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Text of U.S. Supreme Court's Decision in Scottsboro

WASHINGTON—The text of the Supreme Court Decision in the Scottsboro case, read by Justice Sutherland, follows:

These cases were argued together and submitted for decision as one case.

The petitioners, hereinafter referred to as defendants, are Negroes charged with the crime of rape, committed upon the persons of two white girls. The crime is said to have been committed on March 25, 1931. The indictment was returned in a State court of first instance on March 31, and the record recites that on the same day the defendants were arraigned and entered pleas of not guilty.

There is a further recital to the effect that upon the arraignment they were represented by counsel. But no counsel had been employed, and aside from a statement made by the trial judge several days later during a colloquy immediately preceding the trial, the record does not disclose when, or under what circumstances, an appointment of counsel was made, or who was appointed.

During the colloquy referred to, the trial judge, in response to a question, said that he had appointed all the members of the bar for the purpose of arraigning the defendants and then, of course, anticipated that the members of the bar would continue to help the defendants if no counsel appeared. Upon the argument here, both sides accepted that as a correct statement of the facts concerning the matter.

There was a severance upon the request of the State, and the defendants were tried in three several groups as indicated above. As each of the three cases was called for trial, each defendant was arraigned, and, having the indictment read to him, entered a plea of not guilty. Whether the original arraignment and pleas were regarded as ineffective is not shown. Each of the three trials was completed within a single day.

Death Penalty Imposed Upon All Defendants

Under the Alabama statute the punishment for rape is to be fixed by the jury, and in its discretion may be from ten years' imprisonment to death. The juries found defendants guilty and imposed the death penalty upon all. The trial court overruled motions for new trials and sentenced the defendants in accordance with the verdicts. The judgments were affirmed by the State Supreme Court. Chief Justice Anderson thought the defendants had not been accorded a fair trial and strongly dissented. (224 Ala. 524; id. 531; id. 540.)

In this court the judgments are assailed upon the grounds that the defendants, and each of them, were denied due process of law and the equal protection of the laws, in contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment, specifically as follows: (1) they were not given a fair, impartial, and deliberate trial; (2) they were

have been, they were, until convicted, presumed to be innocent. It was the duty of the court having their cases in charge to see that they were denied no necessary incident of a fair trial. With any error on the State court involving alleged contravention of the State statutes or Constitution, of course, have nothing to do. The sole inquiry which we are permitted to make is whether the Federal Constitution was contravened. (Rogers v. Peck, 199 U.S. 423, 434; Hebert v. Louisiana, 272 U.S. 312, 316); and as to that, we confine ourselves, as already suggested, to the inquiry whether the defendants were in substance denied the right of counsel, and if so, whether such denial infringes the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Defendants Not asked If They Could Get Counsel

First—The record shows that immediately upon the return of the indictment, defendants were arraigned and pleaded not guilty. Apparently they were not asked whether they had, or were able to employ counsel, or wished to have counsel appointed; or whether they had friends or relatives who might assist in that regard if communicated with.

That if would not have been an idle ceremony to have given the defendants reasonable opportunity to communicate with their families and endeavor to obtain counsel is demonstrated by the fact that, very soon after conviction, able counsel appeared in their behalf.

This was pointed out by Chief Justice Anderson in the course of his dissenting opinion.

"They were non-residents," he said, "and had little time or opportunity to get in touch with their families and friends who were scattered throughout two other States. And time has demonstrated that they could or would have been represented by able counsel had a better opportunity been given by a reasonable delay in the trial of the cases judging from the number and activity of counsel that appeared immediately or shortly after their conviction." (224 Ala., at pp. 554-555.)

It is hardly necessary to say that the right to counsel being conceded, a defendant should be afforded a fair opportunity to secure counsel of his own choice. Not only was that not done here, but such designation of counsel as was attempted was either so indefinite or so close upon the trial as to amount to a denial of effective and substantial aid in that regard. This will be amply demonstrated by a brief review of the record.

April 6, six days after indictment, the trials began. When the first case was called, the court inquired whether the parties were ready for trial. The State's Attorney replied that he was ready to proceed. No one answered for the defendants or appeared to represent or defend them. Mr. Roddy, a Tennessee lawyer not a member of the local bar, was employed in

merely came down here as a friend of the people who are interested and not as paid counsel, and certainly I haven't any money to pay them and nobody I am interested in that had me to come down here has put up any funds of money to come down here and pay counsel.

"If they should do it I would be glad to turn it over—a counsel, but I am merely here at the solicitation of people who have become interested in this case without any payment of fee and without any preparation for trial and I think the boys would be better off if I step entirely out of the case according to my way of looking at it and according to my lack of preparation for it and not being familiar with the procedure in Alabama. * * *

Mr. Roddy later observed:

"If there is anything I can do to be of help to them, I will be glad to do it; I am interested to that extent.

Appointment of Counsel Referred to as "Casual"

"The Court—Well, gentlemen, if Mr. Roddy only appears as assistant that way, I think it is proper that I appoint members of this bar to represent them; I expect that is right. If Mr. Roddy will appear, I wouldn't, of course; I would not appoint anybody. I don't see, Mr. Roddy, how I can make a qualified appointment or a limited appointment. Of course, I don't mean to cut off your assistance in any way. Well, gentlemen, I think you understand it.

"Mr. Moody—I am willing to go ahead and help Mr. Roddy in anything I can do about it under the circumstances.

"The Court—All right, all the lawyers that will; of course, I would not require a lawyer to appear if—

"Mr. Moody—I am willing to do that for him as a member of the bar; I will go ahead and help do anything I can do.

