

SEX and CIVIL RIGHTS

ONE
DOLLAR



THE TRUE

SELMA

STORY



Several hundred demonstrators were forced to stand on Dexter Avenue in front of the State Capitol at Montgomery. On the night of March 10, 1965, these demonstrators, who knew that once they left the area they would not be able to return, urinated en masse in the street on the signal of James Forman, SNCC Executive Director. "All right," Forman shouted, "Everyone stand up and relieve yourself." Almost everyone did. Some arrests were made of men who went to obscene extremes in exposing themselves to local police officers.

The True SELMA Story



Albert C. (Buck) Persons has lived in Birmingham, Alabama for 15 years. As a stringer for LIFE and managing editor of a metropolitan weekly newspaper he covered the Birmingham demonstrations in 1963. On a special assignment for Congressman William L. Dickinson of Alabama he investigated the Selma-Montgomery demonstrations in March, 1965. In 1961 Persons was one of a handful of pilots hired to support the invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. His story on this two years later led to the admission by President Kennedy that four American flyers had died in combat over the beaches of Southern Cuba in an effort to drive Fidel Castro from the armed Soviet garrison that had been set up 90 miles off the coast of the United States. After interviewing scores of people who were

eye-witnesses to the Selma-Montgomery march, Mr. Persons has written the articles published here. In summation he says, "The greatest obstacle in the Negro's search for "freedom" is the Negro himself and the leaders he has chosen to follow.

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In ten short years Martin Luther King has risen to a position of leadership and political influence never before approached by a Negro in America. Many people in both races today question his associations and his ultimate goals. Down what road is King leading his race in the United States — is it toward freedom, or is it back into slavery?

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Was the widespread misbehavior prevalent on the Selma-to-Montgomery march only-to-be-expected youthful protests against established mores, or was it an integral part of the planned demonstration, calculated to provoke and to incite. Here are sworn statements of eye-witnesses.

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In a so-called Christian movement morality would seem to play an important part. Here are the unsavory police and court records of the leaders of the civil rights movement.

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A photograph, which stops a split-second of action, can say anything an editor wants it to say. Here is the story, by a LIFE "stringer" of how the Birmingham "image" was created.

Martin Luther King and Communism Page 20

The complete files of a Communist front organization were taken in a raid in New Orleans. These files are a documented record of more than 25 years of subversive activity, mostly in the field of civil rights. They offer conclusive evidence of Martin Luther King's long and intimate association with known Communist Party members working in an organization which was set up by the Communist Party of the United States for the express purpose of subverting the civil rights movement in the South.

Black Knight Of The Civil Rights Movement

Selma and Montgomery, Alabama, were visited in March, 1965 by thousands of sincere people who believed that they participated in a holy crusade for human dignity and civil rights. Among these thousands were priests, nuns, ministers and religious leaders from throughout the nation. They came, they believed, to bear witness to Christ's admonition that "In as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my bretheren, ye have done it unto me."

* * * * *

Selma, however, was neither inspired nor created by these well motivated and sincere thousands. The fact that they believed they were right, the fact that a civil rights cause, per se, which inspired their presence in Selma may be just, the fact that their motives were beyond reproach, does nothing to mitigate the fact that they were misguided. Selma and Montgomery were targets chosen by the leaders of civil rights organizations in a long range campaign to exploit the travails of a minority group in this country. The leadership, the direction and the control of the civil rights movement is in the hands of those who organize and run the communist conspiracy to subjugate the entire world. This conspiracy we recognize as a threat to the peace and security of the world—and we fight hard against it all over the world. It is also a threat to the peace and security of this nation, and it operates among other places here in this country behind the cover of the civil rights movement. It is a good cover. Dr. Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, one of the sponsors of the

Selma - Montgomery demonstration, has even persuaded the President of the United States to parrot the catch-phrase "we shall overcome" before a joint session of the U. S. Congress. King has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Any attack on King today is almost automatically assumed to be an attack on the Negro's search for justice, freedom and equality. The truth is, however, Martin Luther King is tied directly to a communist conspiracy which is aimed at destroying every vestige of human dignity, individual freedom and, incidentally, civil rights.

* * * * *

When an Alabama Congressman, William L. Dickinson, attacked the moral degeneracy which characterized the behavior of a hard-core element of demonstrators who participated in the Selma-to-Montgomery march, he was, himself, widely attacked for his protest. When he said that men dressed as clergymen participated in these activities, he was attacked for smearing the church. He was called a liar and accused of spreading "garbage." The "garbage" was not of the Congressman's making, but it was there. It was there by design. It was an integral part of the whole operation, and it was calculated to incite and to provoke. These are not simply youthful protestors against established mores. These are professional and semi-professional agitators who know what they are doing. If they, and the insufferable indignities they inflict on the decent people in the communities where they appear, were not desired in the civil rights movement it would take only a word from Dr. King

to have them removed. Dr. King did not give the word in Selma. Nor will he in Boston, Washington, San Francisco or wherever he decides to strike next. People in towns and cities which are future targets for King and his "movement" should prepare themselves for the debauchery, drunkenness and open, promiscuous sexual activity which occurred in Selma and Montgomery.

* * * * *

What the people of the United States must learn is that no honest person in the South today will deny that Negroes in this country have been the victims of prejudice, discrimination and injustice. No honest person in the South today will deny the Negro's right to full citizenship, equal opportunity and an end to personal indignities they have been subjected to in the past because of their race and color. And no one in the United States today should fail to recognize that because the Negro's cause is just and his protest legitimate, both he and the white Southerner are particularly attractive victims for those who would use this cause, and this protest, for their own divisive purposes. Dr. Martin Luther King is one of these. This black knight sits astride the white horse of the civil rights movement. And Dr. King, if he is not checked, will ride it to its death.

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"Non-violence" is not Dr. King's weapon. Non-violence would actually destroy King—if he allowed it to prevail. Violence is King's weapon. He must have it. Violence and civil disorder are King's meat and bread. It is what sustains him. He uses it to divide the South

from the rest of the nation. And in his efforts he has had a big assist from the national press and other communications media. Today, almost anywhere in the world, the name "Birmingham" automatically calls to mind vicious police dogs, thug cops, bombs, and firehoses mowing down innocent Negro children on the city streets. This "image" is as phony as a three-dollar bill. In Birmingham, and Alabama, there are violent uncontrollable elements of society. These are not peculiar to Alabama. There are large prison populations in every state in the Union which attest to the fact that there are violent and uncontrollable members of society in every state. The problem is one which involves frailties of human nature, uncontrollable itself. It is not a problem created by some basic bestiality confined to members of the white race who live below the Mason-Dixon Line.

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According to the results of recent polls only, a small percentage of people in the United States outside the South believe that Negroes can register to vote in the South. Martin Luther King says Negroes can't register and, unfortunately, most of the nation's press media goes right along with him in support of his "voter registration drive"—without attempting to learn the facts. The truth is King's drive in Selma and the Black Belt counties of Alabama is a drive to register every illiterate in the state—which happens to be a violation of the laws of the State of Alabama, just as it is a violation in many other states outside the South.

King is already beginning to talk



Martin Luther King and James Forman, Executive Director of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee during the Selma-Montgomery demonstrations. The hand at the right is that of a demonstrator who is attempting to unfurl for clearer identification the United Nations flag. Many people object to King's use of the United Nations flag in his demonstrations as reflecting his new emphasis on the civil rights movement as a world-wide "class struggle."

about the civil rights movement as a part of a world-wide "class struggle." He also suggests we should pull out of Viet Nam. Next he will probably have something to say about the Dominican Republic and Cuba. When he does, it's a safe bet that his recommendations will follow a line which serves best the interests of the communist conspiracy. But then why not? For years King has been on intimate terms, and has worked closely, with people and organizations dedicated to the communist cause.

* * * * *

The churches and churchmen, (the biggest single threat to communist ambitions throughout the world) when they lend their support to King, should consider carefully the garden path down which they are being led. In a time of much physical insecurity and spiritual uncertainty, clergymen must often feel a sense of inadequacy to meet the growing demands of their calling. The place to correct this, however, is at home—

not in the ranks of King's marchers in Selma, Alabama.

In Montgomery, late in February, 1964, Nobel Peace Prize winner Martin Luther King had this to say: "To the State of Alabama and its people, you had better fasten your seat belts. There will be no peace or tranquility until the Negro has had his conquest. . . ."

In Birmingham, in the summer of 1963, Martin Luther King was asked by a young white man (one of King's supporters who feared for his physical safety in forthcoming planned demonstrations) if he, King, thought it would be necessary for him to take an active part in the planned demonstrations. Dr. King said it was not necessary. "You don't have to demonstrate," King said. "We don't want you to. We have enough idiots out there to take care of all that."

* * * * *

For sheer hypocrisy there has been nothing equal to Dr. Martin Luther King since Judas Iscariot.



NO BOOZE?

NBC commentator Charles Quinn testified at length on the Huntley-Brinkley program that there had been no drinking in evidence on the Selma-to-Montgomery march. Quinn said that he had accompanied the marchers all the way. The only evidence he saw was one beer can—and that was his own. Not that it makes all that much difference, but just to keep the record straight, and Mr. Quinn along with it, the pictures on this page were taken at the Montgomery Municipal Airport on the night of March 28 (following the departure from Montgomery of thousands of demonstrators who had gathered in front of the State Capitol earlier in the afternoon. The case of Scotch Whiskey, incidentally, was empty.



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Here, however, for those who are willing to accept the kind of evidence which is accepted in our courts, are some of the affidavits of people who were on the spot and have taken oath that what they state is the truth.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

My name is Mrs. Nettie Adams, and I live at 3555 Prince George Drive in Montgomery, Alabama. I am now and have been a member of the City Police Department of Montgomery for over five (5) years.

On March 15, 1965, at about 9:30 P.M., my husband and I were returning home from my mother's home at 622 South Hull Street. We knew that there had been some trouble with demonstrators at High and Jackson Streets. We took Adams Street to avoid this, but as we approached Adams and Ripley Streets, we noticed a crowd of people. We stopped to see what was going on. There were white and Negro people all over the Ripley Street side of St. Margaret's

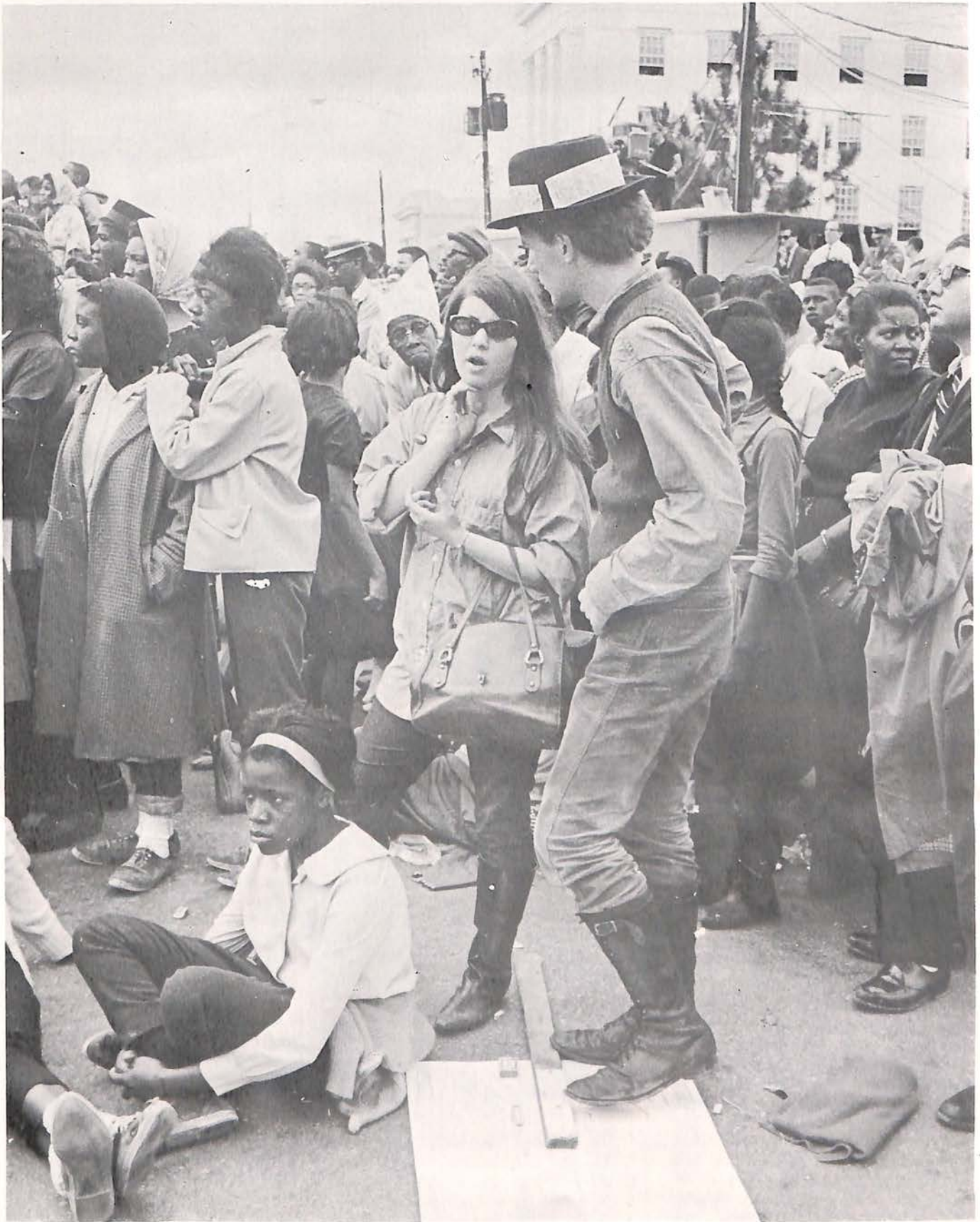
Hospital and across the street, between Price's Drug Store and Powell Electric Company. They were all kissing and hugging. This one particular couple on St. Margaret's lawn was engaged in sexual relations, a white woman (a skinny blonde) and a Negro man. After they were through, she wiggled out from beneath him and over to the man lying to the left of them on the lawn and started kissing and caressing his face. At this point, a detective's car pulled up next to the group over by Price's Drug Store, and my husband said, "Let's get out of here; this is no place for a man to have his wife." We left immediately.

