



Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail

South Atlantic Gulf Region 2 | Special Resource Study

ALABAMA | 2023



Photos on front cover:

Left: Aerial view of marchers on the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, on the first day of the Selma to Montgomery march. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by the Alabama Media Group. Photo by Tom Self and Anthony Falletta, *Birmingham News*.

Top Right: Marchers in front of Brown Chapel AME Church in Selma, Alabama, before the start of the Selma to Montgomery march. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by the Alabama Media Group. Photo by William McCormick, *Huntsville Times*.

Middle Right: Young African American man carrying an American flag on US highway 80 on the second day of the Selma to Montgomery march. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by the Alabama Media Group. Photo by Jack Hopper, *Birmingham News*.

Lower Right: View from the second floor of the Capitol in Montgomery, Alabama, at the conclusion of the Selma to Montgomery march. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by the Alabama Media Group. Photo by Tom Self, *Birmingham News*.

Executive Summary

Introduction

The National Park Service has prepared the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail Special Resource Study (SRS) report to evaluate sites associated with the 1965 voting rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama. The SRS evaluates each site using established criteria for evaluating national significance, suitability, feasibility, and need for direct NPS management. This study evaluates the potential for a national park system unit related to the march that may include sites that are part of the existing Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (“the Trail”). National park system units and national historic trails (NHTs) have different evaluative criteria for establishment.

Legislative History

The Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2022 (P.L. 117-103) authorized the "Study for Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail" and directed the Secretary of the Interior to evaluate:

1. Resources associated with the 1965 voting rights march from Selma to Montgomery not currently part of the Trail that would be appropriate for addition to the Trail.
2. The potential designation of the Trail as a unit of the national park system instead of, or in addition to, remaining a designated part of the National Trails System.

Although the US Department of the Interior Budget Justifications and Performance Information for fiscal year (FY) 2022 (US Department of the Interior 2022) identified this study as a "boundary study" of the Trail, the NPS study team determined that boundary study criteria would not provide an appropriate evaluative framework since NHTs are not administered within a park unit boundary. Rather, SRS criteria (per 54 USC 100507) provide the most appropriate framework to consistently and comprehensively evaluate the study area and address the requirements stated in the justification.

Resource Overview

The study area, in central Alabama, comprises sites in Perry, Dallas, Lowndes, and Montgomery counties. This study evaluates sites that are part of the designated Trail associated with the events of the voting rights march from Selma to Montgomery in 1965, and also evaluates sites associated with an expanded period of significance from 1957 through 1970, including many sites that are not a part of the designated Trail. The Trail was established as an NHT via an amendment to the National Trails System Act by Congress in November 1996 (P.L. 104-333). The amendment outlined the extent of the Trail as “consisting of 54 miles of city streets and US Highway 80 (US 80) from Brown Chapel African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church in Selma to the State Capitol Building in Montgomery traveled by voting rights advocates during March 1965 to dramatize the need for voting rights legislation”. The legislation recommended that the Trail be administered by the National Park Service. In 2015, a twenty-eight-mile stretch of roadway between Marion and Selma, was designated by the Secretary of the Interior as an official connecting trail. The connecting trail follows the route used by voting rights movement participants in 1965 and starts at Zion Chapel Methodist Church in Marion and ends at Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma.

Currently, the Trail is administered and managed by the National Park Service via several partnerships with private landowners, the Federal Highway Administration, and Alabama State University, which supports operations at the Montgomery Interpretive Center. As part of the Trail, the National Park Service operates the interpretive center in Montgomery and owns and operates two interpretive centers in Selma and White Hall (Lowndes County). The Trail works in partnership with the four campsites in private ownership along the Trail. The Trail includes or is associated with important sites and segments defined in a 2005 comprehensive management plan (CMP). In addition to sites that are part of the designated Trail, this study evaluates sites related to the voting rights movement beyond the date of the 1965 march itself and within a broader period of significance from 1957 through 1970. The majority of these sites are in private ownership, although some are owned by foundations, nonprofit organizations, and local and state governments.

Congress and the Secretary of the Interior via the National Historic Landmark program have previously identified the routes, people, places, and events linked to the Selma voting rights movement and the three voting rights marches that took place in 1965 as nationally significant. This is evidenced by the designation of the Trail, national historic landmark designations, and various thematic studies. These designations and studies document the wider context of the people who supported, struggled, and sustained the decades-long voting rights efforts in central Alabama that culminated in passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Without the communities and their stories, and without these other places and events, the situations leading to the Selma to Montgomery marches would not have occurred. The sites in this study represent an expansion of recognition and scholarship acknowledging the systemic and strategic efforts by everyday Americans that led to the passage of the Voting Rights Act.

Summary of Findings

NPS *Management Policies 2006* section 1.3 directs that proposed additions to the national park system must meet four legislatively mandated criteria:

1. national significance
2. suitability
3. feasibility
4. need for direct NPS management

This study finds that the sites in the study area meet all four criteria and that sites that do not meet criterion 4 could alternatively be suitable as partner sites. Therefore, per requirements of 54 USC 100507, the study includes management alternatives that describe what the National Park Service considers to be the most effective and efficient approach to protecting significant sites and providing for public enjoyment.

The information in this study is provided to inform Congress of the options available and the communities, stakeholders, and potential partners that are critical for engagement should Congress choose to act on this study's positive findings and designate these sites as a national park system unit. The findings for each of the sites analyzed are described as follows:

Criterion 1 – National Significance

This study finds that twenty-six sites associated with the voting rights movement in and around Selma from 1957 to 1970 – including the Selma to Montgomery voting rights marches –

collectively possess national significance using the national historic landmark criteria required of special resource studies. Although some of these twenty-six sites are part of the existing Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail, they are evaluated in this study using the SRS criterion for national significance (SRS criterion 1), which is different from the national significance criterion used for NHTs.

Criterion 2 – Suitability

The sites in the study area collectively enhance and expand the narratives presented by comparable resources across the nation related to racial voting rights, including the designated Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail. Even though many sites in the study area are already associated with the Trail, the study area represents an expanded period of significance that encompasses critical events before and after the famous march, during which a grassroots struggle for voting rights grew to have national implications. The twenty-six sites in the study area that meet the SRS national significance criterion also meet the SRS suitability criterion for inclusion in the national park system.

Criterion 3 – Feasibility

Twenty-seven sites were evaluated for feasibility: the twenty-six sites that met the SRS national significance and suitability criteria plus the Montgomery Interpretive Center as a supporting facility. The sites are broken down into three categories: feasible, conditionally feasible, and not feasible. Eleven sites meet all the factors considered under the analysis of criterion 3: feasibility. These sites are of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure sustainable resource protection and visitor access. Property owners and the public have demonstrated strong support for a potential designation of a national park system unit and support an NPS presence at each site. Current land ownership patterns, economic and socioeconomic impacts, and potential threats to the sites do not appear to preclude the study area from becoming a new unit of national park system. In addition, ten sites are conditionally feasible, defined in this study as where there is a possibility that the reason a site is currently infeasible could change in the future. Reasons for conditional feasibility include no response from property owners or that property owners want to retain management at this time. Conditionally feasible sites can be reevaluated at a future time if their circumstances change. In addition, six sites are infeasible for inclusion as part of a national park system unit.

Criterion 4 – Direct NPS Management

Direct NPS management is defined as sites where the National Park Service owns and manages sites within an authorized boundary and has responsibility for park operations, resource protection, and visitor services at the time of the study. This does not include partnership sites where ownership and the lead management role is retained by the current property owner. Among the twenty-one sites found to be feasible or conditionally feasible, the study finds that one site meets SRS criterion 4, a need for direct NPS management: the Old Perry County Jail in Marion Alabama (see table 1 below). Direct NPS management of the Old Perry County Jail would provide long-term protection of the site and a more cohesive management approach to interpretation and visitor opportunities. The landowner, the public, and local community organizations have expressed support for the National Park Service having a direct role in management of the Old Perry County Jail. Although the remaining feasible sites and conditionally feasible sites do not present a clear need for direct NPS management at this time, they can be evaluated at a later date if situations change.

Table 1: Summary of Findings by Site

Site	Part of the Designated Trail Including Connector	Criterion 1 – National Significance	Criterion 2 – Suitability	Criterion 3 – Feasibility	Criterion 4 – Need for Direct NPS Management	Management Alternative
Old Perry County Jail	No	Yes	Yes	Feasible	Yes	NPS Unit
Tabernacle Baptist Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	NPS Unit
Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	NPS Unit
Lincoln Normal School	No	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	NPS Unit
F.D. Reese Home	No	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	NPS Unit
SNCC/LCFO Freedom House	No	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	NPS Unit
David Hall Campsite (Campsite #1)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	No change from current partnership with NHT
Rosie Steele Campsite (Campsite #2)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	No change from current partnership with NHT
Robert Gardner Campsite (Campsite #3)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	No change from current partnership with NHT
City of St. Jude Campsite (Campsite #4)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	No change from current partnership with NHT
Zion Chapel Methodist Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally Feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
Brown Chapel A.M.E Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally Feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
Edmund Pettus Bridge	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
First Baptist Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally Feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally Feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
Samuel and Amelia Boynton House	No	Yes	Yes	Conditionally Feasible	N/A	N/A
Ben Moore Hotel, Majestic Café & Malden Brothers Barber Shop	No	Yes	Yes	Conditionally Feasible	N/A	N/A
Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson Home	No	Yes	Yes	Conditionally Feasible	N/A	N/A
George Washington Carver Homes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A

Site	Part of the Designated Trail Including Connector	Criterion 1 – National Significance	Criterion 2 – Suitability	Criterion 3 – Feasibility	Criterion 4 – Need for Direct NPS Management	Management Alternative
Alabama State Capitol	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A
Clark Elementary School	No	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A
Dallas County Court House	No	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A
Good Samaritan Hospital	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A
Lowndes County Courthouse	No	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A
Tent City	Yes	No	N/A	N/A	N/A – NPS owned	No change from current NPS ownership at Lowndes Interpretive Center

Table 2: Summary of Findings of Interpretive Centers

Interpretive Centers	Part of the Designated Trail Including Connector	Criterion 1 – National Significance	Criterion 2 – Suitability	Criterion 3 – Feasibility	Criterion 4 – Need for Direct NPS Management	Management Alternative
Selma Interpretive Center	Yes	N/A	N/A	N/A – Supporting Administrative Facility	Yes – NPS-owned	No change from current NPS ownership
Lowndes Interpretive Center	Yes	N/A	N/A	N/A – Supporting Administrative Facility	Yes – NPS-owned	No change from current NPS ownership
Montgomery Interpretive Center	No	N/A	N/A	Feasible – Supporting Administrative Facility	No - Partnership	No change from current partnership with NHT

NPS Management Alternatives

This study evaluated sites that are part of the existing Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail and sites that are not currently included as part of the Trail. The SRS evaluation criteria for potential national park system units are different than those for national trails, and the study area is formally independent of the Trail. Whether or not a site is part of the existing Trail is important when considering management alternatives since national trails already are authorized to receive full NPS management and funding support. The National Park Service currently administers the Trail in accordance with a CMP through a combination of NPS ownership and formal partnerships with a number of non-federal entities.

The National Park Service concludes that the most effective and efficient management alternative for the future management of sites related to the 1965 Selma to Montgomery march and the larger voting rights movement is identified as the following: 1) retention of the existing

Trail continuing to administered to be administered and managed by the National Park Service as a designated NHT within the National Trail System; and 2) a new national park unit (a national historical park), distinct from the NHT, with a boundary that includes individual discontinuous sites. This will allow the National Park Service to preserve and interpret sites that fall within a broader period of significance identified as 1957-1970. Both the Trail and the proposed new national historical park unit would be operated under one NPS management structure for operational efficiencies, yet the Trail and the potential new national park unit would each have their own identities and purposes while allowing the opportunity to build on existing relationships and partnerships for greater preservation of the sites and stories. This management alternative seeks to provide additional preservation, interpretation of the march itself and the larger voting rights movement, and visitor access to associated historic sites and supporting facilities.

Under this management alternative, the David Hall Farm (Campsite #1), Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2), Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3), and the City of St. Jude (Campsite #4) would continue to be managed by private property owners and collaborate via partnerships with the Trail. The Lowndes Interpretive Center and the Selma Interpretive Center are not evaluated in this SRS because they are already owned by the National Park Service. Although the Montgomery Interpretive Center is currently managed by the National Park Service, it is evaluated in this study as a support facility because it is not owned by the National Park Service. At this time, the study does not recommend NPS ownership or a change to the Center's management structure, however the site ownership could be reevaluated in the future if its management circumstances change.

The proposed boundary of the new national park system unit would include direct ownership and management of the Old Perry County Jail along with expanded partnerships with five other discontinuous sites: the Lincoln Normal School, Tabernacle Baptist Church, Mount Zion A.M.E. Zion Church, F.D. Reese Home, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee/Lowndes County Freedom Organization (SNCC/LCFO) Freedom House. The property owner of the Old Perry County Jail has expressed support for direct NPS ownership, management, preservation, and visitor access and would like to remain in close partnership with the National Park Service as they have a close connection to the site and would like to partner for site preservation and interpretation. Property owners of the Lincoln Normal School, Tabernacle Baptist Church, Mount Zion A.M.E. Zion Church, F.D. Reese Home, and SNCC/LCFO Freedom House would like to expand their current partnership with the National Park Service through a new national park unit designation while retaining ownership of their property at this time.

The non-NPS-owned sites in the proposed new national historical park would have an opportunity to partner with the National Park Service for additional technical expertise, beyond what is currently available through the partnership with the Trail, such as support for funding opportunities and grants and other mechanisms for preservation of the historic structures. In addition to preservation, there could be additional opportunities for shared partnership between property owners and the National Park Service to provide interpretation for visitors to experience the sites and learn about the history and connection to the voting rights movement and the direct connection to the march which will continue to be interpreted by the Trail.

Also, since those sites would be within a designated NPS boundary, the National Park Service would have authority to acquire the sites if the owners became willing sellers. These expanded authorities would ensure preservation and public enjoyment of representative sites that are key

to telling the story of the expanded period of significance from 1957 to 1970 of the voting rights movement in perpetuity.

The study also identifies the need to update the National Park Service's 2005 CMP for the Trail. An updated plan would identify potential new route segments, additional protection strategies for existing resources, and opportunities for new and expanded partnerships associated with the Trail. The updated plan would include collaboration with local stakeholders and conducted in accordance with the National Trails System Act, Director's Order 45, and *Reference Manual 45*, all of which outline law and policy for the use, protection, management, development, and administration of NHTs. Congressional legislation is not necessary to prepare an updated plan; the National Park Service could pursue this effort under its current authority as the administrator of the Trail.

Conclusion

The Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail and twenty-six associated sites meet established criteria for national significance and suitability. Twenty-seven sites were evaluated for feasibility: the twenty-six sites that met the SRS national significance and suitability criteria plus the Montgomery Interpretive Center as a supporting facility. Eleven sites are feasible, ten are conditionally feasible; and six are infeasible. Of the sites considered feasible, only the Old Perry County Jail meets all four criteria, including the need for direct NPS management. Property owners of the other feasible sites prefer to retain ownership of their property and partner with the National Park Service. This SRS finds that the current designation and management of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail should remain in place, with an additional new national park system unit designation. The new national park unit designation would allow for expanded interpretation within a broader framework and the inclusion of additional NPS-owned properties, such as the Old Perry County Jail and expanded partnership agreements with a number of other sites.

A Guide to this Document

This SRS is organized into the following sections, each of which is briefly described below.

Chapter 1: Study Purpose and Background provides a brief description of the study area and an overview of the study's purpose, background, and process. This chapter also summarizes NPS findings on the SRS.

Chapter 2: Historical Background and Resource Description provides a historic overview and description of the area through which the Trail passes and its associated resources. The temporal emphasis is from 1957 to 1970.

Chapter 3: Evaluation of Study Area for Inclusion in the National Park System describes the SRS evaluation criteria and findings. Criteria addressed include national significance, suitability, feasibility, and need for direct NPS management.

Chapter 4: NPS Management Alternatives presents a range of potential future management alternatives for preservation, protection, and interpretation of the study area. This analysis was conducted, in part, to explore considerations for NPS management, and it assisted the National Park Service in evaluating potential costs and other topics included in the description of feasibility.

Chapter 5: Public Outreach describes NPS public outreach efforts related to the study, including a summary of input provided by the public during the initial phases of the study.

Appendices include relevant legislation for the study area and this SRS, property description figures, a comprehensive list of sites identified for this study, references, NPS management policies for criteria of inclusion, and the study team.

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Chapter 1: Study Purpose and Background

Chapter 1 describes the purpose and background of the study, including the criteria used by the National Park Service to determine whether a resource is eligible for potential designation as a national park system unit. The chapter concludes with a brief description of the study methodology and limitations.

Purpose of the Special Resource Study

New areas are typically added to the national park system by an Act of Congress or by presidential proclamation. However, before Congress creates a new national park system unit, it frequently requests information about whether the area's resources meet established criteria for designation. The National Park Service is often tasked with evaluating potential new areas for compliance with these criteria and documenting its findings in an SRS report.

The purpose of this SRS report is to provide Congress with information about the quality and condition of sites associated with the Trail and its relationship to criteria for new parklands applied by the National Park Service. There is potential for confusion in this report since the term "Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail" refers both to an existing, designated NHT and to the current study area. The study area is different from the designated NHT, even though there is substantial overlap. To avoid confusion, the existing NHT will be referred to as the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail or just "the Trail" throughout the report, and the study area will be referred to as the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail study area or just "the study area."

The Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2022 (P.L. 117-103) authorized the "Study for Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail" and directed the Secretary of the Interior to evaluate:

- Resources associated with the 1965 voting rights march from Selma to Montgomery not currently part of the Trail that would be appropriate for addition to the Trail.
- The potential designation of the Trail as a unit of the national park system instead of, or in addition to, remaining a designated part of the National Trails System.

The first portion of the authorization concerns the separate eligibility criteria of 16 USC 1244(b)(11)(A-C), and will appropriately be addressed via future updates or amendments to the Trail's CMP (2005). Appendix C includes a comprehensive list of sites initially considered for this study that could be referenced for future studies (for example, a CMP update).

This SRS report addresses the second portion of the authorization. Although the US Department of the Interior Budget Justifications and Performance Information for fiscal year (FY) 2022 (US Department of the Interior 2022) identified this study as a "boundary study" of the Trail, the NPS study team determined that boundary study criteria would not provide an appropriate evaluative framework since NHTs are not administered within a park unit boundary. Rather, SRS criteria (per 54 USC 100507) provide the most appropriate framework to consistently and comprehensively evaluate the study area and address the requirements stated in the justification. The purpose of an SRS is to evaluate four congressionally established criteria for new units: national significance, suitability, feasibility, and need for NPS management. For the first step (determining national significance), the national significance of cultural resources is evaluated by applying National Historic Landmark criteria in 36 CFR Part 65.5 (NPS 2006,

NPS 2016b). The SRS also considers other alternatives for preservation, protection, and interpretation of the study area by the federal government, state or local government entities, and private and nonprofit organizations (NPS 2016b).

Background and Overview of the Study Area

The core of the study area is the existing Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail in central Alabama, designated a Scenic Byway (August 1995) and an All-American Road (January 1996) (NPS 1999) prior to being established and designated an NHT by Congress in November 1996 via Public Law 104-333, which amended the National Trails System Act. The enabling legislation outlined the extent of the Trail as consisting of fifty-four miles of city streets and US 80 from Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma to the State Capitol Building in Montgomery traveled by voting rights advocates during March 1965 to advocate for voting rights legislation. The legislation additionally referenced the 1993 *Selma to Montgomery Historic Trail Study* (P.L. 104-333), which recommended that the NHT be established and administered by the National Park Service (NPS 1993, 1999). In 2015, a stretch of roadway between Marion and Selma was designated by the Secretary of the Interior as an official connecting trail because of the role that the events in Marion played leading up to the march. The connecting trail also follows the route used by voting rights movement participants in 1965 and starts at Zion Chapel Methodist Church in Marion and ends at Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma (Koplowitz 2015, WLA Studio 2022). Connecting trails provide missing links to other trails and nearby features or allow enhanced access.