"The Court—All right." And in this casual fashion the matter of counsel in a capital case was disposed of.

It thus will be seen that until the very morning of the trial no lawyer had been named or definitely designated to represent the defendants. Prior to that time trial judge had "appointed all the members of the bar" for the limited "purpose of arraigning the defendants." Whether they would represent the defendants thereafter if no counsel appeared in their behalf was a matter of speculation only, or, as the judge indicated, of mere anticipation on the part of the court.

Such a designation, even if made for all purposes, would, in our opinion, have fallen far short of meeting, in any proper sense, a requirement for the appointment of counsel.

Action of Trial Judge Called "Expansive Gesture"

How many lawyers were members of the bar does not appear; but, in the very nature of things, whether many or few, they would not, thus collectively named, have been given that clear appreciation of responsibility or impressed with individual sense of duty

No opportunity to do so was given. Defendants were immediately hurried to trial.

Authorities Are Quoted To Uphold Court's View

Chief Justice Anderson, after disclaiming any intention to criticize harshly counsel who attempted to represent defendants at the trials, said: " * * * the record indicates that the appearance was rather pro forma than zealous and active. * * *

Under the circumstances disclosed we hold that defendants were not accorded the right of counsel in any substantial sense. To decide otherwise would simply be to ignore actualities.

This conclusion finds ample support in the reasoning of an overwhelming array of State decisions, among which we cite the following: Sheppard v. State, 165 Ga. 460, 464; Reliford v. State, 140 Ga. 777; McArver v. State, 114 Ga. 514; Sanchez v. State, 199 Ind. 235, 246; Batchelor v. State, 189 Ind. 69, 76; Michell v. Commonwealth, 225 Ky. 83; Jackson v. Commonwealth, 215 Ky. 300; State v. Collins, 104 La. State v. Pool, 50 La. Ann. People ex rel Burgess v. R. 66 How Pr. (N. Y.) 67H; State rel Tucker v. Davis, 9 Okla. Cr. 9.; Commonwealth v. O'Keefe, 298 Pa. 169; Shaffer v. Territory, 14 Ariz. 329, 333.

It is true that great and inexcusable delay in the enforcement of our criminal law is one of the grave evils of our time. Continuances are frequently granted for unnecessarily long periods of time, and delays incident to the disposition of motions for new trial and hearings upon appeal have come in many cases to be a distinct reproach to the administration of justice.

The prompt disposition of criminal cases is to be commended and encouraged. But in reaching that result a defendant, charged with a serious crime, must not be deprived of his right to have sufficient time to advise with counsel and prepare his defense. To do that is not to proceed promptly in the calm spirit of regulated justice but to go forward with the haste of the mob.

Constitution of Alabama Cited with Relation to Case

As the court said Commonwealth v. O'Keefe, 298 Pa. 169, 173:

"It is vain to give the accused a day in court with no opportunity to prepare for it, or to guarantee him counsel without giving the latter any opportunity to acquaint himself with the facts or law of the case.

"A prompt and vigorous administration of the criminal law is commendable and we have no desire to clog the wheels of justice. What we here decide is that a force a defendant, charged with a serious misdemeanor, to trial within five hours of his arrest, is not due process of law, regardless of the merits of the case."

Compare Reliford v. State, 140 Ga. 777, 778.

Second—The Constitution of Alabama provides that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to have

stitution (Article I, the same.

And in as early charter "all criminal Privileges, cil as th there was Pennsylvania 1718 (Dall 1700-1781, in capital should be ers.

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The o Connecticut a criminal caused sh heard by but this adopted appears mon law in practi Zephant The Law necticut. John B Bk. 5, ments." 398-399.)

Right

Hurtado Case and Dissenting Opinion

... of Pennsylvania of 1776 (Article IX) had also declared to same effect.

... in the case of Pennsylvania, early as 1701, the Pennsylvania Charter (Article V) declared that criminals shall have the same privileges of Witnesses and Counsel as their prosecutors"; and there was also a provision in the Pennsylvania statute of May 31, 1781, (Dallas, laws of Pennsylvania, 1781, Volume 1, 6134), that capital cases learned counsel should be assigned to the prison-

... Delaware the Constitution of 1792 (Article XXV), adopted the common law of England, but excepted such parts as were repugnant to the rights and privileges contained in the Declaration of Rights; and the Declaration of Rights, which was adopted on Sept. 11, 1776, provided (Article XIV), "That in all prosecutions for criminal offenses, every Man hath a right * * * to be allowed Counsel * * *"

... addition, Pennsylvania's Charter already referred to, was applicable in Delaware. The original Constitution of New Jersey 1776 (Article XVI) contained a provision like that of the Pennsylvania Charter, to the effect that all criminals should be allowed to the same privileges of Counsel as their prosecutors. The original Constitution of North Carolina (1776) did not contain a guarantee, but C. 115, Par. 1, Session, North Carolina 1777 (North Carolina Revenue Laws, 1796, Volume 1, 316) provided that every person accused of any crime or misdemeanor whatsoever, shall be entitled to counsel in all matters which may be necessary for his defense, as well to facts as to

Early State Constitutions Cited on Subject

... Similarly, in South Carolina the original Constitution of 1776 did not contain the provision as to Counsel, but it was provided as early as 1731 (act of Aug. 20, 1731, XLIII, Grimke, S. Car. Pub. Laws, 1682-1790, P. 130) that every person charged with treason, murder, felony, or other capital offense should be admitted to make defense by counsel learned in law.

