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*When You Pray,
Move Your Feet.
-- African Proverb.*



"When You Pray, Move Your Feet,"
Charles White(?), photographer, Selma, Alabama, March 7, 1965.
photo courtesy of Representative John Lewis

John Lewis (on right in trench coat) and Hosea Williams (on the left) lead marchers across the Edmund Pettus Bridge.

On Sunday **March 7**, 1965, about 525 people began a fifty-four mile march from [Selma](#), Alabama to the state capitol in Montgomery. They were demonstrating for African American voting rights and to commemorate the death of Jimmie Lee Jackson, shot three weeks earlier by an state trooper while trying to protect his mother at a civil rights demonstration. On the outskirts of Selma, after they crossed the Edmund Pettus Bridge, the marchers, in plain sight of photographers and journalists, were brutally assaulted by heavily armed state troopers and deputies.

One hundred years after the [Civil War](#), in many parts of the nation, the 15th Amendment had been nullified by discriminatory [laws](#), ordinances, intimidation, violence, and fear which kept a majority of African Americans from the [polls](#). The situation was particularly egregious in the city of Selma, in Dallas County, [Alabama](#), where African Americans made up more than half the population yet comprised only about 2 percent of the registered voters. As far back as 1896, when the U.S. House of Representatives adjudicated the contested results of a congressional election held in Dallas County, it was stated on the floor of Congress:

...I need only appeal to the memory of members who have served in this House for years and who have witnessed the contests that time and time again have come up from the black belt of Alabama—since 1880 there has not been an honest election in the county of Dallas...

Hon. W. H. Moody, of Massachusetts

[Contested Election Case, Aldrich vs. Robbins, Fourth District, Alabama: Speeches of Hon. W.H. Moody, of Massachusetts \[et al.\] in the House of Representatives](#), p. 3 (2239)

March 12 and 13, 1896.

[From Slavery to Freedom, 1824-1909](#)

However, by March 1965, the Dallas County Voters League, the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) were all working for voting rights in Alabama. John Lewis headed SNCC's voter registration effort and, on **March 7**, he and fellow activist Hosea Williams led the group of silent marchers from the Brown Chapel AME Church to the foot of the Pettus bridge and into the event soon known as "Bloody Sunday."



[Alabama Police Attack Selma-to-Montgomery Marchers](#),

Federal Bureau of Investigation photograph
Selma, Alabama, March 7, 1965.

["We Shall Overcome": Historic Places of the Civil Rights Movement](#)

When ABC television interrupted a Nazi war crimes documentary, *Judgement in Nuremberg*, to show footage of violence in Selma a powerful metaphor was presented to the nation. Within forty-eight hours, demonstrations in support of the marchers were held in eighty cities and thousands of religious and lay leaders, including [Dr. Martin Luther King](#), flew to Selma. On March 9, Dr. King led a group again to the Pettus Bridge where they knelt, prayed, and, to the consternation of some, returned to Brown Chapel. That night a Northern minister, who was in Selma to march, was killed by white vigilantes.

Outraged citizens continued to inundate the White House and the Congress with letters and phone calls. On March 9, for example, [Jackie Robinson](#), the [baseball hero](#), sent a [telegram](#) to the President:

"IMPORTANT YOU TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION IN ALABAMA ONE MORE DAY OF SAVAGE TREATMENT BY LEGALIZED HATCHET MEN COULD LEAD TO OPEN WARFARE BY AROUSED NEGROES AMERICA CANNOT AFFORD THIS IN 1965"

In Montgomery, Federal Judge Frank Johnson, Jr. temporarily restrained all parties in order to review the case. And, [President Lyndon Johnson](#) addressed the American people before a televised Joint Session of Congress, saying, "There is no issue of States rights or national rights. There is only the struggle for human rights...We have already waited a hundred years and more, and the time for waiting is gone..."



[Rev. Ralph Abernathy walking with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as They Lead Civil Rights Marchers out of Camp to Resume Their March](#)

United Press International
Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, March 21-25, 1965.
New York World-Telegram & Sun Collection,
[Prints and Photographs Division](#)

Allowing CBS footage of "Bloody Sunday" as evidence in [court](#), Judge Johnson ruled on March 17, that the demonstrators be permitted to march. Under protection of a federalized National Guard, voting rights advocates left Selma on March 21 and stood 25,000 strong on March 25 before the [state capitol](#) in Montgomery. As a direct

consequence of these events, the U.S. Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, guaranteeing every American twenty-one and over the right to register to vote. During the next four years the number of U.S. blacks eligible to vote rose from 23 to 61 percent.

John Lewis went on to serve as Director of the Voter Education Project, a program which eventually added nearly four million minorities to the voter rolls. To mark the thirty-fifth anniversary of "Bloody Sunday," on **March 7, 2000**, Lewis, a U.S. [Congressman from Atlanta's 5th District](#), and Hosea Williams crossed the Pettus Bridge accompanied by [President William Clinton](#), Coretta Scott King, and others. Asked to contrast this experience with that of 1965 the Congressman responded, "This time when I looked there were women's faces and there were black faces among the troopers. And this time when we faced them, they saluted."

- [American Treasures](#) is an exhibition of special items in the Library of Congress collections. The exhibition is divided into four sections: [Top Treasures](#), [Memory](#), [Imagination](#), and [Reason](#). The latter includes [images](#) taken about 1963 by Danny Lyon, staff photographer for SNCC, a key organizing body during the Civil Rights Movement.
- [Search](#) on the term *Selma, Alabama* in the [black and white photos](#) of the Farm Services Administration collection, [FSA/OWI Photographs, 1935-1945](#) to see images of the city taken during the 1930s by the photographer [Walker Evans](#). Search on *Alabama* to see images taken by the FSA photographers [Dorothea Lange](#), [Arthur Rothstein](#), [Marion Post Wolcott](#), and [Carl Mydans](#).
- The [Great Migration](#) made northerners more aware of disenfranchisement in the Deep South and newspapers like [The Gazette](#) and [The Advocate](#) fostered awareness within the black community. Search on the term *vote* in [African-American Experience in Ohio, 1850-1920](#) to view about 100 items that address the issue. See, for example, the 1887 article "[Negro Voting Power](#)" and the 1888 article "[First Colored Voter](#)." The poet [Paul Lawrence Dunbar](#) mentions Alabama disenfranchisement in his article "[Paul Dunbar's Protest](#)."
- Music drawn from a tradition of Southern spirituals helped sustain the Civil Rights Movement. [Search](#) on the term *spiritual* in the [John Lomax](#) and [Ruby Terrel Lomax](#) collection [Southern Mosaic](#) to hear some of the tunes which comprise that tradition. Listen, for example, to versions of "[This Little Light of Mine](#)," "[Long Way to Travel](#)," and "[Great Day](#)" as they were rendered in the South back in 1939.
- [Images of 20th Century African American Activists: A Select List](#) presents frequently requested images from the [Prints and Photographs Division](#) of the Library. Except where otherwise noted in the "Reproduction Number" line, images are considered to be in the public domain. The selection includes images of Martin Luther King, John Lewis, and Ralph Abernathy.
- Search the [Today In History Archive](#) on the term *states rights* to learn more about an issue which lay at the heart of the American system. Ironically, on [March 7, 1850](#), (exactly 115 years before "Bloody Sunday") Daniel Webster gave his famous "[Seventh of March speech](#)" in favor of the Compromise of 1850, which, while it postponed the [Civil War](#), strengthened states' rights at the cost of African-American freedom. Search on the term *Alabama* to learn more about events in the state, such as the [arrest of Rosa Parks](#).
- With the exception of [Concord Bridge](#), where the [American Revolution began](#), no bridge in America marks an event as historically momentous as that marked by the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Nevertheless, search across the [Photos and Prints](#) section of [American Memory](#) on the term *bridge* to see a wide array of other bridges. See, for example, [Burnside's Bridge](#) (fought over during the Battle of Antietam), a [Covered Bridge in Vermont](#), and the [Locust St. Bridge](#) in Des Moines, Iowa. Also search the [Today in History Archive](#) on the term *bridge* to read features on the [Brooklyn Bridge](#), [Williamsburg Bridge](#), and [Golden Gate Bridge](#).

Daniel Webster

I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American, and a member of the Senate of the United States.

[Daniel Webster's notes for his speech to the United States Senate favoring the Compromise of 1850, March 7, 1850.](#)
[Words and Deeds in American History](#)



[Daniel Webster](#)

produced by Mathew Brady's studio, circa 1851-1860.

[America's First Look into the Camera, 1839-1862](#)

The acquisition of territory following U.S. victory in the [Mexican War](#) revived concerns about the balance of free and slave states in the Union. On **March 7**, 1850, Senator Daniel Webster delivered his famous "[Seventh of March](#)" [speech](#) urging sectional compromise on the issue of slavery. Advising abolition-minded Northerners to forgo antislavery measures, he simultaneously cautioned Southerners that disunion inevitably would lead to war.

Following the lead of senators [Henry Clay](#) and [Stephen A. Douglas](#), Webster endorsed Clay's plan to assure sectional equilibrium in Congress. Passed after eight months of congressional wrangling, the legislation admitted California to the Union as a free state, permitted the question of slavery in Utah and New Mexico territories to be decided by popular sovereignty, settled [Texas](#) border disputes, and [abolished slave trading](#) in the District of Columbia while strengthening the Fugitive Slave Act.

The legislative package known as the Compromise of 1850 postponed the [Civil War](#) by a decade. However, like the 1820 [Missouri Compromise](#), the Compromise of 1850 failed to resolve the question of slavery in a meaningful way. Over the course of the 1850s, the inadequacies of both measures were made painfully clear. "Popular sovereignty" undermined the Missouri compromise by suggesting the earlier division of the country along the thirty-sixth parallel into free states and slave states no longer applied. Indeed, the [Kansas-Nebraska Act](#) of 1854 permitted slavery. The resulting bloodshed in [Kansas](#), like latter incidents at [Harper's Ferry](#), presaged the violent conflict of the Civil War.



[Henry Clay](#)

produced by Mathew Brady's studio, circa 1850-1852.

[America's First Look into the Camera: Daguerreotypes, 1839-1862](#)



[Incidents of the War](#). A Harvest of Death, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania
Timothy H. O'Sullivan, photographer, July 1863.

[Civil War Photographs, 1861-1865](#)

- [Words and Deeds in American History](#), an online display of approximately ninety representative documents [preserved](#) by the [Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress](#), includes features on [John C. Calhoun's speech to the United States Senate against the Compromise of 1850](#) and [Henry Clay's appointment as secretary of state](#) on **March 7**, 1825.

