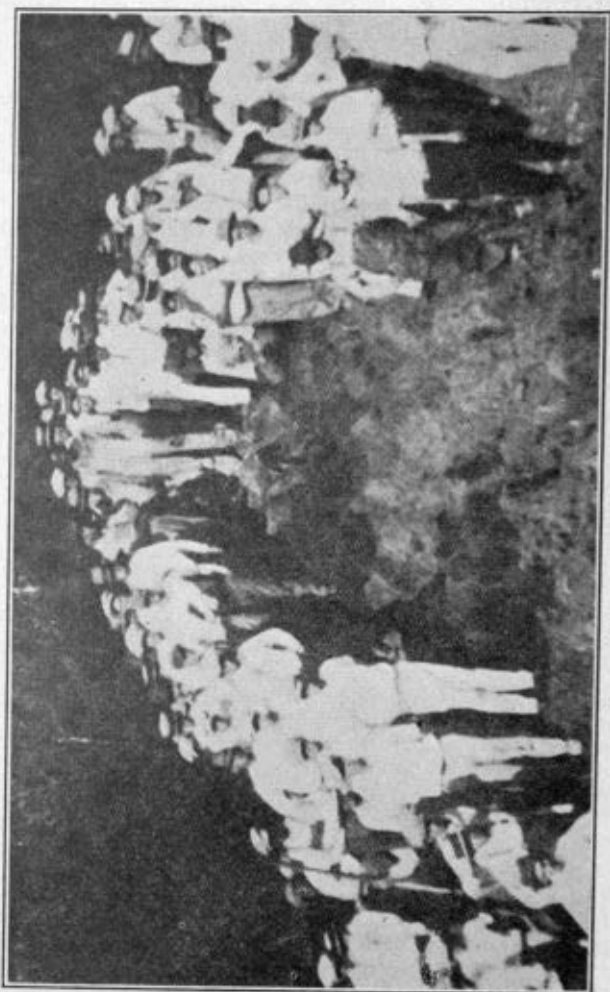
"I stood in a crowd of 600 people as the flames gradually crept nearer and nearer to the helpless negro. I heard his cry of agony as the flames reached him and set his clothing on fire. 'Oh God; Oh God,' he shouted. 'I didn't do it. Have mercy.' The blaze leaped higher. The negro struggled. He kicked the chain loose from his ankles but it held his waist and neck against the iron post that was becoming red with the intense heat.

Nowhere was there a sign of mercy among the members of the mob, nor did they seem to regret the horrible thing they had done. The negro had supposedly sinned against their race, and he died a death of torture."

"The setting was a little saw mill. The crowd stood on a huge pile of saw dust and the negro's death pyre was in a small gulley besides it. They calmly watched the flames leap and dance. There was no talking now. When the first odor of the baking flesh reached the mob, there was a slight stir. . . . I felt suddenly sickened. Through the leaping blaze I could see the negro sagging, supported by the chains. . . . The negro was dead. Nothing could be seen now, for the blaze encircled everything. The crowd loaded in automobiles. The negro, who was still chained to the white hot stake with red and blue flames leaping about him was forgotten. The crowd was hungry and was going in search of food." . . .

From: New Albany Gazette, "Official Organ of Union County," Sept. 24, 1925, quoting J. L. Roulhac of Memphis News Scimitar.

Sinking to the depths of ignominy with the lynching of the acquitted negro Lindsey Coleman at Clarksdale Dec. 20, Mississippi closed the year with six of the nation's total of 16 lynchings to her discredit in 1925.



"THE ANGRY MOB,"
(Respectfully referred to the next Grand jury)

Suggestions As To How A Mississippi Sheriff May Help Wipe Out Lynching.

1. Make public announcement in advance that he expects to do his sworn duty faithfully and at the risk of his life, citing his oath of office and the statutes set out herein.

2. Employ only those persons as deputies who state affirmatively their willingness to risk their lives in upholding the majesty of the law, when defied by a mob.

3. Ascertain in advance the names of men in the community who are opposed to mob violence and swear these men in as special deputies at the first sign of trouble.

4. Remove prisoners to the jails of other counties for safe keeping when trouble is imminent.

5. Call upon the Governor for aid under Section 5634 Hemingway's Code which provides for ordering out the National Guard "when there exists a rout, mob, unlawful assemblage, breach of the peace, or resistance to the execution of the laws of the State, or imminent danger thereof."

Officers, Do Your Duty!

Each Mississippi Sheriff takes the following oath of office prescribed by *Section 268* of the *Mississippi Constitution*: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully support the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of the State of Mississippi, and obey the laws thereof; that I am not disqualified from holding the office of Sheriff; that I will faithfully discharge the duties of office upon which I am about to enter. So help me God."

Each sheriff and deputy sheriff solemnly swears to support the Constitution of this State and of the United States and among the most precious guarantees in these documents are those which declare that "no person shall

be deprived of life, liberty or property except by due process of law." (Article III, Section 14, Mississippi Constitution of 1890; United States Constitution 14th Amendment.)

Let us see now what are the affirmative duties which a Mississippi sheriff and his deputies swear that they will faithfully discharge. *Section 3099, Hemingway's Code* makes it "The duty of every sheriff to keep the peace within his county and it shall be his duty to keep down affrays, riots, routs, and unlawful assemblages, for which he may call to his aid the power of the county."

Section 3100 Hemingway's Code provides "If the sheriff finds that resistance will be made against the execution of any process he shall forthwith go in his proper person, taking the power of the county if necessary and execute the same; and he shall certify to the court the names of the persons making resistance, their aiders, assistants, favorers and procurers.

Section 3101 Hemingway's Code declares: "The sheriff shall have charge of the court house and jail of his county and of the premises belonging thereto, and he shall preserve the same from intruders and from trespassers and injuries.

Section 3106 Hemingways Code provides: "If the jail be insufficient or there be danger of the escape, lynching, or rescue of any prisoner therein, or if there be no jail, the sheriff may summon a sufficient guard to secure his prisoner and to protect the jail so long as the same may be necessary".

These then are among the most important duties which the sheriff and his deputies call Almighty God to witness that they will faithfully discharge.

Finally Section 1234 *Hemingway's Code* provides for the removal of prisoners to the jail of a different county for safe keeping where the circuit judge shall think it expedient, on the grounds of public policy so to do. And this Statute declares: "It shall be the duty of the sheriff of the county to which the prisoner is so removed to receive and safely keep him . . . and to have the body of the defendant before the circuit court of the proper county at its next term thereafter, unless he shall have been discharged by due course of law"

What must be the feeling of a sworn officer of the law when he comes into court empty handed and admits that he allowed lawless members of society to take from him a helpless prisoner and to heap vengeance upon their victim, when the Statute makes it his solemn duty to bring this prisoner into court when called for by the trial judge.

We need peace officers in Mississippi willing to do their full duty even at the risk of their lives. We need more men in the South with the stuff Governor Stanley showed in Kentucky when he said to a mob: "If you are going to lynch anybody, lynch me." The growing number of instances where officers have been willing to use force to repel a mob shows a willingness on their part to lose their lives if necessary in doing their sworn duty. Certainly men should lose their offices when they do less.

HOW CIRCUIT JUDGES, LAWYERS AND COURTS CAN HELP.

To the circuit judge, to the district and county attorneys and to members of the bar comes this searching question: How can I help stop mob violence in Mississippi? The following suggestions are respectfully submitted for your consideration.

1. Include in the charge to the grand jury and the officers of the court, at *each* term of court, a vigorous condemnation of mob violence and make an appeal to maintain the sanctity of the law at all costs.

2. Call special terms of court to try flagrant violations of the law.

3. Speed up proceedings by shortening the time between the trial and the ultimate decision of the Supreme Court.

4. Join with the sheriff in requesting the Governor to call out the militia under Section 5634 Hemingway's Code.

5. Vigorous action by district and county attorneys in the grand jury room and in the trial of persons accused of mob violence.

6. Members of the bar volunteer their assistance in prosecuting members of a mob. If each of the members of this association would, in writing and in advance, volunteer to act as associate counsel and assist district and county attorneys in prosecuting lynchers, mob murders in Mississippi would be at an end.

CHARGING THE GRAND JURY

Section 2195 Hemingway's Code provides that the judge shall charge the grand jury concerning its duty and expound the law to it as he shall deem proper.

Section 2196 Hemingway's Code declares: "All county and district officers shall attend each session of the circuit court and hear the charge of the judge to the

grand jury. After the grand jury is impaneled, the roll of such officers shall be called and any officer who is absent shall be fined \$10.00.....*The judge shall in addition to the charge to the grand jury briefly charge said officers upon the duties of their respective offices."*

One of the members of the Mississippi Supreme Court, who himself served for many years as a circuit judge stated to the writer that a circuit judge had the greatest opportunity of his life time in charging the grand juries of his district. When a circuit judge convenes his court, impanels the grand jury and begins his charge he is the exponent of all that law and order personifies. He represents law as opposed to lawlessness, government as opposed to anarchy, civilization as opposed to barbarism. Within the sound of the judge's voice are grand jurors who have just taken a solemn and heart searching oath and assumed duties of gravest import. Before him are all the officers of the county in response to the stern command of the law which fines them for failure to attend at this most serious moment of the court's activity. Within his presence as he speaks are scores of "good and lawful men drawn from the body of the county" summoned to appear on this opening day to render such service as may be required of them. Before him also, are those of the county who from disposition or circumstance have followed the paths of crime, and who sit with furtive glances fearing lest the strong arm of the law shall reach out and take them into custody. There are men present who never darken the doors of a church and men who never miss a Sunday. There are men present who fully appreciate the responsibilities of citizenship and others whose sole aim in life is to get by without being caught. Mem-

bers of all races, all classes, all kinds and conditions of men are before the circuit judge when he delivers his charge, as the personification of the law and the expounder of its mysteries.