* * * * *

The day they marched on the Courthouse, the policewomen had to work traffic downtown, and after a few hours my husband came down and he and I went into Chris' Hog Dog Stand for a coffee break. When we came out, two of the other ladies went in for a break. Just as they went inside, a group came

from the Courthouse, hollering and carrying on, saying, "We are Communists and we belong to the John Birch Society." They stopped in front of Chris' and this red-haired woman and Negro man started making love and embracing one another, as if they wanted someone to try and stop them. I stayed there because I was afraid they were going in Chris' and I wanted to be able to call for help. I didn't want our two policewomen or anyone to get hurt.

On March 31, the day they had the funeral to place the ten coffins on the Capitol steps, I was placed at the intersection of Wilkerson and Montgomery Streets to hold the traffic. As they passed me, they started laughing real loud and some of them hollered, "She's a segregationist, you can tell; she just looks like one." At one time during the day, before the parade started, there was a crowd gathering on the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church steps and in front of the church. A Negro boy was lying backwards across the hood of a



The interesting thing about the human race is that it comes in so many different sizes and shapes. Here is a good cross section at Montgomery in the persons of some of the demonstrators who took part in the march from Selma. The boots are not recommended hiking equipment.

car parked in front of the church and a white girl was leaning over him from the other side of the car, kissing him about the face.

About 5:30 that evening, March 31, a group of Negroes coming from the demonstration was in the second block of Dexter Avenue. They started yelling all together, "Them white sons of bitches, we will cut their asses off." I called for a patrol car. They were headed for the first block of Dexter, and just as they got to the corner they started singing real loud, "We Shall Overcome," and "We Want Our Freedom, and We Want It This Year." The officer working the first block of Dexter, M. E. Furr, noticed them and began to follow them. They split up. He followed a group of four into H. L. Green's and back out. By this time, the patrol car was there and we approached them and told them they were under arrest. There were three (3) juveniles and one adult, Babette Hadley, 26 years old, who lived on Ludie Street in Montgomery. Babette Hadley started fighting Officer Rodgers, saying that she wasn't getting in that damned car; he would have to kill her first and she was ready to die for the cause. She had an umbrella and was swinging it at him. He took it away from her and put her in the car. After she got to jail, they discovered that she was drinking. I called the jail to see if she had made bond or if I would have to go to court the next morning. I talked with Security Officer Lawrence, who said that she had not made bond. I told him that it looked as though I would be in court the next morning. He said, "Yes, if she sobers up enough." I stated that I had not known that she was drinking, since I had been warned by my supervisors not to get close and risk getting hurt, but that I knew that she was acting strangely. He said that she was drunk. I called Chief Lackey, because I knew that he had been tied up at the Capitol that day and probably did not know about this arrest. He said that he didn't know about it and would call the jail. I later called the jail and talked with Sgt. Grady Arnette. He told me that Chief Lackey had called and that she had quieted down and made a phone call, and that she would probably make bond. I asked him if she was drunk, and he told me that she was drinking quite a bit. She didn't make bond and was charged with disorderly conduct and fined \$25 and costs in court the next morning.

I also worked at the jail two nights when we had to make quite a few arrests. I shook down the women pris-

oners, and most of them had no under-pants on.

(s) NETTIE ADAMS

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3rd day of April, 1965.

(s) Albert Marvin, Sr.

Notary Public

My commission expires 1-18-67.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

My name is _____ I am a Negro thirty-two years old and a life-long resident of Montgomery, Alabama. I live at _____ Street in Montgomery. I am employed at _____.

During a three-day period which I believe to be around March 8, 9, and 10, 1965, a great many people began to arrive in Montgomery to demonstrate here and to get ready for the march from Selma to Montgomery. During this period, I was frequently in and around the Ben Moore Hotel, a Negro hotel at 902 Highland Avenue, which was headquarters of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee on the corner of Jackson and High Streets. Many of the outside demonstrators stayed at the Ben Moore Hotel and in the neighborhood. One man whom I saw frequently during this period was dressed as a priest. I was later told by a SNCC staff worker, whose name was Randy, that this priest's name is Lennon Sweat, and that he is from Philadelphia. When I saw him he was usually drinking wine or whiskey in company with Negro boys and girls. On one occasion, I saw him go into the back room at SNCC headquarters with a Negro girl. I saw them begin to take their clothes off. I did not see what they did. Later the girl told me that this priest, Sweat, had paid her \$12. I, myself, had seen this priest hand the girl some money before they went back.

SNCC headquarters, was located in a building with a large room up front which was used for an office. Off this room, in back, was a smaller room in which were about twelve to fifteen canvas cots. During the period I am talking about, men and women used this room for sex freely and openly and without interference. On one occasion, I saw James Forman, Executive Director of SNCC, and a red-haired white girl whose name is Rachel, on one of the cots together. They engaged in sexual intercourse, as well as an abnormal sex act which consisted of each of the two manipulating the other's private parts with their mouths simultaneously. Forman and the girl, Rachel, made no effort to hide their actions.

During this same period, March 8, 9 and 10, a large number of young dem-

onstrators of both races and sexes occupied the Jackson Street Baptist Church for approximately forty-eight hours. These were not members of the church, or at least most of them were not, but people who had come from out of town. I would estimate that there were at least two hundred involved. In spite of pleas from the minister and other members of the church, these people would not leave. I saw young boys and girls drinking beer and whiskey in the church and having wild parties in general. They left the bottles and cans all over the church. I saw numerous instances of boys and girls of both races hugging and kissing and fondling one another openly in the church. On one occasion, I saw a Negro boy and a white girl engaged in sexual intercourse on the floor of the church. At this time the church was packed and the couple did nothing to hide their actions. While they were engaged in this act of sexual intercourse, other boys and girls stood around and watched, laughing and joking.

This statement, which I make freely and of my own accord, and which has been read back to me, represents incidents which I have personally witnessed.

Subscribed and sworn to this day of April, 1965.

Signed.

Notary Public.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

My name is James Duke. I am a Captain in the Sheriff's Office of Montgomery County, Alabama, and I reside at 516 Forest Hills Dr., Montgomery, Alabama. On March 10, 1965, at approximately 1:20 p.m., I, in my official capacity as a Captain of the Sheriff's Office, along with other law officers of the City of Montgomery and the State of Alabama, was on duty on Dexter Avenue in Montgomery, Alabama, in the block as it ends at the front door of the Alabama State Capitol Building. A group of demonstrators arrived and were prevented from going any further in their march to the State Capitol than this particular block. These demonstrators, numbering more than two hundred, were told to leave and disperse but they sat down and laid down in the street. For the next few hours a good many of the demonstrators began to drift away, singly and in small groups. By 8:00 p.m. that night some 100 were left. The group was composed of a racially mixed crowd of both sexes, and included adults as well as juveniles. At approximately 8:00 one of the leaders, a colored man whose name I can not recall but



It's fifty miles from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama. The road is paved, and hard, all the way. This group of marchers looks as if they had walked every inch of the way.

whom I believe myself able to identify from existing photos if necessary, stood and announced in a loud voice to the crowd "Everyone stand and relieve yourselves." Practically the entire crowd in every mixture of age, sex, and color rose and a large number exposed themselves and urinated in the streets. I would like to point out that this area is within the State Capitol complex and at the head of the main street of Montgomery, Alabama, and is fairly well lighted. Urine began to course down the street in small streams and into the gutters and ran almost to the next block. Two colored men were arrested for indecent exposure for particularly lewd and offensive exposure of their private parts. The demonstrators found it necessary to take their placards and signs to sit on after this conduct. The resulting odor became so offensive in a few hours that we had to get up-wind in order to escape the smell. I might add that I saw kissing, hugging, and fondling between mixed sexes and races. At around 1:35 a.m. on March 11, 1965, more than 12 hours after their arrival, a cold drizzling rain began and the entire crowd dispersed.

(s) JAMES DUKE

Sworn and subscribed to before me, George W. Dean, Jr., a Notary in and for said State and County, this 5th day of April, 1965.

* * * * *

STATE OF ALABAMA,
COUNTY OF DALLAS:

Before me, undersigned authority, in and for said State and County, personally appeared Harold Sewell and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

On March 5, 1965, and several days thereafter, my waitress in our dining room did serve several mixed drinks to priests and ministers in our restaurant. This was a mixed group of Negroes and whites from out of town. Over about two and one half hour period, this group was louder than the ordinary with their conversation.

This is a true statement to the best of my knowledge.

(s) HAROLD SEWELL

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 7th day of April, 1965.

(s) JUD ERNEST HEWSTON, JR.
Notary Public.

A F F I D A V I T

My name is Cecil H. Atkinson, and I reside on Allenville Road in Prattville, being employed with the Continental Gin Company in Prattville. I do hereby swear under oath and under penalty of perjury that the following facts are true and accurate in every respect to my own personal knowledge:

My wife and I drove to Selma on Sunday, the day the march was to begin. We saw many people taking pictures of the church, and it appeared that everything was very orderly and nice. We tried to drive by Brown's Chapel where the Negroes were assembled, but the street was blocked off. We parked at the corner of Broad and Water Streets and sat and waited for the march to begin. At approximately 11 a.m., we observed an ambulance arrive at Brown's Chapel and depart shortly thereafter, going toward Montgomery, with sirens and blinking red lights in operation.

The people in the car next to ours were very distressed about the condition of the nuns who were taking part in the march. These people were Episcopalians and from St. Louis, Missouri,

and had heard that some of their own church people were taking part in the march. The general appearance of the marchers which we saw were Negroes, but the white men and women who were mixed in with them were holding hands and arms with them. We watched for King to come by, but never did see him walk by. When he came by he was riding in a station wagon, and the station wagon rode along with the marchers and I observed King getting out of it several times.

Between Selma and the first stop I observed both men and women relieving themselves in public, all together and making no attempt to conceal themselves at all.

At the rest stop, I saw King sitting by the side of the road. A man walked up to him and handed him a slip of paper, which seemed to concern King greatly. He said, "We'll take care of this at the next rest stop."

At one point I observed a young

beatnik-type man with his collar turned around to resemble a priest. He told me that it was "the way to get along." Another told me that he had been offered \$15 a day, 3 meals a day, and all the sex he could handle if he would come down and join in the demonstration from the North.

It appeared that the demonstrators were making every effort to stir up some sort of trouble. At one point, one of the marchers said to me, "Get out of the way, you white bastard." They were making other similar remarks to others standing along the street.

(s) CECIL H. ATKINSON

Subscribed to and sworn before me this 10th day of April, 1965.