- Read the [*Documentary History of Slavery in the United States*](#) by John Larkin Dorsey. A contemporary of Webster and Clay, Dorsey reviews slavery in the U.S. from 1774 and the Continental Congress to 1850 with special attention to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and the probable dissolution of the Union. Search [African American Perspectives: Pamphlets from the Daniel A.P. Murray Collection, 1818-1907](#) on *slavery* to access this document and many more.
- For more information about the movement to abolish slavery, visit the [Abolition](#) section of [African American Odyssey](#), and the [Abolition](#) section of [The African-American Mosaic](#) as well. Also, read the Today in History features on [Abolition in the District of Columbia](#), and on the abolitionists [Lucretia Coffin Mott](#), and [Elijah Parish Lovejoy](#).
- [Browse](#) through [The Frederick Douglass Papers](#). Many remarkable items are included in the papers of this nineteenth-century African-American abolitionist who escaped from slavery and then risked his own freedom by becoming an outspoken antislavery lecturer, writer, and publisher. The papers are divided into a [series](#) of five sets. Set three, for example, contains a booklet entitled [Two Speeches by Frederick Douglass](#) (on West Indian Emancipation and the Dred Scott Decision).

* Developed by the U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, U.S. Department of Transportation, The Federal Highway Administration, and the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers.

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Bloody Sunday Photo List

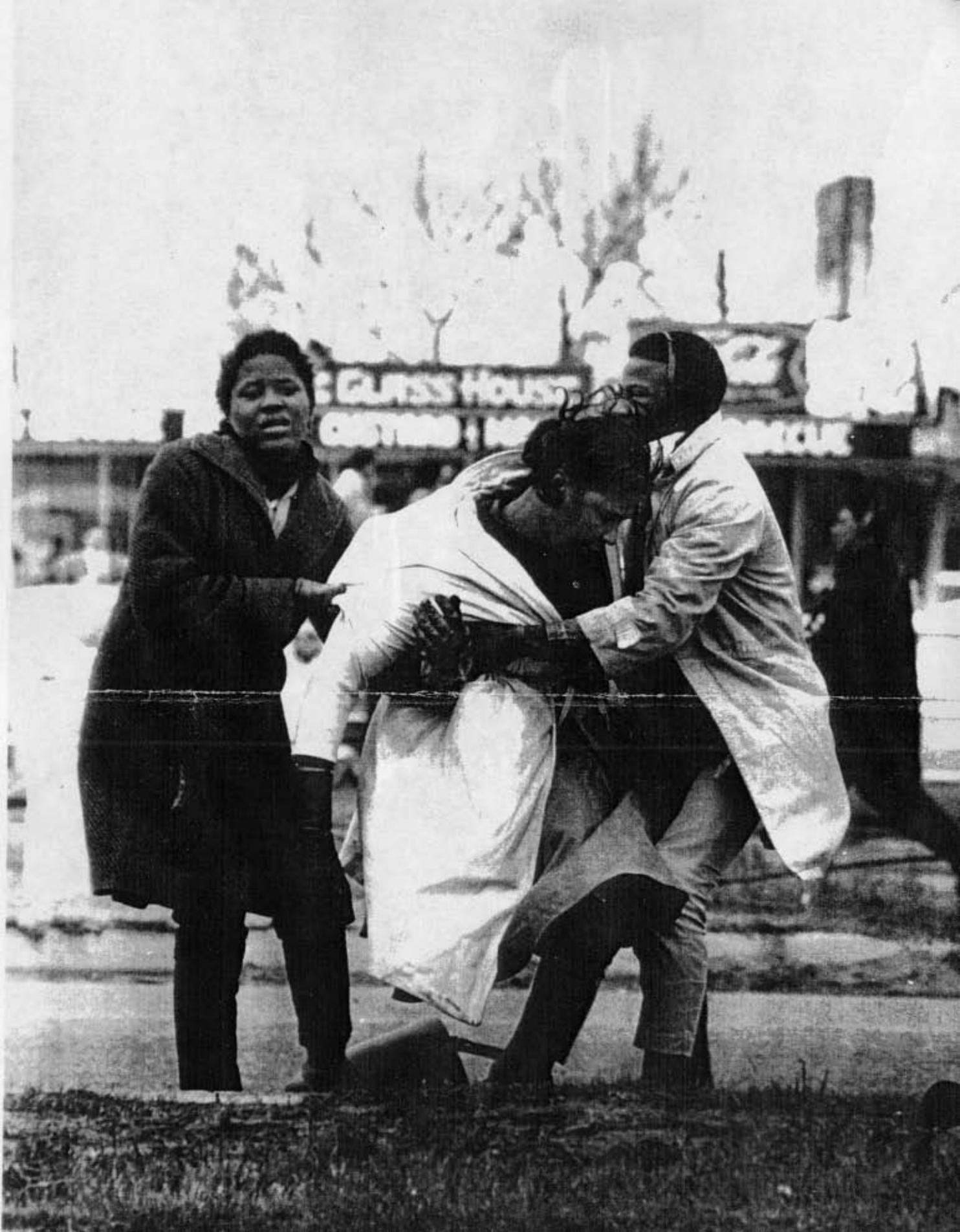
1. March leaders pray near Browns Chapel in advance of the Bloody Sunday march, March 7, 1965
2. Bloody Sunday marchers (led by Hosea Williams, SCLC and John Lewis, SNCC) cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge, March 7, 1965
3. Bloody Sunday marchers stand before Alabama State Troopers, March 7, 1965
4. Local march organizer Amelia Boynton helped by fellow marchers after being struck by Alabama State Trooper, March 7, 1965
5. Bloody Sunday attack carried out by Alabama State Troopers, March 7, 1965
6. Alabama State Troopers geared up for tear gas attack on Blood Sunday marchers, March 7, 1965
7. Alabama State Troopers launch Bloody Sunday attack, March 7, 1965
8. Troopers and Dallas County Sheriff's posse chase marchers back across bridge while wounded marchers lie on the ground, March 7, 1965
9. An Alabama State Trooper stands over Bloody Sunday victim Amelia Boynton, March 7, 1965















HENDER
JAN 1965

SPIDERV.
MARTIN
1965





SPEED
LIMIT
30

NO
PARKING
ANY
TIME

SPIDER



SPIDE
MAY 1965

*"You asked me
to tell you what I saw
that gray sunday morning. . . .*

*"there was that pile
of rolled-up blankets
taken off beds and wrapped up
with belts, or old ties, or string.*

*"there they were
in the corner by the altar—
a patchwork mountain of rolled-up trust.*

*" 'we are going'
'WE ARE GOING'
spoke that patchwork mountain
in its unvalued dignity. . . . "*

*—"Crumpled Notes (found in a raincoat)
on Selma," Maria Varela*

TEN.

Sunday morning Baker met with Deputy Crocker and Major John Cloud, who would be in command of the troopers once they took their positions on the highway. They agreed with Baker that there should not be violence that afternoon, and that there might well not be any arrests. Baker was also told that Col. Lingo would meet Jim Clark at the Montgomery airport later when he returned from Washington, and keep him busy there until the whole thing was over. It was further agreed that the city police would supervise the march until it crossed the bridge, and would take charge again once it had turned around and was back inside the city limits.

If Baker's apprehensions were mollified by this meeting, it was probably not for long. Within a few hours his men had disarmed several carloads of whites who were circling around the city like sparrowhawks eyeing a kill. These people acted like they knew something more than a quiet mass arrest scene was in the offing. The troopers were also limbering up, as a black man named John Carter Lewis learned that morning to his regret. Lewis, who worked as a dishwasher, was stopped by two troopers on his way home. The troopers differed about what to do with him; one said Lewis was all right, but the other insisted, "Let's

beat him up anyway." This trooper ended the discussion by hitting Lewis on the head with his night stick.

"I staggered," Lewis recalled, "and he hit me again. I dropped my billfold on the road. I bent over to try to pick up the billfold and he hit me again. And then when I tried another time to pick up the billfold he hit me again." The troopers left him with a broken arm and head injuries.

At Brown Chapel, the mood was subdued, much more so than for the earlier demonstrations. The people could sense the violence in the air, and their mood was one of dogged determination rather than defiance or even exuberance as it often had been before. The somber atmosphere deepened as word came that tear gas had been issued to the troopers, and Dr. Alfred Moldavan of New York, a volunteer with the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR) conducted impromptu workshops in the church about how to minimize gas effects by keeping low, walking into the fumes, and not rubbing one's eyes.

Dr. King had told an audience in New York on Thursday that he would lead the march himself; but he also had obligations at home in Atlanta to fill first. Arrangements were made for a small charter airplane to fly him from Atlanta to Selma's tiny municipal airstrip as soon as he had finished preaching his first sermon in weeks to his home congregation in Atlanta. But this time, as on the evening of the night march plot, it was the people close to him who persuaded him to stay away. It appears they may actually have finessed him away from it, assuring him that the march would be a cakewalk which would be stopped without either violence or much public impact, and that he could just as well spend the day resting at home and preparing himself for the second try, which would probably be more eventful. From that distance, having been gone several days, King probably was unaware of the atmosphere of tension that had enveloped Dallas County and shown itself the day before when the whites marched. So he allowed himself to be dissuaded from coming.

Meeting in the parsonage next to Brown Chapel, the SCLC staff was divided into two groups, on the expectation that if the first set of marchers was arrested a second, and possibly a third wave would follow

them. James Bevel, Andrew Young and Hosea Williams flipped coins to see which of them would represent Dr. King at the head of the first wave. Williams lost, and went back into the church for a final pep talk and a chorus of one of his favorite gospel songs, "God Will Take Care of You," which he reserved for occasions like this. Then he and SNCC's John Lewis led the six hundred people out of the church and up Sylvan Street in a column of twos, singing. Four ambulances carrying MCHR first aid teams followed them toward downtown.

Across the bridge, Highway 80 was being closed to traffic, and a long line of cars began backing up. A crowd of whites was lining up in front of the small markets and gas stations along the road, and they were in a reckless, volatile mood. Reporters were ordered by the troopers to assemble in a small area near Lehmann's Pontiac showroom, and two troopers were assigned to keep them there. And just as the column appeared over the crest of the long steel bridge, a car pulled up alongside the troopers. In it were Al Lingo and Jim Clark.

As they reached the high point of the Edmund Pettus Bridge, Williams and Lewis saw the blue line of troopers, spread for nearly a hundred yards shoulder to shoulder across the highway's four lanes, waiting with their billy sticks held in front of them and their bulky gas masks hanging at their waists. Williams whispered hoarsely to Lewis: "John, can you swim?"

"No."

"I can't either," Williams said, "and I'm sure we're gonna end up in that river."

Then the column fell silent as it proceeded down the bridge's grade toward the waiting troopers. Major Cloud was standing out in front of the line, and when the blacks came within a hundred yards he directed the men to put on their masks. A few fumbling rubber noises were still being heard when he ordered the marchers to halt. They would go no farther, he told them, and must disperse within two minutes.

"May we have a word with you, Major?" Williams asked.

Cloud was already counting. "There is no word to be had," he replied tersely, then he called: "Troopers, advance!"

