
Tragedies of the
John Charles Henry Scarborough Family
of
Farmerville, Union Parish, Louisiana

by Timothy Dean Hudson

In the 1830s, brothers Noah Lewis and Simeon R. Scarborough both married and settled with their families near their father's farm at Snow Hill, Wilcox County, Alabama. Simeon's son, George Noah Scarborough, was born there on 14 October 1844, and some three weeks later, Noah's daughter, Susan Malissa Scarborough, was born on 6 November 1844. George and Malissa did not grow up together for long, for Noah emigrated from Snow Hill in 1847. In 1855, Simeon left Alabama and settled in Leon County, Texas.

Despite living far apart after 1847, Noah's and Simeon's families remained in close contact. After his discharge in 1865 from service in the Confederate military in Rusk County, Texas, George N. Scarborough only lived in Texas for one year and then went to live near his uncle in Farmerville. On 21 June 1913, Scarborough stated that, "*I lived in Louisiana since August 1866*" [1]. On 28 March 1867, George N. Scarborough married Susan Malissa Scarborough, his first cousin [2].

Throughout human history, cousin marriages have constituted a significant proportion of all marriages and coupled relationships. Worldwide, marriages between first and second cousins still constitute more than 10% of all marriages. Although such marriages became highly stigmatized in the United States beginning in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, they remain especially popular in the Middle East and in Muslim cultures. In England, first cousin unions have remained legal for centuries.

Cousin marriages were legal and relatively common in the United States until the postwar period of latter nineteenth century. A group of *enlightened* sociologists began to view them as remnants of a primitive social order. Unscientific genetic claims resulted in the popular misconception that cousin marriages resulted in idiocy, deafness, and blindness. The American Medical Association even concluded that cousin marriages resulted in "*physical and mental depravation of the offspring*," despite numerous other studies by well-respected scientists. As a result, during the 1880s a movement began to outlaw cousin marriages in most states, and they

became socially unacceptable across the United States by the 1890s except in the South, which was more conservative and slower to implement this societal change. However, social pressure from outside the South led to bans on cousin marriages, and the early 1900s, Louisiana passed laws outlawing consanguinity.

These proscriptions against cousins producing offspring have no biological basis, and the modern contempt Americans have regarding first cousin marriages results from a uniquely American myth that became ingrained in our culture during the twentieth century. Nineteenth century Southerners had no such disdain for first cousin marriages, as the myths against it had not yet been propagated [3].

George and Malissa Scarborough spent their sixty years of married life cultivating their farm that adjoined her father's near Bayou d'Loutre, about seven miles east of Farmerville. They raised their family, joined the Liberty Hill Primitive Baptist Church, and both apparently remained in good health until well into their eighties. In 1923, Liberty Hill Church appointed seventy-nine-year-old George N. Scarborough as one of their delegates to the annual meeting of the South Ouachita Primitive Baptist Association [4].

George and Malissa Scarborough had five children to survive infancy, three sons and two daughters. One son, Matthew, died in 1888 as a teenager [5], and their youngest daughter, Stella, died in 1901 of a medication overdose [6]. George and Malissa's eldest daughter, Mollie, and son, George Elliott Scarborough, both married and settled on farms near their parents. Like his father, Elliott became an active member Liberty Hill Primitive Baptist Church and served as deacon [7].

George and Malissa's eldest son, John Charles Henry Scarborough (12 Feb 1868–10 Nov 1921), was named after George's youngest brother. John married in 1891 to Lizzie Jordan and in the latter 1890s, they moved to Morehouse Parish, where he farmed near Mer Rouge. In early 1900, he and his family returned to Union Parish and farmed his parents' land near Farmerville [8].

John and Lizzie Scarborough soon bought their own farm near their parents' farm and worked it for the next two decades. Their first child was a daughter, followed by five sons [9]. Their eldest son, John Charles Scarborough Jr., died as a young boy, and by 1918, their second son moved to Mansfield with their married daughter and worked there [10]. Thus, by the latter 1910s, John and Lizzie lived on their farm with their youngest three sons, Tretzvant, Harry, and Loy, born in 1899, 1901, and 1903, respectively [11].