... Virginia there was no constitutional provision on the subject as early as August, 1734 (C. Par. III, Laws of Va., 8th Edition, II, Henings Stat. at Large, 4, p. 404), there was an act providing that in all trials for capital offenses the prisoner, upon his petition to the court, should be allowed counsel.

... The original Constitution of Connecticut (Art. I, Par. 9) contained a provision that "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall have the right to be heard by himself and by counsel;" this Constitution was not adopted until 1818. However, it appears that the English common law rule had been rejected in practice long prior to 1796. (See Hanlah Swift's "A System of the Laws of The State of Connecticut," printed at Windham by John Byrne, 1795-1796, Vol. II, 5, "Of Crimes and Punishments," C. XXIV, "Of Trials," pp. 399.)

Right to Have Counsel Recognized

... provides in explicit terms that "no person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, * * *" and said that since no part of this important amendment could be regarded as superfluous, the obvious inference is that in the sense of the Constitution due process of law was not intended to include, *ex vi termini*, the institution and procedure of a grand jury in any case; and that the same phrase, employed in the Fourteenth Amendment to restrain the action of the States, was to be interpreted as having been used in the same sense and with no greater extent; and that if it had been the purpose of that amendment to perpetuate the institution of the grand jury in the States, it would have embodied, as did the Fifth Amendment, an express declaration to that effect.

... The Sixth Amendment, in terms, provides that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right "to have the assistance of counsel for his defense." In the face of the reasoning of the *Hurtado* case, if it stood alone, it would be difficult to justify the conclusion that the right to counsel, being thus specifically granted by the Sixth Amendment, was also within the intendment of the due process of law clause.

... But the *Hurtado* case does not stand alone. In the later case of *Chicago, Burlington, &c., R'd v. Chicago*, 166 U.S. 226, 241, this court held that a judgment of a State court even though authorized by statute, by which private property was taken for public use without just compensation, was in violation of the due process of law required by the Fourteenth Amendment, notwithstanding that the Fifth Amendment explicitly declares that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation. This holding was followed in *Norwood v. Baker*, 172 U.S. 269, 277; *Smyth vs. Ames*, 169 U.S. 463, 524; and *San Diego Land Company v. National City*, 174 U.S. 739, 754.

Exceptions Are Found To Hurtado Ruling

... Likewise, this court has considered that freedom of speech and of the press are rights protected by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, although in the First Amendment Congress is prohibited in specific terms from abridging the rights. *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U.S. 652, 666; *Stromberg v. California*, 283 U.S. 368; *Near v. Minnesota*, 283 U.S. 697, 707.

... These later cases establish that notwithstanding the sweeping character of the language in the *Hurtado* case, the rule laid down is not without exceptions. The rule is an aid to construction and in some instances may be conclusive; but it must yield to more compelling considerations whenever such considerations exist. The fact that the right involved is of such a character that it cannot be denied without violating those "fundamental principles of liberty and justice which lie at the base of all our civil and political institutions" (*Herbert v. Louisiana*, 272 U.S. 312, 316), is obviously one of those compelling considerations which must prevail in determining whether it is embraced within the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, although specifically dealt with as a part of the Federal

... the danger of conviction because he does not know how to establish his innocence.

... If that be true of men of intelligence, how much more true is it of the ignorant and illiterate, or those of feeble intellect. If in any case, civil or criminal, a State or Federal court were arbitrarily to refuse to hear a party by counsel employed by and appearing for him, it reasonably may not be doubted that such a refusal would be a denial of a hearing, and, therefore, of due process in the constitutional sense.

... The decisions all point to that conclusion. In the *Cooke v. United States*, 267 U.S. 537, it was held that where a contempt was not in open court, due process of law required charges and a reasonable opportunity to defend or explain. The court added, "We think this includes the assistance of counsel, if requested * * *"

... In numerous other cases the court, in determining that due process was accorded, has frequently stressed the fact that the defendant had the aid of counsel. So, for example, *Felts v. Murphy*, 201 U.S. 123, 129; *Frank v. Mangum*, 236 U.S. 309, 344; *Kelley v. Oregon*, 273 U.S. 579, 591.

Judge Ordered Counsel in Deportation Case

... In *ex parte Hidekuni Iwata*, 219 Fed. 610, 611, the Federal district judge enumerated among the elements necessary to due process of law in a deportation case the opportunity at some stage of the hearing to secure and have the advice and assistance of counsel.

... In *ex parte Chin Loy You*, 223 Fed. 833, also a deportation case, the district judge held that under the particular circumstances of the case the prisoner, having seasonably made demand, was entitled to confer with and have the aid of counsel. Pointing to the fact that the right to counsel as secured by the Sixth Amendment relates only to criminal prosecutions, the judge said " * * * but it is equally true that that provision was inserted in the Constitution because the assistance of counsel was recognized as essential to any fair trial of a case against a prisoner."

... In *ex parte Riggins*, 134 Fed. 404, 418, a case involving the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the court said, by way of illustration, that if the State should deprive a person of the benefit of counsel, it would not be due process of law.

... Judge Cooley refers to the right of a person accused of crime to have counsel as perhaps his most important privilege and, after discussing the development of the English law upon the subject, says: "With us it is a universal principle of constitutional law that the prisoner shall be allowed a defense by counsel." In Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations* (eighth edition) 700, the same author, as appears from a chapter which he added to his edition of *Story on the Constitution*, regarded the right of the accused to the presence of advice and assistance of counsel as necessarily included in due process of law. 2 *Story on the Constitution* (fourth edition), Section 149, page 668.