JUDGE STEPHENSON'S STATEMENT

Judge Gilbert T. Stephenson of Winston-Salem, N. C., speaking of the relation of the criminal court to mob violence at a "Southern Law and Order Conference, declared: "A change in criminal court procedure that would do more than any other one thing to deter the mob would be for the trial judge habitually to charge the grand jury on the laws about lynching and the duty of the grand jury to enforce them. At present the judge usually waits until the horse has been stolen before he locks the stable-door; that is, he waits until there has been a lynching in the county before he deems it necessary to charge the grand jury upon the subject. Lynching, like lightning, does not usually strike twice in the same place; the next lynching in the South may be in a county that has never had one before and has prided itself upon its regard for law and order. The charge of the trial judge to the grand jury is the most weighty and impressive message that the crowd that fills the courtroom during the call of the criminal docket ever hears. People who have a habit of attending criminal court seldom hear sermons or addresses on law and order, seldom read books or papers on law and order, and seldom hear the matter discussed in such a spirit as to encourage them to stand by the law. These people are the ones who usually have the most pronounced antipathy for the Negro, whose minds revel in the anger-provoking details of the crime, and who would excuse, rather than condemn, those who take the law into their own hands. If the trial judge were to charge the jury vigorously and in plain English about lynching, he would arouse the jurors to make a real effort to discover lynchers, and he would make it easier for them

to report lynchers, even though they were neighbors. When the impression got abroad that the grand jurors, whose deliberations are in secret, were taking seriously their duty to investigate and report lynchers, then would-be lynchers would be slow in doing anything to be reported for. The impression that such a charge would make upon the courtroom audience and, through references to it in the newspapers, upon the people at large, would do much to create a compelling sentiment among the people to let the law take its course in the most provoking cases even. If every trial judge in the South for the space of one year would charge every grand jury that he faces plainly and vigorously about lynching, he would do more to put an end to mob violence than all of us laymen put together could do in a decade, this because he reaches the people who do the lynching as nobody else does."

FOLLOW JUDGE HAMM'S ILLUSTRIOUS EXAMPLE

Judge Jefferson S. Hamm of Meridian, Judge of the old seventh circuit court district, delivered a memorable charge to the Kemper County Grand Jury, in the dark days of 1877, which has been described as a model of judicial vigor and courage. After making pertinent reference to the deplorable local conditions which had culminated in the "Kemper County Massacre,"—the burning of the jail and the death of several persons, Judge Hamm referred to the provisions in our bill of rights:..... that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property except by due process of the law;—that the right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate etc., and appealed to the grand jury in the name of the State and the majesty of the law to indict those accused of taking the law into their own hands:

JUDGE HAMM'S FAMOUS CHARGE TO THE GRAND JURY

The following in part is the charge of Judge Hamm as published by Hon. Edgar S. Wilson, in the Commercial Appeal, with the apt statement that it deserves to be framed and hung in the grand jury room of every court house in Mississippi.

Judge Hamm's charge follows:-

"There is yet another tribunal of which you should not be unmindful. The tribunal is posterity—the men who will succeed you. When the mists of prejudice which pervert the judgment of the actors in the scenes passing before us shall vanish; when these scenes shall be divested of the adventitious importance imparted to them by transient excitement and be viewed in their true character; when you, who are now required to sit in judgment upon the acts of others, and they whose acts are to become the subject of your inquiries, shall alike repose in the silence of the grave—then will come the faithful historian, who will record the proceedings of this day; then will come a just posterity who will review your decision. And I trust that your action may be noted in terms of commendation, and that this day may be remembered in the history of the state as honorable to her character for calm, dignified and impartial justice.

"There are still higher considerations which must constrain you to a faithful performance of your duties. You are ministers, sworn ministers of justice. You have taken a solemn oath, and you have called the great Searcher of hearts to witness that you will present no person through malice, hatred or ill will, and that you will leave no person unrepresented through fear, favor or affection, or for any reward, or hope or promise of reward, but that in your presentments you will present the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. We stand in the presence of that awful Being whose all-seeing eye views with especial concern the temples dedicated to justice and religion. In a little while we shall appear at the bar of our final Judge,

where secrets of all hearts shall be made known, and where every human shall account for his deeds done in body. To our final Judge, at the supreme hour, may we all be able to appeal for the purity of our motives and the rectitude of our conduct, and may our appeal not be answered by the blood of innocence, or by the mute anguish of the window, or by the moaning cry of the orphan, bearing witness against us, as recreant to the high trust reposed in us.

"When a great crime has been committed, it is the duty of every good citizen to aid the public authorities, to bring the perpetrator to the bar of justice, in order that he may be indicted, and tried, and convicted and punished according to law, and by his punishment an impressive example set to deter others from the commission of crime. But in no case does the law authorize persons to take the life of a fellow creature, though they may suspect or believe, or even know him to be guilty of crime.

"If men may take the law into their own hands; if they may with impunity slay others; because they suspect or believe, or even know them to be guilty of crimes; if they may arrogate to themselves the right of revenge; then there is an end of all law, and of all lawful authority, and of all government. There will be no safety for the rights of persons, and of security for the rights of property; for there will be no rule of reason or justice and no power to enforce such a rule. The law of the mob and the rule of revenge will be the only law and the only rule. Terror will paralyze every heart and render valueless every right; and a mournful scene of anarchy and violence, and rapine and spoilation and bloodshed and death will be the inevitable and melancholy result.

"The true question, then, is, whether criminal justice shall be administered with the forms and solemnities prescribed and by the officers and agents appointed by the law, or by irresponsible mobs, acting not only without the authority and forms of law, but in direct contravention of all its rules; whether the rights of the citizen shall be determined by known and fixed laws, enacted and promulgated according to the constitutional requirements, or by mob law—a law brutal in its instincts, blind in its decisions and cruel and unrelenting in its punishments. The one-eyed

monster of heathen antiquity is its fit personification, for in its darkened rage it rends alike friends and foes, the innocent as well as the guilty. It sways a bloody sceptre over the ruins of social and political order, and wherever its dominion is fixed, there we behold the disintegration of all the bonds of society. This is an important question, for it involves not only the lives, the liberty and the property of the individuals who compose society, but the very existence of society itself. And the solution of this question depends, to a great extent, upon you; for the initiatory and preparatory steps in the punishment of crime can be taken only by you. The law is not self-acting or self-executing. It can only speak through its ministers and agents; and you are the appointed organ to give formal expression to its accusations against all who have disobeyed its precepts. Then let the potent voice of the law be heard through you, and heard in tones neither to be misunderstood nor disregarded by those who have violated its mandates. As good citizens, you must loathe and detest crime. Then do not make yourselves responsible for crime by conniving at it; for in your case connivance will be interpreted to be approbation.

"You are engaged in the service of no party; you are enlisted in the cause of no faction; you owe no allegiance but to the state; and the state now calls upon you to perform your duty, your whole duty to her, fearlessly as men, conscientiously as jurors. She requires you to administer the high public trust with which she has clothed you, with exclusive reference to the public welfare, regardless of all consequences to individuals. She commands you to rebuke the spirit of licentiousness now so mournfully prevalent, to stay the arm of violence so often uplifted for the shedding of blood, and to point out the guilty heads upon which the sword of justice should descend. It is not for you to absolve men from the legal consequences of their own voluntary acts. You possess no such dispensing power. As grand jurors, acting under the solemnities of an oath you must know no man. Like the law, whose servants you are, you must be no respecters of persons. All whose acts become matters of inquiry before you, must be subjected to the same ordeal. It is not for you to inquire whether they be guilty or innocent. You know it is a popular belief, that if a culprit possesses wealth or has influential

friends, the law is powerless to reach and punish him, however clear may be the proof of his guilt; and to the reproach of criminal justice, candor constrains the admission that facts go very far to justify this belief.

"Perform the grave and important duties with which you are charged as the solemn oath you have taken requires you to perform them, and you will furnish no ground for such an imputation upon the criminal justice of the state. Inquire diligently into all violations of the criminal laws, and make such presentment in each case as the very truth of the matter requires. Present no persons through malice, hatred or ill-will; leave no person unrepresented through fear, favor or affection, or for any reward, or hope or promise of reward. In all your presentments, present the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. In this way, and in this way only, can you acquit yourselves of your duty to the state; in this way, and this way only, can you merit the applause of the just, the good and the wise; in this way, and in this way only, can you secure what is preferable even to the applause of the just, the good and the wise—the approbation of your own hearts and consciences."

HOW THE CITIZEN MAY HELP STAMP OUT MOB VIOLENCE

1. Commend the sheriff of your county in person or by letter for resisting an attack upon the sanctity of the law and defying a mob seeking to take a prisoner from his custody.

2. Speak to your sheriff and volunteer to serve under him as a special deputy if occasion requires, in order to uphold the majesty of the law.

3. Insist that candidates for sheriff in your county express themselves unequivocally with regard to doing their sworn duty in resisting mob violence even at the risk of their own lives.

4. Go before the grand jury and testify with regard to violations of the law on the part of members of a mob.

5. Telephone the sheriff, the circuit judge and the Governor at the first threat of trouble and thus enable these officers, who want to do their duty and uphold the law, to act in sufficient time to prevent a lynching.

6. Aid in building up a wholesome public opinion against lynching in your county in these and other ways:

(a) Cooperate with the editor of your local paper and thank him for editorial expressions condemning mob violence and lawlessness in general.

(b) Discuss "lynching and how to end it," at a meeting of your Home Club, Luncheon Club, Hi-Y Club, Bar Association, or other group.

(c) Organize a local committee and fully cooperate with your sheriff or the mayor of your town in preparing in advance for an emergency and devising ways and means for preventing lynching.

(d) Suggest to the teacher in your school that the school boys write an essay on "law and order" with special reference to lynching as a peculiarly atrocious form of lawlessness. (Why not yourself offer a prize of \$5.00 or \$10.00 for the best essay in your local high school?)

State Officials, Leaders of Mississippi Bar and Prominent Citizens Un- reservedly Condemn Mob Murders

MISSISSIPPI

EXECUTIVE



DEPARTMENT

JACKSON

HENRY L. WHITFIELD
GOVERNOR

MACEY DINKINS,
PRIVATE SECRETARY
JANE WILLIAMS MELTON,
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

Hon. J. N. Flowers,
President State Bar Association,
Jackson, Mississippi.