Despite the Baptist tradition cultivated by their great-great grandfather, Addison, great-grandfathers, Simeon and Noah, and grandparents, George and Malissa, and other close family members, like many teenaged males of any era, the Scarborough brothers developed a fondness

for alcohol. According to their cousins, they maintained several stills in the region, and they developed a reputation in the community of being rough, heavy drinkers with a tendency towards violence if provoked [12].

One example is an incident that allegedly occurred on 1 August 1915. According to Leonard Aulds, on that evening, Otis and Tretzvant Scarborough “*willfully and maliciously assault and beat*” Aulds. A Union Parish Grant Jury indicted them for assault and battery on September 25th, and after their arrest, the District Court released them on \$50 bond. The outcome of the charge is unknown [13].

In the 1980s, Fabrice Boatright Hudson recalled an incident that occurred on the farm near the Ward’s Chapel Road on which she lived with her parents. She said the events occurred when she was a young girl of about four or five years old, making it about 1920 or 1921. One night, her father, George W. Boatright, heard a noise outside their house in the barn. He sneaked out the back door towards the barn to see what caused the commotion. Her father told the family that, in a state of drunkenness, the “*Scarborough boys*” had lunged at his mules with a knife. At the time, George Boatright did not confront his second cousins, the grandsons of his grandmother’s sister, because “*when the Scarborough boys were drunk, they were real dangerous.*” The next morning, he had a nearby resident treat the mules, and they quickly recovered. He refused to report the incident to local authorities because of his close familial relationship to the Scarborough boys [14].

On the night of 15 January 1921, a dance was held at the home of Garland Williams about five miles north of Farmerville in the “*Nip and Tuck*” community. Harry and Loy Scarborough attended the dance, as did Ollie Westbrook and between thirty and forty others. Mr. Williams later said that Westbrook was “*pretty drunk*” but the Scarborough boys were not.

According to one version of the events later recalled by a local resident related to both families, the Westbrooks had the reputation of being among “*the meanest people in the country.*” Ollie Westbrook had recently married but he was at the dance alone, “*running around on his wife.*” During the dance, around 9:30 or 10:00 p.m., Westbrook bumped into Harry Scarborough, causing them to have words. Although “*Westbrook started most of it,*” Harry and Loy both pulled their knives and stabbed at Westbrook [15].

Witnesses present reported that there were not enough girls at the dance to make an even number of dance partners, so the boys danced “*stag.*” About 9:45 p.m., in the dance room, Loy Scarborough and his partner, Rob Hudson, bumped into Ollie and partner twice. The group walked to the side of the room to talk, and Ollie told Loy, “*You have run up against a man.*” Loy replied, “*You are up against a man, too,*” causing tempers to escalate. According to eyewitness Horace

McGough, Harry came to his brother's defense, telling Westbrook, *"Don't get on a boy, get on a man,"* as Loy was then only seventeen years of age.

Garland Williams walked up to try and diffuse the situation, asking them to go outside. Westbrook and Harry Scarborough agreed to leave the house, but as Harry turned, Westbrook hit him hard on the front side of the head with a blunt object, knocking him back four feet. Witnesses said that as Westbrook hit Harry on the head, a gun fell to the ground and broke into pieces. After staggering from the blow, Harry pulled his knife and said, *"God dam [sic] you I will kill you."* He stabbed at Westbrook in the collarbone, causing blood to spurt twelve inches into the air. Seeing blood running down his brother's face, Loy used his own knife to stab Westbrook several times in the shoulder and upper back.

To stop the melee, Garland Williams walked up, took Westbrook by the arm, and walked out of the room, as bystanders Dan Green and Tom Andrews caught Harry by each hand, restraining him. Harry yelled,

Turn me a loose, that dam[n] son of a bitch hit me with a pair of brass knuckles. If I had my gun, I would kill him if he comes back.

As Williams walked outside with Westbrook, they left both Scarborough boys standing there with their knives in their hands. Harry had blood running down the side of his face from his wound. As he walked outside with Williams, Ollie Westbrook collapsed and died [16].

Sheriff F. W. Murphy described the incident in this manner:

The boys were on the floor dancing and it seems there was some jostling. One of the Scarborough boys was standing on one side of Westbrook and one on the other. Harry Scarborough is alleged to have drawn a pocket knife and to have cut Westbrook's jugular vein...

while Loy Scarborough stabbed Westbrook in the back with his knife. According to Sheriff Murphy, *"Apparently there was no excuse for the killing"* [17]. At a hearing the next week, Judge Crow denied bail to Harry and Loy Scarborough, remanding them to jail to await action of the grand jury [18].