... The decisions which refer to the right of counsel as

Cites State Decisions on Assignment of Counsel

... Let us suppose the extreme case of a prisoner charged with a capital offense, who is deaf and dumb, illiterate and feeble-minded, unable to employ counsel, with the whole power of the State arrayed against him, prosecuted by counsel for the State without assignment of counsel for his defense, tried, convicted and sentenced to death.

... Such a result, which, if carried into execution, would be little short of judicial murder, it cannot be doubted would be a gross violation of the guarantee of due process of law; and we venture to think that no Appellate Court, State or Federal, would hesitate so to decide. See *Stephenson v. State*, 4 O. App. 128; *Williams v. State*, 163 Ark. 623, 628; *Grogan v. Commonwealth*, 222 Ky. 484, 485; *Mullen v. State*, 28 Okla. Cr. 218, 230; *Williams v. Commonwealth*, (Ky.), 110 S. W. 339, 340.

... The duty of the trial court to appoint counsel under such circumstances is clear, as it is clear under circumstances such as are disclosed by the record here; and its power to do so, even in the absence of a statute, cannot be questioned. Attorneys are officers of the court, and are bound to render service when required by such an appointment. See *Cooley, Constitutional Limitations*, supra, 700 and note.

... The United States by statute and every State in the Union by express provision of law, or by the determination of its courts, make it the duty of the trial judge, where the accused is unable to employ counsel, to appoint counsel for him. In most States the rule applies broadly to all criminal prosecutions, in others it is limited to the more serious crimes, and in a very limited number of capital cases. A rule adopted with such unanimous accord reflects, if it does not establish, the inherent right to have counsel appointed at least in cases like the present, and lends convincing support to the conclusion we have reached as to the fundamental nature of that right.

... The judgments must be reversed and the causes remanded for further proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion.

Judgments reversed.

Justice Butler Dissents

Justice Butler's dissenting opinion read:

... The court putting aside— are uttered without merit— other claims that the constitutional rights of petitioners infringed, grounds its opinion judgment upon a single aspect of fact. It is that petitioners were denied the right of counsel with the accustomed incident of consultation and opportunity for preparation for trial." If true, they were denied due process of law and are entitled to have the judgments against them reversed.

... But no such denial is shown by the record.

... Nine defendants, including one person, were accused in the indictment and he was separately indicted.

...which we shall con-
the second, in respect of the de-
nial of counsel; and it becomes
unnecessary to discuss the facts
of the case or the circumstances
surrounding the prosecution ex-
cept in so far as they reflect
light upon that question.

White Boys Thrown From Train in Fight

The record shows that on the day when the offense is said to have been committed, these defendants, together with a number of other Negroes, were upon a freight train on its way through Alabama. On the same train were seven white boys and the two white girls. A fight took place between the Negroes and the white boys, in the course of which the white boys, with the exception of one named Gilley, were thrown off the train.

A message was sent ahead, reporting the fight, and asking that every Negro be gotten off the train. The participants in the fight, and the two girls, were in an open gondola car. The two girls testified that each of them was assaulted by six different Negroes in turn, and they identified the seven defendants as having been among the number. None of the white boys was called to testify, with the exception of Gilley, who was called in rebuttal.

Before the train reached Scottsboro, Ala., a Sheriff's posse seized the defendants and two other Negroes. Both girls and the Negroes then were taken to Scottsboro, the county seat. Word of their coming had preceded them, and they were met at Scottsboro by a large crowd. It does not sufficiently appear that the defendants were seriously threatened with, or that they were actually in danger of, mob violence; but it does appear that the attitude of the community was one of great hostility.

The Sheriff thought it necessary to call for the militia to assist in safeguarding the prisoners. Chief Justice Anderson pointed out in his opinion that every step taken from the arrest and arraignment to the sentence was accompanied by the military.

Soldiers Kept in Charge of Prisoners Continually

Soldiers took the defendants to Gadsden for safekeeping, brought them back to Scottsboro for arraignment, returned them to Gadsden for safekeeping while awaiting trial a few days later, and guarded the court house and grounds at every stage of the proceedings. It is perfectly apparent that the proceedings, from beginning to end, took place in an atmosphere of tense, hostile and excited public sentiment.

During the entire time the defendants were closely confined or were under military guard. The record does not disclose their ages, except that one of them was 13 and another only 14 or 15 years of age; but the record clearly indicates that most, if not all, of them were youthful, and they are constantly referred to as "the boys." They were ignorant and illiterate. All of them were residents of other States, where alone members of their families resided.

However guilty defendants upon due inquiry might prove to

...named
"The Court you appear for these... then I will not appoint; if local counsel is to appear and assist... the circumstances... but I will not appoint."
"Mr. Roddy Honor has appointed... that correct?"
"The Court pointed all the members of the bar for the purpose of... the defendants and of course, I anticipated... continue to... if no counsel appear."
"Mr. Roddy, I don't appear as... I do want to stay in... ruled out in this case."
"The Court course, I would not do."
"Mr. Roddy appear here through... of your Honor."
"The Court course, I give you that right."
And then... addressing all the... present, the court inquir-
"... we'll you all willing to assist?"
"Mr. Moody Honor appointed us... we have been proceeding... every line we know... abouder your Honor's appoint-"
"The Court the only thing I am trying to... if counsel appears for... defendants I don't want... on you all, but if you... the counsel from Chattanooga."
"Mr. Moody see his situation, of... and I have not run out of... yet. Of course, if... Honor purposes to appoint... Mr. Parks, I am willing to... with it. Most of the... have been down and conferred... these defendants in this... case they did not know what else to..."
"The Court the thing I did not want... those on the members of the... if counsel unqualifiedly... bars: if you all feel like... Moody is only interested in... mited way to assist, then... I n't care to appoint."
"Mr. Par... Your Honor, I don't feel... you ought to impose on... a member of the local bar if the... defendants are represented by..."
Tennessee... Requests
To Be... of Case
"The Court... that is what I was trying to... do, Mr. Parks."
"Mr. Par... of course, if they have counsel... don't see the necessity of... court appointing anybody;... haven't counsel, of course, I... it is up to the court to appoint counsel to represent them."
"The Court... I think you are right about... Mr. Parks, and that is the... I was trying to get an... from Mr. Roddy."
"Mr. Roddy... think Mr. Parks is entirely... about it; if I was paid down... and employed, it would be... thing, but I have not... this case for trial and... been called in-... are interested in these... Chattanooga."
"Now, the... not given me an opport... prepare the case and... familiar with the proced-"
Alabama, but I