The Federal Highway Administration is a key NPS partner in interpreting and protecting this historic route. Other key partners include the City of Selma and Alabama State University, which supports operations at the Montgomery Interpretive Center in Montgomery. The NPS-owned interpretive centers are in Selma and White Hall (midway along the route in Lowndes County) (Fisher 2022, NPS 2015, WLA Studio 2022). All three interpretive centers serve as important support facilities for visitor education by featuring exhibits, interpretive films and programming, and administrative offices for trail staff. Located near the beginning, middle, and end of the march route, the three interpretive centers serve as distinct connectors to the stories and important locations along or near the Trail. The Trail's headquarters, museum collection storage, and other administrative space are located in Tuskegee, Alabama, and shared with Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site and Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site. Some staff are also shared between the Trail and these national historic sites. The Trail collaborates and partners with individual landowners, local groups, churches, universities, cities, counties, the state of Alabama, and other federal entities to share the history and legacy of the march with the American people (NPS 2017a, 2015, 2005).

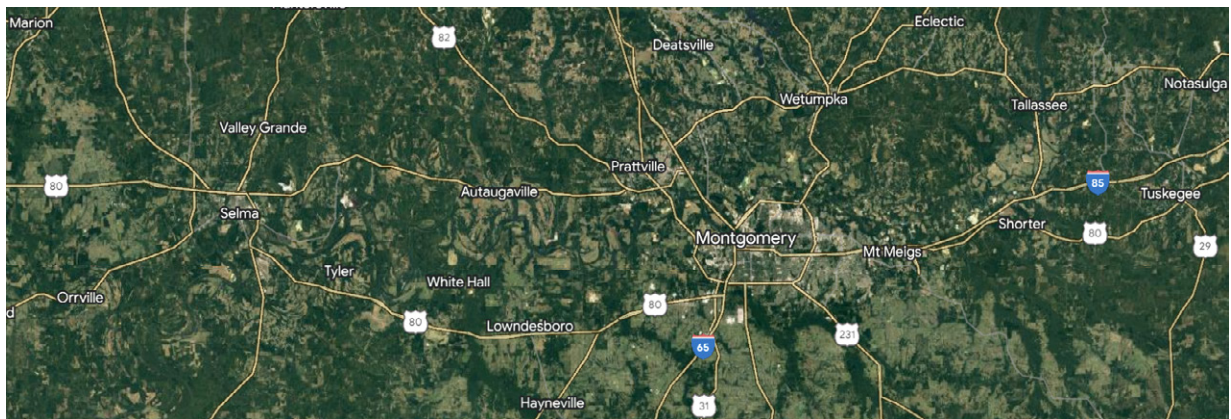


Figure 1. Study area regional context (Google Earth 2023)

Study Methodology/Process: Special Resource Study

The SRS process provides Congress with critical information about the resource qualities in the study area and potential alternatives for their protection. By law (Public Law 91-383 §8, also known as the National Park System General Authorities Act, recently codified in 54 USC 100507) and NPS *Management Policies 2006*, potential new national park system units must fully meet the following criteria:

1. possess nationally significant resources
2. be a suitable addition to the system
3. be a feasible addition to the system
4. require direct NPS management or administration instead of protection by other agencies or the private sector

This study includes findings for these criteria and serves as the basis for a formal recommendation from the Secretary of the Interior as to whether or not the study area should be designated as a new national park system unit.

The following methodology (illustrated in figure 2) was used to conduct this SRS and determine if the sites in the Trail study area meet these criteria:

Step 1: Assess Public Views and Ideas About the Trail Study Area

Via a process called “scoping,” information about the study area and its resources is collected by the study team. NPS staff identify existing information sources and data needs, issues, and potential constraints. Canvassing of existing conditions and available data, such as designation status and nominations and theme studies, is a critical element. Site visits to the study area may be conducted to assess resource conditions and provide additional information to be used in developing study findings.

During early stages of the study, the team begins the process of identifying the stakeholders, agencies, and individuals with a direct interest in the study area or with expertise that could assist the team; this facilitates planning for later stakeholder conversations and public outreach activities. Engaging potential stakeholders in the scoping process allows the public; neighbors of the study area; local, state, and other federal government agencies; and other stakeholders to share insights about their issues, concerns, ideas, goals, and objectives. This process also gauges interest and support in designating the study area as a national park system unit and affirms the appropriate National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) pathway. Scoping data are used in analysis of the criteria for evaluation.

Special Resource Study (SRS) Completion Pathways

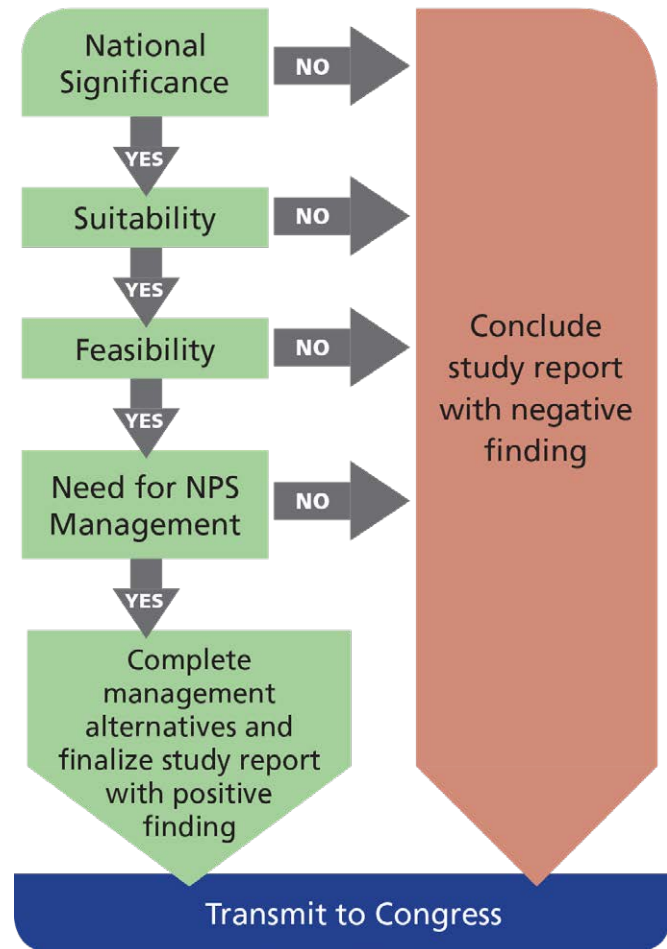


Figure 2. SRS completion pathways

Step 2: Evaluate National Significance, Suitability, Feasibility, and Need for Direct NPS Management

To be considered for designation, potential new park units must satisfy all four criteria. Based on the nature of the study process, a sequential evaluation of these criteria is required. The NPS Office of Legislative and Congressional Affairs has confirmed that to fulfill the mandate of and SRS, the criteria evaluation must be done sequentially. While a study area may clearly be infeasible or not in need of direct NPS management, the study process must first establish national significance and then, if that criterion is met, suitability; and so on. If all four criteria are met, the study proceeds with developing alternatives. An option for a new park unit can be included in the range of alternatives only if the study has determined that direct NPS management is clearly superior to other existing management approaches. If the study determines that the resource does not meet any one of these criteria, then it is not further

evaluated against remaining criteria. An additional description of preservation and management options (such as an affiliated area) can be included as part of the findings.

Step 3: Final Study Completion and Transmittal to Congress

Following rigorous agency review and affirmation of study findings, the SRS report will be transmitted by the NPS director to the Secretary of the Interior. The report and any recommendations from the Secretary of the Interior are then transmitted to Congress, which may or may not take action. If legislation for establishment of a new unit is drafted, it usually draws from study findings. The time period in which Congress takes action is unknown.

The SRS report is made available to the public following receipt by Congress by posting it to the NPS Planning, Environment, and Public Comment (PEPC) website. Study documents are not shared prior to their receipt by Congress, nor can findings be discussed with the public or with key stakeholders until their transmittal.

NEPA Compliance

Each study is completed in compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 USC 4321 et seq.) (54 USC 100507). This study complies with NEPA as amended, which mandates that all federal agencies analyze the impacts of major federal actions that have a significant effect on the environment. A categorical exclusion was selected as the most appropriate NEPA pathway for this study.

The study is excluded from requiring an environmental assessment or environmental impact statement because there is no potential for impacts on the human environment without further legislative action by Congress. The applicable categorical exclusion is in the category of: “Adoption or approval of surveys, studies, reports, plans, and similar documents which will result in recommendations or proposed actions which would cause no or only minimal environmental impact” (*NPS NEPA Handbook*, 3.2 (R)).

Public involvement is not required for categorical exclusions. However, the statute requires special resource studies to be prepared with public involvement, including at least one public meeting in the vicinity of the area under study (54 USC 100507). The official public comment period opened on June 22, 2022, and closed on August 3, 2022. During the public comment period, the National Park Service solicited feedback from the public via a public scoping newsletter, the PEPC website, and one virtual public meeting that was announced via press release to local and regional media and social media. The virtual public informational meeting was held on June 23, 2022 and a recording of the meeting was linked from the PEPC project webpage to YouTube. This meeting provided an opportunity to inform the general public about the study process and evaluate support for creation of a potential park or other NPS involvement. The meeting was attended by forty-nine people; overall, support was positive.

Study Limitations

An SRS serves as one of many reference sources for Congress, the National Park Service, and stakeholders interested in potential designation of an area as a new national park system unit. The analysis and findings in this report do not guarantee future funding, support, or any subsequent action by Congress, the Department of the Interior, or the National Park Service. Because an SRS is not a decision-making document, it does not identify a preferred NPS course of action.

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Chapter 2: Historical Background and Resource Descriptions

Introduction

Because Congress directed the National Park Service to investigate the Trail study area as a potential new national park system unit (US Department of the Interior 2022), understanding its historical context, site treatment, and condition of associated resources is essential. This chapter describes the historic context of the study area and associated sites identified via the SRS process. The information and research presented in this chapter were used in analysis of the criteria for evaluating the study area.

Historic Context

The following provides a general historical background of the study area to help understand the social and political dynamics before, during, and after of the Selma to Montgomery voting rights march. Although the march took place over the course of a few weeks, it is connected to a much wider history of dispossession, slavery, and struggles for freedom. This context is critical to understand the march itself and as a milestone in the continuing struggle against systems of white supremacy.

Native American Alabama

The study area is part of an ecological region known as Blackland Prairie. This distinct crescent-shaped area, also known as the “Black Belt,” is characterized by dark and rich organic soil and spans about 300 miles from south-central Alabama to eastern Mississippi. Human history of the study area is tied to this fertile soil and reaches back to around 10,000 BCE, when highly mobile, nomadic, egalitarian bands of Native Americans entered the area to hunt megafauna. Over time, Native American groups expanded the prairie to create habitat for white-tailed deer, and semi-sedentary groups began to practice agriculture (WLA Studio 2022).

Around 800 CE, the influential culture of the Mississippian Period was widespread across the Southeast. Many Native Americans lived in socially stratified chiefdoms in centralized and fortified towns. These societies engaged in extensive agricultural production and long-distance trade, and practiced a complex and sophisticated religion. Chiefs had the ability to direct large numbers of people to construct massive earthworks or conduct war (WLA Studio 2022).

The arrival of Spanish, French, and British explorers and colonizers into the study area starting in 1540 changed the lives of Native Americans. Some interactions between Native Americans and Europeans were peaceful while others were violent. An example of violence occurred in Mabila, near present-day Selma, when the Spanish killed 2,000 villagers and burned their town to the ground. The period between 1540 and 1670 saw an incalculable loss of Native American lives, knowledge, and traditions. Those who survived formed societies such as the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Catawbas, and Creek Confederacy. By 1830, with the Indian Removal Act, these societies were forced to relocate to new settlements in the West, with thousands of people dying during or shortly after the journey (WLA Studio 2022).

Antebellum Black Belt Alabama

Slavery became entrenched in the area that would become Alabama and in the United States as a whole. From their initial settlement in Biloxi in 1699, French settlers introduced enslaved

African people into the area that would become Alabama. In 1702, French settlers colonized Mobile, which became the capital of French Louisiana and set the enslaved African people to clear the land. The lieutenant governor of the colony, Jean Baptiste le Moyne, requested additional importation of enslaved African people from the French government to support efforts to establish a permanent settlement and, by 1716, the French colonists were committed to the use of enslaved labor. When the area that would become Alabama passed into the control of the British in 1763, additional settlements and plantations were established along rivers, with enslaved people from Africa, the West Indies, and other colonies imported to the area (WLA Studio 2022, Alabama Historical Commission n.d., National Museum of African American History & Culture 2019).

The Revolutionary War brought economic prosperity to the area as timber became an important commodity. The Wiregrass region in southeast Alabama, however, had a variety of trees for timber and the area became a supplier of the resource (WLA Studio 2022, Alabama Historical Commission n.d., National Museum of African American History & Culture 2019).

In 1808, Congress banned the importation of enslaved individuals. After the ban, domestic slave trading became a common practice in the South, with enslavers in the Deep South, such as Alabama, buying enslaved individuals from the Upper South, such as Virginia, at prices they considered exorbitant. Nevertheless, human trafficking continued as enslavers sought labor for expanding agriculture. Though banned, the importation of enslaved Africans continued. The last known slave ship that imported enslaved Africans to the United States, the *Clotilda*, reached Mobile in 1860 (WLA Studio 2022, Alabama Historical Commission n.d., National Museum of African American History & Culture 2019, Diouf 2019).

Between 1816 and 1830, the counties (Perry, Dallas, Lowndes, and Montgomery) in the study area were established. Marion, especially the area of the Old Perry County Jail, was cleared and settled in 1817, Montgomery in 1819, and Selma in 1820. Early settlements in Lowndes County (established 1830) include Fort Deposit (1813), Lowndesboro (1815), Hayneville (1820) and White Hall (1935). In 1819, Alabama became a state and Cahaba (Cahawba) served as state capital until 1825. These counties are all near the Alabama River, and Selma and Montgomery were market centers that facilitated transport of goods and people to more distant markets and shipping ports such as Mobile (WLA Studio 2022, Stark 2022, Warner 1973, Maloney 2011, Kaetz 2013).

Although white settlers had been moving west for decades, white settlement accelerated in Alabama after passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830. Some of these white settlers were enslavers from Georgia, Virginia, and the Carolinas. They brought enslaved Africans and African Americans to the region to cultivate cotton, the primary cash crop in the Black Belt region after the invention of the cotton gin in 1773 (WLA Studio 2022, Alabama Historical Commission n.d., National Archives n.d.).

Cotton was well-suited to Alabama's ecological conditions. In 1820, at the start of the cotton rush, Alabama produced just under four percent of the nation's total. After the introduction of a new cotton variety by the 1830s, however, the Black Belt region became the primary cotton growing region of Alabama, featuring large plantations and containing the highest concentration of enslaved Africans in Alabama. By 1849, Alabama led the nation in cotton production, making up nearly thirty percent of the national total (WLA Studio 2022, Alabama Historical Commission n.d., National Archives n.d.).

From the beginning, the US cotton industry required enslaved individuals to plant, cultivate, and harvest cotton. After 1840, the number of enslaved Africans in the Black Belt increased

dramatically, making Black people the majority in this region. With the global demand for cotton, the Black Belt soon became the center of cotton production in the state. The wealth that cotton production generated for white landowners and planters was immense though at times fleeting, as many planters went into debt when the price of cotton was low (WLA Studio 2022, Alabama Historical Commission n.d., National Archives n.d.).

While enslaved African American workers cultivated most of the Black Belt's cotton, landless white farmers known as sharecroppers and tenant farmers were also part of the complex production mix of land and labor. Sharecroppers worked an area of land for a landowner and were paid with a portion of the crop after expenses for seed, fertilizer, and other supplies were deducted. Tenant farmers rented land from a landowner and paid rent to the landowner with a portion of the crop. Some white tenant farmers owned and used enslaved labor. As sharecroppers and tenant farmers needed to purchase supplies before they harvested a crop, farmers could accrue considerable debt. Existing laws benefited the landlord, giving them even more control over their workers. This preexisting system of sharecropping and tenant farming influenced the expansion of the practice after the Civil War, when many newly freed African Americans continued to labor in agriculture, though now as sharecroppers and tenant farmers (Alabama Historical Commission n.d., Lewis 2008, Phillips 2008).

In 1817, Michael Muckle McElroy cleared the area where the Old Perry County Jail stands today and constructed a log cabin on that location. Two years later, Perry County was formed and in 1822 the city of Marion was founded. In 1823, a two-story log-cabin courthouse was erected in the center square. From the earliest days of the town, the area surrounding the courthouse square became the center of commercial life (Fields 2020, WLA Studio 2021 draft, Stark 2022, Mansell 1994).

In the 1830s, as with elsewhere in the Black Belt, white farmers and planters with enslaved Africans and African Americans swarmed into Perry County to take advantage of cheap land and quickly established vast cotton plantations. Marion became a local trading center for some of the largest plantations in Alabama and financially prospered with additional municipal structures erected around the courthouse square. With the presence of three universities by the 1840s, Marion was also an educational center for the state of Alabama. A jail was constructed in 1852 on the same site as the present detainment facility. In 1854, a Greek Revival design courthouse replaced the log-cabin structure, and the Perry County Courthouse, as well as many other antebellum structures, are still present. The Perry County Courthouse dominates a portion of the cultural landscape of the Marion Connector Trail, as it is across the street from Zion Chapel Methodist Church, the starting point of the Trail (Fields 2020, WLA Studio 2021 draft, Stark 2022, Mansell 1994).

Perry County's large population of enslaved workers helped Alabama dominate the cotton production industry. As was the case elsewhere in the Black Belt, the wealth generated by this enslaved workforce benefited white owners of large plantations. Some of Alabama's most powerful white citizens lived in Marion, such as plantation owner and slaveholder Governor Andrew B. Moore and attorney and slaveholder William M. Brooks. Moore and Brooks, who was elected president of the Alabama State Secession Convention (1861), helped steer Alabama into secession from the United States (English 2020, Rawls Atkins 2008, Shiver 2020, Mills Thornton 2011).

In 1813, American troops established Fort Deposit in Montgomery County during the Creek War of 1813-1814. The fort served as a staging area for American forces during the Battle of Holy Ground. The town of Fort Deposit developed on the same site. In 1815, the plantation

village of Lowndesboro was settled; Lowndesboro and other early settlements such as Hayneville, settled in 1820, built their economies on cotton production. Lowndesboro became a center of the cotton industry. In 1830, The Alabama General Assembly created Lowndes County from parts of Montgomery, Dallas, and Butler counties via legislative act. At this time, Fort Deposit became part of the newly formed Lowndes County. Hayneville, also dependent on cotton production, was established as the county seat in 1830. Lowndesboro's agricultural economy expanded to peach production and many white families grew wealthy from this industry, building Greek revival-style homes. Lowndesboro was incorporated as a town via legislative act in 1856 (Warner 1973, Siebenthaler 2007, WLA Studio 2022, Digital Alabama 2021, 2020, Maloney 2011, Kaetz 2013, Hiatt 2011).

In 1814, with the signing of the Treaty of Fort Jackson, the Creek Indians ceded millions of acres, including the area of Montgomery County, to the United States. Montgomery County was founded in 1816 by an act of the Mississippi Territorial Legislature. The county was named after Major Lemuel Montgomery of Tennessee, who was the first US soldier killed in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, the last major battle of the Creek Indian War (1813-1814). In 1817 and 1818, three settlements formed along the Alabama River, eventually merging in 1819 to form the town of Montgomery, named after Revolutionary War General Richard Montgomery, just prior to Alabama being admitted as a state. In 1846, the state legislature chose Montgomery as the permanent state capital. By 1850, more than 12,000 people lived in Montgomery (Lewis 2007, Oglesby Neeley 2008, NPS 2014, PaleoWest 2020, WLA Studio 2022).

White settlers flooding to the area established cotton plantations and textile production facilities. Montgomery was the US center of the industry and of trade in enslaved Africans, and human enslavement was a large part of the city's identity before the Civil War. By 1822, the town became the county seat and the trade in enslaved individuals continued. With the creation of railroad lines, Montgomery surpassed New Orleans as the US capital of slave trading. In the early 1860s, the number of businesses related to the trade of enslaved individuals outnumbered churches and hotels (Lewis 2007, Oglesby Neeley 2008, NPS 2014, PaleoWest 2020, WLA Studio 2022).