The line moved forward into the column, billy clubs held with both

hands. Williams and Lewis stumbled backward into the pair behind them and went down, with troopers in turn falling on top of them. As the column dissolved in panic, the troopers broke ranks and began running after the blacks, clubs swinging wildly. The younger men and those women who could run fastest got out of the way first, fleeing for cover between the stores and down toward the riverbank. Behind them the older people were surrounded by eddies of violence. One after another of them was knocked to the pavement, screaming in pain and terror, the wooden clubs thudding into their flesh. From the sidelines a shrill cheer went up from the watching whites.

After a sweep down the column, the troopers fell back and re-formed their lines, pulling out their tear gas canisters and flipping off the safety rings. The blacks who had run began circling back to pick up their fallen comrades, and those still conscious knelt to pray. They were still on their knees when the troopers struck again, spraying the gas before them in a thick white cloud and clubbing everyone they could reach. Mrs. Amelia Platts Boynton, who was standing tall only a few ranks from the front a moment before, had been one of the first to fall, clubbed into unconsciousness. As she fell to the pavement, a creased plastic rainhat that someone had given her slipped down over her face. A trooper came up and dropped a tear gas canister right in front of her, and as the piercing liquid and fumes sprayed out, only the wrinkled sheet of plastic kept it from drenching her eyes and going straight into her lungs.

Now from between nearby buildings a line of horses emerged at the gallop, their riders wearing the possemen's irregular uniform and armed with bullwhips, ropes, and lengths of rubber tubing wrapped with barbed wire. They rode into the melee with wild rebel yells, while behind them the cheers of the spectators grew even louder. "Get those god-damned niggers!" came Jim Clark's voice, "And get those god-damned white niggers!"

Across the bridge city police stepped out of their places on Water Street and stopped the ambulances at the foot of the ramp. People were running now, choking and crying, up the other side away from the fumes, with the horsemen in angry pursuit, swinging their whips and ropes. Soon they came in view fleeing down the downtown side, only to be met by another group with clubs. The mounted possemen had

harassed them away from the wounded, and most of these lay helpless in the lingering, stifling gas.

All through downtown the pursuit and beating continued, up Water Street to Franklin, down Franklin to Alabama, out Alabama to Sylvan and into the project itself. Wilson Baker watched helplessly as the bloody mob swept past, unable to move even when one of his own men lost his cool and began beating a black who passed nearby.

As one group of marchers came running down Franklin Street past City Hall with the mounted possemen in hot pursuit, a bold, enraged black man named Clarence Williams, who was sitting on the side of the street in his automobile, decided to act. He pulled his car around sideways across the roadway, cutting off the horsemen just long enough to give their victims a sufficient lead to get back into the black housing project ahead of them. Then he pulled away, and the possemen, really feeling their strength, turned on those black bystanders farther down the street who had been watching terrified from their cars. They began banging their billy clubs on the car hoods, shouting: "Get the hell out of town! Go on, I mean it! We want all the niggers off the streets!" The blacks left in a hurry, running over curbs and bumping fenders to get out of there. In a few moments the downtown area was deserted except for the rampaging lawmen.

As Clark approached the project Baker confronted him, told him it was evident that there was no further threat from the march and said he would take charge again, as they had agreed. Clark elbowed past him, declaring "I've already waited a month too damn long about moving in!" Baker then ordered his men to leave the area, to avoid being caught in any more mayhem. Troopers and possemen roamed through the lines of boxy red-brick apartments for half an hour, chasing anyone they saw and throwing tear gas into one home where Clark thought he saw something suspicious. Another squad of possemen rushed into the First Baptist Church at the far end of the project, grabbed a black youth they found there and threw him through a stained glass window depicting Jesus as The Good Shepherd.

Now the black people, back in their own territory, had recovered enough to begin feeling their anger, and bricks and bottles were soon flying after the marauding police forces. Clark himself was nicked by a rock, and this heated him up even further. The civil rights workers

who had not been on the march and were thus not gasping to regain their breath and sight worked frantically around the doors of Brown Chapel, pleading with people to go inside and pushing them back through the doors. It was hard work; the air inside the church was acrid with burning gas droplets shaken off the marchers' clothes; and more than a few were hysterical with terror, pain and rage.

Other blacks were coming in with more focused feelings to express. After blocking the possemen with his car downtown, Clarence Williams had driven home and packed his two guns into his car. Then he came back to the church, full of cold fury and ready for anything. Two workers spotted him and pulled him back to the church office, where they preached to him about staying nonviolent until he decided to leave. Williams couldn't go along with their nonresistance ideas, but respecting their commitment he felt the only right thing to do was get back in his car and drive home with his weapons.

As the field cleared outside, Clark, his possemen and the troopers began slowing down. Baker then ventured back with his men up Sylvan Street, more aggressively now. "All right now," he told Clark gruffly, "get your cowboys the hell out of here." He posted his men in a cordon around the church area in a show of force of his own. Inside, Hosea Williams had flushed the fumes from his eyes, and with his face still dripping wet began preaching the crowd into a semblance of defiant but approximately rational anger, denouncing Baker's neutral stance as hypocrisy and insisting he had never seen anything so brutal even when he was captured by the Germans in World War Two. John Lewis, his skull fractured, refused to go to the hospital until he had told the audience, "I don't see how President Johnson can send troops to Vietnam. I don't see how he can send troops to the Congo . . . and can't send troops to Selma, Alabama. Next time we march, we may have to keep going when we get to Montgomery. We may have to go on to Washington."

More than fifty people were taken to the Good Samaritan Hospital, as well as Burwell Infirmary, once the police relented and let the Medical Committee ambulances cross the bridges and begin picking up the wounded. At Burwell, more a ramshackle nursing home in the dilapidated style of separate but equal than a real hospital, all but one

of the beds were already full, so the floor was soon littered with bleeding, choking people, as the staff raced around with bandages and an oxygen tank. At Good Samaritan there was more space and professionalism, and the bloodstains were quickly wiped up from the floor around the emergency room door. Several of the victims were hospitalized for days.

The SCLC leaders assembled again in the parsonage and got on the phone to Dr. King in Atlanta. He was shocked at what had happened, and immediately issued a statement to that effect. But what was to come next? A heated discussion raged for almost an hour among those on the extensions in the parsonage and those at the other end. Should Dr. King come to Selma at once and lead another march tomorrow morning, while calling for help from sympathetic northerners, or should he call for help first and not march until Tuesday? And what about federal court action to restrain Wallace and Clark from interfering with the next attempt?

It was finally decided that Dr. King would send out telegrams to northerners that night asking them to come to Selma, that his attorneys would be in court in Montgomery Monday morning to ask for a restraining order against the officials, and that the next march attempt would not be made until Tuesday, to give the outside supporters a chance to arrive.

In a few hours the first of several hundred telegrams was flashing across the country from SCLC headquarters on Auburn Avenue in Atlanta, signed by Dr. King and addressed to every prominent church person known to be sympathetic whose address SCLC's program director, Randolph Blackwell, could lay his hands on. The messages read, in part:

In the vicious maltreatment of defenseless citizens of Selma, where old women and young children were gassed and clubbed at random, we have witnessed an eruption of the disease of racism which seeks to destroy all America. No American is without responsibility. . . . The people of Selma will struggle on for the

soul of the nation, but it is fitting that all Americans help to bear the burden. I call therefore, on clergy of all faiths . . . to join me in Selma for a ministers march to Montgomery on Tuesday morning, March ninth.

The reporters who had captured almost the entire attack on their telephoto lenses, had been busy during these hours as well. The Sunday night movie on ABC television was interrupted for a long film report of the assault on Highway 80, a sequence which showed clearly the quiet column, the flailing clubs, the stampeding horses, the jeering crowd and the stricken, fleeing blacks. The movie was *Judgement at Nuremburg*, starring Spencer Tracy as the American war crimes judge, and Burt Lancaster as an accused Nazi magistrate.

Johnson Asks Congress To Intensify Fight On Crime

Marines Landed Quietly in South Vietnam On Peace Duties

WASHINGTON (AP) — The U.S. Marines landed in South Vietnam today to strengthen the Da Nang air base against attack by the Cong. One battalion of 1,400 Marines came from the Fleet, transport ships standing half a mile off the coast.

Return Fire By Marines Given Force By Rusk

WASHINGTON (AP) — Secretary of State Dean Rusk says there's no doubt that if American Marines in South Vietnam are shot at, "they will shoot back."

But Rusk emphasized: "Their mission is the security of Da Nang air base."

Appearing Sunday on the CBS radio and television program "Face the Nation," Rusk said "it is not their mission to engage in the pacification operations."

"The fact that they are going in there will make it possible for the South Vietnamese forces who have been responsible for the local close-in defense of Da Nang to undertake those missions themselves."

Rusk said the 3300 Marines are at Da Nang by request of the South Vietnamese government. The two Marine battalions began landing Sunday night by U.S. plane, Monday by Saigon plane.

The secretary also reiterated the American stand that no negotiations must be preceded by evidence that North Viet Nam will leave South Viet Nam alone.

Although refusing to go into what he called "preconditions," Rusk said: "Almost every post-war negotiation that has managed to settle in some fashion some difficult and dangerous question has been preceded by some private indication behind the scenes that such a negotiation might be possible."

"That is missing here — that is missing here."

Later he declared: "We are not going to reward aggression."

Rusk again urged America's Allies in Europe to support U.S. efforts in Southeast Asia, a plea also made in a Cleveland speech Saturday night.

"We should like as strong international support as possible," he said in Sunday's interview. "There are 12 or 15 countries."

(See RETURN, Page 2)

Racial Demands For Trial Jury Ruled Against

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Supreme Court declared in a 6-3 decision today that defendants in criminal cases are not constitutionally entitled to demand that the trial jury or juror rolls include a proportionate number of their particular race.

Justice Byron R. White delivered the court's opinion in ruling against Robert Swain, 19-year-old Negro who appealed from a sentence to execution in Alabama on conviction of rape of a 17-year-old white girl.

"Neither the jury roll nor the venire need be a perfect mirror of the community or accurately reflect the proportionate strength of every identifiable (racial) group," White said.

The court further ruled against objections by counsel for Swain against use of peremptory challenges to exclude Negroes from serving on trial juries.

"I cannot hold that the constitution requires an examination of the prosecutor's reasons for the exercise of his challenges in any given case," said White.

Justice Arthur J. Goldberg wrote a dissenting opinion, joined by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice William O. Douglas.

Goldberg said the court's majority view "seriously impairs" the holdings of earlier Supreme Court decisions on jury selection, "and creates additional barriers to the elimination of jury discrimination practices which have operated in many communities to nullify the command of the (constitution's) equal protection clause."

It was charged at the trial that Swain forced his way into the girl's home in Talladega County after she refused to let him in to use the telephone, on his statement that his car had broken down.

Swain was convicted in Talladega County Circuit Court June 12, 1962, and Alabama's Supreme Court upheld the conviction on Sept. 5, 1963.