After they spent two months in jail, on March 26th, the grand jury indicted Harry and Loy Scarborough for murder, with the bill of indictment stating that

Harry Scarborough and Loy Scarborough did willfully, feloniously, unlawfully and of their malice aforethought kill and murder Ollie Westbrook.

The murder trial of Harry and Loy Scarborough proved one of the most sensational and hardest-fought legal battles in Union Parish. Spectators packed the courtroom *"beyond standing room all during the trial."* The Court heard arguments all day Thursday and Friday, April 21st and 22nd, with the case submitted to the jury late Friday night. After deliberating until Saturday morning around

10:00 a.m., the jury returned a verdict of not guilty on the charge against Loy Scarborough, but they found Harry Scarborough guilty of manslaughter [19].

The next week, Judge Crow ruled that a mistake by the jury during Harry Scarborough's first trial invalidated the verdict, and he ordered a new trial at the next court term [20]. Harry was then released on bail to await his second trial that fall.

On Wednesday night, August 24th, Harry M. Scarborough married Ona Lee Hodge (Onnie) at a local church. Afterwards, wedding party and guests held a reception at the nearby home of Charles Newcomb. At 11:00 p.m., *"inside the well-lighted house, a violin sang a merry dance. The wedding party was gay."* As the guests danced away,

A strange voice from out the night sounded about happy voices and music in the little farmhouse...Yay, Scarborough, Scarborough.

Harry turned and said to Loy, *"Guess it's you that's wanted."* The *"uncannily high-pitched voice"* again called out, *"Yay, Scarborough."* The violin player put down his bow and the dancers stopped as Harry pulled away from his bride and walked outside with his younger brother. They

...stood in the shadow just beyond the square of yellow light from the window. They strained their eyes, but could see no one. 'Who's there?' called Lloyd [sic-Loy], as Harry turned back to the house...For answer came a volley of shots.

Three men in the garden adjacent to the house opened fire on the Scarborough brothers, pouring buckshot into both young men. Twelve buckshot penetrated Harry's back, and those landing first aid initially believed the shot had severed his spine. Loy suffered buckshot wounds to his chest and arm. The following morning, the sheriff used blood hounds in an attempt to track the perpetrator, but the trail had grown cold. Harry's injuries confined him to the Monroe sanitarium, but despite initial reports regarding the severity of his wounds, he made a full recovery. The attack was clearly retaliation for the killing of Ollie Westbrook earlier that year, but no evidence suggesting the identity of the Scarboroughs' attackers was ever discovered [21].

A few months later, on Monday, November 14, something led to a family quarrel on the farm of John C. and Lizzie Scarborough. The Farmerville newspaper reported that *"Scarborough and his wife were having some unpleasantness when the boys interfered,"* leading to *"an affray between the boys and their father,"* while the Shreveport newspaper wrote that, *"trouble arose between the father and the mother culminating in a row between the father and sons."* In the scuffle, John Scarborough shot his son, Harry, in the side, slightly wounding him. John then ran away from the house, with his other sons firing their guns at him. According to family members, *"the Scarborough*

boys were supposed to have shot their father while they were drunk,” as “they drunk [sic] a lot and they had several stills.”

John Scarborough never came home that night, and the next morning, his sons went looking for him. The boys found their father’s body in a field near the house. He had suffered gunshot wounds and presumably bled to death there in the field overnight. A coroner’s inquest was held later that day, but the coroner’s illness resulted in a deputy failing to properly obtain evidence. When one of the brothers testified that one of them had shot John Scarborough in the back, while another shot at him twice, the elder Scarborough’s prominence in the community led local residents to demand a thorough, proper investigation.

As a result of the outcry, the District Attorney issued arrest warrants for Tretzvant, Harry, and Loy Scarborough, charging the three brothers with the murder of their father. At a hearing held before Judge J. B. Crow on Monday, November 28th, he ordered that charges against Harry Scarborough be dismissed, but that Tretzvant and Loy Scarborough be remanded on a charge of manslaughter. He set bond at \$1800 each [22].

The grand jury indicted Tretzvant and Loy Scarborough for manslaughter on March 25th, specifically charging that

Treasvant [sic] Scarborough and Loy Scarborough did willfully, unlawfully and feloniously kill and slay John Scarborough, a human being.