(s) Chauncy D. Wood

Notary Public, State at Large
Expiration date Nov. 17, 1965.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

I, Lionel Freeman, a Captain in the Alabama State Troopers, in Huntsville, Alabama, do swear and affirm, under

oath, and under penalty of perjury that the following events happened or actually occurred in my presence and to my own personal knowledge while on duty out of Huntsville in Selma, Alabama, from March 9th through March 16th:

During the march, or attempted march, from Selma to Montgomery on March 9, 1965, myself and the men under my command were stationed along the north side of the road just east of Pettus Bridge. While the march was stopped in the highway, one of the white beatniks, with a goatee, told one of my troopers who was standing only a few feet from me that he was being paid \$10 per day, 3 meals, and all the Negro p--- he wanted." This same beatnik was observed for the next eight (8) days in Selma acting as some sort of leader around Sylvan Street, where the street demonstration was going on. He was in the company of a white girl part of the time and a Negro girl part time. The next time I saw him after



The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, one of the organizations sponsoring the march from Selma to Montgomery, works on campuses throughout the nation to influence students and young people to become active in the civil rights movement and in participating in demonstrations. Here are some of the students who participated in the demonstrations in Alabama last March. The undergraduate in the center carries a school sweater with the letter "H" emblazoned on it. Perhaps he is a Harvard undergrad.

Selma was when he came up Dexter Avenue on March 18th.

While at the Sylvan Street "Berlin Rope," I and many others observed smooching and lovemaking between Negroes and whites. A news reporter called me over to the side of the street and pointed to a couple just to the rear of the group standing in the street, a mixed couple, were in the act of having sexual relations. About this time, a priest broke it up and had the couple come up to the "Rope." It didn't seem to bother any of the three and soon were all gone from the front of the line.

On Saturday, March 13, they had an extra large crowd of both white and Negroes in the streets. They attempted to scatter and go around the blockade. One Negro who was standing beside a priest, and both standing about three feet from a line of Troopers, made several attempts to provoke a Trooper into hitting him. The Negro waved three dollar bills in the Trooper's face and then dropped them, saying "Why don't you pick them up, I know you need it." During this time, the priest just grinned. The Negro man then said "I'll sleep with a white woman tonight." The priest seemed to think this was real funny. The priest and Negro would whisper back and forth and then laugh out loud. I overheard three beatniks talking, saying that they had been in Cleveland, Berkley, California and Harlem, and had come directly to Selma to join in the demonstrations there.

On the afternoon of March 8th, at about 6 p.m., as we were turning onto U. S. 80 at the intersection of Alabama 21, which is in downtown Selma, I, along with 30 of my men saw two men dressed as priests and four young Negro girls walk across U. S. 80. The priests were holding hands with two Negro girls each. The Rev. Reeb was beaten about two or three hours later.

One tall priest was observed for several days around Sylvan Street, always in the company of a Negro girl of about sixteen years of age. Anytime you saw one you saw the other, and usually they were holding hands. They were in the march to the Courthouse in Selma on Monday, March 15. They went to and from the County Courthouse in Selma on Monday, March 15. They went to and from the County Courthouse holding hands.

On the night of March 16, at 10 p.m., a group of thirty-four (34) men, mostly dressed as priests, came from a Negro church in Montgomery to the front of the Capitol. They stated that they wanted to get on the Capitol steps to hold a "Prayer-Service." They were told

that they could hold their service on the walk but not on the steps. They stayed until 3 a.m., insisting that they be allowed up on the Capitol grounds. After about thirty minutes, the news media were told to get out of the street and they moved across the street. Some of the men claiming to be priests cursed like sailors during these five hours. At 3 a.m., when they started to leave, two photographers, apparently in their employment, came running across the street. One of the men dressed as a priest said, "You stupid son-of-a-bitch, after all this time here you didn't get a picture of us saying a prayer on the bottom step." They were allowed to kneel on the bottom step in attempt to get rid of them.

During the eight days in Selma, several newspaper men who were allowed

to go to the rear of the demonstration came back up to the front and told us they observed white and Negro couples in the act of sexual relations. They told us that they had sent the story and pictures home to their papers. One told me that the only thing he recognized about his story when it was printed was his name. He had asked to be allowed to leave the Selma area but was refused by his paper.

A Jewish rabbi who was on the five hour stand at the Capitol was contacted by a Trooper in a barber shop the next day. The rabbi stated that the leaders had lied to him. He stated that, "They told me we'd only be at the Capitol forty-five minutes at the most, but after getting there they wanted to remain all night." He said further, "They want

(Continued on Page 28)



This gentleman marched all the way from Selma to Montgomery—accommodating himself to the unseasonably hot weather. He is a Canadian student who took advantage of the civil rights march to accomplish some research for the Ph.D. he is working on.

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Bayard and Ralph

Just A Couple Of The Boys



Negroes in Birmingham were asked to kneel as Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy walked past during demonstrations in Birmingham in 1963. Assistants preceded the two Negro leaders with exhortations, "Here he comes. Here comes the King of Kings."

When the march from Selma to Montgomery started on Sunday, March 21, it was joined by clergymen and church leaders from across the land. They had come to join a crusade for human dignity and civil rights. They, and thousands of others, believed that their participation in this massive demonstration helped to dramatize a long overdue protest by Negroes against injustice, discrimination, suppression of their constitutional rights as citizens, and a denial of their fundamental dignity as human beings. For many it was an exalted and emotional experience without parallel in their lives.

Perhaps it is only natural, therefore, that when voices are raised in protest against these demonstrations. They seemed to be raised in defense of "police brutality," discrimination, suppression of human rights and denial of civil liberty. This is not true.

Churchmen, who have been called to devote their lives to the teachings of Christ, may want to ask themselves this question: If their efforts over the past 2,000 years have been inadequate to the task of eliminating man's inhumanity to man, how do they think marching from Selma to Montgomery is going to get the job done? Whatever the answer, the fact is there remains a faint and distasteful residue of doubt in many minds concerning the propriety of the widespread participation by clergymen in the Selma-Montgomery activities. For many, no doubt, Selma was a form of self-expression, an outlet for their own frustrations—which is entirely understandable. What they fail to understand, however, is that their presence and participation in Selma not only adds substance and dignity to the civil rights cause itself, but also to those who use the cause, and the cloth, for basically evil purposes of their own. Two of these are Bayard Rustin and Ralph Abernathy, the one a homosexual who solicits on city streets, whose life's work is the subversion of the moral fibre of the youth of America, and who led Martin Luther King from obscurity to a position of such eminence in the eyes of many of his followers that they actually kneel when

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he walks past. The other is a minister, the "dear and abiding friend" of Martin Luther King and his most intimate associate in the civil rights movement, and a man who hides behind the cloth to seduce a 15-year-old member of his church congregation.

One of the men who sat with Martin Luther King on the stand at the Capitol in Montgomery is Bayard Rustin. Rustin was an organizer for the Communist Party for 12 years. Later he became head of the War Resisters League, the U. S. branch of War Resisters International. The efforts of this world-wide organization are devoted entirely to persuading and assisting young men to avoid military service to their governments — which activity, if not a direct attempt to overthrow the government, is at least an indirect effort which, if successful, will accomplish the same purpose.

Rustin had already reached a posi-

tion of prominence in his chosen field of subversion in 1955 when he was called on to go to Montgomery and lend assistance to an obscure young Baptist minister who had organized a bus boycott in that city. Just who "called upon" Rustin for this assignment is not clear. Rustin did leave New York and for three years gave counsel and advice to Martin Luther King. There is a widely held misconception that Bayard Rustin rose to eminence through his efforts as Martin Luther King's executive secretary. Exactly the opposite is true. Rustin made King.

Bayard Rustin is a homosexual with a long police record. In this enlightened age we are neither surprised nor concerned with a person's private sex practices. When they cease to be private, however, they become offensive and call into question a person's mental balance and standards of values. This

sort of thing was widely in evidence throughout the Selma-Montgomery demonstrations. Small wonder—if Rustin's influence can be seen here. Rustin himself was jailed in Pasadena, California for soliciting two men on the street and then engaging in a homosexual act while parked in a car on one of the city's main thoroughfares. The Pasadena Police report of this incident is reproduced on page 14.

We are not concerned with Ralph Abernathy's private sex life. It should be an entirely private and personal matter. However, when a person's standards of personal behavior are such that he can be found being chased down Dexter Avenue in Montgomery, Alabama by an outraged husband with an axe in his hand; and we learn further that this person seduced the wife of the outraged husband when she was a 15-year-old member of his church congregation, and that he has continued to annoy her ever since—then there would seem to be legitimate cause for concern about the man's moral character and personal standards, particularly if he is one of the leaders of what purports to be a Christian movement. Such a man is Ralph Abernathy. Here is a transcript from the trial of Edward Davis, a school teacher in Butler County, Alabama. This is case number 8741, State vs. Davis, in the Circuit Court of Montgomery County, Alabama, November Term, 1958, before Judge Eugene W. Carter. Davis was tried and acquitted on a charge of assault with attempt to murder. Following is a transcript of the testimony of Vivian McCoy Davis. It is not pretty reading but it should be instructive to any who are interested in knowing in what direction the civil rights movement may be moving.

* * * * *

VIVIAN MCCOY DAVIS, having been duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

Direct Examination

BY MR. KNABE:

Q. This is Vivian Davis?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. And what was your name before you became Davis?

A. Vivian McCoy.

Q. Did you see the girl who was on the stand just before you got on?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Now, who was she?

A. Bernice Cooper Davis.

Q. Could you speak louder so these gentlemen over her can hear it?

A. Bernice Cooper Davis. She was Bernice Cooper at that time.

PC 888-A (Sex Perversion) REPORT Case No. 66350

Where Committed Public Street, S. ...

Victim (First) ...

Victim (Person) ...

Res. Address ...

Bus. Address ...

Investigating Officer Heath & Stornie

Person Attacked Two male whites-Adults

Property Attacked Sex-organs (Penis)

How Attacked Nanda & Mouth

Means of Attack Mouth

Object of Attack Sexual gratification

Trade ...

Vehicle Used 1940 Olds, 4 Dr. Cal. 4N 3361

Persons Arrested Louis Russo M-3-23, 5-11 1/2, 170, Slend, Brun Hair & eyes (Carp.)

Charge This subject and the above named suspect arrested this date on the aforementioned charge.

Give details of crime, additional victims, and description and value of property:

While on routine patrol Officer's Heath and Stornie observed the above mentioned vehicle parked just south of Green st. on the south west corner of So. Raye road. Upon closer inspection by Officer Heath the above #2 subject and #1 were sitting in the back seat of this car and #1 suspect was bent down over #2. #3 sus out at this time was sitting in the front seat of this car.

Both Officer's observed suspects #2 attempting to zip up his pants which were open at this time, and his penis out. Subjects at this time stated that they were merely sitting there. All subjects were taken out of the vehicle and separated and subject #2 stated that they had just met #1 and that he had propositioned them, in regards to copulating their private parts, which in fact was carried out by the three above sus, ects #2 & 3 taking the passive parts. (See statements and recordings's)

All subjects at this time admitted their parts in this case.

Subjects were transported to this station where statements and recordings were made of their action in regards to this matter, they were at that time booked on the above charge. Suspect #2 & 3 transported by Sgt. Olson.

The aforementioned vehicle was completely searched at this time, during the course of the search a blood stained mattress cover was found in the trunk of this vehicle (these Officer's unable to determine type of blood, Animal or Human suggest test) Vehicle does not belong to any of these parties, Ref. to Ford V. Jamison, 8257 N. 10th St. Van Le City. This party contacted by Officer Heath and same stated that he had loaned this vehicle to subject #2.

B/T Conras to; 3 Det., 1 Ctl. 1 Vice. Officer E. Stornie 1304
 Page 1 (Cont.) Officer R. Heath 1301 1-21-53

Pasadena, California police report on arrest of Bayard Rustin and two men at 2:30 a.m., January 21, 1953.

he walks past. The other is a minister, the "dear and abiding friend" of Martin Luther King and his most intimate associate in the civil rights movement, and a man who hides behind the cloth to seduce a 15-year-old member of his church congregation.

One of the men who sat with Martin Luther King on the stand at the Capitol in Montgomery is Bayard Rustin. Rustin was an organizer for the Communist Party for 12 years. Later he became head of the War Resisters League, the U. S. branch of War Resisters International. The efforts of this world-wide organization are devoted entirely to persuading and assisting young men to avoid military service to their governments—which activity, if not a direct attempt to overthrow the government, is at least an indirect effort which, if successful, will accomplish the same purpose.

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tion of prominence in his chosen field of subversion in 1955 when he was called on to go to Montgomery and lend assistance to an obscure young Baptist minister who had organized a bus boycott in that city. Just who "called upon" Rustin for this assignment is not clear. Rustin did leave New York and for three years gave counsel and advice to Martin Luther King. There is a widely held misconception that Bayard Rustin rose to eminence through his efforts as Martin Luther King's executive secretary. Exactly the opposite is true. Rustin made King.