...that this action of the...
...in respect of appointment
...counsel was little more than an
...expansive gesture, imposing no
...substantial or definite obligation
...upon any one, is borne out by the
...fact that prior to the calling of
...the case for trial on April 6, a
...leading member of the local bar
...accepted employment on the side
...of the prosecution and actively
...participated in the trial.

It is true that he said that before doing so he had understood Mr. Roddy would be employed as counsel for the defendants. This the lawyer in question, of his own accord, frankly stated to the court; and no doubt he acted with the utmost good faith. Probably other members of the bar had a like understanding.

In any event, the circumstance lends emphasis to the conclusion that during perhaps the most critical period of the proceedings against these defendants, that is to say, from the time of their arraignment until the beginning of their trial, when consultation, thoroughgoing investigation and preparation were vitally important, the defendants did not have the aid of counsel in any real sense, although they were as much entitled to such aid during that period as at the trial itself. (People ex rel. Burgess v. Risley, 66 Howe Pr. (N. Y.) 67; Batchelor v. State, 189, Ind. 69, 78.)

Proper Representation Declared Not Accorded

Nor do we think the situation was helped by what occurred on the morning of the trial. At that time, as appears from the colloquy printed above, Mr. Roddy stated to the court that he did not appear as counsel, but that he would like to appear along with counsel that the court might appoint; that he had not been given an opportunity to prepare the case; that he was not familiar with the procedure in Alabama, but merely came down as a friend of the people who were interested; that he thought the boys would be better off if he should step entirely out of the case.

Mr. Moody, a member of the local bar, expressed a willingness to help Mr. Roddy in anything he could do under the circumstances. To this the court responded, "All right, all the lawyers that will; of course, I would not require a lawyer to appear if —"

And Mr. Moody continued, "I am willing to do that for him, as a member of the bar; I will go ahead and help do anything I can do."

With this dubious understanding the trials immediately proceeded. The defendants, young, ignorant, illiterate, surrounded by hostile sentiment, haled back and forth under guard of soldiers, charged with an atrocious crime, regarded with especial horror in the community where they were to be tried, were thus put in peril of their lives within a few moments after counsel for the first time charged with any degree of responsibility began to represent them.

It is not enough to assume that counsel thus precipitated into the case thought there was no defense and exercised their best judgment in proceeding to trial without preparation. Neither they nor the court could say what a prompt and thoroughgoing investigation might disclose as to the facts. No attempt was made to investigate.

...The question, however,
...is our duty, and within
...to decide, is whether
...of the assistance of
...travenes the due process
...of the Fourteenth Amend-
...Federal Constitution.

If recognition of the... of a defendant charged with... felony to have the aid of... depended upon the existence of a similar right at common... as it existed in England when... Constitution was adopted, there would be great difficulty in main-... it as necessary to due process.

Right to Have Counsel Traced Back to Blackstone

Originally, in England, a person charged with treason or felony was denied the aid of counsel, except in respect of legal questions which the accused himself might suggest. At the same time parties in civil cases and persons accused of misdemeanors were entitled to the full assistance of counsel. After the revolution of 1688, the rule was abolished as to treason, but was otherwise steadily adhered to until 1836, when by act of Parliament the full right was granted in respect of felonies generally. 1 Cooley's Constitutional Limitations (8th Ed.), 693, et seq. and notes.

An Affirmation of the Right to the Aid of Counsel in Petty Offenses, and its Denial in the Case of Crimes of the Gravest Character, where such Aid is Most Needed, is so Outrageous and so Obviously a Perversion of all Sense of Proportion that the Rule was Constantly, Vigorously and Some times Passionately Assailed by English Statesmen and Lawyers.

As early as 1758, Blackstone, although recognizing that the rule was settled at common law, denounced it as not in keeping with the rest of the humane treatment of prisoners by the English law. "For upon what face of reason," he says, "can that assistance be denied to save the life of a man, which yet is allowed him in prosecutions for every petty trespass?" (4 Blackstone 355).

One of the grounds upon which Lord Coke defended the rule was that in felonies the court itself was counsel for the prisoner. (1 Cooley's Constitutional Limitations Supra). But how can a judge, whose functions are purely judicial, affectively discharge the obligations of counsel for the accused? He can and should see to it that in the proceedings before the court the accused shall be dealt with justly and fairly. He cannot investigate the facts, advise and direct the defense, or participate in those necessary conferences between counsel and accused which sometimes partake of the inviolable character of the confessional.