Located on a high bluff overlooking the Alabama River, Selma was first recorded on a map in 1732, when the territory was still under French provincial rule. By the early 1800s, as elsewhere, European settlers moved at a rapid pace into the area and in 1815, Thomas Moore from Tennessee built a cabin in what would become Selma. In 1817, other settlers, including future Vice President William Rufus King (1786-1853), formed the Selma Town Land Company to buy land and establish a town above the river. Selma was incorporated in 1820, and its growth and development were limited by the town's proximity to the state capital, Cahaba, about ten miles away. When the capital moved to Tuscaloosa, Selma's economy expanded due to the emergence of cotton production in the Black Belt, steamboat traffic on the river through the 1830s, and the establishment of the Selma and Tennessee Rivers Railroad in the mid-1830s. By 1860, Selma was second only to Montgomery as the state's leading cotton market. The Selma Census of 1860 recorded 1,809 white residents and 1,368 Black residents (Lewis 2008, Fate Brooks 2008, Holmes and Holmes 1976).

Civil War in Alabama (1860-1865)

Long-simmering political and economic tensions regarding slavery in the United States boiled over in 1860 as Southern elites, dependent on the enslaved-labor-based plantation system, began to secede from the United States. Many politically powerful white Alabamians viewed the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency in November 1860 as a threat to destroy slavery

and begin a race war. Across the state, white Alabamians in major cities such as Mobile and smaller towns passed resolutions condemning Lincoln's election as overthrowing the Constitution and the equal rights of the States. White Alabamians in these cities and towns demanded that Alabama withdraw from the United States. Governor Andrew Barry Moore called a December 24, 1860, election for delegates to a constitutional convention. Assembling on January 7, 1861, the delegates four days later voted sixty-one to thirty-nine in favor of secession from the United States. While the vote was not unanimous, Alabama was the fourth state to secede from the United States, following South Carolina, Mississippi, and Florida. A month later, delegates from six other seceded states (including Georgia and Louisiana) met in Montgomery to create a new government for the Confederate States of America. Montgomery was selected as the capital for this new government and Jefferson Davis was elected as the new president (WLA Studio 2022, Alabama Historical Commission n.d., Hubbs 2008, Freeman n.d.).

Although Alabama's relative geographic isolation shielded it from the fiercest fighting, US forces reached the state in February 1862. From this time forward, the United States largely controlled northern Alabama, controlling transportation routes such as the Tennessee River and railroads. In August 1864, the United States controlled Mobile Bay, though the city itself remained in Confederate possession. The strategy of the US military forces in Alabama was to apply pressure from the north, which held a number of white Alabamians who voted to remain with the United States; and from the coastal south, to destroy Alabama's ability to feed and supply Confederate forces. In response, Josiah Gorgas, the chief of ordinance for the Confederacy, created an industrial corridor through central Alabama to manufacture arms for the Confederate Army that included the Selma foundry and manufacturing complex. The manufacturing complex employed 3,000 men and produced more than 100 technologically advanced Brooke rifle cannons. The only significant widescale damage in Alabama during the Civil War came from a spring 1865 raid by General James H. Wilson that destroyed strategic production facilities including the Selma foundry (Hubbs 2008).

Enslaved people responded to the circumstances of the Civil War in a variety of ways. Some fled north to the United States; some could not or would not leave without their families; still others held a dual loyalty to their enslavers while also hoping for a US victory over the Confederacy. Each situation and circumstance was unique (National Humanities Center 2009). After the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, which took effect on January 1, 1863, African Americans enlisted and served in segregated units in the US Army. Six African American regiments were raised in Alabama, five of which comprised formerly enslaved individuals. Most of the African American men recruited for these units came from northern Alabama. The state regiments were federalized in 1864 and were renamed. After federalization, another regiment, the 137th US Colored Infantry, was raised in Selma in 1865 (Lardas 2009).

By the end of the war, many white Alabamians came to romanticize their Confederate heroes and way of life. The reactionary politics during Reconstruction, described below, would dominate white Alabamians' identity and the state for the next 100 years (Hubbs 2008).

During the Civil War, the "Stars and Bars" flag was designed in Marion, but the town was not strategically important (Fields 2020, WLA Studio 2021 draft). White males from Perry County supported the Confederacy in civilian and military roles, yet Marion and Perry County saw little direct conflict. US Army troops entered Perry County in April 1865, near the war's end, resulting in little physical change and damage to the county and town (English 2020).

From late March to mid-April 1865, US Army forces led by General James H. Wilson swept through Alabama, destroying most of the arms and weapons manufacturing and natural

resources being used by the Confederate Army. According to local legend, the antebellum homes in Lowndesboro survived Wilson's raid due to the town physician convincing Wilson that there was a smallpox epidemic in the town. As a result, most of Wilson's troops bivouacked outside of the town (Hiatt 2011, Hébert 2007).

After Alabama seceded from the United States in January 1861, Montgomery was chosen as the capital of the Confederate States of America in February. Confederate President Jefferson Davis arrived that month and was sworn into office. From Montgomery, Davis issued the telegram to bombard Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, where the first shots of the Civil War were fired. Montgomery remained the capital of the Confederate States of America until May 1861, when the capital moved to Richmond, Virginia. During the Civil War, Montgomery largely was untouched by fighting, instead supplying soldiers and materials to the war effort and providing medical services to the sick and wounded. In April 1865, as General James H. Wilson led US Army forces through Alabama, Confederate soldiers and leaders in Montgomery burned 100,000 bales of cotton stored in the city's warehouses. Wilson's forces destroyed structures that had supported the Confederate war effort such as the arsenal, train depot and railway cars, riverboats, foundries, rolling mills, and nitre works (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 2016a, Lewis 2007, Oglesby Neeley 2008, Hubbs 2008).

At the beginning of the Civil War, Selma was a transportation center due to its location on the Alabama River and its rail lines. During the war, Selma became a major military manufacturing depot for the Confederacy. By 1864, its ordnance complex included a naval foundry, shipyard, army arsenal, and gunpowder works, covering fifty acres along what is now Water Avenue. Selma's importance to the Confederate war effort made it a prime target for the US Army. US Army troops led by General James H. Wilson arrived on April 2, 1865. During the Battle of Selma they destroyed the entire ordnance complex and two-thirds of the town's pre-war homes. The loss of the foundry was a significant blow to the Confederate war effort, as the foundry supplied arms to the military. The war ended a few days later (WLA Studio 2022, Lewis 2008, Hubbs 2008, Hébert 2007, Besser 2001, Holmes and Holmes 1976).

Among the buildings that survived the destruction was the St. James Hotel, built in 1837 and used by General Wilson as his headquarters. The hotel was managed by Benjamin Sterling Turner, who later became the first African American elected to represent Alabama's First District, which included Selma, in the US Congress (1871-1873) (*History, Art & Archives, US House of Representatives* 2022, Martin 2016, Hyde and Aldridge 2020, Martin 2016, Derbes 2012). The countryside that surrounded urban centers continued to be farmed, though not as intensely as in antebellum times.

As with other places after the war, Alabama's Black Belt communities faced an uncertain future. Especially vulnerable were the state's recently emancipated African Americans, who totaled about 435,000 individuals, comprising around forty-five percent of the total state population. Most of the newly freed Black residents lived in the Black Belt. With the factories destroyed and the agricultural economy in disarray, towns across the South struggled with how to rebuild and heal (WLA Studio 2022, Hébert 2009).

Post-Civil War Era in Alabama (1865-1954)

Reconstruction Era (1861-1900)

During the Reconstruction Era (1861-1900), questions about labor, citizenship, education, and political rights dominated debates at federal, state, and local levels. Following President

Lincoln's assassination on April 15, 1865, the course of Reconstruction changed as Andrew Johnson ascended to the presidency (1865-1869). Johnson struggled with Republicans in Congress over questions raised by the Civil War and the abolition of slavery. Johnson believed he was entitled to set the terms under which former Confederate states reentered the nation. Johnson at first acted boldly to appoint provisional governors in these states and instructed them to remake their state governments, ratify the 13th Amendment (1865), which permanently abolished slavery, and he barred wealthy ex-Confederates from taking part in the process. However, Johnson did not insist that the new governors and state governments allow Black men to vote, and soon he began granting wholesale pardons to wealthy ex-Confederates (NPS 2017b).

The all-white electorates in the states proceeded to elect new officials, many of them former secessionists and Confederate leaders, and the new state governments passed Black Codes that limited African Americans' newly won freedom. White citizens engaged in campaigns of violence to intimidate African Americans. Johnson occasionally complained of the states' extremism, but he encouraged Congress to accept the states back into the nation (NPS 2017b). The Army and Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (better known as the Freedmen's Bureau), an agency established by Congress in March 1865 to oversee the transition from slavery to freedom, attempted to intervene to protect individuals and, at times, overrule discriminatory laws (NPS 2017b, Alabama Historical Commission n.d.).

Though access to resources was slim following the war, African American communities built on family networks, economic skills, and cultural expressions forged during enslavement to claim a new autonomy. African Americans organized conventions and called for measures that would help guarantee them basic freedoms, including the right to vote, to organize their own churches, to live with whom they pleased, to send their children to school, to own land, and to live in peace. As questions continued at all levels of government and across social classes about labor, citizenship, education, and political rights, the seeds of a multiracial political and economic solidarity took root, whereby poor white people and African Americans helped to elect radical Republicans on their proposals of political equality (NPS 2017b, WLA Studio 2022).

Backed by the lobbying of newly freed African Americans and reports of violence in the South, Republicans in Congress fought Johnson's attempts to seat ex-Confederate senators and representatives. From there, in early 1866, an outpouring of legislation transformed federal law and the US Constitution. In Washington, DC, lawmakers crafted the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which defined civil rights and authorized the federal government to overturn violations of these rights by the states, and the 14th Amendment (1868), which established birthright citizenship. After a resounding victory in the 1866 midterm elections, congressional Republicans launched a sweeping effort to remake the former Confederacy. Congress passed legislation instructing the US Army to help register African American men as voters and to create new biracial governments in the South.

President Johnson sought to use his power to impede and undermine congressional Republican goals in 1866 and 1867, and the House of Representatives impeached him in 1868; the Senate came within one vote of conviction. In 1868, Republicans, bolstered by the votes of African American men in the South, elected Ulysses S. Grant to the presidency (1869-1877). Congress soon passed the 15th Amendment (1870), which granted African American men the right to vote (NPS 2017b, Walton 2012, Pope Burnes 2012).

Along with these amendments, Acts, and federal bureaus, there were actions which did not reach their full potential. Congress passed the Southern Homestead Act of 1866 to help provide

land for newly freed African Americans and poor farmers. However, less than forty percent of all land applications were approved (Alabama Historical Commission n.d.), as applicants had few material belongings, faced threats from white citizens, and were pressured to hire out labor. Furthermore, the land-office paperwork was confusing (Hodge 2019). As Bertis English, author of *Civil Wars, Civil Beings, and Civil Rights in Alabama's Black Belt: A History of Perry County*, notes, the Southern Homestead Act was “useless to the majority of Black and interracial Alabamians.” (English 2020). Meanwhile, the African American population of Alabama grew from about 435,000 individuals to more than 475,000 by 1870. Therefore, many newly freed African Americans, with little else than their freedom, returned to agricultural labor out of necessity. By the beginning of 1866, many formerly enslaved laborers entered into agricultural contracts with white landowners under the encouragement and approval of the Freedman’s Bureau (Alabama Historical Commission n.d.).

The federal government’s efforts to bring democracy to the South ushered in a new kind of popular politics after 1867, as a large group of people who had never been permitted to cast ballots or nominate candidates could participate as equals. Most African American men became Republicans, allying themselves with the party that had defeated the Confederacy and that demanded the abolition of slavery. From 1868 on, Republicans began electing African American men to office, so that about 2,000 Black men held local political offices between the Civil War and the turn of the century, with seventeen elected to Congress, including two to the US Senate.

Included in this number was Benjamin Sterling Turner, the first African-American lawmaker elected to the US House of Representatives from Alabama (1871-1873). Born enslaved in North Carolina in 1825, in 1830 Turner’s enslaver, Elizabeth Turner, moved to Selma, bringing Turner with her. Turner taught himself to read as a child and during the Civil War managed the hotel properties of Major W.H. Gee, who became Turner’s enslaver following the marriage of Elizabeth Turner’s stepdaughter. Turner had accumulated enough money to purchase property by the start of the Civil War, and though he suffered many financial losses during the war, he was able to recoup many of them after the war. In 1865, Turner founded a school in Selma, and after becoming interested in politics in 1867, two years later he was elected as a Selma councilman. In 1870 he won election to the US House of Representatives (WLA Studio 2022, *History, Art & Archives, US House of Representatives* 2022, Hyde and Aldridge 2020, NPS 2017b, Martin 2016, Derbes 2012).

Elsewhere, Southern states created their first systems of public education; people who had been slaves negotiated employment contracts with their former owners; African Americans searched out family members torn from them by the slave trade; and white Southerners struggled to come to grips with the losses they had experienced (NPS 2017b).

Black Disenfranchisement from Reconstruction to World War II

As noted above, immediately following the Civil War the fight for democracy in the ex-Confederate states was actively undermined by Republican President Andrew Johnson, and racially repressive measures were passed by all-white state legislatures. When Republicans took control of Congress in 1866, a new progressive phase began with African American men voting and an interracial cross-class coalition temporarily formed to improve the conditions of Black and white citizens in the South. Black successes, however, bred contempt among Southern Democrats, who fought back against these gains. While African Americans were no longer enslaved, attitudes held by many white people about perceived African American inferiority were unchanged. White supremacy continued to be enforced via laws, customs, and violence. Due to President Johnson’s lenient position on former Confederate states and ex-Confederates,

the Democratic Party, made up of former secessionists and Confederate leaders, soon took back control of many Southern legislatures and achieved overwhelming dominance by making white supremacy the cornerstone of their party. By the 20th century, Democrats in southern states instituted means to disenfranchise and intimidate Black voters (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 2017b, NPS 2009, Wilhelm 2009, Jackson 2009, Rogers 2008).

In Barbour County, Alabama, much like elsewhere in the state, white Democrats felt threatened by Black citizens voting, and during the statewide elections of 1874, Barbour County's towns of Eufaula and Spring Hill were the scenes of deadly riots. In Eufaula, Black voters retreated from the violence before being able to vote. In Spring Hill, a predominately Black district, white Democrats burned more than 700 ballots. As a result of these events, Democrats swept the county. The statewide elections of 1874 also resulted in the election of "Bourbon" Democrat George S. Houston as governor of Alabama (1874-1878). The Alabama Bourbons were comprised of factions of Democrats, some who wanted to end Reconstruction and restore as much of the antebellum order as was possible and others who wanted to create a new Southern society in which business and industry would flourish. Both factions supported wealthy white landowners maintaining power and denying political power to poor white citizens and Black citizens. Houston was considered an acceptable gubernatorial candidate who could unite white Alabamians regardless of their political party. The election of 1874, therefore, is considered to signal the end of Reconstruction in Alabama as Bourbon Democrats worked to undo the effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 2017b, NPS 2009, Wilhelm 2009, Jackson 2009, Rogers 2008).

The Bourbon Democrats established a new state constitution in 1875; however, they did not overtly disenfranchise Black voters by law or legislation, fearing federal punishment. Instead they used the Democratic Party political machinery to count the Black votes that they wanted (Jackson 2009). By 1877, as President Rutherford B. Hayes withdrew federal troops from the South, former Confederates such as Edmund Winston Pettus, described further below, increasingly reclaimed political offices. In turn, civil rights of African American throughout the South were systematically denied and prospects for a multiracial working-class political movement were put to rest (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 2017b, NPS 2009). Due to the rise of populism in Alabama in the 1880s, especially among farmers, sharecroppers/tenant farmers, coal miners, and other organized laborers who were suffering economically, Bourbon Democrats sought other ways to disenfranchise political opponents. The first effective legislation to do this was the Sayre Law, passed in 1893, which disenfranchised illiterate voters and required potential voters to register in May, a difficult task for farmers due to planting requirements of the agricultural season (Jackson 2009, Hild 2008, Warren 2011).

Edmund Winston Pettus, who lends his name to the iconic bridge that the Selma to Montgomery marchers crossed, epitomized these Reconstruction and Jim Crow-era trends. Born near the Alabama-Tennessee border in 1821, Pettus served the Confederacy and reached rank of brigadier general during the Civil War, after which he settled in Selma and lived as a lawyer and a planter. He was an ardent supporter of slavery and of white supremacy, and most of the white population of Selma came to regard him as a hero and a symbol of the antebellum "old order." He became a leader in the Democratic Party, which sought to regain control of state legislatures that were controlled by the Republican Party following a tenuous alliance among Black and white voters to improve living conditions following the Civil War. Pettus served as chairman of the state delegation to the Democratic National Convention for more than twenty years (1872-1896) and in 1877, he served as the Grand Dragon of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan (KKK) (Whack 2015, Watson 2010). The KKK and other violent, paramilitary white supremacist

groups worked systematically to reverse federal laws and policies that during Reconstruction enfranchised African American men (Walton 2012). The conservative Democratic Party and the KKK were nearly inseparable at this time and would remain close for decades to come. In 1896, Pettus ran for the US Senate as a Democrat and won. His platform included opposition to the 13th Amendment (1865), which abolished slavery; the 14th Amendment (1868), which redefined citizenship; and the 15th Amendment (1870), which prohibited voter discrimination on the basis of race, to the Constitution. His campaign strengthened the organization and popularity of the Alabama KKK. Pettus served until his death in 1907 (Whack 2015). When Alabama legislators named the bridge after Pettus in the 1940s, there was no mistaking the message that they were dedicated to white supremacy. The people living in Selma in the 1960s, including the marchers, would have known this, though Pettus' personal history and what his name on the bridge represented is not as well-known to younger generations. Thus the 1965 march symbolically changed the bridge into a monument of racial equality and the victory of democracy (Peeples 2015).

While the Bourbon Democrats had disenfranchised a significant portion of the electorate already, they rewrote the state constitution in 1901 and codified white supremacy and disenfranchised most of the Black voters and some poor white voters. Despite opposition by most Black citizens, including Booker T. Washington at the Tuskegee Institute, who realized what was at stake, the constitution was ratified. The 1901 Alabama state constitution and amendments disenfranchised voters via carefully crafted voter qualifications but not on the basis of race, thereby bypassing the 15th Amendment. These qualifications, adopted from disenfranchisement tactics developed in Mississippi, Louisiana, and North and South Carolina, included literacy tests, employment for at least a year, property ownership, not being convicted of a variety of minor crimes, a cumulative poll tax, and "good character" tests. Exceptions to these qualifications occurred for one year (1902-1903), when any adult male who could prove that he understood the US Constitution, was a veteran of any 19th century American war, or was descended from a veteran could vote. The exception was called the "grandfather clause." It favored white men and discriminated against Black citizens because very few had been allowed to serve in the military. African American disenfranchisement and voter suppression as a whole gained strength and speed at the federal level due to Supreme Court cases that undermined the federal government's ability to prosecute civil rights violations (WLA Studio 2022, Southern Poverty Law Center 2020, NPS 2017a, 2017B, Warren 2011, NPS 2009, Jackson 2009).

By the beginning of the 20th century, the nation had reestablished the "old order" via Jim Crow laws, which reinforced systems of white supremacy. With the loss of voting rights and continued enforced segregation, African Americans began to form organizations to litigate for their civil rights. Examples of such organizations included the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), established in 1909 (initiated as the Niagara Movement in 1905) and the National Urban League in 1910. These organizations were a part of a larger social and governmental development. World War I (1914-1918), the adoption of the 19th Amendment (1920) giving women access to the vote, and the Great Depression (1929-1939) all fundamentally challenged and changed the nation (Van West et al. 2013, NPS 2008b, Holmes and Holmes 1976). Military service and increased employment during World War I brought African Americans new hope for greater equality and economic opportunity. Activists argued that fighting to make the world safe for democracy and for the rights of the oppressed would dismantle racial inequality at home. After the war, however, Black veterans encountered the same racial restrictions that were in place previously, and many of those who sought wartime job opportunities in the North faced the same discrimination that existed in the Jim Crow South.

In Selma, the Dallas County Voters League (DCVL) was founded in the 1920s to increase African American participation in the electorate. After a short period of inactivity, the group was revived in 1936 (NPS 1993). In nearby Tuskegee, Charles G. Gomillion, a sociologist at the Tuskegee Institute and a registered voter, formed the Tuskegee Civic Association in 1941 to expand his efforts to register Black voters, an undertaking in which he had engaged since the 1930s (Van West et al. 2013, NPS 2008, Holmes and Holmes 1976).