The grand jury approved bond of \$2000 each. Among the witnesses who presented testimony before the grand jury was the boys’ uncle, George Elliott Scarborough, and their second cousin, George W. Boatright [23].

The District Court convened in Farmerville the week of April 17th to hear both the second trial of Harry Scarborough for the murder of Ollie Westbrook and of Tretzvant and Loy Scarborough for the murder of their father. In the latter case, the Court empaneled a jury and heard arguments on Tuesday, April 18th, and after only one hour, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty for both boys for the killing of their father. On Wednesday, the 19th, the Court tried Harry Scarborough for Ollie Westbrook’s murder for the second time. The jury returned a verdict of guilty on one charge of manslaughter, with Judge Crow sentencing Scarborough to 9–12 years in the State Penitentiary. Although he appealed his conviction to the Louisiana Supreme Court, it was unsuccessful, and Scarborough served several years at Angola [24].

Following his trial for killing his father, Loy A. Scarborough and his new wife, Jewel, left Union Parish and joined his older brother, Otis Z. Scarborough, in southeastern Texas. He obtained employment as a laborer with the Kirby Lumber Company in Voth. On May 14, as Scarborough

adjusted a crane loaded with lumber, the cradle broke and fell on him, crushing his skull and causing instant death. He left a nine-month-old little boy [25].

In 1924, Harry Scarborough applied to the Louisiana Board of Pardons for a pardon for his conviction [26]. After his release, he returned to his parents' farm near Farmerville. In February 1930, Union Parish Sheriff Murphy received a tip regarding an operating still near Harry Scarborough's house. When they arrived, they found the still about 200 yards from his house operated by a black man. This led to charges against Scarborough, but at the trial in June, the jury found him not guilty. In November 1931, the Louisiana Board of Pardons recommended the restoration of Harry Scarborough's citizenship following his conviction and completion of his sentence [27].

After their convictions, Tretzvant and Harry Scarborough worked their farms, raised their children, and joined the Ward's Chapel Church of Christ, where the brothers became dedicated members [28].