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VIVIAN McCOY DAVIS, having been duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

Direct Examination

BY MR. KNABE:

Q. This is Vivian Davis?
 A. Yes, I am.
 Q. And what was your name before you became Davis?
 A. Vivian McCoy.
 Q. Did you see the girl who was on the stand just before you got on?
 A. Yes, I did.
 Q. Now, who was she?
 A. Bernice Cooper Davis.
 Q. Could you speak louder so these gentlemen over her can hear it?
 A. Bernice Cooper Davis. She was Bernice Cooper at that time.

Q. Now, you say at that time, what time do you mean?

A. When she was living with me.
 Q. Did she used to live with you?
 A. Yes, she did.
 Q. Did she know Abernathy at that time?
 A. Yes, sir, she did.
 Q. Did Abernathy know her?
 A. I am sure he did. He come to our house and he was acquainted with her.
 Q. Now, did Abernathy date you at any time?
 A. Yes, sir, he did.
 Q. Did he ever have physical or sexual relations with you?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. Did he have normal relations or abnormal relations?
 A. Both.
 Q. Both?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. Now, did you ever tell him that you wanted him to stop getting in touch with you?
 A. Yes, sir, I did.
 Q. Now, when was the last time? Let us just take the summer of 1958. I believe your husband went off to school, did he not?
 A. Yes, sir, he did.
 Q. Now, before he went off to school were you with him at any time when he had a conversation with Abernathy?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. Can you tell us where that occurred?
 A. It occurred at his house, and it occurred in—out at Loveman's in Nor- mandale.
 Q. You say that there was a time out at Loveman's?
 A. Yes, sir, it was.
 Q. Was it inside of Loveman's or out in front?
 A. It was out in front.
 Q. Now, who was there at that time?
 A. His wife.
 Q. And by his wife you mean Rev. Abernathy's wife?
 A. Rev. Abernathy's wife.
 Q. Abernathy's wife and Abernathy and who else?
 A. And my husband.
 Q. Edward and you?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. You four?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. Were you all standing together talking?
 A. No.
 Q. Well, how were you arranged?
 A. Well, we met up in the store and he spoke, and I went over to look at some women's apparel and my hus-



Bayard Rustin in New York where he directs activities of the War Resisters League, an organization whose only purpose is to persuade and aid young men to avoid military service to their country.

band went outside. Apparently Rev. Abernathy went outside and I started out the door. His wife and myself, we were inside talking, and they were on the outside, and when I started out he was talking to Rev. Abernathy and I looked and went back inside.

Q. Did you come up to them as they finished their conversation?
 A. No, I didn't.
 Q. And did you talk to anybody while they were talking, or did you just stay inside?
 A. I was inside talking to his wife, and she went outside.
 Q. Now, at the time that he married; that is Abernathy, I believe you were in the wedding, were you not?
 A. Yes, sir, I was.
 Q. Who asked you to be in the wedding, did he ask you or did his wife ask you?
 A. He asked me first.
 Q. Did you know his wife?
 A. No, I didn't.
 Q. Did she live here in Montgomery?
 A. No, she did not.
 Q. Now, when he first started going with you and having these relations both proper and improper, how old were you?
 A. I was fifteen.
 Q. Fifteen at that time?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. Now, after this conversation that occurred out in front of Loveman's in Montgomery when was the next time

that he contacted you or that you got in touch with Abernathy?
 A. He contacted me during the summer of '58 when he was in town this past June, July and August.
 Q. Now, when is the last time he contacted you before this occurrence?
 A. He contacted me on August 29th.
 Q. That is the day . . .
 A. That is the day that this incident occurred. The incident took place.
 Q. Now, about what time of day did he contact you?
 A. He called me approximately at two o'clock in the afternoon.
 Q. And now, what went on in that conversation?
 A. He called and said he had been trying to get in touch with me, and asked me where I had been and I told him I had been out of town, and at that time I told him, I asked him kindly not to call me again. And I said, "I told you, I told my husband, and he had told you also that I told him," and at that time I hung up in his face.
 Q. And what happened after that?
 A. My husband was at a meeting.
 Q. Your husband was not home at that time?
 A. No, he was not at home.
 Q. And when did he come home?
 A. He came home about fifteen minutes after, about two-fifteen.
 Q. Then what did you and your husband do?
 (Continued on Page 25)

PG 288-A (Sex Perversion) REPORT Case No. 66350

Where Committed Public Street, S. 3rd St. & 1st St. Pasadena, Cal.

Victim (Person) (Business Firm Last Firm Name) _____

Where Committed _____ Day Committed _____ Date Reported 1-21-53 Time 2:30am

Reported To Pasadena PD. Reported by On View (Health & Stornie) Address 444 N. 73rd Phone _____

Person Attacked Two male white-Adults Suspect Bayard Rustin

Property Attacked Sex-organs (Penis) Hair Color Black Eye Color Brown

How Attacked Hands & Mouth Height 5-11 Weight 177 Age 40

Means of Attack Mouth Nationality Negro Build Med Occupation Lecturer Marks None

Object of Attack Sexual Gratification Suspect, Marvin Wayne Long

Trade & Vehicle Used at subjects and asked some if they were looking for a good time. Climb into vehicle. Vehicle Used 1940 Olds, 4 Dr. Cal. 4N 3381

Arrested Louis Banno 2-4-23, 5-11, 170, Slend, Brun Hair & eyes (Garp.) This subject and the above named suspect arrested this date on the aforementioned charge.

Give details of crime, additional victims, and description and value of property: While on routine patrol Officer's Heath and Stornie observed the above mentioned vehicle parked just south of Green st. on the south west corner of So. Raye road. Upon closer inspection by Officer Heath the above #1 subject and #2 were sitting in the back seat of this car and #1 suspect was bent down over #2. #3 sus out at this time was sitting in the front seat of this car.

Both Officer's observed suspects #2 attempting to rip up his pants which were open at this time, and his penis out. Subjects at this time stated that they were merely sitting there. All subjects were taken out of the vehicle and separated and subject #2 stated that they had just met #1 and that he had propositioned them, in regards to copulating their private parts, which in fact was carried out by the three above suspects #2 & 3 taking the passive parts. (See statements and recordings)

All subjects at this time admitted their parts in this case.

Subjects were transported to this station where statements and recordings were made of their action in regards to this matter, they were at that time booked on the above charge. Suspect #2 & 3 transported by Sgt. Glass.

The aforementioned vehicle was completely searched at this time. During the course of this search a blood stained mattress cover was found in the trunk of this vehicle (these Officer's unable to determine type of blood, Animal or Human suggest test) Vehicle does not belong to any of these parties, Reg. to Ford M. Jamison, 2237 N. Reno St. Torle City. This party contacted by Officer Heath and same stated that he had loaned this vehicle to subject #2.

B/C Condes to: S Det., I CH. I View. Officer R. Stornie 6354
 Page 1 (Cont.) Officer R. Heath 6371 1-21-53

Pasadena, California police report on arrest of Bayard Rustin and two men at 2:30 a.m., January 21, 1953.

How 'IMAGES' Are

BY ALBERT C. PERSONS

Almost anywhere in the world today the name "Birmingham" calls to mind vicious police dogs, thug cops, bombs that explode in the night and fire hoses mowing down innocent Negro children in the streets. If this were a true "image" of Birmingham then it would almost have to go without saying that the general populace (some 600,000), who are responsible for the city's government and actions of city officials, is some kind of breed apart from the rest of the human race. Since this is not true, it follows that the world-wide

image of Birmingham must be the artificial creation of some outside agency.

More than any other one, single thing, the Birmingham image is a product of two publications with worldwide readership numbering in the ten's of millions. They are LIFE and TIME. I worked for LIFE during the period of the Birmingham civil rights demonstrations in the Spring of 1963.

In the May 10, 1963 edition of TIME their story covering the Birmingham demonstrations carries this descriptive passage: ". . . furious, the Commis-

sioner (Bull Connor) roared for his police dogs. The crowd in the park edged back; some hurried away. "Look at 'em run," yelled Bull. He saw a police officer holding back a crowd of white people nearby. "Let those people come to the corner, Sergeant," shouted Connor. "I want 'em to see the dogs work. Look at those niggers run."

No matter what else anyone might want to say about how Connor handled the Birmingham demonstrations, the one thing every reporter who covered



Here is a picture that will look familiar to many readers. It is almost identical with one taken by the Associated Press and widely distributed. TIME's caption with this picture in their edition of May 17, 1963 read: Birmingham Cops Manhandling Negro Woman. The building in the background is on the corner directly across the street from the 16th Street Baptist Church —Martin Luther King's command post for the Birmingham demonstrations. A short time before this picture was taken the last of several hundred little children had marched quietly up the sidewalk where the woman lies, to waiting school buses at the end of the block. The buses took the children to "jail" at the city fairgrounds. Most reporters, photographers and police were at that end of the block when the woman above came out of the doorway in the background. A lone policeman stood on the sidewalk by the door. The woman spat in his face and struck out at him. She is a very large woman. She fought and fell to the ground. She also took a large bite out of the leg of the squatting policeman. Several other officers came to his assistance. It took four to subdue her—without hurting her. The Associated Press photographer and I each took a picture. The captions used on his picture were not written by him, of course.

Created

this story knows is that Connor at no time allowed white spectators within one city block of the park where Birmingham city police attempted to confine (and disperse) the several thousand Negroes who congregated there every day. Knowing this, and having rubbed elbows with Connor almost every day throughout a several weeks period, I questioned the TIME correspondent who had filed the report. He was Dudley E. Morris, at that time based in TIME's Atlanta office. Morris got quite hot under the collar, but he finally admitted that he had not heard Connor make the statement, but that someone else told him Connor made it. Our argument took place in a motel room in downtown Birmingham. Present were several LIFE photographers and LIFE associate editor David Nevin.

In spite of Morris' admission that he had not actually heard Police Commissioner Connor invite the whites down to "look at the niggers run," the following week LIFE picked up the quote and ran it as part of this passage—which is from their May 17, 1963 edition.

"ATTACK DOGS. With vicious guard dogs the police attacked the marchers—and thus rewarded them with an outrage that would win support all over the world for Birmingham's Negroes. If the Negroes themselves had written the script," (they did) "they could hardly have asked for greater help for their cause than City Commissioner Eugene ("Bull") Connor freely gave. Ordering his men to let white spectators come near, he said: "I want 'em to see the dogs work. Look at those niggers run."

This statement attributed to Bull Connor by LIFE and TIME is absolutely false—and they know it. Both magazines have a perfect right to their opinions of Connor and they have an equal right to tell their readers what this opinion is. They do not have the right, under any normally accepted standards of responsible journalism, to put words into the mouth of Connor which he did not utter. By doing so they falsely contrive to have Connor create an image of himself which is in fact entirely their own.



The woman in the picture above was drunk on Easter Sunday afternoon in Birmingham in 1963. She and hundreds of others had joined with a group which left a church deep in a Negro residential area. They were bent on streaming into town. Birmingham police had orders to prevent this. A stand-off developed and the crowd of chanting Negroes soon numbered more than a thousand. Police were almost helpless in efforts to disperse the crowd. The situation became explosive. The only whites were the police and a handful of reporters. The woman in the picture struck out of the crowd at a police officer. He went after her. She fought. It took the five policemen pictured here to get her into a wagon and off to jail—without hurting her. She could, of course, have been subdued quite easily if any of the police had wanted to use his club.

Here is more of TIME's view of the Birmingham demonstrations. In the May 10, 1963 edition TIME says: "Birmingham saw a small civil war: whites against Negroes," (it never happened) "cops against children" (oh, come on now) "dogs against humans." (Just like ancient Rome where they used to let the lions eat Christians every Saturday afternoon, eh?)

And this: "It began when Rev. Martin Luther King decided to throw school children into the battle lines." (That King is a real soldier). "Police Commissioner Eugene ("Bull") Connor,

arch segregationist, viciously retaliated with club swinging cops" (you see, they can swing straight down on kids) "police dogs," (they let the dogs eat the six-year-olds) "and blasts of water from the fire hoses."

"Blackbooted firemen" (the good firemen always wear white boots) "turned on their hoses. The kids fell back from the crushing streams. The water pressure increased. Children fell and lay there bleeding."

Had enough? This would all be funny if it were not so tragic. The tragic part of it is that millions of

TIME readers actually have a picture of bleeding Negro children spread like limp, wet rags all over Birmingham's city streets. Morris must have waited until after the bar closed to write that one.