World War II (1939-1945) further accelerated social change. Work in wartime industry and service in the armed forces, combined with the ideals of democracy, spawned a new civil rights agenda at home that transformed American life (NPS 2008). In Selma, Craig Air Force Base, an undergraduate pilot training base, was installed in 1940 to support US efforts in World War II. Prior to the opening of the base, Selma's economy was focused on agriculture and the railroads, which transported agricultural goods. The base contributed to the urbanization of Selma, which the white population welcomed, as it stimulated the economy by creating new jobs and new local industry. The base also proved pivotal to the African American community and civil rights efforts (Powell 2019, Forner 2017, Fitts 2016). In 1940 as well, the City of Selma honored Edmund Winton Pettus by naming a newly constructed bridge along US 80 after him (Walton 2012).

Desegregation of the US military after World War II impacted race relations in Selma and the United States as a whole. African American servicemen who had fought for their country asserted that they had earned full citizenship, especially a right to vote. The strictly segregated societies of the South, such as Selma, presented a stark contrast and departure from their military experience.

As it did for so many aspects of civil rights, World War II boosted opportunities for expanding Black suffrage. The democratic, anti-racist ideology of the war against fascism abroad prompted Black citizens to pursue a "Double V" campaign for victory over white supremacy at home and elsewhere. Participation of Black troops on the ground, albeit in segregated units, as well as the heroic combat record of the Tuskegee Airmen, a highly decorated unit of Black combat pilots who trained in Tuskegee, provided palpable arguments for extending full citizenship rights to African Americans. The Tuskegee Airmen and other Black veterans were activists in the post-war civil rights movement and used their influence to work to reform American society. They helped spearhead efforts to fully realize the right to vote, capitalizing on the demise of the all-white primary and relaxation of poll tax requirements for military veterans. Throughout the South, the end of the war stimulated other voting campaigns. Black citizens formed voter leagues with NAACP branches; civic, fraternal, and religious associations; and selected locals from the interracial Congress of Industrial Organizations (NPS 2009a, 2008, Haulman 2015).

Although the war heightened Black Americans' expectations of securing the right to vote, it did not guarantee that disenfranchisement and voter suppression, which had been expanding since the 1880s, would end. Throughout the South, the means of voter suppression, such as state constitutional amendments, literacy and understanding tests, and threats, intimidation, and violence, dissuaded many African Americans from registering to vote. Fulfilling the promises of the 15th Amendment would require litigation, lobbying, and direct action. It would take another twenty years after the end of World War II before most Black southerners obtained the right to vote (NPS 2009a). Campaigns for voting rights joined other civil rights struggles to end segregation, discrimination, injustice, and inequality. Readers are directed to the 2008 publication *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (NPS 2008b) as a starting point to understand the larger context of these struggles undertaken by other groups. For the purposes of this SRS, a narrow context is presented here.

While white landowners employed violence to control African American and nonwhite individuals elsewhere in Alabama, African Americans in Perry County did not undergo the same resistance to their emancipation and autonomy. This was because of the large African American and interracial populations that were financially secure as well as socially and politically active. Yet, as with elsewhere in the Black Belt, some African Americans entered into a sharecropping and tenant farming agricultural system with white landowners. For some, the experience was at first welcomed, as sharecropping and tenant farming provided a measure of independence when compared to the experience of slavery. However, as seen elsewhere, sharecroppers' and tenant farmers' labor was exploited, keeping these individuals impoverished (English 2020).

After the Civil War, African American communities established benevolent societies. In Perry County, these were known as Rising Star Societies, and their purpose was to care for the sick and bury the dead. In effect, they were a type of insurance company where members would pay a fee and then receive a benefit during illness and a modest funeral upon death. In Perry County, almost every church, including Mt. Tabor A.M.E. Zion Church, was associated with these societies (Scott Bagley 2012).

By the second half of the 19th century, Perry County was a major center of education in the Black Belt region, with three educational institutions: Judson College, Howard College (later known as the Marion Military Institute) and the Lincoln Normal School. Following the Civil War, the Black community in Marion placed a strong emphasis on education. Of the three institutions, the Lincoln Normal School would play a role in the modern civil rights movement. It was founded in 1867 by a group of formerly enslaved African American men. These men entered into an agreement with the American Missionary Association, which established and administered schools throughout the South to provide Black people with a liberal arts education that went beyond industrial and vocational training. In 1873, the Alabama legislature chartered the Lincoln Normal University and after a severe fire in 1889 moved the institution to Montgomery, where it later became Alabama State University. After the fire, however, the Lincoln Normal School reopened with local support. It experienced its greatest period of expansion from 1900 through the 1930s, and the Phillips Memorial Auditorium (extant), constructed in 1935-1938, is the last remaining building associated with the Lincoln Normal School before it was incorporated into the Perry County school system in 1943. The Lincoln School also produced leaders of the local civil rights movement (Kay 1989, Pope Burnes and Van West 2022, Stark 2022).

After the Civil War, Lowndesboro, as well as other towns located in the Black Belt, struggled. The agricultural economy upon which these towns were built was devastated. The populations of these towns also decreased. Some newly freed Black citizens left, seeking family members lost during enslavement and opportunities elsewhere. Some white citizens also left, seeking inexpensive land and labor (Alabama Historical Commission n.d., Hiatt 2011). The white citizens who remained maintained their antebellum beliefs in white supremacy, including their entitlement to the labor of Black people and using violence to maintain their power. White landowners who could secure Black tenant and sharecropper labor did so. The arrangements exploited the laborers, and the landowners would withhold pay and charge for goods that were never purchased and for "time lost." In some cases, laborers were not paid at all and instead were given a bill, tying them to the land for another year. Black citizens were also targets of racial violence and lynching (Jeffries 2009).

Black citizens who remained in Lowndes County formed strong social networks and mobilized their resources, forming their own churches, benevolent societies, and masonic orders to seek social autonomy. They also enrolled in high numbers in schools, which were segregated,

overcrowded, and understaffed (Jeffries 2009). Only the Calhoun School, a private industrial training school opened in 1892, was the exception (Sheire 1974, Jeffries 2009). In 1865, Lowndes County legislators supported a proposal to enfranchise Black men, believing that they could control how Black men voted. By 1867, 4,000 Black men had registered to vote. When Congress enfranchised Black men a few years later (1870), white citizens realized that they could not control how Black men voted, and they formed branches of racial terror organizations to intimidate the new voters. Black citizens responded by arming themselves. Black voters put their support in the Republican Party, as it was the party that provided them with freedom on a national scale. On the local scale, Republican interests conflicted with Black voters and party officials prevented Black citizens from turning their votes into political power.

After 1874, when Democrats seized the state legislature, they gerrymandered Lowndes County's congressional district, expelled Black legislators, and eliminated the county's board of commissioners. These actions further limited the strength of Black voters and opened a path, which included open fraud on election day in 1880, for former Confederates and white citizens to regain control of the county government. Black voter participation remained high, however, until 1901, when Alabama adopted provisions from Mississippi's 1890 constitution, which sought to exclude Black men from politics. The adopted provisions included a poll tax, a literacy test, and proof of good moral character. From 1900 to 1906, Black voters dropped from more than 5,000 to 57 (Jeffries 2009, Southern Poverty Law Center 2020).

As W.E.B. Du Bois wrote in 1906, Black citizens lived in abject poverty, hardly attended school, and did not participate in politics. In Lowndes County, New Deal relief programs in the 1930s were administered on a local level and largely exacerbated the exploitative labor practices of white landowners on Black tenant farmers and sharecroppers. An attempt by sharecroppers to unionize ended in violence and with Black citizens no longer challenging white supremacy openly (Jeffries 2009, WLA Studio 2022). One New Deal program, the Resettlement Administration, however, directly helped Black citizens: In 1935, the Resettlement Administration purchased the land of the former White Hall plantation and then divided and sold the land to Black families. Most of these families, now landowners, were then able to support themselves (Kaetz 2013), but landownership and economic prosperity did not protect them from white violence (Jeffries 2009). In fact, signs of Black success might inflame resentment among white neighbors and inspire deadline retaliation. One example was the lynching of Elmore Bowling in 1947 by a group of white men. Bowling was a successful Black businessman who leased a plantation, owned a general store on US 80, and owned a fleet of delivery trucks that made deliveries between Lowndesboro and Montgomery. There is a historic marker near where Bowling was murdered along US 80 (Hiatt 2011, Davenport 2022).

In search of better work and to escape violence, during World War I some 10,000 Black citizens left Lowndes County and joined what became known as the Great Migration. During World War II, about 7,000 more Black citizens left, seeking economic opportunities in urban areas. Many migrants made new homes and community in Detroit, Michigan. Those who came back, such as John Hulett, brought experience in unionizing and political organizing, and the communities in Detroit supported their work in Lowndes County. There were, however, no voters leagues, no demonstrations or marches, and no public protests in Lowndes County during the 1940s and early 1960s due to continued racial terror and violence at the hands of white citizens and the sheriff's department. There were, however, mutual aid societies such as the Daylight Savings Club, to which Hulett and his wife Eddie Mae belonged, where members could discuss topics such as voter registration in private. Some Lowndes County residents,

furthermore, secretly participated in mass meetings and protests in nearby Montgomery and Selma (Jeffries 2009).

Immediately following the Civil War, the first free African American communities began to develop as people began to move into urban areas such as Montgomery. A field office for the Freedmen's Bureau, the federal program set up in 1865 to integrate emancipated laborers into free society and establish a new social order in the South, was established in Montgomery and Selma. Many of the new free communities were centered around these bureau outposts, where bureau staff could oversee employment contracts between plantation owners and formerly enslaved laborers, record acts of violence, administer aid and rations, and work with non-governmental organizations to establish schools. The bureau also provided these services to destitute white Alabamians. The migration of newly emancipated African Americans to urban areas, however, was not peaceful and Montgomery doctors reported treating almost twenty African American citizens for wounds inflicted by white residents resisting Black residents' efforts to leave rural areas for urban areas in one month alone (August 1865) (PaleoWest 2020).

Supported by Reconstruction policies and constitutional amendments, Black citizens won positions on the Montgomery city council and Republican mayors oversaw the social, political, and economic changes in the city. African American communities organized educational, civic and social institutions and labor unions, and built churches (Oglesby Neeley 2008, WLA Studio 2022, Alabama Historical Commission n.d.). The efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau were largely halted in 1874 when the state legislature was led by Democrats who worked to reverse many Reconstruction policies to enfranchise African Americans and integrate society. In Montgomery, disenfranchisement for African Americans was swift, with city limits being redrawn in 1876 to exclude many African American neighborhoods. A year later, almost all African Americans in Montgomery were deemed ineligible to vote, and individuals holding public office were removed (PaleoWest 2020). During these troubling times, Alabama State University, founded in Marion in 1867 by formerly enslaved African American men, relocated to Montgomery in 1887 (Lewis 2007).

Following the *Plessey v. Ferguson* US Supreme Court decision in 1896, local white officials passed segregation laws, known as Jim Crow laws, that were codified in the 1901 state constitution. Municipal ordinances segregated trolley cars, part of the city's famed electric streetcar system in 1886, which led Black citizens to boycott the Montgomery trolley system in 1901. The Montgomery Traction Company, owner of the streetcars, staged a trolley strike in 1906, as the segregation ordinances would have forced them to run more trolleys, rendering their business unprofitable. A compromise was eventually reached where African Americans would ride in the back of the streetcars. In response to segregation laws and social norms of violence and disenfranchisement, African American neighborhoods eventually became independent from much of the rest of Montgomery and formed their own identities (PaleoWest 2020, Southern Poverty Law Center 2020, Oglesby Neeley 2008, Everett 2022, Laird 1906, Alabama Department of Archives and History n.d.).

US Federal Census data from 1910 show that Montgomery's population was split almost evenly between white and Black residents, with 500 more Black residents (PaleoWest 2020). In that same year, the Wright brothers conducted the first powered flight in Alabama history and founded the first civilian flight school on the Kohn Plantation, west of Montgomery. During World War I, the site became an aviation repair depot for US Army aircraft, and during World War II hundreds of aviators trained on what had become known as Maxwell Field. Partly due to the military installations in and near Montgomery, the population increased from 1940 to 1950 (Lewis 2007, Oglesby Neeley 2008). Census data from 1940 show the population demographics

nearly evenly split, with Black residents making up forty-four percent of the population (roughly 78,000 residents). Many Black residents lived in one of four distinct neighborhoods. Two of these neighborhoods that are especially important to this SRS are Centennial Hill, near the capitol, and southern West Montgomery (PaleoWest 2020).

As African Americans who served in World War II returned from the war, they found that their freedom was still restricted by law and custom. By 1950, the population of Montgomery was near 106,500, with nonwhite residents still accounting for nearly forty-four percent (Bureau of the Census 1952, Oglesby Neeley 2008).

Since the 1930s, Montgomery had an active branch of the NAACP. The branch investigated police brutality and other instances of racial discrimination. NAACP members sought the right moment and the right person to challenge the city's segregation ordinances. That moment arrived in December 1955, when one of its most seasoned members, Rosa Parks, was arrested because she refused to abandon a seat in the "colored" section once the white section had filled up. Her bold challenge to racial segregation sparked the Montgomery bus boycott. The boycott in turn inspired other demonstrations and elevated local religious and civic leaders and the struggle for freedom to the national stage (Theoharis 2023, WLA Studio 2022, PaleoWest 2020, Library of Congress 2019, National Archives 2016, Oglesby Neeley 2008, Bredhoff et al. 1999).

While the Battle of Selma in 1865 caused long-lasting physical damage to the town, from which it took years to recover, many newly freed Black citizens moved from the plantations where they had been enslaved into urban centers such as Selma and Montgomery. Others left in search of family members who had been sold while enslaved. While white landowners experimented with a variety of systems to restart agricultural production, eventually the landowners shifted to an economy centered around sharecropping and tenant farming. Such was the case surrounding Selma in Dallas County and elsewhere in the Black Belt. The exploitation of sharecroppers' and tenant farmers' labor now included newly freed yet impoverished Black laborers alongside impoverished white laborers. A small group of white landowners exerted economic and social control over these laborers, and these systems of farming continued beyond the Reconstruction era and into the 20th century (Alabama Historical Commission n.d., Lewis 2008, Phillips 2008).

Newly freed Black citizens who arrived in urban areas such as Selma supported new businesses. African American entrepreneurs established, owned, and operated businesses in Selma's downtown commercial district during Reconstruction. The 1880-1881 city directory lists numerous African American merchants in the commercial directory section. As in many towns, African Americans initially were owners or were represented in all manner of occupations: restaurateurs, upholsterers, butchers, cooks, barbers, carpenters, livery stables owners, and teachers. Alfred Wilson was a local African American contractor who managed his practice in the Hotel Albert (non-extant); Robert Johnson operated a barbershop at the corner of Alabama Avenue and Washington Street (Besser 2001 states it was on the corner of Franklin Street); and Stollenwerck & Co. livery stables occupied a site on Washington Street between Selma Avenue and Dallas Avenue (Besser 2001, The Selma City Directory 1880-1881, Alabama Historical Commission n.d.).

During and after Reconstruction in Selma, a variety of institutions, particularly churches and church-affiliated organizations, sought to educate, uplift, and support the African American community. One prominent example is Selma University, founded in 1878. The school became the center of African American Baptist life in Alabama and produced generations of religious leaders who became active in the civil rights movement (Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Van West et al. 2013). Another example is the Reformed Presbyterian Church creating the

Geneva Academy, later known as the Knox Academy, in 1874, which served Black students until 1937, when the school was turned over to the public school system. The Knox Academy then became Selma's first Black public high school. The Edmundites are another example: Fathers Francis Casey and John Paro of the Fathers of St. Edmund, a Catholic order, arrived in 1937 to establish the Edmundite Southern Missions, where they worked with the Black community long before other white churches (Center for Historic Preservation 2015), setting up recreational and athletic clubs and establishing hospitals, libraries, and schools (Fitts 2016).

Mid-Century Movement for Civil Rights (1954-1965)

One example of the struggles and victories of the larger civil rights movement context was the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court ruling in 1954, which outlawed public school segregation. A tidal wave of massive resistance to its enforcement stymied other civil rights struggles such as Black voter registration. In 1955, the Supreme Court refused to heed the NAACP's request to order school desegregation as quickly as possible and instead proclaimed that the South should desegregate its schools "with all deliberate speed." This pronouncement gave Southern states great leeway in desegregating schools. In practice, this translated into token integration and delay. The Supreme Court also left it to federal district judges in the South to order suitable timetables for change. These judges shared many of their white neighbors' racial attitudes and usually ruled in the narrowest manner possible in order to preserve segregation (NPS 2009a). The *Brown* decision, however, augured the end of racial segregation, and civil rights became a national issue for the first time since the Reconstruction era. The prospect of the federal government lending its weight to the civil rights struggle was a boon for Black citizens and their allies and posed a threat to systems of white supremacy (NPS 2008).

The national civil rights movement gained momentum, and events in Alabama contributed significantly to the cause and engaged leaders who would play prominent roles in the Selma to Montgomery marches. The Montgomery bus boycott of 1955 brought the city's racial violence and terror to the forefront of the national consciousness. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, a local NAACP leader and civil rights activist, stepped onto a Montgomery City Line bus and, by refusing to give up her seat to a white passenger, was arrested. The Women's Political Council (WPC) of Montgomery, established in 1949 by Mary Fair Burks to increase the Black community's political leverage via civic involvement, increase voter registration, and lobby city officials to address racist policies, took the opportunity of Park's arrest to challenge racial bus-seating policies. Under the leadership of Jo Ann Robinson, the WPC announced a city-wide bus boycott that lasted for more than a year (PaleoWest 2020, WLA Studio 2022, Stanford University n.d.). Labor leader E.D. Nixon called together the city's Black civic leaders and initiated the boycott. Reverend Ralph David Abernathy from First Baptist Church named the organization responsible for the boycott the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, was nominated president of the MIA at a meeting held at Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church (Greenlee 1973, NPS 2005, Anderson and Brinkley 2001). The boycott also drew support from local Black citizens and from people in Lowndes County, who attended meetings and gave rides to boycott participants in secret when they drove to Montgomery (Jeffries 2009).

Initially a local issue, news of the Montgomery bus boycott reached audiences across the country and thrust many of Montgomery's African American citizens into the national spotlight. The Montgomery bus boycott, a direct-action campaign, also was victorious in court with the 1956 ruling of the *Aurelia S. Browder v. William A. Gayle* Supreme Court case, which challenged the constitutionality of Alabama state statutes and city ordinances requiring segregation on

Montgomery buses. Citing the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court ruled that segregation on Alabama's intrastate buses was unconstitutional.

Although the successes of the boycott were far-reaching, violence and opposition to integration continued, as did social protest and legal challenges. The focus had moved from local public integration to national goals such as voting rights and the integration of the interstate bus system. Many of the same people involved in the 1955–1956 Bus Boycott were instrumental in other events such as the 1965 voting rights march from Selma to Montgomery (PaleoWest 2020, WLA Studio 2022, Sanford Institute n.d.) and in other struggles of the larger civil rights movement. (Haulman 2015).

While the white power structure in Alabama fought integration, many organizations sought it. One example in Selma is Trinity Lutheran Church, also known as St. Timothy Lutheran Church (extant). At some time in the late 1950s, Black and white ministers began meeting there four times a year, a quiet act of integration that received no publicity and went unnoticed by other local pastors. The attendees discussed possible integration solutions, and in the lead-up to the Selma to Montgomery marches, they facilitated alliances between local and national civil rights organizations (Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Van West et al. 2013). Elsewhere in Selma, Richie Jean Sherrod Jackson, a local activist who took part in the march and whose home was used for meetings by local and national civil rights leaders, recounted that if white people expressed a favorable opinion or support of the movement, they would be harassed and ostracized by other white people. Therefore, many white people who supported the movement did so silently (Sherrod Jackson 2011).

Another example of biracial cooperation and support in Selma is found with the Edmundite Southern Missions, which arrived in Selma in 1937. The Edmundites worked with the Black community long before other white churches (Center for Historic Preservation 2015), setting up recreational and athletic clubs and establishing hospitals, libraries, and schools (Fitts 2016). The St. Elizabeth Mission, pastored by Edmundite Father Maurice Ouellet from 1961 to 1965, encouraged communication between activists and moderate whites in Selma and supported the Selma to Montgomery march (Center for Historic Preservation 2015). The St. Elizabeth School was an elementary school for African American children that was established in the early 1940s (Center for Historic Preservation 2015, West et al. 2013), and a grade was added every year until 1948. Some of Selma's youth who were active in the civil rights movement, such as Rachel Nelson, who was nine years old in 1965, attended St. Elizabeth's. Nelson was a co-author of *Selma, Lord, Selma* with Sheyann Webb, who was eight in 1965 (Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Van West et al. 2013).