Swain's appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court said no Negro had ever served on a trial jury in the county. It said four or five Negroes were on the grand jury venire of 33 names and two Negroes served on the grand jury that indicted him.

ATTACK FATAL

GAYLESVILLE, Ala. (AP) — A heart attack has claimed former State Sen. Webb Chesnut, 81.

The Cherokee County dairy farmer was a stickler and died while attending church Sunday. Funeral services are planned at 2 p.m. Tuesday in Gaylesville Methodist Church.

Survivors include the widow and seven sons and two sisters.



'Great Society' Emerging From New Programs

By WALTER H. MEARS

WASHINGTON (AP) — Outlines of President Johnson's "Great Society" are emerging on Capitol Hill, with a vast program of federal aid to education next on the horizon.

His first congressional test over, the \$1.3-billion school aid bill — emphasizing assistance to poverty-stricken areas — enters a new House arena Tuesday.

In the Senate, Johnson's plan to extend and expand the three-year-old manpower training program has been read for action.

And the administration's top priority program of medical care for the aged, its terms broadened from those Johnson originally recommended, may go to the House soon after the education measure is cleared.

Chairman Adam Clayton Powell, D-N.Y., of the House Education and Labor Committee will ask today for a Rules Committee hearing on the education bill. That is the next step on the way to a House vote, which probably will come late this month.

The bill got solid Democratic support in Powell's committee, and the same kind of backing in the House itself is likely to speed the measure to the Senate. There have been hearings there on a parallel bill, but no legislation has yet emerged from committee.

The manpower training bill recommended by the Senate Labor Committee would extend the program for five years. That falls short of the permanent program Johnson sought.

WAITING FOR MARCHERS — State troopers wearing gas masks and shields and carrying night sticks blocked the highway to an estimated 600 Negro marchers Sunday afternoon under instructions from Gov. George Wallace. In a confrontation with the Negroes moments later, the troopers and sheriff's possemen used tear gas and force to disperse the marchers. (Additional pictures on Page 2).

Civil Rights Leader Will Seek Sanction Of Court For March

An aide of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said the civil rights leader will come to Selma today to address a mass meeting to-night and to lead a second attempt by Negroes to march Tuesday from Selma to the state capital in Montgomery. "We can't turn back now," Rev. Andrew Young said after yesterday's melee.

Ruby Slated For Sanity Hearing

DALLAS, (AP) — Qualified observers expected a court hearing today to end with an order for a sanity trial of Jack Ruby, the man condemned for killing presidential assassin Lee Harvey Oswald.

Dist. Judge Joe B. Brown, who sentenced Ruby to death nearly a year ago, summoned lawyers for both sides under an order from the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals to "judicially determine" the prisoner's mental state.

There were published predictions that the jurist would set a jury trial on the question for about March 22.

Without disclosing his future course, Brown said: "I doubt if

Soviet Embassy Target Of Cuban Bottle Hurling

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF

WASHINGTON (AP) — Extra police have been stationed around the Soviet Embassy after five anti-Castro Cubans splattered black liquid on it in a surprise bottle-hurling protest.

The Cubans were arrested, promptly charged with interfering with the property of a foreign government and jailed overnight. They said they were protesting last week's violent student demonstration against the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, and also the continued presence of Soviet troops in Cuba.

The State Department reported that a telephone call of protest had been received from the Russians. The official who received the call expressed the department's regret at Sunday's incident.

It was understood that the subject of compensation had not been discussed in this initial exchange, said to have been at a relatively low diplomatic level.

Last Thursday hundreds of screaming Red Chinese, Vietnamese and African students snatched and splattered ink on the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, Red.

Shastri Future Becomes Shaky

By DANIEL COGGIN

TRIVANDRUM, India (AP)

Mail On Sales, I Part Of

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Johnson today to ban s filigrans, tight drugs, and str the streets as on crime as a "Crime will pull it up by the said in a speci House and se arrest and re toward lawless.

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But Johnson proposing legis shipments of f state commere importers, mi dealers license ury Department "Mail order usals would thu said.

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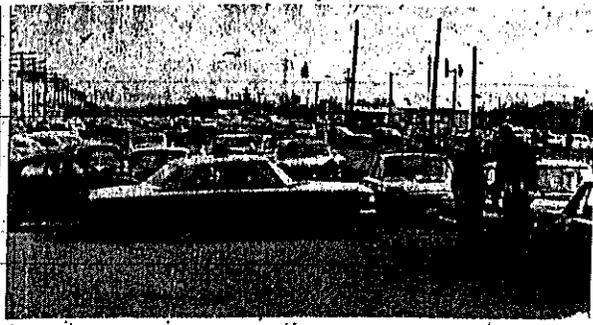
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ALL SEATS TAKEN—Cars filled all available parking space, hundreds of spectators watched from vantage points and traffic was blocked for miles Sunday afternoon from the point of confrontation of state troopers and Negro marchers.



GA8 GRENADES TOSSED — State troopers, unsuccessful in initial efforts to force an estimated 800 Negro marchers back across Pettus Bridge, tossed tear gas grenades into the crowd and then moved into the fumes on the Negroes.

CIVIL

(Continued from page one)

sporadic clubbing and jabbing. A brief outbreak of missile throwing by Negroes at the state and county officers who drove the Negroes back to church was followed by a mop up operation which cleared the George Washington Carver Homes housing development of everyone on the streets.

Troopers left their cars and turned themselves with streamers and automatic rifles and moved through the project with Sheriff Jim Clark and his posse ordering everyone indoors.

At the Jeff Davis-Sylvan Street intersection postmen a 1 1/2 block to clear the sidewalk in a brief skirmish with Negroes who shouted taunts at them. Sheriff Clark said one of the Negroes displayed a knife and then ran into a house, necessitating the use of gas to evict him.

When all of the Negroes were driven back into the housing project, troopers and the sheriff's department stood back and permitted ambulances to haul away the injured. After they were cleared out, officers moved in to clear the sidewalks and lawns around the two-story apartment buildings.

As the heavily armed state and county officers took over city police jurisdiction over the protests of Selma Public Safety Director Wilson Baker, the city law enforcement supervisor ordered his force to evacuate the area.

Moments earlier, in an exchange between Baker and Sheriff Clark, Baker told the sheriff that rules had already been restored in the Negro community and he saw no need for any further show of force by troopers and the posse.

"I've already waited a month to see if you could move," the sheriff retorted.

About 30 minutes later, when the sheriff's force and the troopers pulled out, city police resumed normal police work.

James Bevel, addressing a mass rally that followed the march, criticized President Johnson for "not fulfilling his promise."

"Johnson knows that Negroes

ment was worked out whereby the mayor, except for establishing policy, would leave city law enforcement planning and supervision to Baker in the future.

After the Sunday meeting, it also was agreed that city police would not participate, unless they were called in by the state. In breaking up the Sunday march, police had one ear on the scene across the bridge to operate as liaison in this connection.

State troopers and county forces agreed under the arrangement. It was reported that once the Negroes were driven back across the bridge that city police would be in charge of the return of the marchers to the church.

When this reported agreement was violated and the troopers and posse pushed the Negroes across town and into the housing development, Baker ordered his men to temporarily pull back.

Baker said he wanted to halt the marchers as they left the city and meet them at Broad street if they refused to return to the church, but the mayor asked him not to interfere in the state's plea to break up the march with gas and force.

Mayor Sibley's spokesman said Baker might on a television show telephone interview that, as mayor of Selma, he "concurred" with the governor's actions in halting the march.

The marchers made their initial attempt to leave Brown's Chapel around 1:30 p.m. Sunday and were turned back by city police less than a block from the church. But it was immediately apparent that the temporary delay was for regrouping and that they would come out again.

When the marchers neared the bridge, traffic was halted at Water Avenue and at the King's Bend Road-Highway 80 intersection across the bridge.

Hundreds of spectators jammed all unrestricted parking space and overflowed onto the parking areas of businesses in the Selman area where the confrontation was to take place.

State troopers, their cars lined up alongside the highway from the traffic light to the foot of the bridge, stood waiting while postmen between the

Wallace. Maj. John Cloud, speaking over a loudspeaker, told the marchers to disperse and return to the church.

When they did not obey him, the troopers stormed into the double column line. This failed to force the marchers back across the Alabama River bridge over which they had just walked, so the troopers began throwing tear gas grenades.

Meanwhile three white men, including a militant segregationist who recently attacked King, were arrested late Sunday on charges of assaulting an FBI agent.

Jimmy George Robinson, 28, a member of the National States Rights Party, was arrested on charges of striking King with his fist. Also was charged by city police with a separate case of assault and battery against the FBI agent. Another also was accused of taking the agent's camera.

The agent, Daniel Doyle of Little Rock, said he was attacked and his camera taken while he and other FBI men observed the attempted march. Whether the men knew Doyle was a federal officer or whether they mistook him for a segregationist was not established.

The other arrested were Earl Dalinger of the Mobile FBI office, 21, and Thomas Randall Kendrick, 21, and Noel D. Cooper, also 21.

As the troopers moved in on the marchers the first time, a crowd of several hundred white persons which had gathered about 100 yards away broke into cheers.

The cheering grew louder and the crowd shouted encouragement as the troopers heaved the grenades.

Although the crowd was loud and hostile, it made no attempt to break through heavy police lines to attack the marchers.

As live grenades exploded, the Negroes, who had regrouped after the first charge, knelt by the side of the road in prayer. But finally the gas routed them and they began running back across the long bridge that leads into downtown Selma.

Some stumbled over fellow marchers as they ran in panic



MARCHERS ARE HALTED — The front ranks of a long double-column file of Negro marchers stood and listened to orders to disperse of Trooper Maj. John Cloud on Highway 80 east of Pettus Bridge Sunday. The marchers did not disperse and were routed by officers. In the lead are John Lewis, left, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Hosea Williams, a member of Dr. Martin Luther King's staff.



FALLEN MARCHER AIDED — After a Negro march was forced back across Pettus Bridge troopers summoned Negroes to the aid of several marchers who were knocked down or fell during the scramble with officers. At least 18 persons were hospitalized overnight for a variety of injuries including fractures, contusions, lacerations, hysteria, treatment for effects of tear gas overdose and bruises. Thirty eight others were treated and dismissed.

GREAT

(Continued from page one)

The House Ways and Means Committee is nearing its crucial decision on medical care for the aged. A broadened version of the Johnson bill may be cleared in about a week by that committee, the conveyor of past medical care proposals.

Daily committee sessions on medical care, which began Jan. 27, have been postponed until Wednesday, while the legislation is drafted.

Along with it, the committee will send to the House an increase in Social Security benefits, probably 5 or 6 per cent. Johnson had talked of 7 per cent.

The medical care bill, now mostly endorsed by committee men incorporates key features of the Johnson program but broadens it to offer coverage for doctors' bills and drugs. The latter aspects would be optional, and would be financed in part by deductions from an individual's Social Security payments.