And so, today, "This is Birmingham." The fact that it isn't is something millions of people around the

world will never know. TIME and LIFE, and all other journals, have a right (I'm sure they believe it is even a responsibility) to express their attitudes on any subject they care to approach editorially. These magazines make no pretense of being objective—so they are not deceiving their readers on that count. It is unfortunate, how

ever, that their readers have so little way of determining what is straight fact and what is, shall we say, only "editorial license." (If you can think of another word, go ahead and use it.)

There is a lot of talk these days about "police brutality." Martin Luther King and his civil rights leaders use the phrase constantly—usually only in connection with "white southern cops." The elimination of "police brutality" is almost always one of the demands they make as a price for an armistice in communities where they are campaigning. Somehow they have managed to sell much of the national press on the idea too, as witness the preceding excerpts from news stories coming out of Birmingham. The job the police had to do in Birmingham was to control the mobs, numbering in thousands, which gathered in Kelly Ingram Park. These mobs were not organized demonstrators with specific projects in mind—like a march on the courthouse for a prayer session. They were Negroes who gathered every day to see what the real demonstrators inside the 16th Street Baptist Church were going to do. The real demonstrators, for their part, simply stayed inside the church until the mob had formed outside, thus creating the real problem for the Birmingham police force. How is a mob, particularly an emotionally charged mob, handled? Do you start shooting them? Do you just wade in clubbing right and left? Most certainly not. A trained police force handles and disperses a mob as gently, and with as little physical force as possible. You squirt them with fire hoses, which have a limited range. Then you get police dogs, on leashes, and move through the crowd. People always move away from a police dog—and no one gets hurt. That's the way it was handled in Birmingham. The only issues involved as far as the police are concerned is simply to properly perform a tough often hazardous job. Reporters who were in Birmingham know this to be the truth.

Police forces are small forces. The main thing that makes it possible for a police force to function is the generally widespread respect that people have for the law. Efforts to discredit law enforcement agencies are dangerous. National news media of the stature of LIFE and TIME do law enforcement agencies and law abiding citizens everywhere a great disservice when they allow themselves to be recruited into such efforts.



The first time police dogs were used in Birmingham was on Sunday, April 13, 1963. They were used late in the afternoon to disperse a mob that had gathered in Kelly Ingram Park. Shortly after I arrived on the scene I heard shrieks and dogs snarling near the corner of 17th Street and 6th Avenue. I ran over and took the picture at the top left of police officers shackling a Negro man on the ground. In the top right picture, Leroy Allen, handcuffed, is being led off by a police officer. The left sleeve of his sweater is torn and his arm has been gashed by a police dog. Negro leaders at the Gaston Motel, where I went that night with LIFE reporters, said that Allen had stepped between a dog and a woman with a baby in her arms. Then they said police knocked him to the ground where he was kicked by Police Chief Jamie Moore. Later it was learned that Allen had attacked a dog with a knife. The dog was pulled off and Allen was subdued. When I developed the pictures at the top it was obvious that Police Chief Moore was nowhere around. The story about Moore received wide circulation, nevertheless. Thus are "images" created.



Police dogs—in Birmingham, Chicago or San Francisco—are not used to “attack” anyone. They are used to control and disperse crowds of people who cannot otherwise be persuaded to move. The attitudes expressed by the Negroes in the picture above is not that of people who are being attacked. The fact is they are entirely unconcerned. All that’s happening here is that they are being moved out of Kelly Ingram Park.



When the Negroes in Birmingham learned that police dogs were not going to be allowed to attack them they became quite blasé about the whole thing. Many of the youths pulled off their shirts and used them as capes in mock “bullfights” with the dogs. The boy in the center of the picture, shirt in both hands, is playing “toreador” with one of the dogs out of the picture to the right. When I took all of these pictures I was in company with a LIFE photographer. LIFE must have many of the same kinds of pictures; But such pictures do not reflect LIFE’s own attitude. Therefore, 30 million readers of LIFE never saw pictures like this.

Martin Luther King

And Communism

There is an old saw that goes like this: "If it looks like a duck, quacks like a duck, and lays an egg like a duck—the chances are very good that it is a duck."

To insist that Martin Luther King is not a Communist, or at the very least, dominated and controlled by Communists, it is necessary to deny completely all the evidence of one's senses. He looks like one, talks like one, acts like one, and has been intimately associated with Communists throughout his entire career as a leader in the civil rights movement. If he could lay an egg it would be a Communist egg, for certain.

Apologists for Communists in the civil rights movement like to point out how natural it is that Communists would be attracted to such a movement; that there probably are Communists in the civil rights movement; that needing all the help they can get,

civil rights organizations accept help, but not control, from anyone, including Communists, and that the leadership of civil rights organizations, including Martin Luther King, is free of influence by any Communist conspiracy to subvert the movement. This sounds good but it is not true.

A joint committee of both houses of the Louisiana State Legislature was created in 1960 to find out if there is any Communist infiltration into the State of Louisiana, and if so, what form it has taken. At the conclusion of hearings held in Baton Rouge on March 19, 1964 the Louisiana Joint Committee on Un-American Activities had this to say: "The infiltration of the Communist Party into the civil rights movement through the Southern Conference Educational Fund is shocking and highly dangerous to this state and to the nation. The evidence is quite conclusive that the civil rights

movement has been grossly and solidly infiltrated by the Communist Party. Those persons in the civil rights movement who deny this, deny overwhelming evidence that it is so. The evidence clearly shows that Martin Luther King has very closely connected his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, with the Southern Conference Educational Fund. This has been going on for years. By thus connecting himself with the Communists, Martin Luther King has cynically betrayed his responsibilities as a Christian minister and the political leader of a large number of people.

"The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, from all the evidence, is substantially under the influence of the Communist Party through the support and management given it by the Communists in the SCEF. However the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee may have started, it is now getting strong financial aid from the SCEF and its policies are substantially influenced by the SCEF. Many innocent students have been and are now being recruited by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee to unknowingly carry out the instructions and policies of the Communist Party, dictated to Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee by the SCEF."

What is the "conclusive evidence" that this committee gathered, and what is the Southern Conference Educational Fund itself?

The evidence comes in part from hearings of the U. S. House Committee on Un-American Activities and of the Senate Internal Security Committee. But most of the evidence concerning the Southern Conference Educational Fund and its connections with civil rights comes from the files of the SCEF itself—files which were taken in a raid on SCEF Headquarters in New Orleans. These files and records are a completely documented record of



Photograph of Martin Luther King and Dombrowski, Anne and Carl Braden. The notes on the back of the photograph in the handwriting of James A. Dombrowski say: "The 6th Annual Conference of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Birmingham, Alabama, September 25 to 28, 1962. Martin Luther King, Jr. responding to Anne Braden's speech; in background AB, Carl Braden, JAD."

over twenty-five years of successful subversive activity, primarily in the field of civil rights.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund is the new name for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was conceived, set up, and financed by the Communist Party in 1938 as a mass organization to promote Communism throughout the Southern States. It was exposed as a Communist front a few years later by a government committee and simply changed its name—continuing in business as the SCEF with the same old address, same telephone number, substantially the identical leadership, and it continued to print the same official organ, "The Southern Patriot" which was cited as a subversive publication by the U. S. Government.

At a hearing of the Louisiana Joint Committee on Un-American Activities Dr. William Sorum, New Orleans physician, for six years an active member of the Communist Party, testified as follows:

Q — I believe you also testified in 1957 (before the Senate Internal Security Committee) while you were in the Communist Party, you were told to work in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, is that correct?

A — That's right, it was one of the main organizational outlets, and it was considered one of the most important things that we had. When the Southern Conference for Human Welfare had their national meeting down here, about 12 of the top Communists in the South were here . . ."

These are some of the people who direct the activities of the Southern Conference Educational fund:

Fred Shuttlesworth, was responsible for the formation of the Montgomery Improvement Association which gave Martin Luther King his start on the road to prominence in the civil rights movement. At one time the resignation of some of the leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association followed a disclosure of discrepancies in the organization's books amounting to approximately \$100,000. In 1941 Shuttlesworth was arrested and pled guilty in District Court in the State of Alabama to the illegal distillation of whiskey, commonly known as moonshining. Fred Shuttlesworth is currently vice-president of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Conference. He is also president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Aubrey Williams, deceased: Williams was president of SCEF before

Shuttlesworth. In April 1954 at hearings held in New Orleans by the Senate Internal Security Committee he was identified as a Communist Party member by one witness who had been in the party, and was identified by another witness at the same time as one who had accepted Communist Party Discipline.

William Howard Melish: Melish was a minister and has been identified in sworn testimony as a Communist Party member. Melish is on the staff of the SCEF as the Eastern representative of the organization, primarily as a solicitor of funds in the New York area.

Benjamin Smith: Smith is an attorney in the city of New Orleans. He was treasurer of the SCEF and was a member of the board of directors of the National Lawyers Guild—which has been cited by the U. S. Government as the "foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, which has rallied to the defense of Communist law-break-

ers, and violators of the Smith Act, and has never failed to rally to their defense." Smith is registered with the U. S. Justice Department as a representative of semi-official agencies of the Communist Cuban Government. Smith's picture appeared in the March 11, 1962 edition of "The Worker," official publication of the Communist Party of the United States. The accompanying article described his presentation of an award by the National Lawyers Guild for his "anti-bias struggle in the South."

Dr. James A. Dombrowski: Dombrowski was identified as a Communist at hearings of the Senate Internal Security Committee by Paul Crouch and John Butler. Crouch held many major positions in the Communist Party. According to his own testimony he was at one time head of the Communist Party's department for infiltration of the Armed Forces. He was a representative of the Communist Party of

4153

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans, LA

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
New Orleans, LA

March 7 1963

14-17 850

\$ 167.74

***** One hundred sixty-seven dollars and 74/100 *****

N. Y. EXP. WHITNEY NATIONAL BANK OF NEW ORLEANS NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
James A. Dombrowski
Ben Smith

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PAY TO THE ORDER OF

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

DEPOSIT ONLY
S. C. L. C.

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147

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Check paid to Martin Luther King by SCEF. Check is signed by James Dombrowski and Ben Smith and endorsed on the back by King.

the United States to the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale in Moscow, and he was a member of the commission in Moscow to draft plans to infiltrate and subvert all of the armed forces of the world. Crouch testified that he was one of three Communists who had originally planned the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to set up in the South a mass "organization through which the Communist line could extend over all of the South, and through which intellectuals, professionals and ministers could be brought within the scope of the Communist Party influence. Mr. Crouch was asked about James Dombrowski in connection with the Communist Party. He said this: "I should like to add for the record that Dr. Dombrowski told me on several occasions that he preferred to be called a 'Left Socialist' rather than a Commu-

nist; that he could serve the Revolutionary movement better under the Socialist label than he could under the Communist label." Then the question was, "Was that a customary practice of the top-flight operators?" Mr. Crouch says, "Yes, sir."

At another place in the record of this hearing the witness named John Butler swore that, "James A. Dombrowski had been a party member." He was introduced by another party member, Alton Lawrence. At that time John Butler was in the Communist Party himself. Butler swears that Lawrence told him that Dombrowski was one of the upper ten Communists in the United States.

On page 25 of his Doctoral thesis, written at Columbia University, Dombrowski says: "Proletarians who have suffered at the hands of ruthless power in an industrial system, and who have

tried all of the avenues of moderation and of moral suasion, conclude that such power will continue to utilize its control of society to increase its advantage until final justice can only be achieved by a violent revolution, in which the sources of power are brought under the control of the workers." On page 189 of his thesis Dr. Dombrowski says: "Thus it is the first duty of all religious people to destroy Capitalism without regard for their own welfare." Dr. Dombrowski is the Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and has been since its inception as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in 1938.

Carl and Anne Braden: The Bradens are both field organizers for the SCEF, Carl Braden is also editor of "The Southern Patriot." They were both identified as Communist Party members by Alberta M. Ahearn, who was an FBI informer surfaced for the purpose of testifying against the Bradens. She testified that she was recruited into the Communist Party by Anne Braden. Carl Braden was convicted of sedition and received a 15-year sentence in Kentucky. He served several months on this sentence, and it was voided under the old Nelson Case decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, which voided State Sedition Laws. Subsequent to this Braden served a year in the Federal Penitentiary for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In the files of the SCEF, all taken in the raid on their headquarters in New Orleans, there is a voluminous correspondence, stretching over a period of many years, between leaders of the SCEF and leaders of civil rights organizations. Here is an excerpt from a letter from Martin Luther King to Anne Braden. King writes: "It was certainly good to have Carl in Columbia last week. He added a great deal to the meeting. I hope both of you will find it possible to become permanently associated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. . ."