The Edmundites also operated the Good Samaritan hospital in Selma. Previously, in 1922 the Alabama Baptist Convention opened two hospitals in Selma: the Good Samaritan Hospital to serve Black patients (the city's second to do so) and the Alabama Baptist Hospital, to serve white patients. The Edmundite Brothers and Sisters of St. Joseph opened and operated a new Good Samaritan Hospital building (extant) in December 1964. It was a four-story, modernist-style, fully equipped hospital where African Americans were taken in emergencies – specifically, often after police shootings or racially motivated beatings. The Sisters who staffed the emergency room were experts in treating these types of injuries (Van West et al. 2013, Center for Historic Preservation 2015).

Organizations of the Selma Voting Rights Movement

Certain local and national organizations played key roles in the Selma to Montgomery march. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was formed in 1957 following the Montgomery bus boycott, by Dr. King, Reverend Ralph David Abernathy, and other Alabama-based African American ministers. It differed from the NAACP in its adherence to confrontational, nonviolent, direct actions against segregation that were rooted in Christian theology. The SCLC coordinated with activists in local communities rather than seeking to bring them into their own organization (WLA Studio 2022). Dr. Howard Robinson of the Alabama State University's Center for the Study of Civil Rights and African-American Culture, characterized the SCLC as dynamic, ministerial-driven, and focused on the Black middle class becoming part of the democratic system. The organization wanted to leverage the events occurring in Selma for national change. This philosophy and motivation came into conflict with the philosophy and motivation of another group, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), that had been operating in the Selma area two years prior to the arrival of the SCLC (Harmon 2015).

The SNCC was formed from the vision of Ella Baker, SCLC's executive secretary, who recognized the potential role students could play in advancing civil rights. More than 100 students met at a "youth leadership meeting" in 1960 to develop a national student-led civil rights organization. Attendees at the meeting agreed to tenet of nonviolence with SCLC and organized under the new abbreviation SNCC. At SNCC's October conference, Amzie Moore, an early SNCC mentor and Mississippi NAACP president, suggested that SNCC focus its activities on voter registration in the South, starting with Mississippi. After vigorous debate, Baker suggested that SNCC have two wings, one for direct action and the other for voter registration campaigns rooted in local community organizing. Diane Nash led direct action and Charles Jones led voter registration. The two-pronged approach was the basis for the SNCC's work in Alabama (WLA Studio 2022). Dr. Robinson characterized the philosophy of the SNCC as more democratic than SCLC in decision-making, and focused on poorer Black laborers. The SNCC's goal was to help change the lives of the people in local communities by helping them take control of their own lives and make decisions in their community (Harmon 2015). In 1962, SNCC began sending organizers into areas where no other organization wanted to go (Hall 2013), in part due to the violence that SNCC volunteers and workers faced, sometimes resulting in death (Wise et al. 2016).

Many other organizations and individuals played important roles in events associated with the Selma to Montgomery marches. One such organization was Perry County's Rising Star Association, a fraternal and educational association for the Black community founded in the 1920s by Hampton D. Lee, a leading business and political leader. Lee was an NAACP member, even when the NAACP was banned in Alabama, and helped keep interest in voting rights alive through World War II. By 1965, there were fifteen branches of the Rising Star Association in Perry County, and Cager Lee, Jimmie Lee Jackson, and Albert Turner were members (Pope Burnes 2012). Another organization was Perry County Civic League, formed in the 1960s. These organizations were partners with SCLC and SNCC in Perry County, and in 1962, SCLC recognized the Perry County Civic League (PCCL) as an affiliate group. These national organizations sent field organizers into Perry County in 1964 (Turner 2017) or January 1965 (Stark 2022). For the purposes of this SRS, however, the DCVL deserves close attention.

The DCVL was founded in the 1920s to increase African American participation in the electorate. After a short period of inactivity, the group was revived in 1936 (NPS 1993), possibly as a result of the closing of the Knox Academy (West et al. 2013). Charles J. (C.J.) Adams was the

first president after the organization's reestablishment. When Adams left, Samuel Boynton took over as president. Boynton and his wife Amelia became recognized as two of the most significant individuals in the fight for civil rights in Selma. Samuel Boynton had also served as president of the local chapter of the NAACP (Fitts 2016, NPS 2007, 1993). The NAACP was banned in Alabama in 1956, and enrollment in the DCVL increased (Van West et al. 2013, Pope Burnes 2012, Reese 2022). The Boyntons both worked for the US Department of Agriculture. Samuel Boynton was the county extension agent for African American farmers and Amelia Boynton served as the home demonstration agent for local African American women. They facilitated the construction of a Black community center (George Wilson Community Center, extant) during the New Deal period; it hosted many events and concerts for the African American community (Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Van West et al. 2013, Laverdiere 2018, WLA Studio 2021, Wright 2016). Samuel Boynton and his colleagues operated the reactivated DCVL in the Sullivan Building (extant) across the street from the Community Center (Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Van West et al. 2013). The Boyntons also helped launch the court case for their son, Bruce Carver Boynton, that led the US Supreme Court to rule in *Boynton v. Virginia* (1960) that segregation in interstate transportation facilities was unconstitutional (Center for Historic Preservation 2015).

The Selma Voting Rights Movement

After the *Brown* decision in 1954, Selma and Dallas County attracted the attention of the US Department of Justice (DOJ) and the US Civil Rights Commission, which investigated allegations of voter infringement (Van West et al. 2013). The DOJ had been active in Alabama since 1957 and began bringing suits against Dallas County in 1961 (Fitts 2016, SNCC 1965a) including a voting rights lawsuit (Lyman 2015). The federal support and new federal laws, however, did not deter segregationists in Selma or the South in general, since segregationists held positions of power in the federal government. For example, Dallas County's district federal judge, Daniel H. Thomas, could limit federal access to records. Thomas also protected the Dallas County Board of Registrars, Judge James Hare, and Sheriff Jim Clark, allowing them to engage in abuses of power (Jansen 2022, Fitts 2016, Van West et al. 2013, SNCC 1965a). The Federal Building (formerly the US Post Office Building, extant) in Selma was the headquarters for the many federal officials involved in the city's civil rights issues. It was also the scene of demonstrations and protests about the federal government's unwillingness to intervene in voting rights disputes (Center for Historic Preservation 2015). Writer Townsend Davis noted that Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents and DOJ lawyers would watch the protests and proceedings at the Dallas County Courthouse (extant), which was across the street, from their third-floor offices (Davis 1999, General Services Administration 1976).

The reality for most southern Black people at this time was that they still could not vote. In the South at large, fifty-seven percent of eligible African Americans remained unregistered (NPS 2009a). The numbers were low because of restrictive state laws and policies that were non-racial on the surface, yet targeted Black citizens. Some of these laws and policies included requiring the payment of a poll tax, passing a "literacy" test, and having a registered voter/white person sponsor them and attest to their character. Registrars' offices limited the number of days and times that people could register and the number of people who were allowed to register each day. In one example from Perry County, African American applicants were told that the registrar's office was closed while simultaneously a group of white applicants were being registered in a separate section of the Marion courthouse. There were also "tests" such as asking a registrant to guess how many bubbles were in a bar of soap or how many jelly beans were in a

jar. Sometimes the “tests” were simply the applicant’s name and address, which the registrars said the applicants failed (Stark 2022, NPS 2021c, 2009a, Hall 2013).

In 1960, 15,115 African Americans of legal voting age lived in Dallas County and only 130 were registered to vote (NPS 2021c, Burke Marshall Personal Papers 1960, page nine). In comparison, the white population of Dallas County that was eligible to vote was 14,400, with 9,195 registered. Therefore, while African Americans made up about fifty-one percent of eligible voters in Dallas County, the 130 registered African American voters represented less than 1.4 percent of the total registered voter population. The situation was not much better throughout the Black Belt. There were no registered African American voters in Lowndes County (table 2), though two Black people had attempted to register to vote in the late 1950s. Some gains had also been made in registered African American voters in Macon County, where Tuskegee was located, as a result of challenges and enforcement of the 1957 Civil Rights Act and the Supreme Court ruling in *Gomillion v. Lightfoot* (1960). Prior to the ruling, the Alabama legislature had racially gerrymandered the city boundaries of Tuskegee, eliminating all but four or five of the city’s 400 Black voters (Stark 2022, Southern Poverty Law Center 2020, NPS 2009a, Burke Marshall Personal Papers page nine, Jeffries 2009). Louretta Carter Price Wimberly, daughter of Louretta Johnson Carter, who was a domestic worker for a local judge, was one of these registered voters in Dallas County. Carter was able to register her daughter to vote in 1957 (Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Benn 2015a).

Table 2. Alabama Population And Registration Statistics (1960)

County	Black citizens over 21	White citizens over 21	Black registered voters*	White registered voters
Dallas	15,115	14,400	130	9,195
Lowndes	5,122	1,900	0	2,240
Montgomery	33,056	62,911	2,995	29,000
Perry	5,202	3,441	265	3,233
Macon†	11,886	2,818	1,000	3,310

Information taken from the Burke Marshall Personal Papers, 1960.

**The Burke Marshall Personal Paper, page nine, notes that these are unofficial figures from The Birmingham News, 9/18/60, and that some of the figures are inaccurate.*

† Macon County, though not part of this study area, is included, as individuals and groups that were largely but not exclusively associated with the Tuskegee Institute were involved in the Selma to Montgomery march. Macon County inclusion also shows that there were more white registered voters than white eligible voters in the county.

To some, Dallas County and Selma, the county seat, were considered somewhat more progressive than other areas of the South in that a few African Americans had managed to register to vote by the 1960s. This was largely attributable to the work of the DCVL, which held clinics designed to help applicants fill out the voter registration application and pass the registrar’s test questions (NPS 2021c, 1993). By the 1950s, the DCVL was holding regular meetings in the Boyntons’ office on Sullivan Street and had a loyal membership of about a dozen people. The DCVL continued to work locally on registering Black voters while nationally, the federal government passed the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and 1960, in hopes of reducing barriers to Black enfranchisement. Enforcement of these federal laws at a local level, however, remained challenging (Jansen 2012).

As Black citizens organized for their civil rights, additional resistance came from the state with the 1962 election of George Wallace as governor. Wallace, a Democrat, had strong support from the KKK and the White Citizens' Council (WCC). The WCC had begun in Mississippi with a purpose of resisting integration throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and Dallas County was the first county in Alabama to establish a chapter (1954). That same year, Selma attorney H. Alston Keith established the Dallas County Citizen's Council, another white group that resisted integration, and enrollment grew to about 1,500 individuals by 1955. In 1956, white citizens of Lowndes County established their own WCC chapter. Keith later established the Central Alabama Council, which united the WCC chapters in nine counties. The headquarters were in Selma in 1958. The councils, which employed extreme rhetoric designed to terrorize African Americans and moderate white citizens and force white citizens to socially and politically conform to their rules, openly advocated for the defiance of law and integration via nearly any means, setting a precedent for lawlessness and violence. Finally, the KKK, which established a chapter in Selma in 1957, staged motorcycle parades that opened with hate-filled speeches at Memorial Stadium. The KKK's parades passed through Selma's African American neighborhoods in an effort to intimidate residents (Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Van West et al. 2013, Hébert 2012, Jeffries 2009, Stanford n.d.).

Candidate Wallace had promised to maintain racial segregation. In his inauguration speech, He pronounced, "I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, and segregation forever." Wallace remained governor through the Selma to Montgomery marches, and later served as "chief advisor" to his wife Lurleen Wallace, who was elected governor and served from 1966 to 1968 (WLA Studio 2022, Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Van West et al. 2013, Eskew 2008, Wallace 1963 and segment of his inaugural speech captured in NPS 2021c). John Lewis of the SNCC observed that resistance to African American civil rights in Selma started with Wallace: "Essentially, the chain of command we faced in Selma [was] Judge [James] Hare as an extension of George Wallace, and [County Sheriff] Jim Clark as an extension of Hare. With the judge and the governor behind him, Clark ran the county like a king. He really believed that the old racial order was the way things should be and that the Black people of Dallas County were happy to have it that way" (Lewis 1998 pg. 306, quoted in Van West et al. 2013).

SNCC Arrives in Selma: Alignment with DCVL

In 1963, SNCC sent field workers to Selma to organize local Black citizens, but with mixed success (NPS 2009a). As Bernard Lafayette Jr. recounted in an oral history with the National Park Service, "When I first went to get my assignment to be an SNCC organizer, the blackboard had an X on Dallas County, Selma. They said that the white folks were too mean and the Black folks were too scared. I said, 'My goodness, I'll take it'" (Lafayette in NPS 2021c). Soon after arriving in Selma with his wife Colia, Bernard Lafayette enlisted Selma University students Benny Tucker, Willie C. Robertson, and others to help him recruit students to the voting rights cause, despite interference from the university president (Van West et al. 2013, Hall 2013, Jeffries 2009). Bernard and Colia Lafayette also sought to persuade Black churches to provide space for a voter registration class. While many churches were afraid, Father Ouellet of St. Elizabeth's Catholic Mission allowed them to use his parish hall (Fitts 2016, WLA Studio 2022, SNCC 1965a). So many of St. Elizabeth's parishioners were eventually arrested during voting rights demonstrations that a Catholic newspaper called it a "parish of jailbirds" (Lawrence 2015). Bernard led other efforts as well, including a successful campaign to desegregate the Selma Public Library and the Carnegie Library (now the Selma and Dallas County Chamber of Commerce, extant) on May 20, 1963. Integration of the library was facilitated by Patricia "Pat" S. Blalock who had recently become its new director but who had

long been unhappy that Black citizens had limited access. Earlier that month, on May 14, Bernard Lafayette led a mass meeting following the memorial service of Samuel Boynton, who had passed away after an extended illness, with Reverend L.L. Anderson of Tabernacle Baptist Church (extant). James Forman, executive secretary of the SNCC, presented the main speech of the meeting, titled “The High Price of Freedom.” Later, SNCC organized additional mass meetings at other Black churches in Selma. Mt. Zion Primitive Baptist Church (extant) claims to be the site of the first acknowledged mass meeting on June 23, 1963, after the memorial service/mass meeting at Tabernacle Baptist Church (Fitts 2016, Van West et al. 2013, Center for Historic Preservation 2015, WLA Studio 2022, Hall 2013, *The Lima Citizen* 1963).

On June 12, the KKK had planned to kill three top leaders of the civil rights movement. Two were attacked: Bernard Lafayette and Medgar Evers. The KKK ambushed Lafayette as he returned home from a mass meeting, but he survived thanks to the intervention of a neighbor. Some 200 miles away in Jackson, Mississippi, an assassin shot and killed Evers outside his home. On June 17, Sheriff Clark, who had been harassing SNCC workers since they arrived, arrested Bernard Lafayette for “vagrancy” after a mass meeting. In late July 1963, the Lafayettes left Selma and in September, Worth Long arrived to replace them. Later that month, SNCC members John Lewis, James Forman, and Diane Nash arrived, as well as James Bevel of SCLC. The organizations worked with the DCVL to organize mass meetings, recruit people to the movement, and hold voter education classes. Nash and Bevel were particularly interested in recruiting Dr. King to come to Selma. In 1964, Silas Norman Jr., SNCC’s state project director, took up residence in Selma, bringing other SNCC organizers with him (Fitts 2016, WLA Studio 2022, Hall 2013, Jeffries 2009).

Some DCVL members welcomed the ideas put forward at these SNCC-led mass meetings and demonstrations. These members have come to be known as the Courageous Eight, as they continued to meet despite injunctions that made their meetings illegal. The Courageous Eight were James Gildersleeve and Ulysses Blackmon, who taught at Alabama Lutheran; barber Reverend Henry W. Shannon Jr; Reverend John D. Hunter; Ernest Doyle; dental hygienist Marie Foster; high school teacher and Baptist clergyman Rev Frederick D. Reese, the president of the organization; and Amelia Boynton (Fitts 2016, NPS 2009a, 1993, Hall 2013). Marie Foster has been credited as being the initial organizer of voter education classes in Selma (French et al. 2013). By 1964, the Courageous Eight had allied the DCVL with SNCC (Fitts 2016). The Boyntons provided SNCC with the use of their office on Franklin Street and turned their home into a refuge for civil rights organizers. Margaret Moore, who had also provided housing for Bernard Lafayette, also opened her home. When her home (extant) had filled to capacity, Tabernacle and First Baptist Church (extant) in Selma provided space for the workers to stay and for the DCVL and SNCC to conduct meetings and voter registration classes. The DCVL sparred with local officials to enroll Black citizens to vote, but by 1965 fewer than 400 African Americans had registered to vote in Dallas County (NPS 2009a, French et al. 2013).

While SNCC organized Black youth, older, middle-class Black citizens with more moderate views such as Edwin Moss and Claude C. Brown formed the Dallas County Improvement Association (DCIA) to seek concessions from Selma’s white leadership. Four pastors of Black congregations – L.L. Anderson of Tabernacle Baptist Church, Claude C. Brown of Reformed Presbyterian, C.W. Cleveland of First Baptist, and Clinton C. Hunter of Clinton Chapel – along with Father Maurice Ouellet of St. Elizabeth’s and Dr. William H. Dinkins, approached mayor Chris Heinz. They explained that unrest was developing and demonstrations were expected. They had planned to present the Mayor with a petition asking for ameliorating measures such as an end to segregated signs in public spaces, increased Black voter registration, an end to police

brutality, and the hiring of Black policemen and firefighters. They urged the city to set up a biracial committee to discuss Black citizens' grievances and offered to help maintain the peace. Mayor Heinz, however, had earlier refused to meet with SNCC and now refused to work with the DCIA. Moss wrote to the white Selma Retail Merchants Association and the *Selma Times-Journal* in hopes of heading off trouble, and Father Ouellet appealed to the city's white ministers, but with no success. The SNCC discredited the DCIA in front of white and Black citizens when it criticized the moderate petition of the DCIA for not going far enough, which put the two organizations in conflict (Fitts 2016, Van West et al. 2013).

The Involvement of the Courts

Following the March on Washington in Washington, DC, and the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing in Birmingham in 1963, the youth of Selma, mainly students from R.B. Hudson High School, held demonstrations to show their solidarity with other protests happening around the country. Having been instructed by elder SNCC workers in nonviolence, the youths held a sit-in at Carter's Drug Store. The protest ended in violence when the proprietor hit Willie C. Robinson in the head with a club, resulting in stitches for Robinson and the arrest of four other participants. Immediately after, more students went to the drugstore and were also arrested (WLA Studio 2022). Other demonstrations included picketing businesses, requesting service at several downtown stores and cafes, and attempting to attend services at several white churches such as First Presbyterian Church (extant) and the Queen of Peace Catholic Church (extant) (Fitts 2006, Van West et al. 2013). Selma officials and white segregationist citizens reacted harshly. The "kneel-ins" at the churches prompted white parishioners to set up "sidewalk committees" to keep Black demonstrators from entering the churches. White churches and pastors that permitted integrated services were also harassed by segregationists. On September 19, Judge James Hare (Fitts 2016), who used his public courtroom to argue for segregation (Van West et al. 2013) called together fifteen unnamed Black leaders and Father Ouellet and lectured them on using children for these demonstrations. Hare threatened to issue an injunction to end mass meetings and the demonstrations. White business owners defended racial discrimination at their businesses. Sheriff Clark, along with local lawyers and judges, found new excuses and charges to arrest SNCC leaders and demonstrators. Barber Henry Shannon, the DCVL's person in charge of youth work, was sentenced to a year of hard labor for "corrupting the young" (Fitts 2016).

In October, the judges of the US Third Circuit ordered Judge Thomas, whose protection enabled the Dallas County Board of Registrars to make it difficult for Black citizens to register to vote, to speed up their procedures and to simplify their voter registration requirements. Black leaders responded by announcing a moratorium on demonstrations. The number of voter applicants that month climbed to 215, the highest number yet recorded (Fitts 2016). On October 7, 1963, SNCC held a "Freedom Day," which mobilized some 300 Black people to line up at the courthouse seeking to register to vote. They were greeted by Sheriff Clark's police force, which arrested demonstrators and treated them roughly. FBI agents, characteristically, watched the harassment without intervening (NPS 2009a, SNCC 1965a).