Johnson's basic plan would provide hospital, nursing home and some outpatient services financed through a separately accounted addition to the Social Security payroll tax.

House Democratic leaders have promised to seek speedy action once the committee unveils its proposal.

One major Great Society bill already has reached Johnson's desk, after a display of Democratic power in the House. That is the \$1.1-billion program of highways and other development projects for impoverished sections of the Appalachian Mountain area.

Democratic votes build 48



NEW GAL IN TOWN—With stars in her eyes and hopes high for a career in movies, Gail Hite, a photographer's girl from New York, has been signed up by Paramount. Her first role will be in "Red Lino 7,000."

drive against killing diseases.

The President has yet to send Congress the proposal he promised for extension of the minimum-wage law to cover 2 million additional workers and for an overhaul of the unemployment compensation system.

Johnson's proposals for new measures aimed at curbing crime in the United States may go to Congress today. The Justice Department still is working on legislation to guarantee Negro voting rights. The lone credit- ratings measure Johnson has said he will recommend.

Nothing has been done, about Johnson's suggestion that Congress prepare in advance

MARINES

(Continued from page one)

between a transport and a landing craft as they brushed to gether.

He was expected to survive. A captain broke his leg while scaling down a rope net.

The Viet Cong made no attempt to interfere with the Marines landing.

The Marines are still majorly in the area from which major Viet strikes have been launched against North Viet Nam. Two Vietnamese battalions were deployed in the area to meet any Red attack.

The Communists overran a regional forces platoon Saturday night three miles south of the Da Nang runway. Four government soldiers were killed and several weapons were lost.

"We've been ready to do this job for some time," said Brig. Gen. Frederick Joseph Karch of Corral, III, commander of the 9th Marine Expeditionary Force.

Karch, 47, said his outfit had been deployed in the South China Sea almost constantly since Jan. 20. He said his men find no special training for Viet Nam duty, but all of them had been through jungle training.

"We will be operating strictly in a defensive role," Karch said. "There will be no doubt but patrolling, however, within the zone to which we are assigned."

Garry Parsons of Springfield, Ill., a squad leader, was the first Marine to spring ashore at the landing zone which was about 30 yards wide.

Karch and three of his men were ushered to a welcoming committee that included Viet- namese military officials, senior U.S. Army advisers and officers of the 1,200-man U.S. Marine

Loyola University To Close College

NEW ORLEANS (AP) — Loyola University of New Orleans will close its college of pharmacy at the end of the current term because of mounting rollment and prohibitive cost. The Very Rev. Andrew S. N. Loyola, president, said that the college enrollment never reached more than 20 students in the past 12 years. The annual deficit for the five years averaged \$1,200 student.

Marine Battalions In Exercise Silver

CAMP PENDLETON, Calif. — Two battalions of the 9th Marine Division linked Sunday to take Camlet make-believe city held by 1000 forces in Exercise Silver Lance, a joint Navy-Marine game on the coast of South California.

Nearly 65,000 men and ships are taking part in the games patterned closely on dilfions American fighting have encountered in South Nam.

Four Kings Expect To Attend Funeral

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Four reigning kings are expected to attend the state funeral Saturday of Queen Louise of Sweden, great-granddaughter of Britain's Queen Victoria.

Together with the 14-year-old queen's husband, King G. VI Adolf, 82, Kings Frederic of Denmark, Olaf VI of Norway and Constantine II of Greece are to walk in the funeral procession through the streets of Stockholm.

Queen Louise died in a Stockholm hospital Sunday, four days after emergency surgery removal of a blood clot in her right leg. A change in her artery, the aorta, caused her heart to falter.

Her husband, confined to a bed with a severe cold, rushed to Gothenburg where he told his wife was dying. The 83-year-old daughter, Queen Ingrid of Denmark, was also at the hospital when the queen was pronounced dead.

The Swedish court presided a six-week mourning period, there will be no lying in state

AIRLINER MISSING

MANILA (AP) — A Philippine airliner with 117 passengers aboard was reported missing Sunday on a flight to southeast Luzon Island.

The plane, a DC3, had 80 passengers and a crew of 10. It was en route from Manila to Naga City.

Patrolling the rice fields, mountains around the base of the base.

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HEAVY FIGHTING IN HINH DINH PROVINCE

SAIGON, South Viet Nam (AP) — Heavy fighting broke out in Binh Dinh province 200 miles northeast of Saigon today and at least 32 government troops were killed. Three U.S. Army men were

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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VOL. CXIV... No. 39,125.

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NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 8, 1965.

ALABAMA POLICE USE GAS AND CLUBS TO ROUT NEGROES

57 Are Injured at Selma as Troopers Break Up Rights Walk in Montgomery

DR. KING IS IN ATLANTA

He Reveals Plans to Lead a New March Tomorrow—Court Action Planned

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times
SELMA, Ala., March 7—Alabama state troopers and volunteer officers of the Dallas County sheriff's office tore through a column of Negro demonstrators (with tear gas, nightsticks and whips here today to enforce Gov. George C. Wallace's order against a protest march from Selma to Montgomery.

At least 17 Negroes were hospitalized with injuries and about 40 more were given emergency treatment for minor injuries and tear gas effects. The Negroes reportedly fought back with bricks and bottles at one point as they were pushed back into the Negro community, far away from most of a squad of reporters and photographers who had been restrained by the officers. A witness said that Sheriff James C. Clark and a handful of volunteer policemen were pushed back by flying debris when they tried to herd the angry Negroes into the church where the march had begun.

In Washington the Justice Department announced that agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Selma had been directed to make a full and prompt investigation and to gather evidence whether "unnecessary force was used by law officers and others" in leading the march.

Dr. King in Atlanta

Some 200 troopers and possemen with riot guns, pistols, tear gas bombs and nightsticks later chased all the Negro leaders of the Browns Chapel Methodist Church area into their apartments and houses. They then patrolled the streets and walked for all hour before driving away.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was to have led the march, was in Atlanta. After the attack on the marchers, Dr. King issued a statement announcing plans to begin another march Tuesday covering the 50 miles from Selma to Montgomery. He said he had agreed just to hold today's march after he had learned that the troopers would block it. Dr. King also said he would seek a court order barring further interference with the marchers.



CRUSHING VOTER DEMONSTRATION: Alabama state troopers break up march by protesting Negroes in Selma

Marines Land to Guard Danang Base; China-Soviet Rift Swaying U.S. Policy

Force 'Strictly Defensive'—Arrival Is Protested by Hanoi and Peking

By JACK LANGGUTH
Special to The New York Times
SAIGON, South Vietnam, Monday, March 8—United States Marines began landing this morning at the bay north of Danang to take up security duties around the large United States jet airfield there.

The Marines, in full battle gear, met no opposition from South Vietnamese troops and advance marine patrols had secured the coast before the landing. (North Vietnam and Communist China, protesting the assignment of the marines as an act of United States aggression, according to The Associated Press, Page 3.)

A cluster of Vietnamese girls, students at Central Vietnam nurse schools, wrapped garlands around the necks of the first marines to trot ashore from good relations with the West.

Continued on Page 3, Column 2

By MAX FRANKEL
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, March 7—The conflict between the Soviet Union and Communist China has become, for the first time, a major element in United States diplomacy.

This development is demonstrated, and sometimes even privately acknowledged, in many instances of the war in Vietnam. It is not mentioned in public comment, however, conveyed the feeler in a delicate message to the Kremlin on Feb. 20. Soviet officials have since been given several requests, but it is no secret to any of the three Governments.

The United States and China it is understood, was to bring the Soviet Union toward some kind of negotiations over Vietnam.

Continued on Page 2, Column 1

By ANTHONY LEWIS
Special to The New York Times
LONDON, March 7—Britain has made a quiet approach to the Soviet Union in an effort to find some path to negotiations in Vietnam.

Two weeks have passed since this diplomatic feeler was put forward. Not a word has come from Moscow in response, Sir Humphrey Trevelyan, Britain's Ambassador to Moscow, conveyed the feeler in a delicate message to the Kremlin on Feb. 20. Soviet officials have since been given several requests, but it is no secret to any of the three Governments.

The absence of a response is preliminary. Its clear purpose, it is understood, was to bring the Soviet Union toward some kind of negotiations over Vietnam.

Continued on Page 5, Column 3

BONN WILL SEEK FORMAL ISRAEL TIE

West Germany Also Decides to Maintain Diplomatic Relations With Cairo

By ARTHUR J. OLSEN
Special to The New York Times
BONN, March 7—West Germany announced today it was seeking to establish diplomatic relations with Israel.

It will not break relations with the United Arab Republic, at least for the time being. A Government statement, issued after day-and-night debate in the Government of Chancellor Ludwig Erhard over Middle Eastern policy, said the all-out reception given in Cairo last week to Walter Ulbricht, head of state of Communist East Germany, had been "answered" by Bonn's cutting off further economic aid to the United Arab Republic.

The Government warned, however, that any further Egyptian moves to the advantage of East Germany would be met by additional reprisals.

Chancellor Erhard's decision was taken after four days of almost uninterrupted consultation with his Cabinet, with political leaders and with Bonn's allies.

Continued on Page 5, Column 3

GROSS INTEGRATION BACKS ALLEN ON OMISSIONS BUSING AN

Vast New Program of Aid For Arts Urged on Nation

A Report by Rockefeller Cultural Establishment in Brothers Fund Cites Need for Support From Broad Base

By RICHARD H. SHEPARD
Special to The New York Times
A vast, comprehensive program of augmented nationwide support for the performing arts is called for in an exhaustive report issued today by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

The 55,000-word report, written by the city's arts patrons, once a tight budget is made, and the body nourished by social increased support by Government at all levels, found being transformed into an exaltation, business and the public surprised, not perhaps even of the kind ever undertaken.

The most extensive inventory of the kind ever undertaken here, the report examines the patronage of the few to the progress for nonprofit professional performing arts as resident theater, symphony, opera and dance troupes, from complete invisibility to its objective is to explore city's power structure in being ways to expand the performance in the United States a broadening of corporate giving.

Continued on Page 25, Column 1

By MILTON ESTEROW
The city's culture establishment is experiencing a quiet revolution. Reflecting an era of some of the greatest social changes in the nation's history, with two cultural ferment spreading years in the making, and the city's arts patrons, once a tight budget is made, and the body nourished by social increased support by Government at all levels, found being transformed into an exaltation, business and the public surprised, not perhaps even of the kind ever undertaken.

The most extensive inventory of the kind ever undertaken here, the report examines the patronage of the few to the progress for nonprofit professional performing arts as resident theater, symphony, opera and dance troupes, from complete invisibility to its objective is to explore city's power structure in being ways to expand the performance in the United States a broadening of corporate giving.