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Notes

1. Louisiana Confederate Pension Application #8324, George N. Scarborough (filed 8 September 1913, allowed 11 March 1914), Union Parish.
2. Union Parish LA Marriage Book L (1866–1867), p. 388 (George N. Scarborough to “Melissa” Scarborough, 28 March 1867).
3. Ottenheimer, Martin. *Forbidden Relatives: The American Myth of Cousin Marriage*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, 1996.
4. 1923 South Ouachita Primitive Baptist Associational Minutes, private collection of T. D. Hudson. The minutes indicate that George N. Scarborough was present at the associational meeting held at the Liberty Hill Church from September 21–23, 1923.
5. Taylor/Liberty Hill Cemetery (Farmerville, Union Parish LA), tombstone of “Matthew A. son of G. N. & S. M. Scarborough” (12 Oct 1872–30 Oct 1888), “Aged 16 Yrs. & 18 Dys.”
6. “The Gazette,” 27 November 1901, p. 3, column 1. Taylor/Liberty Hill Cemetery (Farmerville, Union Parish LA), tombstone of “Stella M. Daughter of G. N. & S. M. Scarborough” (30 May 1881–22 Nov 1901), “Aged 20 Yrs. 5 Mos. 22 Dys.” The newspaper article stated that “Miss Stella Scarborough, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. G. N. Scarborough, died suddenly Thursday morning at her parents’ home. She was suffering the day before, and took morphine to relieve her; and it is thought that she took too much of the drug.”
7. Taylor/Liberty Hill Cemetery (Farmerville, Union Parish LA), tombstones of “M. S. Scarborough Edwards” (19 Mar 1870–27 Mar 1924) and “Elliott Scarborough” (1878–1958).
8. Union Parish LA Marriage Book 8 (1889–1894), p. 510 (John C. Scarborough to Lizzie Jordan, 29 October 1891). “The Gazette,” 8 July 1976, p. 2, column 5. 1900 Union Parish LA Federal Census, Ward 1, Precinct 1, ED #115, p. 10a, Household #157, line #6: G. N. Scarborough (Oct 1844; Farmer); #7: Susan Scarborough (Nov 1844; wife); Household #159, line #10: Jno. Scarborough (May 1867; Farmer); #11: Lizzie Scarborough (Oct 1863; wife). In a memorial for Lonnie Tretzvant Scarborough published in 1976, his children stated that his birth occurred in January 1899 at Mer Rouge, which is in Morehouse Parish. By spring 1900, John C. H. Scarborough had moved his family back to Farmerville.
9. 1910 Union Parish LA Federal Census, Ward 1, ED #131, p. 12a, Household #94, line #29: John D. [sic] Scarborough (age: 41, Farmer); line #30: Lizzie Scarborough (Sr.) (age: 44, wife); p. 13b, Household #138, line #84: George N. Scarborough (age: 65; Farmer); line #85: Susan M. Scarborough (age: 65, wife). 1920 Union Parish LA Federal Census, Police Jury Ward One, ED #123, p. 231b/8, Household #147, line #74: John C. Scarborough (age: 52, Farmer); line #75: Sarah E. Scarborough (age: 54, wife).
10. Taylor/Liberty Hill Cemetery (Farmerville, Union Parish LA), tombstone of “J. C. Scarborough, Our Boy,” (1 June 1895–5 Oct 1900). World War I Draft Registration #39, Mansfield, DeSoto Parish, LA, Otis Zelma Scarborough, 5 June 1913. Otis listed his nearest relative as “Mrs. W. S. Wilson,” of Goss, Louisiana, his elder sister.
11. Taylor/Liberty Hill Cemetery (Farmerville, Union Parish LA), tombstones of “Lonnie Tretzvant Scarborough” (25 Jan 1899–25 June 1976) and “Harry M. Scarborough” (1901–1970). Texas Death Certificate #015331, 1923, “Loy Aderson Scarborough,” Jefferson County, TX. The informant who gave the information on Loy A. Scarborough was Mrs. Jewel Scarborough, his wife. His middle name was almost certainly “Addison,” a family name, which she spelled phonetically. Loy was born 30 April 1903 and died 14 May 1923 in Voth, Jefferson County, Texas.
12. Details conveyed to Timothy D. Hudson on 3 June 1984 by Fabrice Boatright Hudson and Woodrow Wilson Hudson Sr. from their childhood memories and conversations with their immediate family members as adults.
13. Union Parish LA Bills of Indictment Book 1, p. 457, Indictment #5249: State of Louisiana vs. Otis and Tretzvant Scarborough (filed 25 September 1915; T. F. Terral, Foreman Grand Jury).
14. Details conveyed to Timothy D. Hudson on 3 June 1984 by Fabrice Boatright Hudson from her recollection of the incident from her childhood. By “the Scarborough boys,” they meant Tretzvant, Harry, and Loy Scarborough.
15. Details conveyed to Timothy D. Hudson on 3 June 1984 by Woodrow Wilson Hudson Sr. from his personal recollection of events that occurred when he was a boy and young man. Woodrow Hudson was not present at the dance, as he was only a boy of nine years at the time. Based upon the events from the trial and subsequent controversy, he did seem sympathetic to Harry Scarborough and implied that Westbrook instigated the incident.
16. Union Parish LA 4th District Court, Criminal Case Testimony, State of Louisiana vs. Harry and Loy Scarborough (murder), 21 January 1921.
17. “The Monroe News-Star” (Monroe, LA), 17 January 1921, p. 1, column 6. “New Orleans States” (New Orleans, LA), 18 January 1921, p. 5, column 2. “The Times Picayune” (New Orleans, LA), 18 January 1921, p. 2, column 7. “The Gazette,” 19 January 1921, p. 5, column 2.
18. “The Gazette,” 26 January 1921, p. 5, column 3.
19. Union Parish LA Bills of Indictment Book 1, p. 619, Indictment #5634: State of Louisiana vs. Harry and Loy Scarborough (filed 26 March 1921; C. A. Norris, Foreman Grand Jury). Union Parish LA 4th District Court Minutes, Book L, p. 537 (State of Louisiana vs. Harry and Loy Scarborough, 23 April 1921). “The Gazette,” 27 April 1921, p.