Meanwhile, segregationist leaders in Selma turned their attention to the DOJ because they suspected that the demonstrators and the federal government were conspiring when Dr. King used a car belonging to DOJ employee Thelton Henderson on a visit to Selma. The segregationists protested and successfully forced Henderson's resignation. On November 12, Judge Hare charged a grand jury to investigate, suspecting that the DOJ was behind the demonstrations. The grand jury was preparing to fly to Washington, DC, with Governor George

Wallace paying their expenses, when the assassination of President Kennedy on November 23, 1963, interrupted their plans. The DOJ in turn sued Selma Solicitor Blanchard McLeod and Sheriff Clark, charging them with acting to intimidate and discourage Black voters. Judge Thomas heard the department's case on December 17. Reverend L. L. Anderson of Tabernacle Baptist Church, Reverend W. T. Menifee of Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church, and Father Ouellet all testified. Thomas delayed the decision once again until March 1964, when he ruled in favor of local authorities (Fitts 2016).

Conditions in Selma were starting to come to a head. Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 on July 2, focused on public accommodations, inspired more activism. On July 5, 1964, Reverend Ralph Abernathy of SCLC spoke at a mass meeting at Green Street Baptist Church (partially extant) in Selma in support of the Civil Rights Act. As the crowd left the church, members of a posse deputized by Sheriff Clark attacked them (Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Van West et al. 2013, Green Street Missionary Baptist Church 2016).

Black citizens tested the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by trying to integrate local drugstores, restaurants, and movie theaters but they were met with resistance and violence. Mayor Heinz had heard that KKK members from Georgia and members of the National States Rights Party (NSRP) from Tennessee were arriving to join the resistance to integration. Mayor Heinz and Sheriff Clark asked Circuit Court Judge James Hare for a sweeping injunction (Fitts 2016), which Judge Hare issued in July 1964. This injunction prohibited three or more people from assembling in a public place, blocking streets or highways, or meetings in which there was any discussion of violating the law. The injunction named forty-one Black leaders, such as Marie Foster; seventeen ministers of various congregations; fourteen or fifteen Black organizations including SNCC and SCLC; the KKK; and the NSRP (French et al. 2013, Fitts 2016, SNCC 1965a). The injunction closed the public meetings of the DCVL and a meeting at Tabernacle Baptist Church. Private meetings were also unsafe, as a meeting between Black airmen from Craig Field with a white minister at the Black Elks' Lodge was also shut down (Fitts 2016).

Political Change in Selma

In 1964, Selma elected a new mayor, Joseph T. Smitherman, who took office in October. Smitherman grew up poor in Selma (Smitherman 1985) and supported segregation. He was outside of the circle of influence of Judge James Hare but was an ally to Governor George Wallace. Smitherman followed Heinz's example by publicly refusing to consider meeting with a biracial committee. He appointed hardline segregationist McLean Pitts as city attorney. At the same time, he took a major step toward defusing racial tensions by appointing Wilson Baker as public safety director. Baker, a South Carolina native, had joined the Selma police force in 1940 and began teaching at the University of Alabama after an unsuccessful bid for county sheriff in 1958. Baker was willing to talk with Black leaders in Selma about complaints of police brutality and harassment and refused orders by Smitherman to have the city police engage in force against demonstrators (Fitts 2016, Martin 2005). Baker and the city police force were responsible for enforcing law inside Selma city limits. Clark and his deputies were responsible for the courthouse and the area outside city limits (Hall 2013).

Mayor Smitherman met with Claude Brown; Edwin Moss; F.D. Reese, who had been in contact with Morthland; Frank Wilson, also of the People's Bank; and Grist to discuss paving streets in Black neighborhoods and helping Black residents find jobs (Fitts 2016). Smitherman thought that gaining these concessions would keep King from coming to Selma, but this plan was never put into effect (Martin 2005). Some progress toward racial equality was made, but for many Black citizens it was not enough (Fitts 2016). The DCVL had been working to persuade the

SCLC to come to Selma for more than a year, and in December, SCLC leader, Reverend C.T. (Cordy Tidnell) Vivian arrived from Atlanta to meet with them. He told them that the SCLC and Dr. King were willing to come to Selma if invited (Fitts 2016, NPS 2009a, Van West et al. 2013).

SCLC Arrives in Selma-Escalation of Demonstrations

In violation of Judge Hare's injunction (French et al. 2013) and faced with the unwavering hostility of local authorities and the unwillingness of the federal government to offer protection, the DCVL invited Dr. King to launch a registration campaign in Selma in late 1964. Fresh from having won the Nobel Peace Prize, King agreed. On January 2, 1965, the SCLC leader addressed a mass meeting at Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. King and SCLC wanted to highlight the obstacles Black people faced when they tried to register to vote, thereby triggering the kind of national publicity that had prompted federal action during Freedom Summer in Mississippi. King and SCLC entered territory that SNCC had already explored.

Some sources indicate that King and this entourage stayed at the St. James Hotel while others indicate that they stayed at the Hotel Albert (no longer extant). As King was checking in to his hotel room, an NSRP member attacked him and was arrested (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 1999, Herbers 1965, SNCC 1965a). Despite passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act outlawing segregation in public accommodations, hotels in Selma remained segregated.

The Torch Motel (extant), opened in 1961 by Charles Moss, was one of two facilities that served Black people, and King and his SCLC lieutenants took shelter in its five-dollar-a-day rooms at various times. Room 2 became a "war room" for King, SCLC, SNCC, Black reporters, and visiting doctors. Annie Lee Cooper, a fifty-three-year-old nurse, managed the hotel. Cooper, Elnora Collins, and some forty other African American employees of the Dunn Nursing Home had been fired in 1963 for engaging in voter registration activities, yet Cooper continued to take part in the movement. The DCVL and SNCC helped support the fired workers by purchasing sewing equipment and setting them to work on sewing activities for money in the basement of First Baptist Church (WLA Studio 2022, Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Benn 2015b, Fitts 2016, Van West et al. 2013, NPS 2009a, Davis 1999, SNCC Digital Gateway n.d.).

As anticipated, King's presence attracted national press coverage, which had been missing from earlier drives (NPS 2009a). Locally, the *Selma Times-Journal* provided detailed coverage of the civil rights movement (Powell 2018). Opinions are divided over whether this coverage favored the white power structure in Selma (Powell 2018, Roberts and Klibanoff 2006, Davis 1999). The newspaper published articles and paid advertisements submitted by Sheriff Clark; the WCC, which had set up offices next to the newspaper; and others calling for white superiority and segregation (Davis 1999, Van West et al. 2013). But the newspaper also published letters by the DCIA seeking reconciliation (Fitts 2016) and editorials critical of Sheriff Clark (Roberts and Klibanoff 2006).

King and the SCLC launched their campaign in Selma on January 18, 1965, with a 300-person march from Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church to the courthouse. Some marchers would register to vote in defiance of a court injunction while others would test the ban on segregated public accommodations. Selma's public safety director, Wilson Baker, believed that the best way to diffuse the publicity King generated was to have law enforcement act with restraint. Baker maintained a peaceful police presence. Not so the deputy sheriffs under the command of Jim Clark. On January 19, Sheriff Clark's men halted a march to the Dallas County Courthouse, and Clark himself accosted and arrested Amelia Boynton (NPS 2009a, SNCC 1965a). Also present at this protest were Sheyann Webb and Selma school teacher Margaret Moore (Hartford n.d.).

Boynton's arrest spurred other Black citizens to protest. Most notable of the newcomers were the town's teachers who, by and large, had refrained from bold action for fear of losing their jobs (WLA Studio 2022, London 2022, NPS 2009a, Hartford n.d.).

On January 22, 1965, Reverend F.D. Reese convinced more than 100 of his fellow local teachers to gather at Clark Elementary School before walking quietly to the Dallas County Courthouse to register to vote. Some teachers may have also been inspired by the example of Margaret Moore and others who also defied the school boards and began organizing and mobilizing for the vote. The Teachers' March was a courageous stand by vulnerable public employees who knew that they would likely be dismissed from their positions by the school board. When the teachers arrived at the courthouse, Sheriff Clark and his deputies refused to allow them to register. The teachers then walked to Brown Chapel A.M.E. for a community meeting. Dr. King said, "The protest of Dallas County teachers carried us miles down the road in the protest of injustices." The march also showed that teachers, as a professional group, were not afraid to fight injustice, a charge that was frequently leveled against them. The Teacher's March energized other protests, including demonstrations by other professional groups (WLA Studio 2022, London 2022, Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Van West et al. 2013, NPS 1999, Hartford n.d.) and local students (NPS 2021c). Despite the increased energy and growing support in the community, each attempt to register proved fruitless (NPS 2009a).

On January 25, Clark got into a fight with Annie Lee Cooper during a voter registration demonstration at the county courthouse. The sheriff pushed her with a cattle prod while she stood in line. Despite the strictures of nonviolent protest, Cooper punched him in the face several times. Clark then hit Cooper over the head with his club. Photographers captured the image and published it in the national media, cementing Clark's reputation as a brutal racist. Cooper's action was a violation of the nonviolence creed for voting rights demonstrators, but many African American citizens supported her. James Bevel of SCLC was staying at the Torch Motel at this time; when he and Annie Lee Cooper reflected on the incident they noted the rough treatment and that even practitioners of nonviolence could reach a breaking point (WLA Studio 2022, Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Benn 2015b, Fitts 2016, Van West et al. 2013, NPS 2009a, Davis 1999, SNCC Digital Gateway n.d.).

With the efforts of the demonstrators stalemated, on February 1 King stepped up the campaign. After rallying demonstrators at Brown Chapel, he led a march to the courthouse. Before arriving there, he was arrested. From his cell, he penned the "Letter from a Selma Jail," in which he wrote sarcastically: "This is Selma, Alabama, where there are more Negroes in jail with me than there are on the voting rolls." His incarceration prompted further marches and arrests, including those of nearly 1,000 schoolchildren. With the jails overflowing and the national press recording the arrests, the demonstrations attracted widespread attention. A delegation of fifteen congressmen traveled to Selma to see the situation firsthand, and on February 4 (NPS 2009a) Black nationalist Malcolm X spoke at Brown Chapel. He warned that "White people should thank Dr. King for holding people in check, for there are other [Black leaders] who do not believe in these [nonviolent] measures." While local whites did not appreciate the implications of Malcolm's remarks, President Johnson did. On February 4, the chief executive informed the nation that he intended to assure that the right to vote was secured for Black Alabamians (NPS 2009a).

King's release from jail on February 5 coincided with the publication of his letter in *The New York Times*. The situation continued to escalate in Selma and elsewhere. Students at Tuskegee Institute organized the Tuskegee Institute Advancement League (TIAL) to engage in organizing around local issues, including voting rights, and later joined the Selma to Montgomery march

(Hartford n.d.). In Selma, students and others continued to march and Sheriff Clark continued to make mass arrests. He led one group of arrested students on a forced run several miles outside Selma. The press was barred, but students later reported that they had been poked with nightsticks and cattle prods. These reports spurred further protests. Soon after, Clark was hospitalized with exhaustion and stress. Black children gathered outside the hospital to pray for his physical healing and the healing of his mind. The day after his release from the hospital, Clark became so angry when SCLC leader Reverend C.T. Vivian likened him to a Nazi that he punched him in the mouth and fractured his own hand (Hall 2013, The Wilson Garling Collection 2022, image “Signing the Book,” February 16, 1965).

The Selma to Montgomery March

Marion and Jimmie Lee Jackson

King pressed for escalation of protest strategies. He sent Reverend James Orange (SCLC) to Marion to support local leaders and to recruit and organize Black youth to the civil rights movement. As Jean Childs Young, a graduate of Lincoln Normal School and the wife of SCLC leader, Congressman, and Ambassador Andrew Young, recalled, students would be waiting for Orange when he would arrive at Lincoln before noon. The students at Lincoln were active in the voting rights movement of the 1960s. They would march downtown and demonstrate against segregation at local cafés and against the conditions under which they lived, leading to mass student arrests at the school (NPS 1993). In February 1965, students organized a walkout from the school to protest segregation and then boycotted the school for three weeks (Pope Burnes and Van West 2022). While the students were involved in civil rights activism, administratively, the Lincoln buildings had been purchased by the state of Alabama in 1960 and then by the Perry County School Board by 1965 (Kay 1989). The state of Alabama improved the school to prove that “separate but equal” was effective in providing equal opportunities for education; this tactic was among the ways that the state delayed desegregating public schools after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954 (Pope Burnes and Van West 2022).

On February 18, 1965, Orange organized a march of about 700 youths from Zion Methodist Church (then the base for SCLC and SNCC planning in Perry County) in Marion to the county courthouse across the street. He was arrested on the grounds for “disorderly conduct” and “contributing to the delinquency of minors” and held in Perry County Jail (Stark 2022, Fields 2020, WLA Studio 2021 draft, Candler 2019, Hall 2013). That night a mass meeting at Zion Methodist Church was led by Albert Turner Sr., head of the PCCL; SCLC leader Reverend C.T. Vivian; and Reverend James Dobynes. Reverend Dobynes then led the attendees in a night march to the Perry County Jail in support of Reverend Orange, who they thought was at risk of being lynched (NPS 2021c, WLA Studio 2021 draft, Fields 2020, Associated Press 2020, Candler 2019, Turner 2017, NPS 2009a, Hall 2013). The streetlights were either shut off or shot out, and in the darkness state troopers attacked the marchers and news reporters. Among the marchers was local Baptist deacon Jimmie Lee Jackson, who was shot by state trooper James Bonard Fowler while trying to protect his mother, Viola Jackson, and grandfather, Cager Lee, from the violence. Transported to the Good Samaritan Hospital in Selma, Jackson received treatment but died on February 26, 1965 (Stark 2022, Van West et al. 2013, Fitts 2016, Candler 2019, Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Associated Press 2020, NPS 2021c, NPS 2009a, Jenkins Booker 2021, Blevins 2018, Fleming 2007).

Jackson’s death precipitated the Selma to Montgomery march, although there are differing accounts of the idea’s origin. One account holds that local activist Lucy (Lusa) Foster proposed

carrying Jackson's body to Montgomery and laying him at the doorstep of Governor Wallace, and another that James Bevel of SCLC proposed laying him at the capitol steps. Ultimately activists settled on planning a symbolic march to Montgomery (Stark 2022, WLA Studio 2022, Candler 2019, Moon 2015, Hall 2013). Mourners held two memorial services for Jackson. James Bevel officiated the first on March 2 in Selma at Brown Chapel A.M.E; its facade bore a banner that read, "Racism Killed Our Brother." He reiterated the call for a march to symbolically take the body of Jackson to Montgomery from Selma. Meanwhile, Jimmie Lee Jackson's remains were taken back to Marion in a 2,000-person procession where on March 3 Dr. King delivered the funeral eulogy to an overflowing crowd at Zion Methodist Church. These events received little if any press coverage (Stark 2022, WLA Studio 2022, Hall 2013, University of Alabama Center for Public Television and Radio 1989).

In Lowndes County, since mid-February members of the Daylight Savings Club including John Hulett had been meeting to discuss registering to vote. Word spread beyond the club members, and white citizens suspecting a demonstration threatened Reverend Lorenzo Harrison, who had been spotted at demonstrations in Selma, on February 28. Harrison was the pastor at Mt. Carmel Baptist Church in Gordonsville, and John Hulett was a deacon there. Harrison was taken to Selma for his safety, and Hulett kept silent about the registration attempt. On March 1, thirty-nine people led by Hulett unsuccessfully attempted to register to vote at the Lowndes County Courthouse in Hayneville. Another attempt with more potential voters was made two weeks later. The attempts signified the beginning of the Lowndes movement, starting with informal conversations about the exclusion of Black citizens from the political process and leading to the struggle for full citizen rights. The threat of violence from white citizens was real, and in Lowndes County conversations about civil rights activities took place in many Black spaces but especially in private homes (Jeffries 2009). Due to the large number of Black landowners, White Hall became a center of activity during the civil rights movement (Kaetz 2013, Purifoy 2017).

On March 5, a few days before the march was set to occur, King went to Washington, DC, to meet with President Johnson to discuss the progress of the voting rights bill and inform him of the planned march. Meanwhile in Selma, friction between SCLC and SNCC came to a head. The SNCC was concerned that King's plan would incite violence on a large scale and others were displeased at his status in the movement. Many, though not all, SNCC organizers felt that SCLC was built largely around King's charisma, and that he and his staff were unprepared for the long-term work of grassroots organizing. The SNCC debated internally on whether to participate in the march, ultimately deciding to officially disapprove of it but to allow any SNCC member or worker to participate. The SNCC also provided the services and supplies that they had previously agreed to provide, such as communication equipment and medical care from the Medical Committee on Human Rights (WLA Studio 2022, Lewis 1998, SNCC 1965a, SNCC Digital Gateway n.d.).

On March 6, at least seventy white citizens of the Concerned White Citizens of Alabama from Tuscaloosa and Birmingham arrived in Selma and in solidarity joined African Americans who had marched to the Dallas County Courthouse. That same day, Governor Wallace declared that the planned march the next day would be prohibited because it threatened public safety and that state troopers were to use whatever means necessary to prevent the march. Selma city officials and the police knew about the planned march, too. Chief Baker warned Mayor Smitherman that Sheriff Clark would turn it into a bloodbath, but the mayor did not heed his advice (WLA Studio 2022, Hall 2013, Fager 2005, SNCC 1965a).

Bloody Sunday and Turnaround Tuesday (the Ministers' March)

On Sunday, March 7, (WLA Studio 2022, Hall 2013) after Sunday church services, demonstrators gathered at Brown Chapel A.M.E. in Selma. As John Lewis (SNCC) recounted, none of the marchers expected to make it all the way to Montgomery, and there had been no plans made beyond that afternoon (Lewis 1998). Many of the marchers were still wearing their Sunday suits and dresses; others carried knapsacks or rolled-up blankets, expecting to be arrested and incarcerated (Hartford n.d.). After a flurry of phone calls between staff in Selma and Dr. King in Atlanta – he had hoped to delay the march until the 8th so that he could participate – the march was officially approved to start (WLA Studio 2022, Hall 2013, Lewis 1998).

Having spent nearly two years demonstrating, leaders expected a confrontation with some minor injuries and mass arrests. Leaders did not think they would get very far, as they had been given notice of a massive police presence and that the police were armed with tear gas (WLA Studio 2022, Hall 2013, Lewis 1998). Preparations were therefore limited. Impromptu training sessions showed participants how to kneel and protect themselves if attacked (Lewis 1998). A first aid station was established and staffed by the Medical Community for Human Rights (MCHR) in Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church (Hartford n.d.), and four ambulances were procured to follow the marchers (Lewis 1998). SCLC field workers divided into two groups: One would march and be arrested and the other would mobilize a protest following the arrests (Hartford n.d.). An impromptu flip of a coin decided which group would do what: Hosea Williams would march and SCLC's Andrew Young and James Bevel would stay behind (Lewis 1998).

At around 4 pm, Williams, Young, Bevel and Lewis gathered the assembled marchers. Lewis read a short statement to the press explaining why they were marching, and Young led everyone in a short prayer (Lewis 1998, SNCC 1965a). The column of nearly 600 marchers then left Brown Chapel heading toward the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Marching two abreast, the column was led by SCLC's Hosea Williams and SNCC's John Lewis. SCLC leader Albert Turner of Marion and SNCC's Bob Mants followed in the second row, and Marie Foster and Amelia Boynton filled in the third row (NPS 2009a, 2015, Lewis 1998, Hartford n.d., SNCC n.d., SNCC 1965a). As the marchers reached the crest of the bridge and saw the police force ahead of them, Williams and Lewis remarked to each other that neither of them could swim. On the east side of the bridge, beyond city limits, stood a combined force of about 150 law enforcement officers made up of Colonel Albert Lingo's Alabama Highway Patrolmen and Sheriff Clark's Dallas County deputies. Both leaders were personally present. There were no city of Selma officers, as Public Safety Chief Wilson Baker did not trust Sheriff Clark nor the state trooper, and he feared violence that would damage the city's reputation. Approaching the line of law enforcement on the east side of the bridge, Williams and Lewis stopped, which halted the march. State Trooper Major John Cloud ordered the marchers to disperse. About one minute later he ordered an advance before the marchers could comply. The combined police forces, some on horseback, charged into the marchers. The troopers fired tear gas and sent the marchers sprawling and rushing to get back to Selma and the safety of Brown Chapel A.M.E Church. The violence left many of the marchers bloodied and severely injured (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 2009a, 2015, Van West et al. 2013, Walton 2012, Fager 2005, Lewis 1998).