Colonial Authorities Are Cited by Court

The rule was rejected by the Colonies. Before the adoption of the Federal Constitution the Constitution of Maryland had declared "that, in all criminal prosecutions, every man hath a right... to be allowed counsel;..." (Article XIX Constitution of 1776). The Constitution of Massachusetts, adopted in 1780 (Part The First Article XII), the Constitution of New Hampshire, adopted in 1794 (Part I, Article XV), the Constitution of New York of 1777 (Article XXXIV), and the Con-

...court or
...self or
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...are unab-
...The fi-
...by Rhod-
...this Con-
...usual gu-
...assistan-
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Moore, 165 Ga. 460.
State v. Moore, 61 Kan. 732.
State v. Ferris, 16 La. Ann.
State v. Simpson, 38 La. Ann.
State v. Briggs, 58 W.Va.

that... probably...
in a... trial to ascertain...
guilt... innocence of many...
accused.

Wems and Norris were tried
first. Patterson was tried next on
the separate indictment. Then
five were tried. These eight
were found guilty. The other de-
fendant, Roy Wright, was tried
last, and acquitted. The con-
victed defendants took the three
cases to the State Supreme Court
where the judgment as to Wil-
liams was reversed and those
against the seven petitioners were
affirmed.

De... in... Negroes Stood in Deadly Peril

In the light of the fact outlined
in the foregoing part of this opinion—
the ignorance and illiteracy of the
defendants, their youth, the cir-
cumstances of public hostility, the
imprisonment and the close sur-
veillance of the defendants by the
military forces, the fact that their
families and friends were all in
other States and communication
with them necessarily difficult, and
above all, that they stood in dead-
ly peril of their lives—we think the
failure of the trial court to give
them reasonable time and oppor-
tunity to secure counsel was a
clear denial of due process.

But their passing that, and assuming
their inability, even if opportunity
should be given, to employ coun-
sel, as the trial court evidently did
under, we are of opinion that,
under the circumstances just stat-
ed, the necessity of counsel was
so vital and imperative that the
failure of the trial court to make
an effective appointment of coun-
sel was likewise a denial of due
process within the meaning of the
Fourteenth Amendment.

Whether this would be so in oth-
er criminal prosecutions, or under
other circumstances, we need not
determine. All that it is necessary
to decide, as we do decide, is
that in a capital case, where the
defendant is unable to employ
counsel and is incapable ade-
quately of making his own defense
because of ignorance, feeblemind-
edness, illiteracy, or the like, it is
the duty of the court, whether re-
quested or not, to assign counsel
of due process of law; and that
signature not discharged by an as-
such at such a time or under
the given circumstances as to preclude
preparation of effective aid in the
prosecution and trial of the case.

To ignore the fundamental postulate,
already adverted to, "that there
are certain immutable principles
of justice which inhere in the very
membership of government, which no
State or the Union may disre-
gard." In *Holden vs. Hardy*, supra,
may be such as this, whatever
right he rule in other cases, the
when have counsel appointed,
lary necessary, is a logical corol-
to be the constitutional right
Carper and Sprague vs. Dane
County, 9 Wis. 274; *County of
Dane vs. The State*, 130 Ind.
265, 2 vs. *The State*, 130 Ind.
Fla. 21, 3; *Cutts vs. State*, 54
76 Cal. *People vs. Goldenson*,
State, 99, 344; *Delk vs. The
State*, 99, 667, 669-670.

In *Henx v. The State*, supra,
there was a statute authorizing
the assignment of an attorney to
defendant of an attorney to
of crime, diligent person accused
such an assignment was necessary
to accomplish the ends of public
justice, and that the court pos-
sessed the inherent power to make

"When a prisoner," the court
said (P. 10), "without legal know-
ledge, is confined in jail, absent
from his family and friends, and
of legal aids, without the aid
of investigation or the means of in-
vestigation, it is impossible to
fair trial charge against him,
fair trial to conceive of a
conduct where he is compelled to
pre he is compelled to
cause in court, without
the aid of counsel. * * * Such a
trial is an ex parte proceeding."

There were three painstaking
opinions, a different justice writ-
ing for the court in each case.
(224 Ala. 524, 532, 540.) Many of
the numerous questions decided
were raised at the trial and re-
flect upon defendants' counsel
much credit for zeal and diligence
on behalf of their clients.

Seven justices heard the cases.
The Chief Justice, alone dissent-
ing, did not find any contention
for the accused sufficient in it-
self to warrant a reversal, but
alluded to a number of considera-
tions which he deemed sufficient
when taken together to warrant
the conclusion that the defend-
ants did not have a fair trial.

Declares that Defendants Were Aply Represented

The court said (p. 553): "We
think it a bit inaccurate to say
Mr. Roddy appeared only as ami-
cus curiae. (This refers to a re-
mark in the dissenting opinion.)
He expressly announced he was
there from the beginning at the
instance of friends of the accused;
but not being paid counsel, asked
to appear not as employed coun-
sel, but to aid local counsel ap-
pointed by the court, and was per-
mitted so to appear.

"The defendants were repre-
sented as shown by the record and
pursuant to appointment of the
court by Hon. Milo Moody, an
able member of the local bar of
long and successful experience
in the trial of criminal as well as
civil cases. We do not regard the
representation of the accused by
counsel as pro forma.

"A very rigorous and rigid
cross-examination was made of
the State's witnesses, the alleged
victims of rape, especially in the
cases first tried. A reading of the
records discloses why experienced
counsel would not travel over all
the same ground in each case."

The informality disclosed by the
colloquy between court and coun-
sel, which is quoted in the opinion
of this court and so heavily leaned
on, is not entitled to any weight.
It must be inferred from the rec-
ord that Mr. Roddy at all times
was in touch with the defend-
ants and the people who procured
him to act for them. Mr. Moody
and others of the local bar also
acted for defendants at the time
of the first arraignment and, as
appears from the part of the rec-
ord that is quoted in the opinion,
thereafter proceeded in the dis-
charge of their duty including
conferences with the defendants.