My dear Sir:

In reply to your request for a statement in regard to the work now being undertaken by the State Bar Association looking to the eradication of mob violence in Mississippi, I cheerfully make the following statement:

Respect, reverence, and obedience to the laws constitute the essential foundation for the progress, prosperity, and happiness of the State.

As Governor of Mississippi, I feel that I would be false to the trust reposed in me if I did not use all the power vested in me by the laws and the Constitution of the State to make organized government function effectively in any situation arising while I hold the office, and to use the powers of this office to the fullest extent to prevent mob action of all kinds. In keeping with this statement, I now pledge to the sheriffs of the State and all other peace officers my fullest co-operation in the discharge of their duties.

I most heartily commend the work of the State Bar Association in its efforts to educate the people of Mississippi, not only with regard to the horror of mob action, but as to the destruction of organized government itself by mob violence. In my opinion it is time that a healthful public sentiment be developed on this question, not only to make Mississippi a state where the law is supreme and the humblest citizens are guaranteed protection by the law, but in order that we may attract desirable citizens to the State, and lastly because it is right. We owe it to our children to develop a wholesome atmosphere stimulating the highest ideals of life and conduct. It is impossible to attain this civic condition if we do not emphasize reverence for law and constituted authority.

HENRY L. WHITFIELD,

Governor.

STATEMENT FROM SPEAKER OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

"That the number of lynchings is decreasing in the United States is one of the most inspiring facts of recent years. The evil spirit of anarchy revels in mob violence. No matter how great the provocation, when men take the enforcement of the law into their hands, they become the servants of anarchy.

Constitutional guaranties and inalienable human rights must be battered down and trampled under foot before the mob reaches the victim.

Just as that person, who carries the mark of the white plague on the lung, although the disease has been arrested, is never as robust as before, so is the sense of respect for law and the rights of society never as healthy after an act of mob violence. The prompt and orderly administration of law is one of the requisites of a free government. Government must hold the respect of its citizens if it is to endure. It cannot hold that respect unless the citizen ungrudgingly entrust to it, in all cases, the right and responsibility of administering law and measuring justice.

Mob violence challenges the sovereignty of free government.

Mob violence weakens the morale of a people.

Mob violence hurts the individual who lends either passive or active comfort and encouragement.

Mob violence stains the good name of a people.

Mob violence depreciates property values.

Mob violence poisons the social life of a people.

Mob violence joins those who participate with the forces of wrong.

Mob violence undermines and brings into disrepute our Courts.

Mob violence is a challenge to the Christian concept of Liberty and Justice and Right."

THOS. L. BAILEY.

JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS

John Sharp Williams commenting upon the late President Harding's Birmingham speech, declared:

"I am in favor, and always have been, of giving the negro absolute equality before the law for the protection of his property, his life, his limbs. He should have every right that the law gives and there should be no curtailment of that."

CHIEF JUSTICE SMITH

Chief Justice Smith in *Keeton vs. State*, 132 Miss. 732, 96 South, 179, quoted with approval the great passage from Judge Whitfield's opinion in the Tennison case, 79, Miss. 708 as follows:

"It is one of the crowning glories of our law that no matter how guilty one may be, no matter

how atrocious his crime, nor how certain his doom, when brought to trial anywhere, he shall nevertheless have the same fair and impartial trial accorded to the most innocent defendant. Those safeguards, crystallized into the Constitution and laws of the land as the result of the wisdom of centuries of experience, must be by the courts sacredly upheld, as well in case of the guiltiest as of the most innocent defendant answering at the bar of his country. And it ought to be a reflection, always potent in the public mind, that, where the crime is atrocious, condemnation is sure, when all these safeguards are accorded the defendant, and therefore, the more atrocious the crime, the less need is there for any infringement of these safeguards."

Continuing, Judge Whitfield cited with approval *People vs. Yoakum* 53 Cal. 571 where the Supreme Court of California said:

"The prisoner, whether guilty or not, is unquestionably entitled by the law of the land to have a fair and impartial trial. Unless this result be attained, one of the most important purposes for which government is organized and the courts of justice established will have definitely failed."

FROM JUDGE HOLDEN'S ADDRESS

Judge J. B. Holden, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Mississippi, in the course of the annual address delivered by him at Biloxi, May 2, 1923, while President of this Association, took occasion to condemn the Federal

Anti-lynching Bill, and then condemned even more vigorously the evil which led to that abortive effort. Judge Holden said:

"There is a cause, whether real or imaginary for the agitation on the part of our Northern brethren for a Federal law to prevent lynching and to secure a legal trial for all offenses committed by any person in the United States. If the cause which prompts the movement in favor of such character of legislation is removed, then I apprehend there will be no further effort made to enact Federal laws on the subject.

"This being true, I ask, is it not time that the members of the legal profession, especially in the Southern States, make a radical effort toward the end that all persons charged with crime be given a fair trial under due process of law, and thus, if successful, remove the cause?

"Mississippi has been a leader in great reforms, and it may have the distinction of leading in the enactment of law whereby the trials of persons charged with capital offenses would be made so speedy as to destroy the incentive to resort to mob law."

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE J. G. MCGOWEN OF THE MISSISSIPPI SUPREME COURT, DECLARES:

"I am unalterably opposed to lynching and mob violence. It was a mob that killed Jesus of Nazareth. It was a mob that stoned Stephen to death. It was a mob that beat up the Apostle Paul. Many another innocent man has lost his life at the hands of a savage, lawless mob.

Ours is a government of laws and not of men. If any man, black, or white, commits a crime for which he deserves death, there is a lawful method for inflicting that penalty. But every man is entitled to be tried by due process of law, and when a mob lynches even a self-confessed criminal, those participating in the lynching are lowering themselves to the level of their victim and are themselves law breakers of the worst character.

The time has come for the people of Mississippi to stamp out this evil forever. I want to see our sheriffs and other officers go the limit in protecting their prisoners, and risk their own lives in defending the majesty of the law. Every officer should willingly risk his life to do his duty, and no self respecting official can do less.

Murder and rape are horrible, whether it be the murder of a peace-loving citizen by a black assassin or the murder of the guilty party by a lawless mob; whether it be the rape of a good woman by a brute, or the rape of the law by those who throw off the restraints of civilization, and reverting to savagery and barbarity, stoop to the level of their victim and burn him at the stake. In the name of the law, in the name of Civilization, in the name of the crucified Jesus, let us stamp out lynching and mob murders in Mississippi."

J. G. McGOWEN.

Associate Justice W. D. Anderson of the Mississippi Supreme Court States:

"Undoubtely there is no justification in law for lynching. And neither is there any justification in morals. On the contrary it is most demoralizing to those who engage

in it. Obedience to the law and the constituted authorities set up for its enforcement is indispensable to the permanency of our institutions."

Associate Justice Geo. H. Ethridge of the Mississippi Supreme Court, makes the following statement:

"I commend your movement to create a sentiment to suppress the evils of lynching. Lynching is one of the greatest evils that confronts civilization in times of peace. It is not only dangerous to individual liberty, but endangers organized society itself. It deprives a person of life without authority at all, and without any of the rights and safeguards provided by law to establish truth and secure justice to persons accused or suspected of crime. The victim is tried without being formally accused, without benefit of counsel for his defense, without the privilege of facing witnesses against him, and without the right to cross-examine any witness, or even to know who they are. He is tried without a jury, by people prejudiced and excited against him, without the privilege of making an argument either before his trial or before a tribunal. A penalty is inflicted in many cases which no law provides, and in all cases without legal right. The offense is not only murder, but is aggravated by the fact that numerous people participate in it, making it almost impossible to punish them, under ordinary conditions. The law should define every offense and prescribe the punishment, and the orderly process of justice should be applied to all, and the degree of proof provided by law should be secured to every person before conviction. The Government owes protection to every citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property.

Before an effective remedy for lynching can be provided by orderly administration of law, a public opinion

must support the law and its administration. The officers may do much to prevent and to punish lynchings, but they cannot cope with it fully until public opinion supports the law, and its officers in enforcing it.

The services of speakers, teachers and the Press must be enlisted. The work of education in reference to these evils must be carried on to secure effective results."

GEO H. ETHRIDGE,

Judge Supreme Court.

Hon. Webb Venable of Clarksdale, former District Attorney, Circuit Judge, and Congressman, says:

"In answer to the question as to what evils are inherent in mob action, I reply, without hesitation, all the evils that government by law was designed to remove and all that exist without it.

Under mob rule all efforts to measure punishment to degrees of guilt, all efforts at equality of treatment of those in like case, all considerations for certainty of guilt, by orderly taking of proof, with opportunity for hearing, in an atmosphere conducive to the emotional calm essential to the discovery of truth, are ruthlessly laid aside. Passion and revenge are substituted for the spirit of justice calmly searching for truth. A primitive impulse for revenge, a desire to find a victim, is substituted for an inquiry into the guilt of the accused. The canon of judgment is suspicion and not proof. The standard of punishment is the impassioned whim of the crowd and not the measured and equal standard of the law.

The mob presents the spectacle of men who have seceded from organized society, announcing, by their action, their disbelief in themselves and their fellows as to ability to function in ordered government. It announces that they are beyond the law which they defy. It is the lawless visiting violence on the alleged and unproven lawless, who, with equal right might retaliate, a concourse of violence which, if wide enough, might sweep away all government and usher in a reign of anarchy. Or else a sadder thing, the lawless visiting violence on innocence, a living sacrifice on the pagan altar of the passions and weakness of men.

A mob is beyond the law and more. If killing be its aim, its members must needs take their place with him who first raised the banner of passion above the parchment of the law. They are brothers and one with Cain."

WEBB VENABLE.