About 150 policemen chased the fleeing demonstrators, many of them wounded and choking from tear gas. Enraged residents of the nearby George Washington Carver Homes (extant) abandoned the activists' credo of nonviolence and hurled bricks and bottles at the troopers (NPS 2009a, Lewis 1998). State troopers and county deputies followed the crowd back to the Carver Homes, roaming the area and chasing anyone they saw. White spectators joined in the

violence. Witnesses saw Clark fire a tear gas cannister into one Carver home. Another squad of posse men rushed into First Baptist Church, grabbed a Black youth, and threw him through a stained-glass window. The beatings continued in front of Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. As Young and Bevel worked to calm marchers and prevent them from fighting back, Baker demanded that Clark stop his show of force and leave the city. Eventually, the police and posse had driven everyone from the streets, and the violence stopped. The whole affair lasted thirty minutes (WLA Studio 2022, *The Selma Times-Journal* 2014b, Walton 2012, Fager 2005). John Lewis, who was severely beaten at the bridge and suffered a fractured skull, recalled the havoc caused by the police outside the church: “I was inside . . . which was awash with sounds of groaning and weeping and singing and crying. Mothers shouting out for their children. Children screaming for their mothers, brothers and sisters. So much confusion and fear and anger all erupting at the same time.” Volunteer nurses and doctors treated the wounded in the church’s parsonage next door. According to Lewis, the place looked like a Mobile Army Surgical Hospital unit (Lewis 1998). Ambulances dispatched from Black funeral homes transported some of the more seriously wounded to Good Samaritan Hospital, and the smaller Burwell Infirmary provided treatment for overflow patients (NPS 2009a, Lewis 1998).

The events of what became known as Bloody Sunday were captured by televised news media and broadcast worldwide. The American Broadcasting Company interrupted its evening broadcast of the movie *Judgment at Nuremberg*, providing a vivid juxtaposition of racial crimes in Nazi Germany and white supremacy in Alabama. King and the SCLC immediately planned a second march from Selma to Montgomery for March 9. King issued a call for clergy across the country to come to Selma to help demonstrate. American labor stepped up in greater numbers as members of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations and other organizations flocked to Selma. The sisters at Good Samaritan Hospital provided lodging and support for scores of their fellow sisters who arrived for the march. SNCC and SCLC activists wondered if a successful demonstration could be pulled off so quickly and met for hours at Dr. Sullivan Jackson’s house. Behind the scenes, the federal government had brokered a compromise, having met with SCLC and SNCC leaders at the Jackson home and with Sheriff Clark and Colonel Lingo. The terms of the compromise were that the marchers would be given enough time to kneel in prayer without state police charging them. Only those in leadership knew of the plan (NPS 2009a, 2015 WLA Studio 2022, Van West et al. 2013, Lewis 1998, SNCC 1965a).

By the morning of March 9, thousands of white and Black ministers had arrived in Selma to march to Montgomery. Anticipating wounded marchers and possibly casualties, the MCHR had set up another large emergency aid station, this time in the First Baptist Church’s basement. Doctors and nurses would continue to staff this center for weeks to deal with march-related injuries and health issues that accompanied poverty and segregation (Dittmer 2009, Hartford n.d.). As King led some 1,500-2,000 marchers from Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in mid-afternoon, he and the other leaders were read a temporary injunction, issued by Federal Judge Frank Johnson, halting the march. King chose to defy the order and the marchers headed across the Edmund Pettus Bridge. As agreed, state troopers stopped them and afforded time for a short prayer. Then, to everyone’s surprise, the troopers parted, opening a path to Montgomery along US 80. King weighed the threat of violence ahead, the federal injunction, and the threat of defeat if he turned back. He decided to stand by the plan and ordered the turnaround. Some of the demonstrators felt defeated, some felt betrayed, and many felt let down. Others felt that this was a technical victory as African Americans in Selma realized that people cared about their struggle. The event has come to be called Turnaround Tuesday or Ministers’ March (NPS 2009a, 2015, Wofford 2015, WLA Studio 2022, Van West et al. 2013).

That evening, SCLC leader Reverend Ralph Abernathy announced that on Wednesday, March 10, there would be another march to the Dallas County Courthouse, this one accompanied by many of the white ministers who had arrived in Selma in response to Dr. King's call. However, the city cordoned off the Sylvan Street corridor and lined it with police; this show of force prevented marchers from leaving the neighborhood in which Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church and First Baptist Church were located. The planned march therefore did not occur (NPS 2009a, 2015 WLA Studio 2022, NPR 2019, Van West et al. 2013, Miller 1985). On the evening the march had been announced, three white Unitarian ministers who had journeyed to Selma to participate were attacked by white supremacists outside of the Silver Moon Café. One of the ministers, Reverend James Reeb, died from his injuries. The murder gained national attention. President Johnson called the slain minister's wife and father to offer condolences, and nearly a score of congressmen spoke out on the US House and Senate floors demanding swift consideration of voting rights legislation. Civil rights activists in Selma mourned Reeb but were dismayed by the double standard: Jimmie Lee Jackson's death had stirred neither the President nor Congress into action despite television and newspaper coverage. Once again it appeared that the nation viewed white lives as more valuable than Black lives, and that political leaders responded more vigorously to the death of white than Black martyrs (NPS 2009a, WLA Studio 2022). When Reeb's murderers stood trial, an all-white, all-male jury found them not guilty (NPS 2009a, 2015 WLA Studio 2022, NPR 2019, Van West et al. 2013, Miller 1985).

SNCC Goes to Montgomery; Legislative and Judicial Action

Following Turnaround Tuesday and the attack on the Unitarian ministers, SNCC leaders grew dissatisfied with the Selma campaign. They moved to Montgomery, where James Forman wanted to build a new, more radical movement (WLA Studio 2022). The SNCC supported a "second front" there in the battle for civil rights with about 17,000 students arriving and/or mobilizing in Montgomery from TIAL, a student group organizing around local issues and the support for voting rights; Alabama State College (ASC) (later renamed Alabama State University); northern colleges; and local public schools (Harmon 2015, Hartford n.d., Dittmer 2009).

On March 10, more than 700 Tuskegee Institute students arrived at the First Baptist Church in Montgomery, carrying a freedom petition that they were determined to deliver to Governor Wallace (Hartford, n.d., First Baptist Church [USA] 2022). Joined by the SNCC and the other protestors, they attempted to negotiate directly with the governor, but upon reaching the capitol, state troopers prevented them from setting foot on the grounds. TIAL leaders were arrested before they could read their petition to the press. In response, roughly 200 of the students held an impromptu sit-in in the middle of the street outside the capitol. Montgomery police arrived and encircled the demonstrators, but did not attack because the media were present and because Tuskegee Institute was internationally known and drew its students from prominent and politically powerful Black families. The police prevented any of the protestors who left the group from returning, even if they had to take care of basic human needs such as using the restroom. As a result, many of the students chose to relieve themselves in the middle of the circle rather than surrender their places. Towards the end of the day, many students left but others remained and endured cold and wet weather overnight (WLA Studio 2022, Hartford n.d.). The following day they decamped and regrouped at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, where a conflict arose among the activist groups. The deacons had turned off the utilities and were furious at the students for entering without permission. The students and Forman's SNCC blamed SCLC for the deacons denying the students aid. SCLC's James Bevel in turn refused to believe that the Tuskegee students had organized the march and blamed SNCC for it, accusing

them of drawing attention away from Selma. Upon leaving Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Forman and Bevel were arrested and the protesters were beaten back inside by the police (Hartford n.d., Patton 1981, Fager 2005). Black churches in Montgomery began to distance themselves from the campaign and refused to allow SCLC or SNCC to hold meetings in their churches. The incident demonstrates the internal disagreements among activist groups and the complex nature and level of support that local leaders and residents were able and willing to offer.

On March 13, President Johnson met with Governor Wallace at the White House. Johnson had hastily drafted a list of demands he wished to negotiate with the governor that centered on providing the authorization to protest as well as protection for the protesters. Wallace made no concrete assurances, though observers thought that Wallace was softening his stance (WLA Studio 2022). Two days later Johnson presented the long-awaited voting rights bill to a joint session of Congress. Using the words of the civil rights movement in his speech, Johnson said that “we shall overcome” the heritage of racism and bigotry that haunts America. For many civil rights movement—leaders, this inspired hope for legislative action, but many others—especially from SNCC—remained skeptical (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 2015).

Meanwhile, the second front in Montgomery remained active. On March 15, students attempted to march from ASC to the state capitol, but a posse deputized by the sheriff attacked them near the Ben Moore Hotel (extant) at the intersection of Jackson and High Streets. A mounted sheriff’s posse also attacked local Black citizens, who responded to the attack by throwing rocks, bottles, and bricks. Mayhem followed (Alabama African American Civil Rights Heritage Sites Consortium n.d., Hartford n.d., Harmon 2015, Dittmer 2009, WLA Studio 2022). The next day, another student march left from Jackson Street Baptist Church heading toward the capitol, and the students again faced assaults. The Montgomery County Sheriff led a mounted posse of deputies into a large group of students, some of whom escaped into houses and porches as they tried to make it back to the church. Images of bloody college students made national front-page news. MCHR medical providers attempted to help the wounded but were arrested (Alabama African American Civil Rights Heritage Sites Consortium n.d., Hartford n.d., Harmon 2015, Dittmer 2009, WLA Studio 2022).

In response to this violence and despite their differences, SNCC and SCLC leaders as well as James Farmer from the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) came together in solidarity with the students of Montgomery on March 17 and led another march estimated to have drawn 2,000-5,000 protestors. It proceeded from Jackson Street to the county courthouse where the group leaders intended to discuss with county officials the use of violence against nonviolent protesters. Though SCLC and SNCC were still at odds, they shared this concern. After five hours of negotiations with demonstrators standing outside the courthouse, an agreement was reached. The city apologized for the violence and the students agreed to get parade permits for future marches (Harmon 2015, NPR 2015, Stanford University n.d., Martin 1965, WLA Studio 2022).

On March 17, after the negotiations, King announced from the Montgomery County Courthouse that the Selma to Montgomery march would proceed, having just received Federal Judge Frank Johnson’s ruling (Harmon 2015) on *Williams v. Wallace*. In the case, Hosea Williams, John Lewis, and Amelia Bonyton had pursued their right to assemble and demonstrate peaceably in a march from Selma to Montgomery and sought a restraining order on the state and others for their safety during this march (*Williams v. Wallace* 1965). The decision to proceed with the march met with widespread joy and a sense of vindication. The next day, as activists began planning logistics, a frustrated Wallace asked President Johnson for help protecting the

marchers. Within a few days, Johnson signed an executive order that federalized the “Dixie Division” of the Alabama National Guard (WLA Studio 2022), and he dispatched army troops, FBI agents, and federal marshals to provide security and prevent violence (NPS 2009a, 2015). This included sweeping the area for potential bombs planted along the highway and positioning snipers in trees. Of particular concern was the stretch of swamps and woodlands through Lowndes County, where the march route along US 80 transitioned to a tight two lanes. Because of the danger presented to the marchers by these conditions, the federal government ordered that only 300 participants could march through this section. Therefore, organizers had to decide who would participate and when. Two hundred and fifty spots were reserved for those who participated in the Bloody Sunday march, and the remaining fifty would be made up of dignitaries, notable white participants, movement veterans, and others (WLA Studio 2022).

Hosea Williams of SCLC had been charged with organizing the logistics of the march, a vast undertaking in which participants would travel an average of twelve miles per day in rainy, chilly conditions. He organized committees with SCLC and SNCC to plan for meals, housing, sanitation, communication, and entertainment. Organizers also had to find Black landowners to volunteer their land for campsites; secure portable toilets; coordinate transportation, food, and water; and procure supplies such as tents, air mattresses, flashlights, rain ponchos, cook stoves, and first aid supplies (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 2009a, 2015).

Finally, in Lowndes County, on March 19 John Hulett and other Black citizens who had attempted to register to vote met at Frank “Bud” Haralson’s store in White Hall with representatives of the SCLC and formed the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights (LCCMHR) to help coordinate future voter registration attempts. White Hall residents comprised most of the people in attendance and the officers who were selected at this meeting. On March 20, Ed Moore King, an army veteran and elementary school teacher in Hayneville and Fort Deposit, met with the leadership of Mt. Gilliard Missionary Baptist Church and insisted that they invite the LCCMHR to hold its meetings there. As elsewhere, Black churches were hesitant or often refused to host mass meetings. Mt. Gilliard Missionary Baptist Church was pastored by Dr. Theodore Roosevelt “R.V.” Harrison, father of Reverend Lorenzo Harrison, who had been threatened with violence a few weeks before. Dr. Harrison believed in racial equality but he had not committed the church to the freedom struggle before his son was threatened. When the opportunity to support the movement presented itself, he urged the church deacons to allow Mt. Gilliard to become involved, even though the church faced danger (Jeffries 2009).

The Selma to Montgomery March

On the afternoon of Sunday, March 21, roughly 8,000 Black and white people from all over the country assembled at Brown Chapel in Selma to begin the march to Montgomery. With King and other civil rights notables up front, the marchers continued past the previous point of confrontation of Bloody Sunday along the Jefferson Davis Highway (US 80), this time with their way clear. On the first day, the marchers covered seven miles. Those who had been selected to march the entire route made their way to David Hall’s farm, about a mile south of US 80. The others returned to Selma or elsewhere. As there was no efficient way to convey marchers by automobile, organizers—with the help of federal authorities—hastily arranged for a special train to transport marchers from the community of Tyler back to Selma (NPS 2009a, 2015, WLA Studio 2022).

Shortly before sundown, a little over 400 people arrived at the Hall family farm. David Hall worked as a custodian at George Washington Carver Homes. His family recounted that he was

not directly involved in the civil rights movement, but it is likely that he overheard that there was a need for a campsite location. Along with being a helpful member of the community, he was a protector of his family and land. As such, he did not alert other family members of the plan to host the marchers and instead sent them to stay with relatives who lived out of town. When the marchers arrived, they found advance workers raising four large field tents, including one for women donated by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. That night, marchers ate a camp-style meal prepared by Black women using the kitchens at Green Street Baptist Church in Selma (Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Van West et al. 2013, Green Street Missionary Baptist Church 2016, WLA Studio 2022, Southern Exposure Films 2022). The MCHR also set up tents to treat march-related injuries (Dittmer 2009).

The next day, on March 22, marchers woke before dawn to a cold and frosty morning and ate oatmeal prepared by the same volunteer cooks. Attention then turned to the march ahead, which would be considerably longer and through more treacherous territory. There was much discussion about the dangers in Lowndes County. Departing the camp, the march maintained its 400-person size, though the number of guards increased. As previously agreed, the number of marchers was reduced to 300 as the column approached the two-lane stretch of highway through Lowndes County. Those who were to continue were selected by county, with 157 marchers from Dallas County, 89 from Perry County, 21 from Wilcox County, and 15 from Marengo County. No one from Lowndes County was present. The final number, according to FBI observers, was 308. Stokely Carmichael of the SNCC was part of the procession through Lowndes County, and he used his time there to build connections for additional activism after the march (WLA Studio 2022, Jeffries 2009).

After the grueling sixteen-mile day, the marchers arrived at the farm of Rosie Steele. That night, King was helicoptered into the campsite. The evening meal was not delivered as planned, since the KKK had blockaded the road from Selma. Instead, the marchers were fed from Steele's Service Station, a country store she owned on the south side of US 80, and by African Americans from Lowndes County. The home-cooked meals were either sent up US 80 or delivered by the community members themselves. Some march participants held an impromptu dance party at the Steele Service Station (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 1999, 2005, 2015, Southern Exposure Films 2022).

The third day of the march (March 23) was also in Lowndes County. By midmorning, a steady rain started to fall; it did not let up for most of the day. Records provide few details about the day's events. Participants soldiered on, singing songs to lift their spirits. That night, marchers camped at Robert Gardner's farm on the eastern edge of Lowndes County. When the marchers arrived, the ground was soggy and muddy. The Gardners, Ben Lausane, and Willie Crawford supplied hay to lay over the mud but it did little to make the ground more comfortable. Robert Gardner had received several intimidating phone calls during the day, and consequently he did not allow marchers inside his house. The spirits of the marchers were low given the miserable conditions and their exhaustion. Dinner that night was supplied by Tuskegee students (WLA Studio 2022, Gardner Davis 2022).

On Wednesday March 24, the marchers pressed on toward the City of St. Jude, an unincorporated Catholic complex that since 1938 had provided housing, medical facilities, and education for Black residents of west Montgomery. As the crowd crossed the Lowndes/Montgomery County line, the 300-person limit for the march ended and the number of participants quickly grew as busloads of people joined. Newcomers included religious figures from around the country, local civil rights workers, and some 200 students who had been released on bond from Kilbey State Prison and nearby jails a week after James Forman's

Montgomery demonstrations. Also included were a group of roughly 800 ASC students, rallied by Richard Boone (SCLC) to meet the marchers before they arrived at the City of St. Jude. That night, the City of St. Jude hosted a “Stars of Freedom Rally.” Entertainers such as Odetta, Nina Simone, Sammy Davis Jr., Harry Belafonte, Tony Bennett, Pete Seeger, Leonard Bernstein, and Joan Baez performed for about 10,000 people. The stage for the concert and speeches was constructed on coffins that had been loaned from Black funeral homes. By 2 am, the entertainment was over and the performers left for a Montgomery hotel, which segregationists surrounded for the rest of the night in an intimidation effort (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 2015, 2007, 2005, 1999, Davis 2017, Alabama Historical Association 2019).

On March 25, the final day of the march, the marchers left the City of St. Jude and passed through the Black neighborhoods of Montgomery to much fanfare. As the marchers passed Five Point Hill, named for the five-road intersection that overlooked the west side of downtown Montgomery (WLA Studio 2022, City of Montgomery 2015, 2008), more marchers arrived. The crowd totaled some 25,000 people when they arrived at the steps of the state capitol, where a Confederate flag waved in the breeze and Governor Wallace waited inside. In front of the capitol steps was a flatbed truck with a small lectern and microphones. Speakers and musicians used the truck platform because the governor had blocked marchers from the capitol grounds. King’s “How Long, Not Long” speech (also known as “Our God is Marching On!”) expressed the pain, challenges, and triumph of the Selma to Montgomery march and the ongoing effort for justice and equality. King acknowledged that there were challenges ahead, called for the continuation of nonviolence in confronting these challenges, and declared that the victory that lay ahead would not be long in coming (King 1965). The speech was widely considered one of the finest he had given to that point. Television cameras recorded the triumphant procession and concluding rally (NPS 2009a, 2015, WLA Studio 2022, Reed 1965). After the events ended, there was one last agenda item: to deliver a petition to Governor Wallace demanding that he “remove all barriers to voting.” But Wallace refused to meet with marchers and never left his office (WLA Studio 2022). Instead, Wallace’s executive secretary met the petition delegation, informed them that the capitol was closed, and told them that Governor Wallace had designated him to receive the petition. The delegation replied that they would return (Reed 1965).

The Voting Rights Act of 1965

Events in Selma accelerated the timetable for voting rights legislation. Following his election in 1964, President Johnson had begun to prepare a suffrage plan. Initially he preferred not to press for new legislation in 1965 in order to give the federal government time to implement the provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Nevertheless, he had also instructed the DOJ to develop several options concerning suffrage, should he change his mind. The bloody conflict in Selma forced the President’s hand. Therefore, while the Selma campaign did not originate the idea of introducing voting rights legislation, it shaped the outline of the proposal and guaranteed that the Johnson White House and its congressional allies would fight for it vigorously. About the same time that King took charge of the Selma demonstrations, Johnson promised in his State of the Union address to “eliminate every remaining obstacle to the right and opportunity to vote” (NPS 2009a).

Throughout January and February, the President monitored events in Alabama closely, and he conferred with King. King explained that the problems were serious enough to warrant more immediate remedy. He advised new legislation rather than a constitutional amendment, one of the suffrage options the DOJ had developed. Johnson agreed, and the DOJ began drafting a bill that suspended literacy tests in state and federal elections where the percentage of Black citizens

registered for the franchise fell below a prescribed level. After Bloody Sunday and Governor Wallace's continued intransigence against safeguarding peaceful Black demonstrators, Johnson proposed legislation to crush suffrage discrimination. In a momentous televised address to a joint session of Congress on March 15, the president voiced the battle cry of the civil rights movement, "We shall overcome," and declared that keeping Black citizens from voting was "wrong—deadly wrong." He called on Congress to introduce legislation, which it did two days later (NPS 2009a). President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law on August 6, 1965.