Continued on Page 25, Column 1

Moses Asks Garage At 59th St. Bridge; Plan Angers Barnes

By PETER KRISH
Robert Moses disclosed a new proposal yesterday for a 1,000-car garage with a department store and office structure at the Manhattan end of the Queensboro Bridge. It ignited an explosive reaction from public parking jayvees.

Commissioner Barnes charged that Mr. Moses' Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority sponsor for the new proposal had never discussed it with him, although his department has charter responsibility for public parking jayvees.

Where does this thing stop? Commissioner Barnes demanded after reciting the authority's past and proposed expansion. "It's like an octopus," he said, "with every direction reaching out to every direction." The authority's project included "rough sketches" showing two alternatives in the development of the garage project. One plan includes the structure and office structure and would occupy most of the block be-

GOVERNOR WARNS ON MINIMUM WAGE

Tells the Legislature to Link Increase to U.S. Action or Risk Loss of Industry

Special to The New York Times
ALBANY, March 7—Gov. Rockefeller asked the Legislature today to tie any increase in the state's minimum wage bill to similar action by the Federal Government or risk the loss of jobs in the state.

The present Federal minimum wage is \$1.25 an hour. The Democratic-controlled 1963 Legislature expected this week to take up action to increase the minimum wage effective Oct. 1, from \$1.25 to \$1.50 an hour. The measure, bearing the names of 20 Senators, contains no reference to Federal action. Passage was delayed last week because of a technical error; the Democrats have the vote.

In a statement issued here, Mr. Rockefeller recalled that in January he had asked the Legislature to increase the min-

TAX WITHHOLDING MAY BE REVISED

Administration Studies Plan to Reduce Underpayments—Aid Unlikely This Year

By EILEEN SHANAHAN
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, March 7—The Administration is looking with favor on the idea of a basic change in the income-withholding system that would reduce the present widespread underwithholding for middle-

Congress Expected To Speed Medicare And School Bills

By MARGORIE HUNTER
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, March 7—Two Administration "must" bills—health care for the aged and aid to schools—will be in the spotlight as Congress moves into a busy week tomorrow.

Elated over their success in pushing through the Appalachian measure last week, Democratic Congressional leaders hope to clear the way this week for other Great Society legisla-

CUBANS DEFACE SOVIET EMBASSY

Six Arrested in Washington in Protest Over Russian Troops on Island

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, March 7—Six Cuban refugees hurled solid bottles containing a tar-like substance at the Soviet Embassy here this afternoon to protest the presence of Russian troops in Cuba.

Six Arrested in Washington in Protest Over Russian Troops on Island

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, March 7—Six Cuban refugees hurled solid bottles containing a tar-like substance at the Soviet Embassy here this afternoon to protest the presence of Russian troops in Cuba.

The demonstrators said they

for a 28-year-old Communist, missing and believed drowned in the Great South Bay. The lost man was identified as Edwin J. Wardsworth of 15 Cape Road. The police said he left Amity Harbor late yesterday in an eight-foot outboard boat, powered by a five-horsepower motor. The outboard boat was found this morning in a bay about a mile north of Cedar Island.

only works as hard as the people

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Alabama Police Use Gas and Clubs to Rout Negroes Attempting March on Capital

525 IN SELMA DEFEY BAN OF GOVERNOR

17 Hospitalized as Officers Attack Demonstrators — Dr. King in Atlanta

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

Alabama River. A cold wind cut at their faces and whipped their coats as they were young and old ones. They carried an assortment of hats, bedrolls and lunch sacks.

The troopers, many of whom were white, were lined up beyond the end of the bridge.

Behind and beyond the troopers were a few dozen policemen, 15 of them on horses and perhaps 100 white policemen.

About 50 Negroes stood waiting beside a yellow school bus well away from the troopers. The marchers had passed about three dozen mounted policemen at the other end of the bridge. They were to see more of that group.

The troopers again shouldered to shoulder in the cross lanes of the divided four-lane highway.

They pit on their tanks and beat their tight shoes ready as the Negroes stepped, shouting and shouting, and shouting and shouting.

When the Negroes were 20 feet away, a voice called over an amplifying system, commanding them to stop. They stopped.

The leader of the troopers, who identified himself as Maj. John Cook, said, "This is an unlawful assembly. You are not to march on the public safety. You are ordered to disperse and go back to your church or to your homes."

Mr. Wilkins stepped from the head of the march. "May we have a word with the major?" he asked.

"There is no word to be had," the major replied.

Two-minute warning. The two men went through the same exchange three more times. The major said, "You have two minutes to disperse."



CHARGING MARCHERS IN SELMA: Alabama state troopers turning back demonstrators, who were trying to march to Montgomery to protest voter registration procedures



Dr. King Announces Plan for New Walk And Assails Attack

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, March 7—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. announced plans tonight to begin another march Tuesday from Selma to Montgomery, Ala., and to seek a court order barring Alabama authorities from interfering.

He said he was calling on religious leaders from all over the nation to join us on Tuesday in our peaceful, nonviolent march for freedom.

Dr. King's aides disclosed that he would return to Selma by tomorrow morning. He had returned to Atlanta before the abortive march toward Montgomery today.

"I am shocked at the terrible reign of terror that took place in Alabama today," Dr. King said. "Negro citizens engaged in a peaceful and orderly march to protest racial injustice were beaten, brutalized and harassed by state troopers, and Alabama revealed its law enforcement agents have no respect for democracy nor the rights of its Negro citizens."

He said he and staff members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which he is president, had agreed last night that he should not lead the march because they had learned troopers would block it.

"When I made a last-minute agreement not to lead the march and appointed my able and courageous associate, James Williams, for this responsibility, I must confess that I had no idea that the kind of brutality and fragile expression of man's inhumanity to man as existed in Selma would take place," he said.

By the time Dr. Mohrman's ambulance was given permission to cross the bridge—the three others were off to disperse to the lowest.

He said he and an aide, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, would lead the march Tuesday, "in an attempt to arouse the deepest concern of this nation over the ill that are perpetrated against Negro citizens in Alabama."

"We will go into Federal

New York Doctors Barred at Scene

By GAY TALESE

Special to The New York Times

SELMA, March 7—The long line of Negroes walked slowly and silently to the main sidewalk of Selma's business district on this quiet Sunday. There were 525 of them, walking two abreast, and they were headed for a small concrete bridge at the end of the street.

The bridge arches over the muddy Alabama River and connects with the highway to Montgomery, 50 miles in the west. The Negroes wanted to walk to Montgomery to protest their difficulties in registering to vote.

Most of the Negroes, who included boys less than 15 years old and women more than 60, carried satchels or overnight bags that contained blankets and other necessities.

They were going to meet the marchers with tear gas, and he prepared his medical group to deal with this.

Speaks to Negroes. Then addressing the Negroes, he said that the Methodist church that was their headquarters

national headquarters at the Selma Tabernacle Church, 211 West 54th Street, in Manhattan.

His membership totals almost 1,000 doctors and nurses around the country. His treasurer, Dr. Alfred Moldovan, was in one of the ambulances in Selma today.

Dr. Moldovan expected that the doctors' main contribution to the march would be moral support, and perhaps some primary medical aid.

But three hours before the march, he learned that state troopers were going to meet the marchers with tear gas, and he prepared his medical group to deal with this.

Speaks to Negroes. Then addressing the Negroes, he said that the Methodist church that was their headquarters

ambulance was given permission to cross the bridge—the three others were off to disperse to the lowest.

He said he and an aide, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, would lead the march Tuesday, "in an attempt to arouse the deepest concern of this nation over the ill that are perpetrated against Negro citizens in Alabama."

police said, was closed to traffic, and 10 minutes later, the stream of doctors and nurses could hear the noise from the other side of the bridge.

The noise came from the troopers' charge into the marchers, from the gas grenades, and from the sheets of whites.

By the time Dr. Mohrman's ambulance was given permission to cross the bridge—the three others were off to disperse to the lowest.

He said he and an aide, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, would lead the march Tuesday, "in an attempt to arouse the deepest concern of this nation over the ill that are perpetrated against Negro citizens in Alabama."

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Bandit Robs National Press Club of \$1225

The Weather

Today—Partly cloudy, high to the 40s. The clouds will spread by Tuesday. —Fair and mild. Tomorrow's temperature high—45, low—31 degrees at 3:30 p.m. Low, 21 degrees at 3:15 a.m. Weather Map and Forecast Page 2

The Washington Post

FINAL

Times Herald

88th Year No. 93 Phone RE. 7-1234

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MONDAY, MARCH 8, 1965

WTOP-TV (9) Radio (1500)

TEN CENTS

Troopers Rout Selma Marchers

Marines Go Ashore in S. Viet-Nam

1st Wave Debarks At Da Nang Base; 1400 Due Today

The first wave of 1300 United States Marines is being sent to guard the strategic Da Nang air base through military means. At first the U.S. aid was largely economic but military help was increased by President Kennedy and accelerated by President Johnson as the Communists both within South Viet-Nam and from North Viet-Nam stepped up their military pressure to win control of the South.

Principles of Policy The Issues Underlying U.S. Role in Viet-Nam

The accelerating pressure in Viet-Nam has created concern throughout the world. Here is an attempt to clarify the issues behind it and the policy struggle involved.

Q. Why is the United States in South Viet-Nam at all?

A. After France pulled out of Indochina in 1954 and South Viet-Nam became a separate nation under the Geneva agreement the U.S. promised to help it become capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means. At first the U.S. aid was largely economic but military help was increased by President Kennedy and accelerated by President Johnson as the Communists both within South Viet-Nam and from North Viet-Nam stepped up their military pressure to win control of the South.

Q. Is the war in the South a civil war between pro- and anti-Communist elements or is it essentially a case of aggression from the outside plus subversion from the inside?

A. The U.S. contends it is the latter and recently issued a "white paper" to prove it. The U.S. is not a party to the war. Some have argued that the U.S. is operating on the assumption that it is aggression and subversion directed in the first instance from Hanoi, the North Vietnamese capital, strongly backed by the Chinese.

Q. Then the U.S. believes this is not just a case of pro-Communist Viet-Nam but of having Chinese Communist agents in Asia?

A. President Johnson has never said so but Defense Secretary McNamara did last month. McNamara called it "South Viet-Nam the 'hot spot' in the struggle against Communist expansion" in Southeast Asia though he said that this is not to say that the Communists won't negotiate with the U.S. first pull out its military forces and that they are willing to go on fighting for 20 years until victory "if the U.S. does not leave unambiguously."

Q. Then this means we are stuck with the Communists?

Bonn Offers Recognition To Israel

Arabs' Reaction To Surprise Move Still Uncertain

BONN, March 7.—Chancellor Ludwig Erhard offered West German diplomatic recognition to Israel today in a sudden move.

The decision, it was learned, was taken by the Chancellor, against the strongest advice of Foreign Minister Gerhard Schröder.

It also came as a surprise to American, British and French diplomats.