Congressman B. G. Lowrey Strikes the Correct Note, when he says:

"I am in favor of capital punishment. Terrible as it is for the state to take the life of an individual, I do not believe the time has come when the State can safely renounce that power. The fact is, I am of the opinion that if we had more capital punishment we would have less need for it.

"I am not in favor of the effort to put through Congress a Federal anti-lynching law. Many of us here have fought that measure vigorously, and expect to continue to fight it.

"But lynching is not right. It is murder indeed of the most horrible kind, when a mob takes the life of an innocent being. But granted that the man lynched deserves death, the law is sufficient. There is no reason for men to disregard law in their anxiety that another man who has disregarded the law shall be punished. The fact that the criminal has broken the law is the more reason for good citizens to respect the law. Good citizens who disregard the law in order to punish the law-breaker lower themselves toward the level of the man they punish.

"This is a State problem, not a Federal problem. I am a Federal and not a state official. I shall do all in my power to keep the Federal government out of a sphere in which it has no business; but as a citizen of the State of Mississippi, I want likewise to do all in my power to strengthen the arm of the law in Mississippi and to drive lynching out."

B. G. LOWREY.

Hon. Geo. J. Leftwich of Aberdeen, Staunch Advocate of Every Good Cause says:

Lynching is a most repulsive and hideous thing, the humiliation of which our civilization must suffer as long as it exists and bear the stigma of it thereafter. In part it is perhaps a crass reaction arising out of the cruelties and barbarities of the war between the States and its mournful aftermath. Its elementary cause is lack of respect for the superiority and authority of the law; and going deeper the result of a failure and refusal to exercise the restraining power civilized men must impose upon themselves, of which restraining power barbarous

racess are incapable, but the exercise of which restraints our race is capable, as the Englishman and his courts have long since demonstrated. The ultimate analysis discloses a vindictive and revengeful mob spirit.

Apologies are frequently made for lynching by recounting the horrors of the crime that provokes it. There is plainly no pretext that the Courts will not punish for the crime committed for the press often recounts how the mob is held at bay by guards and soldiers while the public trial of the victim proceeds. Such a trial in such an atmosphere is incapable of administering exact justice.

The remedy is patient and persistent inculcation into the mind of the public of a deep and profound confidence and respect for the lawful and orderly administration of justice by the courts. The schools, the colleges, the pulpit, the home and the citizen must at all times and places assail and denounce the mob spirit and mob law. Finally the Courts must be so conducted as to merit the profound confidence and respect of the public. This writer believes they deserve such respect.

GEO. J. LEFTWICH.

Hon. A. T. Stovall, of Okolona, former President of the State Bar Association, Member of the Executive Committee of the American Bar Association, and President of the Columbus & Greenville Railroad reports as follows:

You ask my opinion of lynching.

I am opposed to the mob spirit regardless of the form it takes.

Lynching deprives the victim of life without the semblance of a fair trial. No man should be condemned without a patient hearing. Mobs inflamed by passion can never weigh evidence impartially.

Lynching hardens and brutalizes the men who participate in it. No man can be party to such a tragedy without losing something of those finer feelings that mark and ennoble the genuine man. It debauches the soul.

Lynching hurts the community. The reckless spirit of the mob renders life and property insecure. Good men prefer to live away from a community in which the mob spirit is rampant."

And, incidentally, I remark that when the communistic spirit gets into the jury box, as it sometimes does, and juries are permitted to render enormous verdicts against parties upon evidence as light as air, and judges deficient in moral courage let the juries "get away with it," there is a lynching of law by the priests of her temple which wins the applause of the mob, and which may be quite as baneful in its consequences as other forms of lynching.

A. T. Stovall.

Judge D. W. Houston of Aberdeen, formerly Member of Mississippi Supreme Court, and Vice President of the American Bar Association, contributes the following scholarly statement:

Having been requested by Hon. J. N. Flowers, President of the Mississippi State Bar Association to give brief expression to my views on mobs and lynching, I feel

that as a lawyer and citizen I should comply, and I gladly do so, although lack of time and space precludes the possibility of my doing so adequately. A lawyer should not only respect the law *himself*, but should embrace every opportunity to deprecate and denounce disrespect for, and violation of it, by others; and this is no less the duty of every good citizen. The law is good, if men use it **LAWFULLY**.

MOB law is reprehensible, inexcusable and indefensible from any standpoint, not only because it is wrong and criminal in and of itself; but because it breeds disrespect and disregard of ALL laws, and leads to the commission of other crimes. It degrades and brutalizes the participants in it; and stains their hands and scars and damns their souls. It also outrages the fundamental rights of the victim in depriving him of his Constitutional privileges of being tried by a Jury of his peers before an impartial and just judge in the Courts of his Country, confronted with the witnesses against him, with the right of cross-examination either by himself or by a sworn officer of the Court.

As Cooley says: "Perhaps the **MOST IMPORTANT** of the protections to personal liberty consists in the mode of trial which is secured to **EVERY** person accused of crime." Or as Beccaria says: "It is a most desirable law which ordains that **EVERY** man shall be tried by a jury of his peers, for when life, liberty or fortune are in question, the sentiments which a difference in rank and fortune inspire should be silent."

The great Edward Livingston beautifully and truthfully declared: "That corrupt rulers may pervert the Constitution; ambitious demagogues may violate its precepts; foreign influence may control its operation; but while

ALL men enjoy the right of trial by jury, taken by lot from among themselves, they cannot cease to be free."

The victims of mobs are generally poor and comparatively friendless, and, in addition to the cruel prejudice and craven cowardice of the usual mob in hastily, without sufficient proof, taking their lives and sending their souls, without time for preparation and possible repentance, into the dread presence of their Maker,—whenever the poor and lowly are denied their rights under the law, while wealthy malefactors and influential murderers are sometimes allowed to go free, the people cannot but acquire a contempt for the law and the law officers; and this produces unrest, resentment, a feeling of revenge and general lawlessness among the people of that state and section.

When justice has fallen and revenge is enthroned, then indeed do we have "truth on the scaffold and wrong on the throne." The law is the shield of the *poor* man's RIGHTS as well as the RICH man's *possessions*.... As Daniel Webster says: "Punishment and criminal law is not founded at all on a principle of vengeance."

"Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord."

Revenge is the lowest of our characteristics. It proclaims the savage.

With his usual directness and conciseness, clothed in his accustomed choice, chaste, classic English, Bacon truly announces: "That revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought the law to weed it out."

Paraphrasing the language of the great Kentucky Lawyer, Ben Hardin, the Law is not only the shield and

buckler, but the bond of union of this country; and whenever we allow the law to be dispensed with or relaxed it leads to anarchy, and from personal violence to popular usurpation. Whenever you dispense with law, you allow men to become their own avengers independent of and above the law. In empires and monarchies, armies are formed to keep the people in order; but in a *republic*, what *could* preserve the social compact *BUT THE LAW*? Every government, and most especially a REPUBLICAN government, is bound to protect each citizen in his property, liberty and life. *How* can a *Republican* government do it, but by and through the law RIGIDLY AND JUSTLY ADMINISTERED?

Another argument against lynching or mob law which *strongly* and *especially* appeals to me is that from the time of the cruel crucifixion of Christ on Calvary to the present day, innocent men have been hung and unjustly put to death by mobs, "the innocent who have *lived* in the fear of God through the *day* and wish to *sleep* in His peace through the *night*."

In the name of the Law and of our Country's peace and good order, all lawyers and law-loving men should call upon our Executive and Judicial officers to do their best and *utmost* to bring to light and to the Bar of Justice the perpetrators of all such deliberate, concerted murders by mobs, and mete out to them the measure of Justice they deserve, and vindicate the violated laws of man and of God to so act that all murderers' faces will grow white with fear of the law. When the members of a mob are not punished, the law has so far failed of its purpose. Every unpunished lyncher takes away something from the security of every innocent man's life.

I am glad and proud to be able to say that lynchings have greatly decreased in recent years, not only in Mississippi but generally.

Let every law-abiding, law-loving, lawyer and citizen highly and firmly resolve that they shall cease altogether, and serve notice upon the law-breaking, law-defying, lynchers, or would-be lynchers, that they will assist all law officers in seeing that the heavy hand of the law shall be laid upon them. By thus crystallizing public sentiment against mob law, we will remove any further risk of the passage of the iniquitous Dyer—Anti-Lynching Law, defeated in the last Congress, which would penalize every man in the County where the lynching was committed, including even the innocent tax payers who oppose Mob law, and even render unnecessary a state law such as the one pending in the Legislature of Georgia, by which it is proposed to remove from office any officer found guilty of negligence in preventing a lynching and subjecting the Sheriff of any county where committed to a fine of \$5,000.00 for each killing by any mob.

D. W. HOUSTON.

Hon. R. E. Wilbourn, Prominent Attorney of Meridian, says:

He who usurps the function of administering punishment, either for wrongs inflicted on himself or society, thereby at once becomes a criminal. Mob violence and lynching cannot be justified under any circumstances, and ought not to be condoned or tolerated. There can be no just respect for the law, no confidence in the courts, no sense of absolute security to the citizen, if we are to substitute the judgment of the mob for the decision of the jury and court. History and experience teach us that what deters men from crime is not necessarily the violence and celerity of the punishment, but the certainty that it will be ferreted out, and surely but legally punish-

ed after a fair and impartial trial in accordance with those constitutional guarantees which have long been the boast of our civilization.

R. E. WILBOURN.

Hon. T. Brady Jr. of Brookhaven, Whose Personal Experiences, Lend Weight to His Words, Declares:

"It is self evident that the human race has not developed sufficiently to be able to survive except under the constant overhanging fear of punishment. The effort to control mankind by fear of punishment is exercised by all the religions. It is certain that the imposition of punishment should not be haphazard, but should be fixed by law and administered by the constituted authorities. The slightest variation from such a rule, which human experience has developed, at once brings disaster and ruin. In fact, the execution of a human being by any other method is murder and in its worst and most appalling form because it not only terminates life without the fixing of guilt but it brutalizes those who engage in the execution. In other words, it is evident that civilized man is yet so closely related to the savage as to make it impossible for him to survive if the fear of capital punishment were removed, but it cannot be imposed without disaster unless it is administered as the law directs.