In a letter to James Dombrowski Martin Luther King writes: "This is just a note to acknowledge receipt of your letters of recent date. We, too, were more than happy to have you in our home. The fellowship was very rewarding."

In the SCEF files there is correspondence between Dombrowski and King and Wyatt Tee Walker (King's Executive Secretary) concerning the layout of a full page newspaper ad

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Ebenezer Baptist Church

407 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta, Georgia

Murray 8-7263

August 16, 1960

Dear Jim:

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MLK:mlb

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which was a joint project of SCEF, SCLC, and SNCC.

A letter from James Farmer, National Director of CORE says: "Let me acknowledge with pleasure the good wishes which you extend on behalf of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and to assure you that they are reciprocated. It is a good fight we are in, and one which will call forth all the dedication we can muster."

A letter from Dombrowski to the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee discusses the pattern of placing SNCC personnel on grants from the SCEF, paid not to the students themselves, but to SNCC, allowing the SCEF to control the field workers and organizers of the SNCC without their being any way identified with the SCEF. James Forman, Executive Director of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee wrote to Dombrowski as follows: "We sincerely thank you for the last installment on the grant to Robert Zellner made by the Southern Conference Educational Fund. May we take this opportunity to thank you for the other services rendered to the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee by SCEF. The cooperation we have received has made it possible to carry on a program despite many obstacles we have encountered this past year. Specifically, your efforts in raising money for the McComb students and members of our staff will long be remembered. The fact that SCEF has made available to us certain channels of communication has been vitally important to the movement in general. It is our hope that our actions further advance the cause for which we are all working."

In one eighteen month period, from December, 1961, to June of 1963, the Southern Conference Educational Fund gave the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee over ten thousand, three hundred dollars (\$10,300). The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee has been the spearhead of violence used as a tool of the SCEF and the Communist Conspiracy throughout the United States, particularly in the South.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has said that Communist "front organizations exist not only in isolation, but as a part of a vast, interlaced front system." To all but the dedicated, full-time anti-Communist these interlocking connections become quite overwhelming in their complexity. This, of course, is by design, not by accident.

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MLK:mlb

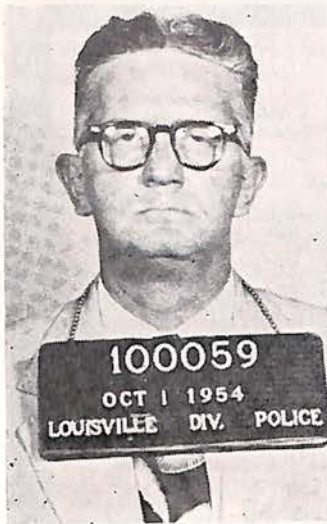


Checks from the SCEF to the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

One of the interlocking connections of SCEF with another Communist organization will serve as an example of how it works. The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, itself intertwined at the top level of leadership with the militantly revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, has close connections with SCEF. In May, 1961 the Senate Internal Security Committee established that Carl Braden was one of the main speakers at a banquet in New York given by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee on April 28, 1961. His expenses had been paid to come to the banquet from wherever he was at the time. In ad-

dition to this, and more important, the Senate Committee established that Carl Braden is one of the national directors of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Both Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the SCEF publicly supported a man, Robert Williams, who fled the United States to escape prosecution for kidnapping in North Carolina. He went to Cuba and set up a powerful broadcasting station from which he beamed violent exhortations to Southern Negroes to use razors and lye bombs against Southern whites. Robert Williams is now in Communist China. A half page book review in



CARL BRADEN



ANNE BRADEN



JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI



BENJAMIN E. SMITH

"The Southern Patriot" commented favorably on Williams' book "Negroes with Guns," another vicious piece of inflammatory propaganda. The review was written and signed by Anne Braden.

In the SCEF files were two letters from and to an identified Communist, Corliss Lamont. One letter is from Lamont to Dombrowski enclosing a check for \$1,000 to the defense fund of the SCEF. The other is from Dombrowski to Lamont asking for additional contributions to help with printing costs for a pamphlet defending Braden who had been sentenced to a year in the Federal Penitentiary. It is interesting to note that Lee Harvey Oswald, the assassin of President Kennedy, is reported to have made the statement that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee literature that he handed out in New Orleans came to him from Corliss Lamont.

The planned program of the Communist Party to use the racial issue to further its goal of revolution in the United States is definitely being carried out. The SCEF is an obvious and effective part of that program. Through the operations of the SCEF the leadership and influence of known Communists is transmitted into civil rights organizations. Obviously everyone in the civil rights movement is not a Communist, but the act of Communist infiltration of the movement is a fact, and not conjecture. Through its manipulation and control of the civil rights movements Communist prey upon one of the best human motives—idealism toward a better world. Their programs are particularly effective with better educated and more cultured people, who see that there are,

in fact, some things wrong in our society but are unable to see the proper remedies for the problems. These victims simply refuse to recognize and accept certain obvious facts, and delude themselves as to the true nature of all manner of people and organizations that seek to exploit them.

As far as Martin Luther King and other leaders of the civil rights organizations are concerned, it is impossible to accept the proposition that they, too, are unwitting dupes of an obvious Communist conspiracy within the civil rights movement. King and Forman, whose respective organizations sponsored the march from Selma to Mont-

gomery know that Carl Braden, who was on the march, is a Communist of long standing. They know that Anne Braden, James Dombrowski, Aubrey Williams, et al are Communists. They have worked with these people and accepted all manner of assistance from them for years. Yet, last summer in Mississippi Martin Luther King made a public statement that there are more Eskimos in Florida than there are Communists in the civil rights movement."

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover says "Martin Luther King is one of the most notorious liars in the country."

What do you think?

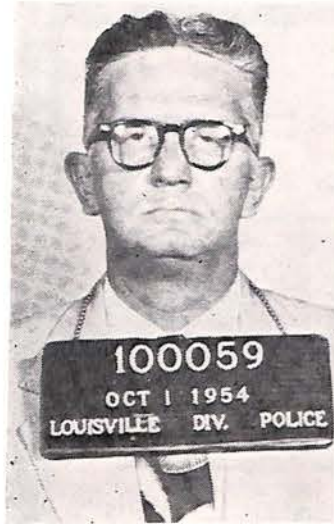
VAL-KILL COTTAGE
HYDE PARK, DUTCHESS CO.
NEW YORK

I have heard from many people that the Conference, perhaps because of necessity, was devoting itself to the raising of funds instead of concentrating on the real job.

I tried working with American communists, as you know, and have long since given up trying. I can not work with any one who is not completely honest and American communists are not honest. I know that often they work for the same objectives, and do good work, but that does not alter my opinion.

Very sincerely yours,

Even Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, a noted liberal, couldn't stomach the SCEF after she discovered who was behind it. Reproduced above is a part of a letter written to James Dombrowski, a known Communist.



CARL BRADEN



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Bayard and Ralph — Just A Couple Of The Boys

Continued from Page 15)

A. We went out on a picnic.

Q. And did you during that picnic any time during the afternoon tell him about this call?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Now, referring to that time, prior to August the 29th, when is the last time before that he called you?

A. He phoned me approximately about the 4th of August, I imagine.

Q. And at that time what was your conversation?

A. He asked me what was going on between me and my husband, he wanted to know, and how I had been getting along, and why can't I see him. Well, I didn't want to discuss with him those things because I had asked him not to contact me again and I didn't have any further use to talk to him.

Q. I show you a picture that is marked for identification the Defendant's Exhibit No. 4 and ask you if you recognize that picture?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. What is that a picture of?

A. That is a picture of a house, and that is the house that we went to.

Q. Is that house located in the City of Montgomery?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. Do you know about where it is located?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. And where is it located?

A. It is located on Clark Street.

Q. Now, then, you say you went there? Who went there?

A. Rev. Abernathy and myself.

Q. Did he take you or did you take him?

A. He took me.

Q. I see. And now what happened at that house?

A. That is where these affairs took place.

Q. That is where all three . . .

A. That is right.

Q. All of these affairs you mentioned took place?

A. That is right.

Q. And at that time how old were you?

A. Fifteen.

Q. And at that time you were a member of his church?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know who was in charge of the house at that time?

A. A lady by the name of Mrs. Davis.

Q. Do you know whether that is Mrs. C. D. Davis, or not?

A. I am pretty positive.

Q. Is she a little woman, middle sized woman, or what?

A. She is large.

Q. You recognize this picture?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. What is that picture of?

A. That is a picture of a convention in Birmingham that I attended.

Q. Where did you get this picture?

A. I received that picture from him on the night we went out in Birmingham.

Q. The night you went out in Birmingham?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, tell us what happened that night when you went out in Birmingham.

A. On the night we went out in Birmingham I was on my way home, Rosemond Lowe and myself, we were asked to go out on a dinner date with the Rev. Abernathy and the Rev. James Dixon. That night they came and picked us up at the house where we were living, and we went to the Afro Club in Birmingham.

Q. Afro Club?

A. That is right.

Q. Where is that located?

A. It is in some part of Birmingham.

Q. Go right ahead. Now, what happened then?

A. We went in and we had a couple of beers.

Q. Now, that was the time when you were in Birmingham?

A. Yes.

Q. And you say that Abernathy was with you at that time?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, when you came back from Birmingham did he very shortly after that or immediately after that get in touch with you again?

A. No. He asked me to go out to a tea with him that night. This all was the night we got in from Birmingham.

Q. The night when you got in from Birmingham, that was when you were fifteen years old?

A. Yes.

Q. He asked you to go out to a tea with him?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. All right. Now, what happened then, did you go?

A. Well, I thought it was supposed to have been a tea, he said it was to have been a tea, and he and Rev. James Dixon and Walter Parker came

by to pick me up. Walter Parker came up to the door for me, and we put him out at the Derby Supper Club.

Q. You say Walter Parker came to the door to get you?

A. That is right. He and his girl friend was in the car.

Q. And you went with them and got in the car and Abernathy was already in the car?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. All right. And then you and Abernathy after that?

A. We went over, Walter Parker and Walter Parker's girl friend, and Rev. James Dixon and we went over and put Walter Parker and Gloria Thompson out at the Derby Supper Club, and then he went over to Rosemond Lowe's and picked her up. She was ill at the time and couldn't go. So in turn he took Rev. Dixon home and we rode out on the Atlanta Highway, and I haven't seen him since.

Q. How late did you stay out that night?

A. It was ten-thirty about.

Cross Examination

BY MR. THETFORD:

Q. Vivian, you say Bernice is named what now?

A. Bernice Cooper Davis.

Q. Now, is she kin to this defendant?

A. No, she isn't.

Q. Is she related to him, or is her husband any kin to him?

A. No, sir.

Q. Now, you testified, I believe, that—I don't know whether you did testify—when did you first knew Rev. Abernathy, what year?

A. It was '52 or '51, I imagine, when he came to the First Baptist Church. I am not sure what year it was he came there. But the first time he made approaches to me was in Birmingham in '52, July of '52.

Q. Now, how old were you in 1952?

A. I was fifteen then at that time.

Q. Fifteen?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, you testified that you had intercourse or sexual relations with Rev. Abernathy on several occasions?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When and where did you first have relations with him?

A. At the house on Clark Street.

Q. The house where?

A. On Clark Street.

Q. House on Clark Street?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that the house that you . . .

A. That picture I just testified, the first picture I identified.

Q. Is that the picture you pointed out?

A. Yes, sir, it is.

Q. Do you remember what month that was in?

A. It was in August of '52.

Q. August of '52?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, did he come to your house and get you?

A. No.

Q. Did you meet him there?

A. No.

Q. How did you happen to get there?

A. He called my mother and asked her to let me do some typing for him, which was the excuse, and I went up to the church, and in turn we went over there on Clark Street.

Q. You and he went together?

A. That's right.

Q. How did you go?

A. In his car.

Q. And he parked his car in front of this house?

A. No, he didn't.

Q. Where did he park it?

A. He parked it in the driveway.

Q. In the driveway?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And then the two of you went in the house?

A. That's right.

Q. Was there anybody in the house at home?

A. Yes, there was.

Q. Who was there?

A. Mrs. Davis.

Q. What is her first name?

A. I said Mrs. Davis. It is C. O. Davis.

Q. Well, what did you and Reverend Abernathy tell her?

A. Well, he had already made the reservations.

Q. Made the reservations.

A. Advance notice.

Q. What do you mean by advance notice?

A. He had already contacted her.

Q. He had already contacted her?

A. Yes, sir, he had.

Q. Did he say anything to her when you walked in, did he knock on the door?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. And when you walked in what happened then, what did he say to her?