There is not the slightest ground
to suppose that Roddy or Moody
were by fear or in any manner
restrained from full performance
of their duty. Indeed it appears
that the State, by proper and
adequate show of its purpose and
power to preserve order, furnish-
ed adequate protection to them
and the defendants.

Holds Three Defendants Testified Against Others

When the first case was called

Continued on Next Page

be observed...
Twining v. New Jersey,
78, 99, where Mr. Justice
speaking for the court, said
" * * * it is possible that some of
the personal rights safeguarded by
the first eight amendments against
national action may also be safe-
guarded against State action, be-
cause a denial of them would be a
denial of due process of law. Chi-
cago, Burlington & Quincy Rail-
road v. Chicago, 166 U.S. 226. If
this is so, it is not because those
rights are enumerated in the first
eight amendments, but because
they are of such a nature that
they are included in the conception
of due process of law."

While the question has never
been categorically determined by
this court, a consideration of the
nature of the right and a review
of the expressions of this and oth-
er courts, makes it clear that the
right to the aid of counsel is of
this fundamental character.

It never has been doubted by
this court, or any other so far as
we know, that notice and hearing
are preliminary steps essential to
the passing of an enforceable judg-
ment, and that they, together with
a legally competent tribunal hav-
ing jurisdiction of the case, con-
stitute basic elements of the con-
stitutional requirement of due pro-
cess of law. The words of Webster,
so often quoted, that by "the law
of the land" is intended "a law
which hears before it condemns,"
have been repeated in varying
forms of expression in a multitude
of decisions. In *Holden v. Hardy*,
169 U.S. 366, 389, the necessity of
due notice and an opportunity of
being heard is described as among
the "immutable principles of jus-
tice which inhere in the very idea
of free government which no mem-
ber of the Union may disregard."

And Mr. Justice Field, in an ear-
lier case, *Galpin v. Page*, 18 Wall
350, 368-369, said that the rule
that no one shall be personally
bound until he has had his day in
court was as old as the law, and it
meant that he must be cited to ap-
pear and afforded an opportunity
to be heard. "Judgment without
such citation and opportunity
wants all the attributes of a judi-
cial determination; it is judicial
usurpation and oppression, and
never can be upheld where jus-
tice is justly administered." Cita-
tions to the same effect might be
indefinitely multiplied, but there
is no occasion for doing so.

Court Holds Layman Must Have Counsel

What, then, does a hearing in-
clude? Historically and in prac-
tice, in our country at least, it has
always included the right to the
aid of counsel when desired and
provided by the party asserting the
right. The right to be heard would
be, in many cases, of little avail
if it did not comprehend the right
to be heard by counsel.

Even the intelligent and edu-
cated layman has small and some-
times no skill in the science of
law. If charged with crime, he is
incapable, generally, of determin-
ing for himself whether the in-
dictment is good or bad. He is
unfamiliar with the rules of evi-
dence. Left without the aid of
counsel he may be put on trial
without a proper charge and con-
victed upon incompetent evidence,
or evidence irrelevant to the issue
or otherwise inadmissible. He
lacks both the skill and knowledge
adequately to prepare his defense,
even though he have a perfect one.
He requires the guiding hand of
counsel at every step in the pro-
ceedings against him. Without it,
though he be not guilty, he faces

person shall be
advocating or de-
fending his cause before any
court or tribunal, either by him-
self or counsel, or both." What
the practice was prior to 1798 we
are unable to discover.

The first Constitution adopted
by Rhode Island was in 1842, and
this Constitution contained the
usual guarantee in respect of the
assistance of counsel in criminal
prosecutions. As early as 1798 it
was provided by statute, in the
very language of the Sixth Amend-
ment to the Federal Constitution,
that "in all criminal prosecutions
the accused shall enjoy the right
* * * to have the assistance of
counsel for his defense: * * *"
An act Declaratory of certain Rights
of the People of this State, Sec.
6, Rev. Pub. Laws, Rhode Island
and Providence Plantations, 1798.

Furthermore, while the statute
itself is not available, it is re-
corded as a matter of history that
in 1668 or 1669 the Colonial As-
sembly enacted that any person
who was indicted might employ
an attorney to plead in his behalf.
(1 Arnold, history of Rhode Is-
land, 336.)

It thus appears that in at least
twelve of the thirteen Colonies
the rule of the English common
law, in the respect now under con-
sideration, had been definitely re-
jected and the right to counsel
fully recognized in all criminal
prosecutions, save that in one or
two instances the right was lim-
ited to capital offenses or to the
more serious crimes; and this
court seems to have been of the
opinion that this was true in all
the Colonies. In *Holden v. Har-
dy*, 169 U.S. 366, 386, Mr. Justice
Brown, writing for the court, said:

"The earlier practice of the com-
mon law, which denied the bene-
fit of witnesses to a person ac-
cused of felony, had been abol-
ished by statute, though so far as
it deprived him of the assistance
of counsel and compulsory pro-
cess for the attendance of his wit-
nesses, it had not been changed
in England. But to the credit
of her American Colonies, let it
be said that so oppressive a doc-
trine had never obtained a foot-
hold there."