I have witnessed and been horrified at the screeching, howling, heartless mob as it seized its victim and I have shuddered as I have seen the school boys on the street the morning after throwing small lassos over each other's necks, pretending to be hangmen. I have interrupted the minister in his sermon the day after the mob had

wreaked vengeance, when he was criticising dancing to ask him what the position of the church was relative to the lynching that had partially taken place before its doors on the day before, with the result that I was later interviewed by one I then believed and now believe to have been a member of the mob. Later it was stated that the rope would be placed around my neck if I became active as I afterwards tried to do in the indictment

An experience of this kind will cause the one involved to appreciate very clearly that nothing might prove more disastrous to him than to have a lynching take place in the community in which he lives. Such an argument made in earnest is very convincing indeed.

Some of the evils incident to lynching are as follows:

The over-throwing of the law,

The taking in some instances at least of the life of those who were engaged in the mob.
of the innocent,

The brutalizing of those engaged in the lynching, and the demoralizing of society generally."

T. BRADY, JR.

Hon. J. S. Sexton of Hazlehurst, Member of Constitutional Convention of 1890, and former President of this Association, writes:

"I do not wish to pass this opportunity to record my unqualified disapproval of lynch law wherever found, and in my time I have seen it encouraged in some very unexpected places.

All lynching in its last analysis finds its incentive in a sort of mob psychology which is not confined to any time or place, though it is unquestionably true that the South has contributed a great deal more than its share to this particular form of crime.

I think that one great mistake which has contributed to this particular form of outlawry has found its origin in the universal belief that no punishment can be too severe for the criminal who has been guilty of some crime, and the utter failure upon the part of those engaged in the crime of lynching or sympathizing with it to understand its effect upon the community in which it occurs, in the utter disregard of all law which naturally results from the commission of such a crime.

So far as I can now recall, lynchings here have been the result of a nameless crime committed by a negro upon some white woman or child, and the leading characters in every mob were criminals, and it goes without saying that they were not impelled by any reverence for law or the preservation of virtue, and it is unquestionably true that in every single instance the criminal could have been convicted and punished according to law.

It is a far cry from the early days in the west when the horse thief paid the penalty of his act at the end of a rope to the day when a negro was burned in Copiah County, Mississippi, for outraging and murdering a little white girl within three miles of Hazlehurst, within the last few years, but the spirit of the mob and the effect of mob violence is the same everywhere, and we cannot

select the crimes which are most objectionable to our respective communities, and visit the same with mob violence without undermining all respect for law and legal procedure."

J. S. SEXTON.

Judge Stone Deavours of Laurel, former Chancellor, President of the State Bar Association in 1924, and at Present the Chairman of the Statewide Survey Committee Investigating Social, Economic, and Governmental Conditions in Mississippi, says:

It is a matter that ought to be gratifying to every good citizen of Mississippi that there has been a marked decrease in the number of mobs in the state within the last two or three years. As a result of the decrease in the number of mobs there has been a decrease in the number of lynchings of persons accused of crime.

The control of any community by an excited mob is a control that is pregnant with many dangers to the peace, harmony and welfare of the community. And the lynching of a person in any community must necessarily shake and shock the confidence of the people of that community in the ability of organized free government to maintain itself and protect those who owe it allegiance under and according to the ordinarily established forms of law.

It is therefore, in my opinion, a matter of congratulation, that the communities in Mississippi are lately, year by year, seeing a decrease in the number of mobs and in the number of lynchings.

Yours sincerely,

STONE DEAVOURS.

**Hon R. B. Campbell of Greenville, Member of Code
Commission of 1892, and Son of the Late
Chief Justice J. A. P. Campbell
Makes the following Val-
uable Contribution**

“Whatever might be said in justification of lynching in an unorganized, or disorganized, community, there can be no valid excuse for such in our country.

Under any circumstances lynching is murder, of the foulest kind, involving all the evils of murder, and more. In fact, lynching is murder multiplied, and more far-reaching in its evil effects.

It often doubtless happens that the victim is innocent of any offense; and especially, in such case, he not only is made to suffer, but all near and dear to him are made to suffer; but, whether the victim be innocent or guilty of the imputed offense, a mob does not stop to inquire, and are themselves injuriously affected, in becoming more hardened and brutal, and more ready for another lynching, when the occasion should arise.

Furthermore, the community itself, where a lynching occurs, is apt to suffer not only from momentary excitement and a breach of its peace, but frequently from a disruption of its labor and industry, and other economic evils, inflicting serious loss, and thwarting its growth and development. In others words, briefly expressed in common parlance, the community suffers from a black eye.

But aside from the evils that directly flow to a community from a lynching, the whole community, notwithstanding the better class of its citizens bitterly opposes

and condemns such lawlessness, is criticized, and, to a large extent, held responsible for the lynching; and that arises from the supposition on the part of other sections of the country, that the community condones such lawlessness, which is not true; but, to a certain extent, the failure to punish, or prosecute the participants in the lynching, might justify the inference that the community is blameful.

Personally, I have never heard or known of the punishment, or even prosecution of a participant in a mob or lynching, but the reason for that exists, to a certain extent in the insufficiency of our laws to meet the situation, as I think, and not from any condonation of such lawlessness.

In every community there is a class of citizens, whose moral consciousness is quite low, and beyond the hope of reformation, and they are as prone to evil as sparks are to fly upward, frequently meeting in the darkness of night, without any intimation as to their purpose, and thus accomplish their lawlessness. In such cases, the community at large is no more to blame, than are the communities where bandits hold up and rob banks.

So, while it would be difficult to punish participants in a lynching, in many cases, because their identity is kept secret, and, in some cases, because of local influences, and other reasons that could be assigned, a community, in which a lynching once occurs, could easily prevent a recurrence, where a crime of such nature as likely to bring about a lynching is committed, by taking active measures for the protection of the offender, where he is in custody, by warning and supporting the official in the duty of protection, at all hazards. Such activity by the better class of citizens, which largely predominate in every community, would be the means, to a great extent, of minimizing, if not completely stopping, the crime of lynching."

R. B. CAMPBELL

THE MAJESTY OF LAW

Twenty-five years ago Honorable Charlton H. Alexander, one of the outstanding figures at the Mississippi Bar and one time President of this Association, delivered his memorable address at the University of Mississippi on "The Majesty of Law." Among other things he said:

"Sirs, it means something to be an American citizen! If it does not mean that the humblest citizen shall have the protection of the best laws of the best government on earth, then we should cease our boasting. Faded is the glory, and dimmed the majesty of law, when it no longer protects a citizen in his legal rights and his legal remedies, whoever and wherever he may be—whether he be a millionaire, whose property is threatened by a riot of organized labor, or the poorest tenant in the purlieu of poverty, from whom organized greed would snatch the ice that cools his fevered brow; whether he be the faithful missionary, whose possessions are plundered by the cruel Turk, or the obscure sailor unlawfully seized in the streets of Valparaiso; whether it be a negro laborer shot down by riotous whites in a northern state for the crime of trying to work, or an idle and vicious negro who, for a real crime, is lynched by a southern mob."

L. Q. C. LAMAR.

Senator L. Q. C. Lamar as far back as 1880 condemned violence when in the course of his speech in the United States Senate on the Negro Exodus, he said:-

"I do not deny that there has been violence in the South. I deplore it; I condemn it. Respecting these cases

of violence, you will find when you get to the bottom facts that they are generally precipitated by unscrupulous political demagogues and tricksters who inflame the prejudices and passions of the races for their own political purposes."

Mayes: L. Q. C. Lamar, his Life, Times, and Speeches, Page 16.

Bishop Galloway and the Confederate Veterans.

Speaking in 1904 on "The South and the Negro," Bishop Galloway said:

"All the resources of government should be exhausted in protecting innocence and punishing guilt. There should be no aristocracy in crime. A white fiend is as much to be feared as a "black brute." The racial line has no place in courts of justice. Offenders against the peace and dignity of the State should have the same fair trial and the same just punishment, whatever their crime or color of skin.

And the majesty of law must be enthroned and sustained. When its sanctions are disregarded and its mandates are not respected, the very foundations of government become insecure. If confidence in the decisions of courts is destroyed, there is no protection for life and property. We have reasons for real alarm at the phenomenal growth of the spirit of lawlessness. And it is not confined to any section of our great country. I give it as my deliberate judgment that there is never an occasion when the resort to lynch law can be justified. However dark and dreadful the crime, punishment should be inflicted by due process of law. Every lyncher becomes a law despiser, and every

law despiser is a betrayer of his country. The lynching spirit, unrestrained, increases in geometrical progression. . .

"A camp of Confederate veterans in Mississippi, composed of heroic men who feared not the wild shock of battle, in contending for what they believed to be right, recently passed some vigorous resolutions against this spirit of lawlessness, in which occur these strong words: "Mob violence is antagonistic to liberty and ultimately leads to anarchy, desolation, and ruin." And in this ringing utterance they voice at once the deep conviction and profound humiliation of our best citizenship." Bishop Charles B. Galloway's "Great Men and Great Movements." Page 317.

CHANCELLOR HUME

Chancellor Hume of the University of Mississippi says:

"Lynching in a land of law, is an indictment of the courts of justice. It is either a defiance of officials or else a proclamation of lack of confidence in them. It strikes a staggering blow at the foundation of social order. Cowardice, rather than courage, finds it friendly to its method. It leads logically to a state in which no man's life is safe. It is a blot on the fair name of any community, it blinds the vision of youth, blights all the future of those who engage in it, and brutalizes whomsoever it touches. It harms the members of the mob far more than it hurts the victim. It affords protection to the criminally inclined, fosters the very evils which it claims to correct, and causes more crime than it cures.

MAJOR ALEXANDER FITZHUGH

Major Alexander Fitzhugh, Past Commander of the Mississippi Department of the American Legion and one of the outstanding citizens of Mississippi, says:

"I have always believed that lynching is the outstanding evil of the Southern States. I have always been outspoken in my opposition to mobs and mob violence and defiance of constituted authority.