A. He asked her how was she getting along.

Q. What did she say?

A. She said she was fine.

Q. Then what did he say?

A. Well, he just told her that he came there, he had brought me over there.

Q. He brought you over there?

A. Yes. And he introduced me to her.

Q. He introduced you to her?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. All right. What did you all do then?

A. We went in the room.

Q. Living room, bedroom?

A. No. Bedroom.

Q. In the bedroom?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, did you know what you were going over for?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, when did he first ask you to go over there and have intercourse with him?

A. He asked me the night we went out when we came from Birmingham to this so-called tea, but I didn't go and we went out riding.

Q. He asked you would you have intercourse with him when you went out riding, you tell us, on the Atlanta Highway?

A. Yes, sir. He wanted to take me over there then.

Q. He wanted to take you over there then?

A. He wanted to take me on Clark Street that night but I didn't go, and in turn we went out on the Atlanta Highway riding.

Q. Did you have intercourse with him out on the Atlanta Highway?

A. No, sir, I didn't.

Q. Then did he ask you that night to go to the house on Clark Street with him?

A. He asked me that same night to go to the house on Clark Street.

Q. Well, what did you tell him?

A. I told him no.

Q. All right. When did you tell him you would go?

A. Well, I didn't tell him I would go that night. It was three times during that month.

Q. Do you mean he asked you three times during that month?

A. No, he didn't. On several occasions on the telephone and several times coming to my house asking me.

Q. Asked you to go with him to this house on Clark Street.

A. Yes, sir, he did. And finally we got together, and he called my mother and asked her could I do some typing for him, and which was an excuse.

Q. So you and he went in the bedroom?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you knew what you were going in there for?

A. I guess so.

Q. And did both of you get undressed?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Get in bed?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have normal sexual relations with him on that occasion?

A. Well, he did, yes.

Q. What?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long were you at the house on this occasion?

A. About an hour, or an hour and a half, something like that.

Q. And then did he take you back to the church, or where did he take you?

A. He didn't take me back to the church, he took me — I got out of the car to the corner of Union and Alabama.

Q. Now, how close is that to your house?

A. My house is the second from the corner, the second house from the corner.

Q. Let you out around the corner from your house?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Let me ask you this. Were you going with the defendant at that time?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. In 1952?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you get married?

A. I got married in December of '55.

Q. That is three years later?

A. About that.

Q. Two years later?

A. Yes.

Q. All right. Now, you testified that you had a normal intercourse sometime in August at this house on Clark Street. That was the first time?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you go back to that house again?

A. Yes, sir, I did.

Q. When?

A. That same month, in August. I went there three times that August.

Q. You went there three times that August?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Went into the same house?

A. Same house.

Q. Was he expected, were both of you expected by the owner of the house each time?

A. I imagine so. He had always called her to tell her that we were coming.

Q. Each time?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In other words, she didn't seem surprised to see you?

A. No, sir, she didn't seem to be surprised.

Q. Did she know who you were?

A. Yes, sir, she did. They were very close friends.

Q. Now you say that you have had both normal and abnormal intercourse?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did you have the abnormal intercourse with him?

A. The three occasions.

Q. On all three occasions?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, now, what do you mean by abnormal sexual intercourse?

A. Pervertedness. He used his mouth.

Q. He used his mouth?

A. Yes, sir, he did.

Q. On your private parts?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, did he do that, you say on each of the three occasions?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, was that after he had a normal intercourse with you?

A. No, sir, it was before.

Q. It was before he had a normal intercourse?

A. That's right.

Q. In other words, each time he used his mouth on you before and then had a normal intercourse?

A. That's right.

Q. Now, that happened three times in August of 1952?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, has he ever had intercourse with you since then?

A. No.

Q. None whatever?

A. No, I haven't.

Q. Have you ever been out with him alone since August of 1952?

A. No, I haven't been out with him.

Q. You haven't been out with him?

A. No, sir.

Q. Now, when did you first tell your husband about this?

A. I told my husband about it approximately a year after we were married.

Q. About a year after you were married, I believe you told us, you would say in 1956?

A. That is right. I remember vividly we went to New Orleans on a second honeymoon.

Q. Well, now, according to your testimony did Rev. Abernathy start running after you again, telephoning you again?

A. He hasn't ever stopped.

Q. He hasn't ever stopped?

A. No, sir. He has been to my house. He came there in '52 and came there in '54 when Bernice Davis Cooper



Charles Moore, LIFE photographer, holds ankle which has just been struck by a brick hurled at him by one of the mob in Kelly Ingram Park off to the right of picture. On Moore's left is LIFE correspondent Mike Durham. In the background is the three-story hotel from which a piece of concrete block was hurled, almost tearing off one side of a Birmingham fireman's face. Large pieces of brick and concrete block can be seen in the street in this picture. They have all been hurled by Negroes at police officers and reporters, who were the only whites allowed in the area. Most of the injuries received during the demonstrations in Birmingham were by police officers and firemen.

was living with me, and she was in bed one night, her mother was in Washington, and he came by and I was ordering him out of the house and she awakened and found him there, and he had his arms around me.

Q. And that was what year?

A. And that was in '54 or '53 — '53 because she went to Washington both times twice, and during that period he was coming by here and he would come down there and try to get me to go out with him, but I told him that I had made the mistake, and I realized the mistake and that I didn't intend ever to go out with him again.

Q. All right. Now, let's get down to the picnic that you and your husband went on. You went out and got drunk, didn't you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you got real drunk, didn't you?

Q. I wasn't out.

(Objected to. Objection overruled)

Q. How much beer did you drink out there on the picnic? (Objected to. Objection sustained)

Q. Where did he get that pistol he pulled on Rev. Abernathy?

A. Well, I don't know.

Q. Where did the hatchet come from?

A. I don't know.

Q. Have you ever seen this pistol before?

A. No, I haven't ever seen it until — it was in the car pocket.

Q. It was in the car pocket?

A. It was in the car. My husband traveled, you see.

Q. Did he have a license to carry it?

A. Well; I don't know. (Objection sustained.)

Q. Have you ever seen that hatchet before?

A. No.

Q. Never have seen it?

A. No, sir. I saw it in Police Court.

Q. You had never seen it before that?

A. No, I haven't seen it either.

Q. I ask you if that is the pistol, you know that is his pistol don't you?

A. Yes, sir. He traveled, and he had it in the car pocket.

Re-Direct Examination

BY MR. KNABE:

Q. You tell the jury there when you reached the age of fifteen you haven't had anything to do with Rev. Abernathy?

A. No, I haven't.

Q. You haven't been with him in public since then including August 29th, 1958?

A. No, sir, I haven't.

—O—

I hereby certify that the proceedings and evidence are contained fully and accurately in the notes of testimony taken by me upon the trial of the above case, and that this transcript is a true copy and correct copy of the same.

W. Halowell Lewis
Official Court Reporter
Fifteenth Judicial Circuit
of Alabama

—O—

Edward Davis was acquitted for chasing and striking Rev. Abernathy with the hatchet. He and his wife now live in Montgomery.

Sex and Civil Rights

(Continued from Page 12)

bodies and blood in the street, our bodies," and "I am going home today and tell everyone how I've been lied to."

(s) LIONEL FREEMAN

Subscribed to and sworn before me this 5th day of April, 1965.

(s) George N. Dean, Jr.,
Notary Public.

My commission expires _____, 19____.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

I, Samuel M. Carr, a First Lieutenant in the Alabama National Guard, Battery C, 117th Artillery, Alabama do hereby swear under oath and under penalty of perjury the following facts are true and accurate in every respect to my own personal knowledge:

The National Guard unit of which I am a member was activated on March 20, 1965. We were assigned the task of guarding camp sites of the Negro Voter-Protest Marchers on their march from Selma, Alabama to Montgomery, Alabama. This duty we commenced to perform on Tuesday, March 23, 1965 at 1:00 PM picking up contact with the marchers on HiWay 80.

I hereby further swear and attest that during such time of duty with my National Guard unit I personally saw one case of sexual intercourse between a young white boy and a Negro girl. I further swear and attest that I saw occasions of public urination in and near the camp sites.

I further solemnly state that many of the Negro marchers, most especially the young ones, made remarks and statements to members of the National Guard which were, in my opinion, for the purpose of inflaming the emotions of said members of the Guard.

(s) SAMUEL M. CARR

1/Lt Battery C

117th Artillery

Subscribed to and sworn before me this 3rd day of April, 1965.

(s) J. D. Smyth, Jr.

Notary Public

Alabama, State at Large

My commission expires 5-20-68

* * * * *

STATE OF ALABAMA,
COUNTY OF DALLAS

Before me, undersigned authority, in and for said State and County, personally appeared J. E. Crowder and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

I, James E. Crowder, Selma Police Department, do make the following



The picture above was taken a few minutes before the picture at the lower right. Annie Lee Cooper, 265-pound bouncer at a Selma motel landed a surprise right to the eye of Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark. Then she snatched a billy club from Deputy Sheriff Leo Nichols. She hung onto the billy club for dear life and with both hands as shown above. With effort Sheriff Clark managed to wrest the club away from Mrs. Cooper. Two deputies got handcuffs on her. The picture at the lower right is a part of this action. Newsweek described it differently.

Newsweek

"With that, Mrs. Cooper wheeled on Sheriff Clark — eleven years her junior and six and one half pounds lighter — and landed a solid . . . right on his eye. While three deputies helped wrestle her to the ground, Clark scrambled astride her stomach and brought his billy down on her head with a resounding crack"—Newsweek, February 8, 1965



statement. I saw several Negro males, that I know by sight, in a drunken condition. One Negro was there most of the time and was drunk every time that I saw him. The others came and went at intervals. I also saw a short Negro in a green sweater come to the front of the line stretched across the street

on three different occasions and rub up against white girls, feeling their breasts and other parts of their bodies and then taking them off to the rear of the crowd and on to different apartments. One of the white girls was a short fat girl with a white sweat shirt on; another was a medium tall girl, wearing a green coat and carrying a camera bag. This second girl also made several passes at some of the other Negro men on the front line on other occasions. I do not remember what the third white girl looked like that the short Negro carried off as I only saw her that one time.

On one occasion I saw a white man and a Negro female laying side by side beneath a blanket in the middle of the street just before daylight. There was a good deal of movement by both parties beneath the blanket. The white man, the day before, was wearing a priest robe. The next day he was wearing a sweat shirt and dungaree pants. That man is still in town or was on Saturday, March 3, 1965.

(s) J. E. CROWDER

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 7th day of April 1965.

(s) Jud Ernest Hewston

Notary Public

My commission expires: 7-18-67

* * * * *

STATE OF ALABAMA,
COUNTY OF DALLAS

Before me, undersigned authority, in and for said State and County, personally appeared V. B. Bates and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

I, V. B. Bates, Deputy Sheriff of Dallas County, Alabama was assigned to special duty of observation in the area of Sylvan Street and Brown's Chapel during the preparation of Civil Rights March to Montgomery, Alabama.

What I state here is what I actually saw from a distance of 40 feet and less.

To begin with I saw white females from other counties, other states I believe, building up their sexual desires with Negro males. After a few minutes of necking and kissing, the Negro male would lead them off into the Negro housing project. I watched this procedure many, many times.

On another occasion, I saw a white male meet a Negro male on the front porch of Rev. Lewis' parsonage: they embraced and kissed each other mouth to mouth.

On Friday afternoon before the Sunday of the march to Montgomery, Officer Hewston and I were parked across

the street in front of Brown's Chapel. We noticed a big, heavy set Negro male near a small tree in front of the Parsonage; he was talking to a white female. They were talking, laughing and slapping each other on the back. They moved in closer to the tree, he had one hand hanging on a limb; she would move in very close to where she would rub on his legs and stomach. He was acting like he had ants in his pants. He would put his hands in his pocket attempting to control his sexual impulses.

Finally they locked lips together as if they were sucking each other's tongue, this lingered for 2 or 3 minutes; he then took her by the arm and they walked down the sidewalk towards the Baptist Church.

(s) V. B. Bates

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 5th day of April, 1965.

(s) Jud Ernest Hewston

Notary Public

My commission expires 7-18-67.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned Notary Public, Richard Perrino Emmet, who by me being first duly sworn, deposes and says as follows:

My name is Richard Perrino Emmet. I presently serve as Judge of the 15th Judicial Circuit of the State of Alabama. I formerly presided over the Family Court of Montgomery, Alabama. The Family Court is charged with the responsibility of handling all juvenile matters. All boys and girls who have not reached their 18th birthday are considered juveniles.