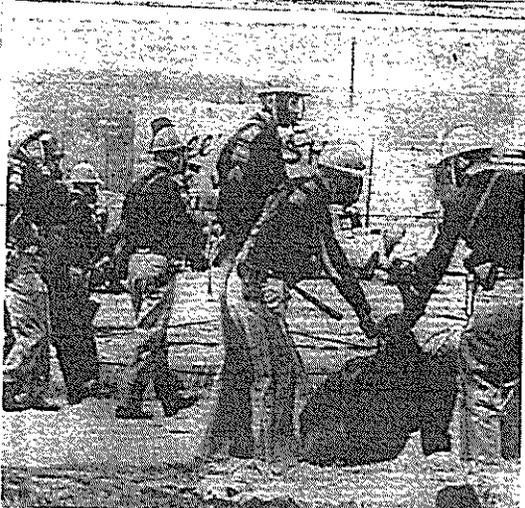
Western envoys, along with Schröder and at least half of Erhard's cabinet ministers, had been counseling a West German policy of continued caution and of taking no further steps that would further infuriate the Arab world.

The United States has, however, always favored West German-Israeli relations.

Erhard late today ordered a special press conference at which his press secretary read the Chancellor's decision that the historic diplomatic barrier in the Middle East might be ended.

(In Washington, Israel Deputy Prime Minister Abba Eban said Bonn's offer "will certainly be studied by my government.")

Abba Eban, appearing on the NBC TV program "Meet the Press," said that



Alabama state troopers, wearing helmets and gas masks, drag off a demonstrator after breaking up the vote march in Selma yesterday. Other pictures on Page A1.

Tear Gas And Clubs Are Used

Scores of Negroes Hurt; King Calls For Another Try

SELMA, Ala., March 7 (UPI)—State troopers and mounted deputies bombarded 600 praying Negroes with tear gas today and then waded into them with clubs, whips and ropes, injuring scores.

The troopers and possemen, under Gov. George Wallace's orders to stop the Negroes "Walk for Freedom" from Selma to Montgomery, chased the screaming, bleeding marchers down a mile back to their church, clubbing them as they ran.

Amphibians screamed in reply between Good Samaritan Hospital and Brown's Chapel Church, carrying hysterical men, women and children suffering head wounds and tear gas burns.

In Atlanta, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. announced that he would lead a new march from Selma on Thursday and called on Congressmen from throughout the Nation to join him.

Hospital Treats 50 to 60

A hospital spokesman told The Washington Post in a telephone report that between 50 and 60 marchers had been treated for injuries that included broken arms and legs and severe head lacerations.

"None of the victims was

Cubans Held In Spattering Of Embassy

By Richard Corrigan
WASHINGTON Post Staff Writer

Black liquid was splattered yesterday on the front of the Russian Embassy by a band of Cuban refugees.

Police arrested five of the

D.C. Officials Support Assault on Illiteracy

The call by a top-level citizens committee for a new, all-out drive to combat illiteracy in the Nation's Capital, voiced in a report made public yesterday, has sparked the enthusiasm of key local leaders.

District and United Planning Organization officials were vigorous in their support, and a broad campaign also

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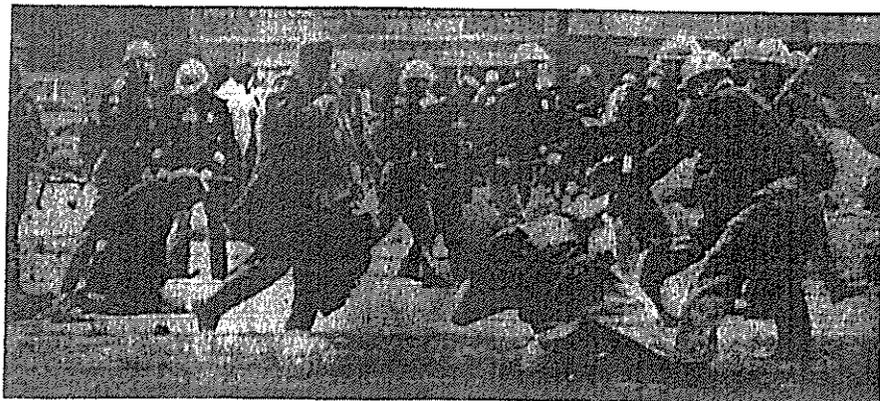
Place were also made available to the... investigation.

Suits

BY FREEMAN

in front row... to the... and... (SWS)

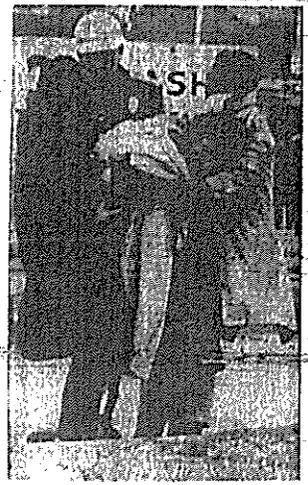
MS
ET



A woman demonstrators has fallen to her knees and a sister trooper tops at another fellow marcher as the troopers break up yesterday's Selma rights march.

SELMIA—Troopers Rout Selma Marchers With Tear Gas

Selma troopers today routed a group of about 500 marchers who were marching from the church to the state capitol building in Selma, Ala., today. The troopers used tear gas and clubs to break up the march. The marchers were led by Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and other leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The march was part of a series of protests against the segregationist policies of the Alabama government. The troopers fired tear gas canisters at the marchers, forcing them to retreat. Some marchers were injured. The marchers were then taken to a nearby hospital for treatment. The incident is part of a larger struggle for civil rights in the South.



A Selma trooper watches as an apparently unorganized group of marchers from the highway by two friends after the fall in the first rush of troopers yesterday.

The troopers started out today to walk the 50 miles to Montgomery to protest against the denial of Negro voting rights in Alabama. The march was led by Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and other leaders of the SCLC. The troopers used tear gas and clubs to break up the march. The marchers were then taken to a nearby hospital for treatment. The incident is part of a larger struggle for civil rights in the South.

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Professor Tells Why He Marched

SELMIA, Ala., March 8 (AP)—The Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. today said he marched with the Selma marchers to help the Negroes in their struggle for equal rights.

King said he was not a member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) but he felt it was his duty to march with the Negroes.

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unday, which is March the 7th, 1965, the plans were made, so I was looking forward to it.

[05:03]

That morning I got up and I had two nieces that I was rearing. However, I had them in boarding school at that time. And I said to myself, now, I don't have to look out for them because they are under the supervision of the school, and I knew that I would not be able to march all the way, due to the fact that when Dr. King says they asked me to send somebody and I'm asking you to go to Chicago or New York or Washington or Virginia or whatnot, I would always be prepared to go.

[05:53]

But I knew also that the next day I was to go to Dothan, Alabama. So that Sunday morning I went immediately to the church. We were to march immediately after the meeting, after the eleven o'clock service.

Q: Which church?

A: This is Brown's Chapel AME Church. And I was there, prepared to march and settle at the place where we were going to stop for the night. I had on high-heel shoes, because at that time I didn't wear low-heel shoes. I don't wear them too low

[08:57]

But we did notice that there were so many of them with guns that were on the side of us as we marched toward the bridge. And as we got on the other side of the bridge at the beginning, I saw these men as close as tin soldiers, and I said to Marie, "Gee whiz, these men look like tin soldiers," and they were standing as though they were standing at attention.

And just before we got to the light across the bridge, we saw that the road was blocked. We were on one side and of course the traffic was coming back and forth on the other side. We saw this sound(?) truck and saw Cloud-- I think that was his name-- on the truck. And we saw on both sides with these people looking like tin soldiers dressed in uniform. And when I said to Marie that they looked like tin soldiers she said, "They certainly do."

[10:07]

I didn't think anything was going to happen, but as we approached this sound truck, through the bullhorn it was announced, "Don't go any farther." And when Hosea Williams said, "May I say something?" Clark said, "No, you may not say anything. Charge on them, men!" And just like the brigade, they came from the right, they came from the left, they came from in front of us. And being near the front, I think we got the worst of it.

now. And I had my bag, it was slightly rainy. Margaret Moore said to me, "Where is your cap, your hat?" I said, "I don't have a hat." She had one of these plastic caps. She took the cap, put it on my head and said, "You need something on your head." One of these plastic caps that tie under your neck. I said okay. And I had a small bag because I wasn't going any farther the next morning.

[07:19]

I started out with the rest. Hosea Williams, John Lewis were in the front. There was another couple, another two fellows, two young fellows in front of us. Marie Foster and I were behind the men. So we were in the front.

Before this, many times we marched before. Jim Clark said you must be march in twos and there must be so many feet behind each other. But this particular time he seemed to have-- in fact the order was just march. And we did not feel(?) that distance as we had been when we were marching to the courthouse. And this is the time, the same woman who said that we looked like buzzards, looked out and said, "Go on, children. Go on. I wish you good luck." I don't know whether she knew what was going to happen or not. But we did not know. We did not know the state troopers were coming in. We did not know that Sheriff Clark was going to have maybe 100 or 150 posses there. We did not know that there would be sheriff's deputies from all different parts of the-- different counties coming in.

[10:41]

And they started beating us. They had horses. I haven't seen those pictures since I was called in to the FBI office when they had just a number of them. There were several pictures I have seen, and I have copies of them. And they said when they said "Charge on them, men" it looked like they just delighted in frailing people. And I saw the first-- saw them when they were beating people down, and I just stood.

[11:16]

Then one guy hit me with the nightstick, I think it was a nightstick. He hit me with the nightstick just back of the head and down toward the shoulder. And I still stood up there. Then the second-hick was at the base of the neck-- And I fell. I saw the gas. But the interesting thing about it is I understand from one of the pictures when I fell I became unconscious. The pictures I saw, one fellow was standing over me with a stick.

One of the other pictures was how they were pumping gas on me, knowing that I was-- that my house and my office were being used, they figured that if they got me, I guess, that it would end or will dampen the demonstrations. And I understand that somebody told Jim Clark when everybody had gone and I was

ing in the road that somebody told him to send an ambulance, somebody was
ad over there. And he said, "No, say nothing, let the buzzards eat him." They
didn't know who it was, they just knew somebody, and maybe others were lying
around too.

[12:48]

And from the picture, and I think one is in the book, when one of the officers, it
might have been Cloud or somebody, said "Get up," and someone else said, "She's
dead," and then somebody said, "Drag her off. Drag her out of the road." And two
boys, one picture has it that there were two boys that drug me off of the highway
and put me on the side.

[13:22]

Well, whoever was talking to Jim Clark said, "If you don't send an ambulance over
there, you're going to have chaos on your hands and these people are going to tear
this city up." And he allowed the ambulance. And I think that was the ambulance
that came from Anderson Funeral Home that time. You had-- the funeral homes
had the ambulances. And they came over and they got me. I don't remember. I
understand that they took me to the church and tried to revive me but could not
revive me.