During the time when I was State Commander of The American Legion for the Department of Mississippi, I never lost an opportunity to express to the members of the Legion my views on this subject, and to urge the members of the Legion to take an emphatic stand against lynching.

I have given some consideration to the subject of lynching during the 30 years that I have lived in Mississippi, and I unhesitatingly state that as far as my personal knowledge extends only a few of the victims of mobs were guilty at all and those who were guilty were rarely guilty in the degree of their summary punishment.

I wish to state further, that so far as my personal knowledge extends, the mobs who perpetrate lynching are usually organized and led by the worst elements of white citizenship and such mobs are usually moved by the worst type of malevolent race prejudice and not by any worthy desire to protect white supremacy as is so often urged in justification.

I do not know any one evil that has contributed so greatly to retarding the moral and material advancement of the South.

It seems to me to be the duty of every citizen, who makes any profession of the spirit of humanity and justice, to oppose this evil. It is incomprehensible to me how any one who professes to be a follower of the Christ can defend it, I care not whether he be minister or layman.

As a private citizen, I wish to heartily commend Hon. J. N. Flowers, President of the State Bar Association, for his interest in seeking to awaken the public conscience of this State to the great evil of lynching and mob violence."

ALEXANDER FITZHUGH.

MRS. LEWIS H. YARBROUGH

Mrs. Lewis H. Yarbrough, of Hazlehurst, President of the Mississippi Congress of Parents and Teachers, writes from the Southern Woman's point of view.

"Lynching is an outward expression of disregard for the laws of our country. The courts of our country are for the purpose of dealing with the violators of our laws and in most instances, if not all, justice is meted out therefrom. One who participates in lynching is just as much a violator of the law as the victim himself, and needs to be brought before our Courts for punishment. Lynching is a sign of ignorance, non-civilization and barbarism. No self-respecting, law-abiding citizen can afford to endorse it. Participants of lynching always act under cover, so to speak. They never act openly, therefore bespeaking cowardice for the community in which they live.

I want to thank you for the opportunity to express myself on the lynching evil.

MRS. LEWIS H. YARBROUGH.

BISHOP THEODORE D. BRATTON

Bishop Theodore D. Bratton, of the Diocese of Mississippi, Christian statesman and apostle of racial good will, makes the following thoughtful contribution:

"Government, in some form, is common to all people, to the most primitive of savages as to the most highly cul-

tured nations—this is natural because man is by nature both a social and moral being, born in relation to others, and conscious of duties to himself and to his fellows. Law is at once the concrete form in which mutual social responsibility is acknowledged, and also the mutual covenant for its fulfillment.

Fundamentally, the purpose of law,—of this mutual covenant—is to secure three necessary conditions of a healthy society; first, the harmony of society, and therefore law defines or limits personal liberty in its practical exercise; second, the safety of society, and therefore law prescribes or forbids personal license whose exercise is anarchy; third, the happiness of society, and therefore law guarantees personal rights—as e. g. life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,—and protects the person in the right exercise of them. The parties to this covenant, or contract, are society and the individuals who compose it. As social life becomes more complex and highly organized, social and personal rights must be, conformally, more closely defined in their relation,—that is, the covenant must be amended from time to time,—that corporate rights and personal liberty may each be secured in their right exercise. Lynching is violative of this profoundly moral covenant, and in its worst form,—because it breaks in pieces the covenant of law under the vicious assumption of the lynchers that they are exercising their right in a proper manner,—and in the equally vicious spirit of anarchy which puts mob force above authorized control.

Lynching is mob rebellion against the foundation purposes of government, and in fact ruthlessly disrupts the harmony, safety and happiness of society.

Lynching is murder,—the taking of life contrary to the law both of God and man. Its spirit is madly revengeful,—the spirit which destroys in men their sense of right

and justice, of the value of personal rights, of the sacredness of the soul, (however sinful) and of the right of the person to lawful judgment of his acts.

The unqualified condemnation of lynching has been expressed and widely published by the thoughtful women of our land, notably of the South, for whose protection its perpetrators pretend to invoke it. Good women and men alike abhor lawless means to gain even lawful ends, and suffer only deepest humiliation for pretended protection at the cost of degrading defiance of the will of God and the law of man.

The foil to the mob spirit of vengeance, to the blind savage injustice of lynch law, is reverence for life and law, respect for the commandments of God, loyalty to and honest fulfillment of the covenant of society, as the standard of honor among us as citizens and members of our social family.

To rid our social family of distrust, apprehension, uncertainty,—to insure trust and the peace and prosperity without which happiness is impossible is surely the highest task of the citizen. To accomplish this takes the best use of manhood in each of us,—of our honor to keep faith with others; of our self control to require loyal maintenance of the rights of others; of our courage chivalrously to protect the weak and defend the helpless."

THEODORE D. BRATTON.

NATIONAL FIGURES JOIN IN CHORUS CONDEMNATION.

E. O. Stanley.

E. O. Stanley when Governor of Kentucky prevented a lynching by hastening to Calloway County on a special train. He thus addressed the mob:

"There is but one difference between civilization and savagery, between communities where men sleep at night with unlocked doors with their wives and children about them and none to make them afraid, as you were wont to do here in Calloway—there is but one difference between such a community and the jungle where a savage chief stands with knotted club above the body of his dusky spouse to protect her and his simple holdings by the strength of his right arm. Courthouses, reverence for law and order, and the willingness of every citizen to look to the law for vindication of his wrongs and the protection of his property are the essence of civilization. When you defy courts and insult judges, you lapse into barbarism, you relinquish all claim to civilization. I am here not to snatch the accused from punishment, but to save him from violence; not to paralyze, but to give vigor and strength and dignity to the strong arm of the law. It is my purpose to see that this man is tried as speedily as may be consistent with his security, while on trial, and freedom from every form of outside interference."

PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE

President Coolidge, accepting the Republican nomination, declared:

"It is a satisfaction to observe that the crime of lynching, of which negroes have been so often the victim, has been greatly diminished and I trust that any further continuance of this national shame may be prevented by law. As a plain matter of expediency the white man cannot be protected unless the black man is protected, and as a plain matter of right, law is law and justice is justice for everybody."

ANARCHY IN ACTION

The late Judge Thomas G. Jones, of Alabama, himself a Confederate Veteran, said:

"Every mob is a stab at the sovereignty of the people and a malign denial to them by force of arms of the right to the freedom of orderly government. . . . The fire bells would ring out the alarm and the streets of any of our cities would swarm with armed and indignant people if they were told that a gang of intruders were coming to expel their chosen judges from the judgment seats, and put irresponsible and vicious men, chosen by the marauders, in their places. Yet that is the mission of the mob when it arms to storm a jail and put a prisoner to death. If men would only reflect what treason mob law is to their homes and institutions, mobs would be well-nigh impossible.

Aside from this attack on government, the evils of the mob have almost boundless sweep in all the relations of life. Can any man in the wildest flight of the brain, picture Robert E. Lee or John B. Gordon, no matter what the charge against the criminal, joining a mob to break down a jail, and taking a prisoner out to hang him? Why not? Because they are types of courage and honor, and justice and veneration for law, and all these cry out against such an act."

"THINKING WHITE"

Rev. John E. White, of Atlanta, in closing an address at the University of Virginia on "Thinking White About the Negro," said:

There is one truth above all others to be kept clear by

Southern Christians—namely, that the presence of ten million negroes in the South is not a problem that merely puts our political institutions to the test. It is profoundly a social and moral problem, and it puts our Christianity to a test. It is the Christian's gospel that is in the crucible. Speaking as a Southern man, I do not dare to risk a Christianity or a faith of Christianity as trustworthy for myself or mine in any issue which doubts the efficacy of Christ for all the difficulties that have discouraged the South in relation to the negro.

"The Christian citizen 'not only confronts evil and claims that it can be destroyed, and stands before sorrow and claims that it can be transfigured, he stands amid the misunderstandings of men, amid the perversions in the purposed order of life, the ugly twists that have been given to fellowships which were ordained to be beautiful and true, and he proclaims their possible rectification in Christ.' Whether of Samaritan or Jew, Greek or Barbarian, Bond or Free, Black or White."

HON. BOLTON SMITH

Hon. Bolton Smith, of Memphis, indorsing the late President Harding's condemnation of lynching says:

"Above all, the President is right in insisting that lynching must stop. By lynching I presume he refers especially to the lynchings of negroes by white men, which is, in my opinion, the greatest crime that can be committed in America short of the assassination of a President for it causes more widespread disturbance than any other crime. When white men lynch a white man, the harm done is small compared to that which results when white men lynch a negro. Such an act drives a wedge between the races and

is resented as a personal humiliation by every negro. The better the negro, the more he is trying to deserve the respect of his fellow-citizens, the greater is his humiliation and the deeper his resentment. These lynchings are wholly unnecessary and inexcusable, and if they are to continue we might as well give up all hope of reaching a settlement of the race question."

HEATHEN AFRICA OR CHRISTIAN AMERICA —WHICH?

The defeat of the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill which sought "to lynch the Constitution" and subject local government to Federal interference, simply adds to the necessity of our building up such a wholesome public sentiment against lynching that further agitation for a Federal law will be unnecessary.

Here is the description of an actual lynching with which an eminent American lawyer began his Brief in support of the Federal Anti-lynching Bill.

"A negro is seated on the ground in the public square of a town of 7500 in Tennessee. His arms are bound with wire. A buggy axle is hammered into the earth between his knees and to this his feet are chained. A fire is built and a half-hour spent in heating pokers and flat-irons.

"Not a domino hides a face in the surrounding crowd. The unmasked leaders appoint the parts their assistants are to play. Women are numerous in the throng that fills the square. Roof tops, porch tops and second story windows are full of onlookers. Children are hoisted to the shoulders of their parents that they might see.