- 4, column 3. Details conveyed by Woodrow Wilson Hudson Sr. on 3 June 1984 regarding his recollection of the trial in Farmerville. He was present at the trial and saw the knife held up to the jury as the alleged murder weapon.
20. *"The Gazette,"* 4 May 1921, p. 5, column 4.
21. *"The Montgomery Advertiser"* (Montgomery, AL), 27 August 1921, p. 2, column 4. *"New Orleans States,"* 27 August 1921, p. 10, column 6. *"State Times"* (Baton Rouge, LA), 27 August 1921, p. 5, columns 5–6. *"The New Orleans Item"* (New Orleans, LA), 28 August 1921, p. 1, column 8. *"The Gazette,"* 31 August 1921, p. 5, column 7.
22. *"The Gazette,"* November 16 (p. 4, column 1) and 30 (p. 5, column 3), 1921. *"The Shreveport Times"* (Shreveport, LA), 25 November 1921, p. 5, columns 5–6. *"New Orleans States,"* 27 November 1921, p. 1, column 6. *"The New Orleans Item,"* 30 November 1921, p. 6, column 2. Louisiana Death Certificate #11915, 1921, John Scarborough, Union Parish. Details conveyed to Timothy D. Hudson on 3 June 1984 by Woodrow Wilson Hudson Sr. from his personal recollection of conversations about these events between his mother, Dosia Ward Hudson, a first cousin of John C. Scarborough, and other family members at the time they occurred. Dr. J. G. Taylor stated that he viewed Scarborough's body at the inquest, giving his date of death as 15 November 1921 from *"gunshot wounds."* Woodrow W. Hudson stated, somewhat indelicately, *"John C. Scarborough was not all there in the head since his mother and father were first cousins."* He relayed the common myths of the early 1900s, that first cousin marriages resulted in mental illness and defects in their children, beliefs since disproved as completely unscientific and inaccurate.
23. Union Parish LA Bills of Indictment Book 2, p. 18, Indictment #5740: State of Louisiana vs. Treasvant [sic] and Loy Scarborough (filed 25 March 1922; J. E. Buckley, Foreman Grand Jury). The witness who testified was listed as *"Geo. Scarborough."* Technically, this could have been either the boys' uncle, George Elliott Scarborough, or their grandfather, George Noah Scarborough. Without a middle initial, it is impossible to tell. However, their grandfather was an elderly man by 1922.
24. Union Parish LA 4th District Court Minutes, Book M, pp. 25–26 (#5740: State of Louisiana vs. Tresevant [sic] & Loy Scarborough; #5634: State of Louisiana vs. Harry Scarborough; April 18–19, 1922). *"The Gazette,"* April 19 (p. 5, column 2) and 26 (p. 1, columns 2–3), 1922.
25. *"The Galveston Daily News"* (Galveston, TX), p. 2, column 4. Texas Death Certificate #15331, 1923, Loy Aderson Scarborough, Jefferson County. The informant for Loy Scarborough's death certificate was his wife, Mrs. Jewel Scarborough. She gave his full name as *"Loy Aderson Scarborough,"* but she likely used a phonetic spelling of his middle name. It is almost certain that it was actually *"Addison,"* a Scarborough family name. The cause of death: *"Skull crushed by falling crane."*
26. *"The Gazette,"* 9 April 1924 (p. 4, column 2) and 21 January 1925 (p. 3, column 3).
27. *"The Gazette,"* February 19 (p. 1, column 6), May 28 (p. 1, column 4), June 18 (p. 1, column 6) and 25 (p. 1, column 6), 1930. *"The Times-Picayune"* (New Orleans, LA), 1 November 1931, p. 8, column 8.
28. *"The Gazette,"* 19 February 1970 (p. 1, column 7) and 1 July 1976 (p. 6, columns 6–7). Details conveyed to Timothy D. Hudson on 3 June 1984 by Woodrow Wilson Hudson Sr. from his personal recollection of a lengthy 1938 conversation with Harry M. Scarborough. W. W. Hudson stated that, due to the numerous stories and conflicting reports circulating in the region due to the notoriety of the Westbrook killing, he asked his cousin, Harry M. Scarborough, what actually happened at the dance. Many claimed that Harry took the blame for his brother, Loy, who actually inflicted the fatal knife wound, plus other possible versions of the events. Woodrow Hudson said that Harry Scarborough stated that he himself inflicted the fatal wound that resulted in Westbrook's death during the fight. Hudson was obviously sympathetic towards the Scarborougs during the 1984 conversation. He knew the Scarborougs well and seemed to think highly of them.