During the recent disturbances in Montgomery, the present Family Court Judge was called out of town and inasmuch as I had formerly presided over the Court, I assisted in handling all demonstrators who fell in the juvenile category.

Several white females still seniors in high school from various northern cities were taken into protective custody. Their parents were notified and they were released to their parents. Several college freshmen were also taken into protective custody who were 17 years of age or under.

One white female from the midwest who is attending college in Florida as a national merit finalist was taken into custody when she was found with three Negro men at night on the grounds of the State Capitol in a state of partial disrobement.

I contacted her father, a minister in a

mid-western community, informed him of the circumstances in which his daughter was found, that she was in Montgomery unchaperoned and apparently with no place to stay.

He informed me that he had encouraged his daughter to come to Montgomery and that she was there with his approval. He did not seem to be shocked upon learning the circumstances of his daughter's apprehension.

(s) RICHARD PERRINO EMMET

Subscribed to and sworn to before me this 5th day of April, 1965.

(s) Walter E. Graham

Notary Public, State at Large

My commission expires January 21, 1967.

* * * * *

(Letterhead)

STATE OF ALABAMA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC
SAFETY

Grove Hill, Alabama

STATEMENT

TO: Major John W. Cloud

Commander, Ala. State Troopers

FROM: Lt. J. L. Fuqua

DATE: 2 April, 1965

SUBJECT: Observed Obscenities
during Recent Selma and
Montgomery Racial Problem

This writer was in Selma from March 8 until March 16 and then in Montgomery until March 29. During the time I was in Selma I was assigned to the 10PM to 6AM shift and stayed in the vicinity of the Brown Chapel Church.

One night about 200 demonstrators were singing in the street while I observed a limp wrist white male standing in the front row with a blanket over his shoulder and a black male's shoulder. This white man had his arm around the Negro and at one time he kissed the Negro in the mouth with a long lingering kiss. A few minutes later these two men walked out of the line together, arm in arm, toward the church.

On another occasion in Selma Lt. Jeffries and myself were making a round around the blocked off area of the church and we stopped a 1957 Ford driven by John Calhoun, a Negro man from Montgomery. There was another Negro man in the front seat and a Negro man and a white girl about 24 years old in the back seat. The girl tried to conceal her race by pulling a coat over her head. This writer got both of these people out of the car, the white girl and the Negro man and observed their appearance. The Negro

man's pants were unzipped in the front and the girl had on dungaree pants. They were unzipped on the side. The girl said she was from California.

On several occasions I saw white girls rubbing up against Negro men and kissing them on the street in this demonstration. I also saw Negro men feel the breast and butt of white girls, making no attempt to hide this but rather appearing like they wanted everyone to see them.

I noticed prophylactics on the ground near the church several different times.

(Signed) Lt. James L. Fuqua

* * * * *

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

On March 13, 1965, while on duty at Selma, Alabama in the afternoon while standing on the front line at the colored project on Lawrence Street where the colored people and white people were demonstrating, there was a colored man arm in arm with a white priest. The odor of whiskey was very much on the Negro's breath. From this writer's experience and opinion the Negro man was very much under the influence of alcohol.

(s) M. D. TUCKER

Birmingham District

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 6th day of April, 1965.

(s) Virginia C. McCoy

Notary Public, State at Large

My commission expires November 15, 1966.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

Before me, undersigned authority, in and for said State and County, personally appeared Mrs. John J. Ather-ton and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

Of the many marches on the Dallas County Courthouse, the one which impressed me as being the most disgusting display of the manifestation of the close association of the motley crew that had been camping day and night for several days on Sylvan Street, was the demonstration held on the afternoon of March 17, 1965. Most probably by design to incur the wrath of any onlookers, the marchers came to the courthouse two by two, each being a mixture either of older white man with adolescent colored girl or colored man with white woman. A display of so-call 'affection' - hand holding, entwining-arms, waist encircling — all overt acts of familiarity have long — and I realize until recently — been looked upon as in the poorest taste. All of these were flaunted in a sup-

posedly religious service on a public street before a public building, an open display for any one who would look on.

After the demonstrators had been assembled before the courthouse for a few minutes, rain began to fall. Those of the crowd who had on coats or rain-coats began to share their wraps with their partners or neighbors in the group. Aging, balding men wearing clerical collars spread their coats and

gathered in youngish colored girls; others made tents of their coats and several stood huddled close under these improvised umbrellas. Putting their actions down in print cannot begin to convey what went on in the way of numerous physical contacts between members of the two races and of the two sexes. Perhaps this behavior was not 'immoral' in our modern day when the accepted ideas of morality are so

**CONFERENCE ON
THE DEEP SOUTH:
WAYS AND MEANS TO INTEGRATION
FRIDAY-SATURDAY, APRIL 13-14, 1962**



**HEADQUARTERS:
St. Paul Methodist Church**

1500 Sixth Avenue, North Birmingham, Alabama

Rev. J. C. Wilson, Pastor

SPONSORS:

**ALABAMA CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.**

HOST:

**THE ALABAMA CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

THEME:

**"RELIGION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS
AND CIVIL LIBERTIES."**

Cover of Brochure on April 13 - 14, 1962, Birmingham "Conference"
sponsored by the SCEF.

lax, but it most certainly was immodest and distasteful. We very soon closed our blinds against the scene and have tried to erase the memory from our minds.

As my husband is on the staff of a local Southern Baptist Church, I spent much of the time the demonstration above described was in progress trying to defend "men of the cloth" against the criticism being brought on them by the men attired in "the cloth" who were taking part in this public spectacle.

Signed: Mrs. John J. Atherton.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 8th day of April, 1965.

(Signed) Jud. Ernest Hewston

Notary Public

My commission expires: 7-18-67.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

Before me, the undersigned authority, in and for said State and County, personally appeared Charles R. McMillian, and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

I am a City Policeman and was on duty during the demonstration in front of Brown's Chapel Church. Due to the fact that it was raining, the demonstrators attempted to put up tents in the middle of the street which was furnished by one of the Negro funeral homes in the city. They were told that they could not pitch tents in the middle of the street so they moved the tents and put them up on the lawns of G. W. C. Project.

After tents were put up, they made sides for them out of polyethylene, which is a plastic that you can see through. When night came the demonstrators started making their beds on the ground inside the tents. Both Negroes and white demonstrators were bedding down side by side. A young teenage Negro boy and girl were engaged in a sexual intercourse that was interrupted by a newsman who attempted to take a picture of the act. I was at the barricade when I saw the above. Also during the time spent guarding the demonstrators there was constant kissing and hugging, and rubbing up against each other and pairing off and leaving the group that was in the street. The above mentioned demonstration took place in March 1965.

This statement is true to the best of my knowledge.

(s) CHARLES R. McMILLIAN

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 7th day of April 1965.

(s) Jud Ernest Hewston, Jr.

Notary Public

My commision expires 7-18-67

A F F I D A V I T

STATE OF ALABAMA,
COUNTY OF DALLAS

Before me, undersigned authority in and for said State and County, personally appeared Mrs. Frances W. Martin, and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

This is to certify that I, Mrs. Frances W. Martin, and 50 years of age, and I am employed in the Courthouse, Selma, Dallas County, Alabama, with an office on the third floor. I have witnessed the demonstrations in, and about the Courthouse, since their beginning both from my office windows and going in and out of the Courthouse. I have seen young Negro men and young white women walking down the street holding hands or with their arms around each other's waists. I have also seen young white men and young Negro women doing the same thing and I also saw on one occasion, a white man with both arms around a Negro embracing her, hugging and caressing her bosom, and all this in full view of anyone and everyone who might chance to look their way.

(s) FRANCES W. MARTIN

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 6th day of April 1965.

(s) Jud Ernest Hewston, Jr.

Notary Public

My commission expires 7-18-67.

* * * * *

STATE OF ALABAMA,
COUNTY OF DALLAS

Before me, undersigned authority, in and for said State and County, personally appeared Frank Barr and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

On March 12, 1965, I was working the night shift and was stationed on Sylvan Street near Brown's Chapel. I saw white girls and Negro boys, and white boys and Negro girls pair off and go into the dark areas of Brown's Chapel. They would disappear in the dark areas for as long as 45 minutes at a time. I do not know for sure what they were doing but I did see these couples with their arms around each other and kissing.

(s) FRANK BARR

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 7th day of April, 1965.

(s) Jud Ernest Hewston, Jr.

Notary Public

My commission expires 7-18-67.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

Statement of K. W. Jones, Captain, Montgomery Police Department, concerning the sit-in demonstration in front of the Capitol on March 10 and

11, 1965, and the indecent incidents connected with the demonstration.

This statement is made of my own free will, with no pressure from any source being exerted.

On March 10, 1965, at about 10:00 p.m. we had a march to the Church, Columbus and Ripley, and a parade permit had been issued for this march for this date. About 1,000 people participated in this march.

The march was orderly and the demonstrations in front of the Capitol was orderly up to the point of the marchers dispersing. The leaders of the march, who had gotten the parade permit, wanted to disperse like they had promised to. James Forman and about 300 of his group who was in the march, refused to disperse and sat down in the street. About 700 dispersed and was escorted back to the church, First Baptist.

The remaining, about 300, huddled up as a small group as possible and sang and made speeches. They used the street for a bathroom, they urinated until it ran down the street for about half a block. We could not see everything that was going on in the center of the group and this is where they would go to urinate. Two walked to the edge of the group and proceeded to urinate and were arrested. These were men. There was no mistaking the smell of urine even though we couldn't see them urinate. This went on until about 2:00 a.m. when they dispersed.

This is a true and correct statement and I freely sign my name below.

(s) K. W. JONES

Captain, Montgomery Police
Department

Notary: Mary B. Newberry (s)

Date: April 5, 1965

My commission expires on August 1965.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

I, James E. Farris, member of the State Troopers of the State of Alabama, do hereby swear and attest and under penalty of perjury, that from Monday, March 22nd, 1965, through Wednesday, March 24th, I, among many others, was assigned duty with the other officials in connection with the march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.

I further swear and attest that during this tour of duty I personally saw many, many cases of drunkenness, sexual promiscuity, and urination in the streets and other public places.

I further swear and attest that on March 24th, Wednesday, we were assigned duty in front of the Capitol

Building in Montgomery where a large number of marchers had gathered. These marchers stayed in front of the Capitol until approximately 3:00 a.m. Thursday morning and so many of them had urinated in the street (Dexter) that it actually ran a city block down the street. This I saw myself and do not report this as heresay.

I further swear and attest that on numerous occasions the marchers would walk close to myself, as well as troopers, and actually curse us, and make most obscene remarks to us. As stated, this happened on many, many occasions.

I further swear and attest that traffic was blocked all the way from Dannelly Field into the city of Montgomery when the marchers arrived in the Dannelly Field vicinity on March 24th, 1965. I was on duty that day and saw

this myself. The entire march caused a traffic hazard that just simply could not be adequately guarded against.

(s) JAMES E. FARRIS
 State Trooper
 State of Alabama
 Subscribed to and sworn before me this 3rd day of April, 1965.
 (s) J. D. Smyth, Jr.
 Notary Public
 Alabama, State at Large
 My commission expires 5-20-68.
 * * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I, Marlon J. Bass, did, on the night of the 23rd of March, 1965, see, at the camp site of the Selma to Montgomery marches, a young white girl and a colored man having sex relations. They were on the ground out in the open and did not try in any way to hide as

I walked within six or eight feet of them.

There were many colored girls and white boys laying in the same sleeping bags. I also saw a white girl about 17 years old and 4 colored boys get into the back of a truck and close the doors. This was before dark on the 23rd day of March 1965. They were in the truck about 45 minutes and when they opened the door to get out the girl was dressing.

This is a true statement.

(s) MARLON J. BASS
 Route 6
 Andalusia, Alabama
 County of Covington
 Sworn to and subscribed before me on this 7th day of April, 1965.
 (s) Neil L. Coplin
 Notary Public
 My commission expires 3-21-66



It was a hot Spring in Birmingham. Negro youths in Kelly Ingram Park appreciated most the efforts of the Birmingham Fire Department. This is a scene typical of most any day during the demonstration. Negro boys playing in the streams of water from the fire hoses. There don't seem to be any "children bleeding on the ground."



Here are four of the marchers from Selma to Montgomery who seem to be feeling the effects of the heat—or the miles—or something. There was always a helping hand or a shoulder to lean on if the boots began to feel heavy along the way.