"The orgy of torture that follows is almost too hideous for printing. The eyes of the victim are burned out. The throat is rammed with a red-hot iron. The back and ribs are scorched and raked with sizzling implements of agony. Rubbish is piled about the quivering black and he is slowly burned to death. Nobody utters a single protest. After three hours and a half the spectators gather up their belongings and go home. The pokers and the flat-irons resume their usual functions in the domestic economy.

"That happened on Dec. 2, 1917. In the last thirty years 3443 persons are known to have been lynched in the United States, and of other lynchings authentic records do not exist. Most of the lynchings have been in the South; but lynchings have occurred in all the states but five, and all these are in New England. A few years ago lynchings were epidemic in Tennessee; the news reports of the last few days have brought us tales of lynching horrors in Texas. A very large percentage of these mob executions are by burning. The case cited above is one of the worst of which we have the facts, yet it is not exceptional. Accounts in like cases include such details as the filling of the air with the stench of burning flesh, the carrying away of pieces of bone and chunks of the body of the victim as prized souvenirs of the occasion. Mere accusation is abundant warrant for one of these hideous killings. There are no trials. Frequently there is no evidence. The mobs have no fear of punishment, as witness the words of the late *Henry Watterson*:

'Lynching should not be misconstrued. It is a sport that has as its excuse the fact that a

crime of greater or less gravity has been committed or is alleged. A lynching party rarely is made up of citizens indignant at the law's delays or failures. It often is made up of a mob bent upon diversion and proceeding in a mood of rather frolicsome ferocity to have a thoroughly good time. . . . Lynchers often . . . are stimulated by an opportunity to indulge in spectacular murder when there is no fear that the next grand jury will return murder indictments against them."

**SOUTHERN NEWSPAPERS CALL FOR OFFICERS TO RESIST MOB VIOLENCE
AND FOR CITIZENS TO UPHOLD
SANCTITY OF THE LAW.**

(Hattiesburg American—July 22, 1925.)

Rev. G. S. Harmon, editor of The Hattiesburg American, who won the title of "The Fighting Parson," when armed with a pistol, he drove off a mob attempting to seize a wounded man lying in the Methodist Hospital over which Dr. Harmon was then Superintendent, editorialized thus on the way to stop lynching:

Not long ago a sheriff in a Texas city showed the right way to stop a lynching. When a crowd stormed the jail to seize and lynch a negro prisoner, the sheriff and his deputies fired at the crowd, wounding several of them. That sheriff set an example for others. Contempt should be felt for any peace officer who under any circumstances allows any prisoner to be taken away from him without putting up his hardest fight.

Some Different Types of Sheriff

(From Nashville Tennessean, Sept. 22, 1925)

"A Mississippi mob took a negro prisoner from two sheriffs on Sunday and, ignoring the day and Him in whose name we observe, burned their victim at the stake.

The negro was accused of a brutal crime, and one of the law officers who had taken an oath to uphold the law is quoted as having said that his prisoner had confessed before the mob took him.

The mob went the negro one better. It added the element of torture to the crime of taking a life without due process of law.

The Mississippi sheriffs did not fire a shot to save their prisoner from the mob. "Resistance was useless," according to their story.

Up in North Carolina on Saturday night a sheriff defended his jail and a negro prisoner charged with criminal assault from the attacks of a mob that was estimated to number from 500 to 1000. When the sheriff showed that he was determined to save his prisoner and that somebody in the mob would get hurt before the prisoner was taken, the mob dispersed. That is the general reaction of mobs to a show of official force.

The Mississippi lynching, where the sheriff found "resistance to be useless," and the North Carolina incident, where the sheriff showed the mob the law would be upheld, emphasized that we have two kinds of sheriffs in the South and one of them isn't doing the South any good. Lynchings will stop in the South as soon as we get enough sheriffs of the North Carolina type."

"A BLOW AT LYNCHING."

(The Gazette, Kalamazoo, Michigan, Jan. 4, 1926)

The history of the South affords few, if any, examples of a more atrocious lynching than that of Coleman. Any lynching represents a revolting reversion to barbarism on the part of the impassioned mob, but the taking of human life by an irresponsible and lawless group is a peculiarly heinous act when there is reason to believe the victim innocent of the crime with which he has been charged. What makes a lynching so abhorrent to the American sense of fair play is the mob's

total disregard of the evidence in the case and the impossibility of its knowing until too late whether it is doing to death a guilty, or perfectly innocent, man.

Sheriff Glass' sentence is one of the most effective steps ever taken to remove what foreign nations regard as the greatest stain on American culture. It will add tremendous weight to the law in quarters in which the law has been too often disregarded. It will add great prestige to a legal system strong enough to curb the wrong doing of its officials. It will, therefore, remove one of the most prolific causes of lynchings—lack of popular confidence in the ability of the authorities to effect the purposes of the law without fear and without favor. That lack of confidence was chargeable in part at least to the apparent case with which members, and even leaders, of Southern mobs hitherto escaped the consequences of their terrible acts. If other Southern judges, prompted by Northern and foreign criticism, follow Judge Alcorn's example, we may yet find Dixie sensitiveness more effective than national anti-lynching laws in obliterating in the cotton states a relic of primitive mass vengeance.

THE CLARKSDALE LYNCHING.

(As quoted from The New York Times by The Mobile Register, Mobile, Alabama, December, 1925)

What looks like a sincere attempt not only to punish lynchers, but to hold to real responsibility the sheriff and other officials who did not stop or attempt to prevent the lynching, is reported from Coahoma county, Mississippi. There, in the town of Clarksdale, a negro recently was arrested for murder, put on trial before a jury of the vicinage and acquitted. It is a safe presumption that the man was innocent. Immediately upon his release, however, he was seized by a mob and hanged.

The affair has made a big stir in the state, and from many parts of it have come to the governor exhortations that he see to it at once that the dignity and majesty of the law be vindicated by the punishment of those who permitted this disgraceful crime as well as those who committed it. So some of the lynchers have been arrested—and, of course, there was no difficulty in finding them when a real effort was made to do so—and Sheriff S. W. Glass and four of his deputies have been indicted for negligence in the performance of their duties.

He can say, doubtless, as other sheriffs in like cases have said, that to save the negro from the mob he would have been obliged to kill some of its members, his fellow-townsmen. Whether true or not, that statement is no defense at all for those who make it. That this sheriff is in danger of more than losing his job is not probable, but that would be a highly exemplary punishment, of use in the North as well as in the South. Mississippi is to be congratulated on the promptness with which so many of its citizens and organizations have recognized that lynching is intolerable.

FIGHTING MOB VIOLENCE.

(The Herald-Press, St. Joseph, Michigan, Jan. 4, 1926.)

The annual New Year's report on the number of lynchings in the United States lends added interest to the case now on trial in Coahoma county, Mississippi. Law enforcement authorities in that community are making a commendable effort to punish several local citizens who recently took part in the lynching of a Negro. . . .

Enlightened public sentiment is always against mob violence of any kind, but local law enforcement officials are reluctant to oppose what seems to them, at the time, the opinion of the community. Mississippi is taking a brave stand in the present case and it is to be hoped that an example can be made of the men who so brutally and presumptuously took what they were pleased to call "the law" into their own hands.

We can abolish lynching in this country only when local police officers and courts recognize the offence for what it is. It is nothing in the world but plain, common murder, whether the victim be innocent or guilty of the offense alleged.

A STATE ON TRIAL.

(The Macon Daily Telegraph, Macon, Ga., Dec. 22, 1925.)

Within the past few weeks, Mississippi has been attracting national attention by her vigorous attacks upon the lynching evil within her borders. After a mob had ignored the pleas of a United States Senator and had burned a Negro at the stake in Union County, the better element, the responsible citizens of the State in high and low position, arose in wrath and denounced that lynching and all lynchings and the spirit of the hoodlums who had perpetrated them.

Just as it began to appear that Mississippi's strong stand was having its effect over the entire South, a mob at Clarksdale took a Negro who had just been acquitted by a jury away from the very doors of the courthouse and strung him to a tree.

The lynching will not have the effect of undoing what Mississippi has done to prevent lynchings since the first of September; on the other hand, it should strengthen and crystalize the sentiment against the blackguardism of mobs.

THE LIMIT IN LYNCHINGS.

(The Boston Transcript.)

The court, the jury which acquitted Coleman, the power and dignity of the State, the decent sentiment of the community, the honor of the nation, are all abominably insulted by such an act. We are glad to see that the decent sentiment of this Mississippi county has revolted against such a deed; that alleged members of the mob who hanged Coleman have been arrested under an accusation of conspiracy to murder, and that the county judge has instructed the grand jury to return indictments against members of the mob, "regardless of

their standing in the community." Certainly it would be a strange community in which the killers of a man of judicially proved innocent could have any standing.

This Mississippi case is evidently the limit, the extremest illustration, of the long series of lynching outrages in this country. Let us hope that the very enormity of the insult to justice which it involves will help to bring the conscience of the people interested to the point of ending lynching altogether.

JUDGE LYNCH.

(The Cleveland Plain-Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio, December, 1925.)

Many Southerners are rather more than apologetic when discussing Judge Lynch. They are inclined to defend him as a useful instrument. They say he saves a good deal of time and money, and makes justice certain. This reference, of course, is to the many instances in which Judge Lynch acts before regularly organized courts can get down to business. It assumes, too, that Judge Lynch's decision is just what the court decision would have been.

But what about a case in which Judge Lynch acts as a superior court and reverses the judgment of a legal tribunal? Is it to be assumed that the men who acquitted the Clarksdale Negro were representative and respected members of the community, and that they could not have given a judgment of "not guilty" if there had been any proof of guilt. Already both the judge and the community have evidenced resentment. A determined effort is being made to bring the lynchers to justice, and several have already been arrested. Judge Lynch as a superior magistrate has gone too far.

It is a case which shows the cruel wickedness and the unbelievable folly of lynch law and presents a monstrous evil in its most repulsive aspect.

JUDGES AND THE MOB

(The Age-Herald, Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 24, 1925.)