One test which has been ap-
plied to determine whether due
process of law has been accorded
in given instances is to ascertain
what were the settled usages and
modes of proceeding under the
common and statute law of Eng-
land before the Declaration of In-
dependence, subject, however, to
the qualification that they be
shown not to have been unsuited
to the civil and political condi-
tions of our ancestors by having
been followed in this country after
it became a nation. (*Lowe v. Kan-
sas*, 163 U.S. 81, 85.) Com-
pare *Murray's Lessee et al v. Ho-
boken Land and Improvement
Company*, 18 How., 272, 276-277;
Twining v. New Jersey, 211 U.S.
78, 100-101. Plainly, as appears
from the foregoing, this test, as
thus qualified, has not been met
in the present case.

Cites California Case Previously Decided

We do not overlook the case of
Hurtado vs. California, 110 U. S.
516, where this court determined
that due process of law does not
require an indictment by a grand
jury as a prerequisite to prose-
cution by a State for murder.

In support of that conclusion
the court (pp. 534-535) referred
to the fact that the Fifth Amend-
ment in addition to containing
the due process of law clause, pro-

ELECTION OF CLERK IS CALLED ILLEGAL

**Colmar Manor Town Office
Declared Vacant—Mayor
and Council Installed.**

By a Staff Correspondent of The Star.

COLMAR MANOR, Md., July 15.—Announcement that E. Charvoz, who polled 332 votes to 160 received by V. E. Barry for the office of town clerk at the recent local elections, had been found to be ineligible for the office was made at the organization of the new mayor and council Saturday night in the Wilson Avenue Baptist Church by Joseph Moran, chairman of the board of election supervisors.

No Real Estate Equity.

Although Mr. Moran made no official explanation, merely stating there was some "irregularity" in the election, it is said the charge of ineligibility is based on the fact that Charvoz did not have equity in real estate in the town. As Barry also failed to meet this requirement Moran also declared his election "irregular" and pronounced the office of town clerk vacant. It will be filled by appointment and Burt M. Bromley, the newly elected mayor, announced that Charvoz's alleged ineligibility would be investigated, and if found true the council would "bow to the law."

Bromley immediately appointed Charvoz clerk pro tempore, however, for the meeting, at which two important committees were appointed. They were a committee on street lighting, comprising Councilmen E. R. Beckwith, George W. Cox and John N. Toverstad, and a streets and sidewalks committee, with Councilmen Cox, Beckwith and R. V. Yost as members. Cox is chairman of both committees.

The rules of order, procedure to be followed by the mayor and council and their order of business was fixed at the meeting. The latter will be posted in the town and call for the consideration of complaints and suggestions of citizens at the conclusion of all regular sessions of the town governing body.

Meeting Day Fixed.

It voted to hold regular meetings the first Tuesday in each month at "the most suitable place available."

Former Mayor John S. White, who was not a candidate for re-election, but who indorsed the candidacy of J. Ridgley Shields, whom Bromley defeated, called the meeting to order and explained that the purpose of the gathering was to induct the new mayor into office with as much formality as possible. He urged all residents of the town to support the new administration, spoke in favor of a representative citizens' association to assist the council in working for the betterment of the town and warned against haste in undertaking a program of street paving before the town is financially able to afford it.

The new mayor and council will hold a special meeting tomorrow night to complete their organization.

AGENT REVIVES MEMORY TOO LATE; MAN RELEASED

**Sharpsburg Man Dismissed Second
Time on Liquor Charge by
Hagerstown Judge.**

COLORED RESIDENTS DRIVEN FROM TOWN

**Clash With Whites at Prin-
cess Anne, Md., Followed
by Banishment.**

By the Associated Press.

PRINCESS ANNE, Md., July 15.—Colored people were a minus quantity here yesterday, following a clash with whites Saturday night, during which the former were driven from the town with clubs, guns, billiard cues, bricks and other weapons, following a fight between a colored and a white man.

The trouble was precipitated after the fight, when an ultimatum was delivered to colored persons that they keep to one side of the main street. During sporadic outbursts, in which missiles were thrown from one side of the street to the other, a white girl was struck by a bottle said to have been thrown by a colored person.

It was then that about 200 colored people were driven from the streets and State police sent here to patrol the streets after a call from the local police force.

Whites have announced their intention of enforcing their demand that the colored people cease congregating on the streets on Saturday night.

HOLDS BALLOU'S POST.

**Wilmarth Acting Superintendent of
Schools for Two Weeks.**

Maj. R. O. Wilmarth, assistant superintendent in charge of business affairs, today assumed the position of acting superintendent of schools for a two-week period. Maj. Wilmarth succeeds Robert L. Haycock, assistant superintendent in charge of elementary schools, as acting head of the system during the absence of Dr. Frank W. Ballou, superintendent, who is spending his vacation at Belgrade Lakes, Me.

J. J. Crane, first assistant superintendent in charge of buildings and grounds, probably will be the next school officer to substitute for the superintendent.

COLONEL TO BE RETIRED.

**Ex-Chief of Infantry R. H. Allen
Ends Active Service Sept. 7.**

Col. Robert H. Allen, former chief of Infantry, will be transferred to the retired list September 7, on his own application, after more than 36 years' active service; Lieut. Col. David H. Bower, War Department general staff, will be similarly retired December 12 after more than 31 years' service; Maj. William W. Erwin, Calvary, under treatment at Walter Reed General Hospital, has been ordered to examination for retirement; Maj. C. Bowman, Medical Corps, at El Paso, Tex., has been ordered to Walter Reed General Hospital for treatment; Capt. Robert M. Butler, Medical Corps, at Fort George G. Meade, Md., has been ordered to his home to await retirement; Capt. Lee L. Gocker, Cavalry, has been ordered from this city to Fort Meade, S. Dak., for duty.