[14:03]

So they took me from there to the Good Samaritan Hospital. And when I was
revived, I really didn't know where I was, but I was there several hours before I
really came to. Now that part I don't know, but I've heard from so many people
how it happened, so it might not be exactly like you have heard it.

But when I realized what had happened, I wasn't sad, I wasn't afraid, but I was
more determined than ever that the journey needed to be completed. And it was.

[14:55]

Then Dr. King came in and they had a meeting at my house and he said, "I have
notified the people all over the country to come and help us because we need help."
And some of the folks have-- well, President Johnson said, "Don't march." And he
told us, said "President Johnson said don't march, because he could not control the
state troopers." He said these were the state troopers who were on the side. "I
cannot control them. You wait until I federalize the state troopers and then you
can march."

But Dr. King had already called out for people from all over the country to come
and help us. And he said, "I don't know what I'm going to do. I have gotten these

people--" and I was in a meeting when he said this. "I have called, I have
contacted the folk and told them to come."

[16:03]

So at the end they decided after saying that, which was against what President
Johnson said, don't march, and these people who were even in the meeting said,
"You've got to march. All these people have come in. You've got to march." So
we decided that we would march as far as where we were beaten and we would
kneel and pray, and we did. People came by the hundreds, from everywhere.

[16:34]

And when Cloud said, "Don't march, stop where you are," Dr. King leading the
march, stopped, and we prayed, sang, turned around and went back to Brown
Chapel and the church. It was quite an ordeal for so many people because it was
then that so many people had broken arms, broken legs. One fellow was almost
drowned because he ran down where the river was. I think somebody helped him
to-- was stable enough to pull him out. It was really something. And that was
body Sunday, that road was filled with-- not filled with blood, but blood was all
over the street, the road in fact, this is a highway. Because many people, as I said,
had broken limbs, were bruised and battered, whatnot.

[17:46]

And the interesting thing is that cap that Margaret Moore gave me, as these people
were pumping gas around me, this cap saved me because of an act of God, that cap
fell over my face. And in spite of that, I have a scarred esophagus now from the
gas that was pumped. And I don't know why they thought they could kill me. I
was just an individual doing what most of them would have done if they had been
free, as I was.

Q: What can you tell us about the two weeks after Turnaround Tuesday, as it was
called, and then when the final-- the successful march to Montgomery began on the
21st? What can you tell us about that almost two-week spread of time?

[18:52]

A: Between then, we had demonstrations, we continued to go to the courthouse,
and I'm just wondering whether-- I can't remember now whether it was after that
that I was arrested. I don't think it was a second time, third time. One was after
everything was over. No, it wasn't.

We were still having demonstrations, people were still coming in. The beautiful
thing about it is we had so many people coming in from all walks of life. A fellow
called me at the house and said, "I want to talk to you." And from his voice,

And after the services, the people that weren't going to-- would not be participating in the march, I guess they left and just went on about their business.

Q: I think you said there was a number of whites showed up.

[25:14]

A: Right. There was one white gentleman that really stand out. And he had the same name as the Public Safety Director for Alabama. His name was Al Lingo. And he was there, he was very visible in the march.

But the day before the march, the day before March 7th or March 6th, several dozen white citizens of Alabama participated in a demonstration, a sympathy demonstration, saying let people register to vote, calling for peace and no violence in Selma, calling for social justice, trying to show their support for the whole effort of voting rights.

[26:12]

Somehow in some way Andy Young, along with James Bevel and Hosea Williams, all on the SCLC staff, gathered-- and I'm not-- I don't recall how they did it, whether they flipped a coin or drew straws, but they asked me to lead the march for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. This was the request of Andy

Bloody Sunday

Young, was the representative of Dr. King. And they drew-- tossed a coin or drew a straw between Hosea Williams and James Bevel, and I think Andy sort of stayed out of it. Because anytime when we were involved in an effort of this type we didn't want all the so-called leaders to get arrested and go to jail. We all thought we would be arrested and jailed that day, we really did. We had no idea what was about to--

[27:12]

Q: ...(inaudible)

A: No. We just thought that we'd get to the-- near the bridge or someplace out of the city and we would be arrested and brought back. We-- outside of the Brown Chapel Church, there was a little playground and a housing project. The play-yard is still there, the housing project is still there. We divided the 525 or more people into small groups, and there's been small photographs of people kneeling here and there in small groups.

[27:50]

We conducted nonviolent workshops right there on the scene, telling people to adhere to the philosophy of nonviolence, not to hit back, not to strike back, not to talk back, not to yell, not to holler, refrain from using profanity and practice the

philosophy of nonviolence. And if you couldn't-- we said to people, if you could not restrain yourself, don't go, don't participate, stay here at the church, go home.

[28:20]

And then we decided that we would line up in two's and that it would be a silent march and we would put the women and the children for the most part in the center and the men would be up front and behind, and the younger people and the women sort of in the center. And some of the women that made up the leadership would be close to the front.

And we decided to just walk in two's. It was Hosea Williams from SCLC and myself. I was wearing a light trenchcoat and I had a knapsack, and in this knapsack I had two books, an apple and an orange. And in my coat pocket I had a toothbrush and a small tube of toothpaste, I believe, in my coat or in the knapsack. See, during those days if you thought you were going to be arrested and go to jail, we encouraged people if you're going to stay in jail for a while at least to have a toothbrush. And so almost every person would have a toothbrush and toothpaste--

[29:31]

Q: That was kind of a trademark.

A: That was a trademark really. We started walking out of Selma and you just-- it was just very eerie. You didn't see any traffic moving, just nothing. Apparently the local police officials had sort of organized to control the traffic and encouraged people just to stay away.

[29:57]

See, the night before, on the night of March 6th, Sheriff Clark had requested that all white men over the age of 21 to come down to the Dallas County courthouse to be deputized to become part of the posse, his posse, to stop the march. So as we walked, we saw a few sheriff officials here and there. We came right to the foot of the bridge, just before you get ready to go up on the bridge, there was just a pocket of a few people, press people, few law enforcement people at the foot, and there was no-- nothing. No traffic. I think maybe one or two cars, but they had just redirected, detoured traffic some other way to cross the Alabama River.

[30:57]

And we started walking, just walking silent, not saying a word. We hadn't even gotten any report about what was on the other side or nothing. And we came to the apex of the bridge and as we got to the apex of the bridge we saw a sea of blue, and it was Alabama state troopers. And we just continued to walk. And Hosea

Williams said something to me and I said something to him about it seemed like they were waiting for us.

[31:27]

And we continued to walk and we came into hearing distance of the state troopers, and a man identified himself and said, "I am Major John Clough. This is an unlawful march. I give you three minutes to disperse and go back to your church." I would say in less than a minute and a half he said, "Troopers, advance." But before he said that, I said to Hosea, I suggested maybe we should kneel in prayer, in a prayerful manner, something to that effect. But before we can really pass the word back to people, he said, "Troopers, advance."

And you saw these men putting on their gas masks, and Hosea said "They're going to use tear gas." And I had never been involved in tear gas before--

Q: This was the first time you had ever been involved.

[32:24]

A: Right, never seen it, felt it before. So they came toward us, pushing and trampling us with the horses and beating, and then they released the tear gas. And I was just there choking, choking, and I felt like it was the last demonstration. I

just sort of wanted to be just left alone. I just wanted-- just let me be. But we couldn't go to the side, because you tried to go to the side--

Q: They were closing in on you.

[32:53]

A: Yes. And you would-- they were just closing in. And then on each side of you was the Alabama River, and if you tried to go forward you were going into the heat of the battle, and so they just pushed us back. But to this day, to this--

END OF #501

BEGINNING OF #502

A: To this day, I don't know how I made it back across that bridge, down the street from--

Q: Weren't you clubbed down--

[00:19]

A: I was clubbed down and I suffered a concussion, but somehow and some way I made it back, and I was in Brown--

Q: Do you remember being clubbed or not?

[00:29]

A: I don't remember-- I really don't remember being clubbed. I--

Q: Next clear memory you're back in the church?

A: I was back in the church. And I do remember being on the outside of the church before carrying in and I saw the emergency vehicles and the ambulance picking people up and taking people away on stretchers. And I went into the church and the church was packed. It was just full. It was just standing-room-only and hundreds of people standing all around the walls of the church. And someone said, "John Lewis, come up and say something."

[01:07]

And I stood up, and I remember saying these few lines, something to the effect, "I don't understand how President Johnson can send troops to Vietnam and cannot send troops to Selma, Alabama to protect people whose only desire is to register to vote." And the next thing I knew, I was in Good Samaritan Hospital in Selma. That's Sunday evening--

Q: On the 7th.

[01:34]

A: On the 7th. And I stayed in that Sunday evening. That Monday, late Monday morning I think, Sunday night, was Monday morning, Dr. King and Reverend Abernathy came to the hospital to visit me. And Dr. King said something like, "John, hope you're all right. Don't worry, we're going to make it from Selma to Montgomery."

A few days later-- well not a few days later. The next day Dr. King in the meantime, because of what happened that Sunday, he came to Selma and he issued a statement condemning the violence and the brutality in Selma. Because of what happened there, there was a sense of angry and I guess you might call it--

Q: All over the United States.

[02:24]

A: All over the United States, a sense of righteous indignation, where the people saw what happened on television, they read about it in the newspaper, and there was demonstration after in Washington, every major city in America, and some of

our embassies abroad. And Dr. King issued a call, issued an appeal for the religious leaders of America to come to Selma.

[02:46]

And on that next Tuesday, March 9th, I guess more than a thousand, somewhere between a thousand and three thousand I guess-- I don't recall the exact number-- but several hundred-- it was more than a thousand-- religious leaders, mostly white, almost all white, a few blacks but mostly white, and priests, rabbis, nun, laypeople, a lot of people from the South, came there and they marched to the bridge, right to the point where we had been beaten two days earlier, and had a prayer and went back to the church.

And that night--

Q: Were you still in the hospital at that time?

[03:37]

A: I was still in the hospital. But that night, there was a young minister, young white minister from Boston, a Unitarian minister by the name of James Reeb, who had participated in the demonstration earlier that day, went out with several other young white religious leaders to a little restaurant and got something to eat. And

on the way back from the restaurant they were walking back to the church, to Brown Chapel AME Church, they were beaten, and he was severely beaten and he died a day later at a hospital in Birmingham.

[04:17]

In the meantime, the people in SNCC, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who had opposed the March on Washington, became so I guess angry and upset at what had happened, and they really wanted to-- they argued with Dr. King and SCLC for turning back. They really wanted to go on. I took the position as the chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee that as an organization we lost the right to criticize Dr. King for turning back because we didn't support the march as an organization--

Q: Organization in the first place.

[04:59]

A: In the first place. So we had no right. And then in keeping with the philosophy and the discipline of nonviolence, there's nothing wrong with retreating for another day. That is very much in keeping with what Gandhi did on several occasions. So I never became critical of Dr. King; I supported his decision. But that caused me problems within my own organization, but I didn't mind that.