This whole problem of lynching rests very largely with the courts. When mobs, and men who engage in mob activities are held to the law, and punished as the law provides, mobs will cease to exist.

LAWLESSNESS IN MISSISSIPPI

(The Herald, Spartanburg, S. C., December 29, 1925.)

Some days ago the public was shocked by the story of the lynching of a Mississippi negro immediately after his acquittal on a charge of murder. The crime reflected the mob in its meanest and most wanton mood and it is not surprising that the incident seems to have aroused the people of Mississippi to a realization that a halt must be called or the commonwealth abandoned to the murderers and thugs. Accounts of the awakening show that Bishop Bratton, a South Caro-

linian and for a number of years rector of the Episcopal church of the Advent of this city, is active in an effort to have the authorities of Mississippi do their duty and restore respect for authority and human life. . . .

Under the laws of Mississippi the governor can not remove a sheriff. Here is evidence that the state in making its laws honored the office of sheriff to a degree vastly greater than the sheriff honored it. . . .

AN OUTRAGEOUS AFFAIR

(The New Orleans States, December, 1925.)

FOR THE GOOD NAME OF MISSISSIPPI, Governor Whitfield ought to exhaust every effort to bring to justice the authors of the outrageous affair at Clarksdale on Saturday. . . .

Recently there have been many outrageous breaches of the law in our sister State, but the lynching of this negro is quite the worst of them and without the shred of an excuse.

Mississippi is inviting capital. Capital ought to respond to the invitation. No State has greater resources. But Mississippi will get neither capital nor homeseekers if she permits such unspeakable outrages as this to go unpunished. Florida learned that her greatest liability was unenforcement of the law. She has been cleaning house and thereby getting vast returns. Mississippi must also do so if she hopes to capitalize her so far untapped resources.

LYNCHING MISSISSIPPI

(The Sun, Charleston, Mississippi, December 24, 1925.)

After the verdict of "not guilty" a mob assembled in the streets of Clarksdale, put Coleman in a car, drove a short distance and shot him to death.

In doing this, they not only lynched a man who had been adjudged innocent, they lynched the good name of their city, county, their state and the South.

It is the foulest blot ever placed upon the state, and the most inexcusable. Nowhere is there a parallel for this atrocious crime. Nowhere has any group of individuals thus set themselves above courts, juries and the law.

At one stroke that Clarksdale mob has not only befouled the entire state; it has furnished the best possible argument for the passage of the iniquitous Dyer Anti-Lynching bill which has twice come before Congress, a vicious measure which would heavily penalize ev-

ery man in the County where a lynching took place, including the innocent tax-payers who are opposed to mob lawlessness.

THE CLARKSDALE LYNCHING

(The Tocsin, Indianola, Mississippi, December 23, 1925.)

The Clarksdale lynching is Mississippi's most outstanding sensation. It was so unnecessary and unpatriotic.

The murder of this negro, for it is nothing else, should be avenged and we would delight in seeing the murders of this innocent negro, for so he was declared by a jury of white men, hanged to the highest tree in Coahoma County.

A MOMENT OF CRISIS

Helen Goodwin Yerger, in her column, "Point of View in Mississippi" in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, comments upon the incident as follows:

The Clarksdale outrage is not a race question, though the crime in which it had its origin was. It is a question of the vindication of the majesty of the law, and every individual, every newspaper, every organized group in the state should rise in indignant wrath against those who brought the state into this spotlight of ignominy and should not have done until the state stands acquitted of criminal intent at least.

The ink was hardly more than dry on the newspapers that heralded the information that Mississippi's "state officials, officers, and outstanding members of the State Bar Association and other prominent Mississippians condemn mob violence and call on officers to do their sworn duty" before three men—a "mob" in spirit, if not in numbers, laid violent hands on a man acquitted by the law.

It must not be permitted.

Officers who cannot or will not act promptly and effectually must retire or be relegated to the discard in civic affairs.

It is a moment of crisis in Mississippi. She has heard the call of progress; she feels the urge of advancement. The high purpose of the majority of her people must not be defeated by the lawlessness of three and the official inertia of others.

A STAIN UPON THE STATE

(The Sentinel, Yazoo City, Miss.)

Hon. Frank Birdsall, always direct and emphatic in

his editorial expressions in the Yazoo Sentinel, had this to say:

A negro was murdered by a mob at Clarksdale a few days ago, after he had been acquitted of a crime by his superiors and peers. Based on newspaper reports of the account, which gave no hint of other angles to the situation, the act savors of primitive man of the early stages of civilization when murder was condoned. It is unreasonable that average citizens, laying claim to respectability, could indulge in such tactics as these. It tinges of pure animalism, befuddled, frenzied, unbalanced minds, and nowhere, in no section of the country, will the act of the mob be reconciled.

It is plain murder, and should be treated as such, leaving a stain upon the State of Mississippi, not to be removed until punishment is meted out to the guilty ones.

CONTEMPT AND TREASON TO MISSISSIPPI (Memphis Commercial Appeal.)

Now what is the use of talking about obedience to the law? What is the use of our boasting about our moral leadership of the world? What is the use of the constitution when things like this go on?

The men who did this murder violated the law of the land in committing murder. They insulted the law. They are guilty of contempt and treason to the state of Mississippi. They expressed an utter contempt of the court, the sheriff, the jury.

What is to be the end of all this?

MISSISSIPPI ON TRIAL (The Commonwealth, Greenwood.)

The editor of the Greenwood Commonwealth has this to say in commenting upon the enormity of the offense:

The action of the mob, whoever composed it, in taking the negro from the sheriff, after the jury verdict, in the heart of a law-abiding community, was an act of lawlessness that places a blot on the fair name of Clarksdale and Coahoma County; it was an act that puts Mississippi to shame before the world.

If jury verdicts are not to be respected; if groups of citizens insist on substituting their own law for that of the courts, as was done in this case, the governor should declare martial law in every community where a negro is on trial for murder and send troops to preserve and uphold the law.

Clarksdale and Coahoma County will be on trial before Mississippi in the manner which the prosecution of the mob is

handled, and Mississippi will be on trial before the world in the outcome.

"WITH MY OWN BODY"

(The Independent, Jan. 22, 1917. Vol. 89: P. 135)

Lynching is a cowardly business. In almost every case it is the work of a mob; and the essence of the mob spirit is cowardice. Time and again it has been shown that the antidote for mob cowardice is individual courage. A single fearless man, inspired with a sense of duty and justice, is more than a match for any but the most delirious mob of lawless and reckless men.

When Governor Stanley, of Kentucky, speeding across the state in a special train to the town of Murray, where a mob was threatening to lynch a judge and prosecuting officer for the heinous offense of postponing the trial of a negro charged with murder, said simply: "They will have a chance to lynch the Governor of Kentucky first," he displayed the spirit before which mob bravado runs up its true colors. He had only to face the mob and declare, "I am here to uphold the law and to protect the court, with my own body if necessary," to have the mob quail and slink away.

It took courage. For accidents sometimes happen when the mob spirit is aflame; and the crowd's lust for blood is a dangerous explosive which it requires but a spark to ignite. Governor Stanley took his life in his hand. He won precisely because he held his life cheap besides his duty and his oath.

The Murray mob was ready to splash an indelible stain upon the state's fair name. But the bravery and self-forgetfulness of the Governor saved it from the disgrace. He has deserved well of the commonwealth. Kentucky owes him a debt of gratitude it will not find it easy to pay.

"We believe that no false appeal can be made to southern manhood than that mob violence is necessary for the protection of womanhood, or that the brutal practice of lynching and burning of human beings is an expression of chivalry. We believe that these methods are no protection to anything or anybody, but that they jeopardize every right and every security that we possess."

ACTION OF WOMEN MEMBERS,

Georgia State Committee on Race Relations.

"This Convention has repeatedly gone on record as unalterably opposed to all sorts of mob violence and mob rule. Perhaps the most vicious and the most dangerous form of lawlessness in our present day is found in the activity and violence of mobs. Mob violence defies all law, despises every principle and function of government, and tramples into the dust every human right—it is not to be tolerated by Christians or by other intelligent patriotic citizens."

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, 1923

"Resolved: That this Conference unreservedly condemns lynching and all other forms of mob violence as unchristian, uncivilized, and subversive of law and order.

"That we endorse the effort being made by officers and members of the Mississippi Bar Association to so quicken the public conscience that mob law shall cease and this foul blot be removed from the escutcheon of our State.

"That we call upon the sheriffs and other law officers of Mississippi to do their sworn duty and defend prisoners committed to their charge even at the risk of their own lives.

"That we call upon the Christian people of Mississippi to uphold the majesty of the law, aid in the prosecution and conviction of all law violators regardless of race or color by due process of law, and stamp out mob murders in Mississippi.

North Miss. Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church,
South, Grenada, Miss., Nov. 7, 1925

Readopted by Mississippi Annual Conference, Hattiesburg, Nov. 14, 1925.

OUR DEMOCRATIC CREED

"To the enforcement of law and all the law we stand definitely pledged. I would hold in contempt any public official who took with up-lifted hand an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, making at the same time a mental reservation whereby a single word of that document is excluded from his vow. An administrative officer is no more entitled to choose what statutes he will or will not enforce, than is a citizen to choose what laws he will or will not obey. As well might he ask to strike from the Ten Commandments those he was not inclined to keep. Obedience to the law is the first duty of every good citizen, whether he be rich or whether he be poor; enforcement of the law against every violator, rich or poor, is the solemn obligation of every official."

JOHN W. DAVIS,

Address Accepting Democratic Nomination for President.

THE FINAL TRIUMPH

"I give it, fellow Mississippians, as my deliberate judgment that there can never be any just and permanent settlement of this stupendous problem that does not enlist the cordial and enlightened co-operation of the white people with whom the negro must dwell. And any policy which tends to inflame prejudice and widen the racial chasm, postpones indefinitely the final triumph of the Son of Man among the sons of men."

BISHOP CHAS. B. GALLOWAY.

Address, Dedication New Capitol, June 3, 1903