Unlike the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which had met with such fierce opposition from white southerners in Congress that deliberations dragged on for nearly a year before the bill passed, the voting rights legislation encountered only mild resistance. The vivid media coverage of Black citizens suffering in Selma had galvanized national sentiment in support of Black enfranchisement. A Gallup Poll taken during the Selma to Montgomery march indicated that three-quarters of the American public favored voting rights legislation and nearly fifty percent of Southerners did as well. Furthermore, President Johnson's electoral landslide in 1964 had swept into the Eighty-ninth Congress an increased Democratic majority with a liberal cast. Given the situation, white southern lawmakers could scarcely defend restricting the right to vote (NPS 2009a).

Post-March Civil Rights Activity (1965-1970)

After the conclusion of the Selma to Montgomery march rally in Montgomery on March 25, its thousands of participants dispersed. Some went straight to the bus station or airport while many others traveled by car through the Black Belt countryside along the same stretch of road that bore the marchers. The SCLC, which had set up a transportation service for the march, was overwhelmed by the number of people needing rides. Viola Liuzzo volunteered to help. Liuzzo, a white thirty-nine-year-old mother of five, had driven from Detroit after feeling compelled to take part in Alabama's civil rights movement. In Detroit, she was a member of the NAACP and was active in labor struggles (WLA Studio 2022). Liuzzo and Leroy Moton, a Black SCLC volunteer, were shuttling marchers back to Selma and were returning to Montgomery to pick up more marchers when a carload of Klansmen, including a paid FBI informant, began to chase them. The Klansmen shot into Liuzzo's car near Lowndesboro along US 80 and it careened off the road. Liuzzo lay dead, and Moton survived by feigning death until the killers left. FBI Director Herbert Hoover—a staunch opponent of the civil rights movement—did not want the FBI's role in the murder to make news, and a disinformation campaign was launched against Liuzzo. Liuzzo's killing, however, prompted President Johnson to become personally involved in the case, and in an unprecedented act, he announced the arrest of Liuzzo's killers over national television on the day after she was murdered. On the same broadcast, Johnson warned, "If Klansmen hear my voice today, let it be both an appeal—and a warning—to get out of the Klan now and return to a decent society, before it is too late." (Johnson, 1965, as quoted in May 2005, pg. 172.) Johnson then asked the attorney general to create new legislation to bring KKK activities under the control of the law and encouraged Congress to investigate the KKK and other violent organizations. The FBI informant was given immunity for his testimony. The other killers stood trial at the Lowndes County Courthouse (May 2005, Katanga n.d., NPS 1999, Jeffries 2009, Hand 1971). They were acquitted at the state level but convicted at the federal level of depriving Liuzzo of her civil rights (May 2005, NPS 2009a, Baumgartner 2013, WLA Studio 2022).

The murder of Viola Liuzzo indicated that violence and vindictiveness prevailed in Alabama and much of the South after the Selma to Montgomery march. National voting rights legislation

would finally be passed five months later, but this did not guarantee Black citizens the right to vote in practice, and it did not end the brutality and intimidation against them and their allies. Systematic oppression and racial violence remained entrenched in the Black Belt. Immediately following the march, white citizens retaliated with intimidation, economic reprisals, and violence against those who supported the march and against those who continued working for change. The People's Bank in Selma closed David Hall's account after he supported the marchers. White supremacists rode by his farm and threatened his family. Fortunately, unlike others involved in the movement, David Hall was able to keep his day job and the family land. For Rosie Steele and her family, retaliation took the form of a boycott of her store and a possible arson attack (WLA Studio 2022, Howard 2021a, McDonald 2021b, McGuire 2022, Chhaya 2022, Southern Exposure Films 2022). The fire that destroyed her store occurred in 1967 and may have been accidental, according to an interview with a family member (Davis 2022). Despite not knowing the official cause, Steele lost everything and could not get a bank loan to build a new house, although the community rallied to her aid. For the Gardner family, very real threats of violence clouded daily life. Once a neighbor was seen with a sniper rifle fixed in the direction of the Gardner farm. This and other incidents led to the family receiving around-the-clock federal protection for months following the march. After its staff helped the marchers, donations to the City of St. Jude fell so precipitously that the director contemplated closing the complex (WLA Studio 2022).

In Lowndes County, Emma and Mathew Jackson Sr. faced retaliation for their involvement in the movement. At the request of their son John, they had allowed the SNCC to use an unoccupied house on their property near White Hall as their headquarters and had helped SNCC workers make important connections in the local community. Retaliation against the Jacksons included a white shopkeeper suddenly calling in a debt they owed him and refusing to extend any more credit. Not long thereafter, a group of white supremacists fired on the Jackson home, forcing Mathew Jackson Sr. to return fire and scatter the would-be murderers. When economic sanctions proved ineffective, white supremacists in Lowndes County had no qualms about resorting to violence (WLA Studio 2022, Jeffries 2009, SNCC n.d.).

Intimidation and violence continued, but activists remained steadfast in their commitment to achieving civil rights in practice, not just on paper. In Lowndes County, on March 19, the LCCMHR was established at the Frank "Bud" Haralson Store. The store was also a gathering place for the Guys and Gals Social and Savings Club, which provided food for civil rights workers and the SNCC. Stokely Carmichael of the SNCC heard about the organization and, during the leg of the Selma to Montgomery march through Lowndes County, took the opportunity to meet its members and other residents. The SNCC intended to continue advocating for civil rights in the county after the march, and just days afterward a team of workers began distributing organizing leaflets at the local African American high school (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 1999, Jeffries 2009, Katanga n.d.). After initial skepticism, LCCMHR agreed to work with the SNCC and on March 28 (Alabama Historical Association 2016) or April 2 (WLA Studio 2022) the two groups held a kickoff mass meeting at Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church. More than 500 people attended (WLA Studio 2022). Meanwhile, over the summer the SNCC established nearly forty Freedom Schools that served close to 2,500 students, among them parents and grandparents. The six-week curriculum included reading, writing, arithmetic, history, and civics and helped prepare disenfranchised African Americans to become politically active (NPS 1999, Menkart and View 2022).

Passage of the Voting Rights Act in August 1965 was a major milestone. Three federal workers subsequently set up an office on the third floor of the Federal Building in Selma to register

Dallas County voters. They processed 8,500 new Black registrants, nearly equaling the number of white voters by the time of the first primary in May 1966 (Davis 1999). According to an SCLC report on voter registration in Alabama, federal registrars were present in all four counties in the study area, though the dates for their arrival are given as after the May primary, and the number of Black registered voters increased (SCLC 1966). There were other gains in Selma as well. The biracial Dallas County and City of Selma Economic Opportunity Board (EOB) was formally incorporated in 1966 in response to Mayor Smitherman's call for a biracial committee to fight poverty in Selma following the Selma to Montgomery marches (Fitts 2016). Edwin Moss, the Edmundite mission's production manager, became a key civil rights leader and negotiator (Center for Historic Preservation 2015), being selected as treasurer for the EOB (Fitts 2016). In Lowndes County, federal registrars arrived on August 14; however, there was confusion, as the registrars had set up their office at the post office (federal property) in Fort Deposit, not in the county registrar's office in Hayneville. By midday, the registrars had relocated to Hayneville, and in three days' time they had processed just over 200 registration forms. By October, some 2,000 African Americans (forty percent of the Black electorate) had registered to vote. The initial low turnout can be attributed to relocation of the offices, difficulties in registrants finding transportation to Hayneville, harvest season for agricultural laborers, ongoing evictions of Black sharecroppers and tenant farmers, and threats of violence from white residents (Jeffries 2009).

White supremacists continued fighting to functionally disenfranchise Black voters by intimidation, violence, and economic retaliation. Just two weeks after the Voting Rights Act became law, Jonathan Daniels, a twenty-six-year-old white SNCC field worker, was shot dead at a convenience store by Tom Coleman, a police volunteer in Hayneville, Lowndes County. Coleman had accosted Daniels and three other activists, but at Coleman's trial, he claimed self-defense. An all-white jury acquitted Coleman. The event shocked SNCC workers in Lowndes County (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 2015, Katanga n.d., NPS 1999, Hand 1971).

A particularly notorious example of intimidation and retaliation was the eviction of more than twenty Black tenant farming families from their homes by white landowners in the winter of 1965-1966. While some families were able to move in with nearby friends and family, others left the county. Others, however, had nowhere to go, creating a crisis of homelessness. In response, the SNCC and the LCCMHR proposed building a "Tent City" to temporarily shelter the evicted families. The plan was approved, and they built the facility on a six-acre property purchased from Viola Smith along US 80 between Selma and Montgomery. The tents were erected on December 31, 1965. Tent City could provide only the bare necessities. Standard issue for each tent was a gun, in case occupants needed to fend off the white supremacists who routinely fired shots at the compound. At times, SNCC workers staying at the site and other Tent City residents abandoned their nonviolence training and returned fire in self-defense. Into the fall of 1966, white landowners continued to kick people off their properties, and some evicted families stayed at Tent City for as long as eighteen months. While in the camp, local activists held adult education classes in various fields, including construction. Those who completed the course then constructed homes for Tent City residents on one-acre plots that the evictees had purchased with the help of \$100 grants from the LCCMHP. By 1970, all Tent City residents had been resettled. Local activists then purchased the site and established the Lowndes County Co-op and Credit Union as a step toward ensuring economic self-determination in a system that still treated African Americans unfairly (WLA Studio 2022, Simmons 2019, Jansen 2012, Jeffries 2009, NPS 2005, 1999, SNCC 1966, 1965b).

SNCC and Lowndes County activists were realizing that racist attitudes among many white Americans could not be changed by moral arguments. They began to look to Black nationalism

and Black Power to provide other frameworks for liberation from systemic racism. SNCC organizers drew equal inspiration from the self-determining cultural practices of Black Southerners such as mutual assistance, which gave rise to the social and economic institutions such as cooperatives that enabled Black communities to survive. SNCC organizers strategized on how locals in Lowndes County could use their collective political might to control local political institutions.

To make such a political revolution possible, SNCC felt that there should be leadership from the community. Stokely Carmichael had been promoting the idea of third-party politics for a few years, and as the SNCC began its work in Lowndes County, the creation of a new party to serve the needs of African American residents was at the forefront of its strategy. After more than a year of organizing and building deep relationships, in the spring of 1966, residents coalesced to form a new political party—the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO) (WLA Studio 2022). The First Missionary Baptist Church served as the site for the new party’s convention as well as a location to hold mass meetings to support the civil rights movement (Alabama’s Front Porches 2022, Guarino 2013, Katanga n.d., NPS 1999).

The LCFO nominated a full slate of Black candidates to run against the Democratic Party’s white candidates in the November 1966 general election, the first time that many African Americans in Lowndes County could vote. The party adopted the black panther as its emblem. Alabama electoral ballots historically featured a political party’s mascot to serve those who had difficulty reading. As such, the LCFO was the nation’s first “Black Panther Party,” the idea of which was later adopted by Black Power activists in California and elsewhere. The 1966 election did not result in victory for the LCFO, however; all its candidates lost to white opponents. African Americans had not turned out to vote because they feared reprisals from white supremacists, for good reason. Those who went to polling places found armed white people milling about (WLA Studio 2022, Purifoy 2017, Guarino 2013, Katanga n.d., NPS 1999, SNCC 1966).

Following the election, more African Americans were evicted from their homes, and in March 1967, arsonists destroyed the LCCMHR headquarters. Arsonists set fire to Macedonia Baptist Church the following day. Activists were not deterred and continued campaigning in the county. However, LCFO candidates again failed to win any race in the 1968 election. Intimidation from white officials and landowners and the perception that an all-Black political party was too radical undermined the party’s success. Also, the SNCC had left Lowndes County after the 1966 election, siphoning off experienced canvassers. The SNCC’s goal had always been to serve in a temporary capacity. They planned to stay only long enough to develop an effective organizational structure led by working class locals. In this effort, the SNCC was successful despite the inability of the LCFO’s candidates to win in 1966 and 1968 (WLA Studio 2022).

The situation changed in the 1970 election. For the first time since Reconstruction, African Americans won prominent government positions in the county (WLA Studio 2022). A major contributing factor was the decision of the LCFO to unite with the National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA), an interracial third political party that had formed in 1968. The national mainstream Democratic Party at the time remained white supremacist in Alabama. In 1965 and 1966 its slogan was “White Supremacy for the Right,” and in 1968 it endorsed former governor George Wallace in his bid for the presidency. The NDPA was formed to challenge this. The union of the LCFO with an interracial party—this was perceived as less radical than an all-Black party—that offered an experienced campaigning apparatus helped some of its candidates to secure victories. The snarling black panther logo was dropped, and a new chapter in Black politics began in Lowndes County (Jeffries 2009). Meanwhile in Marion, in September of 1970,

as a result of integration, the Lincoln Normal School was closed and many buildings demolished (Kay 1989, Pope Burnes and Van West 2022).

LCFO and its black panther logo may have disappeared in Lowndes County, but the legacy of this organization and the events surrounding its formation would reverberate across the nation. The LCFO was the genesis of a new shift in the Black Freedom struggle. As noted above, based on their experiences during the Selma campaign, SNCC leaders such as Stokely Carmichael had begun looking for a more radical approach to achieving political and cultural change. The LCFO was an experiment in what would come to be the Black Power movement, an alternative course in the broad and ongoing Black freedom struggle. Carmichael and political scientist Charles V. Hamilton articulated the meaning of Black Power in a 1967 book, which historian Hasan Kwame Jeffries has summarized as “organizing independent, African American power bases, an approach to political change that SNCC activists deemed necessary because existing electoral forms and structures did not permit African Americans to participate in political decision-making” (Jeffries 2006, 171). This movement grew out of LCFO’s efforts as an all-Black independent political party in Lowndes County as well as out of SNCC experiences in Alabama which Ivanhoe Donaldson, the director of the SNCC’s New York office, cited as the genesis of the concept of Black Power (Jeffries 2006, 172).

These efforts inspired activists across the nation to experiment further with grassroots, all-Black independent parties during the early 1970s. In California, activists Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton even adopted the LCFO panther for their new organization, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. Although ultimately the strategy of creating all-Black independent parties was abandoned, especially as African Americans determined that they could work within the changing Democratic Party, the Black Power movement that grew out of the voting rights struggle in Selma was an important facet of the overall Black Freedom Struggle.

Summary of Study Area and Historic Context

The study area has a deep history of civil rights activism, including struggles for voting rights. The places and events relevant to this study demonstrate the importance of organizations in fostering activism, including civil-rights-oriented organizations such as DCVL, SCLC, SNCC, and LCFO, but also religious institutions. The latter were among the earliest Black institutions in America that could form the core of African American communities, and the Selma to Montgomery march demonstrates their critical spiritual as well as secular functions. The study area highlights the striking contrast between the disciplined activists who were trained in nonviolent protest, and the extraordinary violence and intimidation inflicted on them and their allies by white citizens and law enforcement. In the face of repeated danger, the activists were not passive: Their nonviolence was active and assertive. Demonstrations that ended in beatings and arrests were immediately followed by more nonviolent demonstrations and eventually culminated in the Selma to Montgomery march. Media coverage of these events moved the nation. The march accelerated the Johnson administration’s push for voting rights legislation and ensured widespread support for it. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was a milestone: four years after its passage, the proportion of registered Black voters in the South swelled to an average of around sixty-two percent, up from forty-three percent in 1964. Combined with the 1966 Supreme Court ruling in *Harper v. Virginia State Board of Elections* which ended the poll tax, the path was opened for Black citizens to fully realize their right to vote (NPS 2009a). And yet, many still could not. White supremacists continued to prevent Black citizens from exercising their rights via violence and intimidation. Bloodshed continued. The intransigence of white supremacists, even after the enactment of the Voting Rights Act, led some activists,

especially leaders in the SNCC, to consider new forms of political and social expression in their struggle for freedom. Local elections in Lowndes County in 1966 and 1968 became radical experiments in grassroots organization and all-Black independent political parties to try and wrest control of local politics from white supremacists. The efforts of the SNCC and the LCFO in developing these alternative strategies in the struggle for Black Freedom inspired activists across the country and spurred a nationwide Black Power movement.

Resource Descriptions

This section describes each of the resources (also referred to as “study sites”) evaluated by the team for national significance. In this section and elsewhere, the term “site” is used in the generic sense of a place, scene, or point of an event, or the location of a structure or set of structures. This could cause confusion because terms like “site” and “structure” also have specific, technical meanings in the field of historic preservation as, for example, defined in *National Register Bulletin 16a*. However, this study uses a broader definition of “site” in order to match the terminology in the legislation that authorized the study.

Museum objects associated with the sites described below, including historic furniture and archives, were not inventoried during this study due to the number and variety of sites under consideration. Associated objects and archives may exist for many of the sites described below. Museum collections are intrinsically important cultural resources. They are also valuable for the information they provide about historical processes and events, and they help visitors better understand the events, activities, and people commemorated by parks. The Trail has a small museum collection and archive that is stored and managed with the museum collections of Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site and Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site in Tuskegee (NPS 2009b). Museum collections are also on display at the interpretive centers. Should any of the sites in this study meet SRS criteria and be designated as part of a national park system unit, research would be required to establish the number, nature, and location of any associated museum collection objects.

Methodology for Resource Identification

A substantial body of literature exists about the Selma to Montgomery march and its significance for the nationwide civil rights movement, and the event is addressed in several National Historic Landmark program theme studies (NPS 2022c, 2009a, 2008a, 2008b). Furthermore, the National Park Service has generated extensive research and management documentation for the Trail, including the 1993 trail study, the 1999 master plan and public comments, the 2000 cultural landscape inventory (CLI), the 2003 long-range interpretive plan, the 2005 CMP, the 2015 foundation document, and the 2021 cultural landscape report (CLR) (in draft). Via these resources, the study team confirmed the continuing national significance of the event, as described below.

The study team identified a large pool of sites potentially associated with the three voting rights marches that occurred in March 1965 and with relevant themes, organizations, and events before, during, and after, such as sites associated with voting rights movements in Perry, Dallas, Lowndes, and Montgomery counties. In particular, the team took advantage of analyses published in the CMP, CLI, and draft CLR that identified primary sites, secondary sites, and cultural landscapes associated with the Trail. To these the team added potential sites based on further research (see Appendix C for the full list of sites initially considered). Then, the study team established a period of significance and applied the national significance criteria.

Based on feedback from the Trail’s management team and partners, it was determined that a potential park unit would benefit from the inclusion of sites that establish a historical context for the Selma to Montgomery march. Accordingly, the study team conducted research that established a period of significance beyond March 1965 (the methodology will be described below). Each site was then evaluated to determine whether it fell within the period of significance and whether it met the national significance criteria established by the National Historic Landmark program, which is the standard process for evaluating sites as part of and SRS.

Given the large pool of resources and the study’s practical constraints, the study leadership determined that a full analysis of all the sites was not feasible. The study team therefore developed additional criteria to reduce the number of potential sites that would undergo full analysis for national significance. To accomplish this, the study team extended its analysis of the period of significance, using that rationale as a basis for identifying key moments, organizations, and topics associated with the march without which the story of the march would be incomplete or lack context. The pool of sites was then analyzed to find sites that fell within the period of significance and that also were strongly associated with the key moments, organizations, and topics of the three voting rights marches that occurred in March 1965. The details of this methodology are as follows:

In establishing the period of significance for purposes of the SRS analysis, the study team, trail managers, and other subject matter experts initially noted the general historical connection between the events of March 1965 and events going back to the Civil War and earlier, with a strong contextual narrative beginning during the Reconstruction Era with the election of Benjamin Sterling Turner (1825-1894) to the US Congress (NPS 1993). However, practical considerations dictated a narrower focus. The team therefore identified the strongest contextual starting point for the march in the surge in Black voter registration efforts in Selma after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. For the ending point, the team rejected the date of passage of the national Voting Rights Act of 1965. Although an undeniable landmark in the civil rights struggle, events in the study area after its passage show that violence, intimidation, and disenfranchisement continued. Several sites in the study area demonstrate this and also how Black activists resisted by creating radical experiments in democracy such as forming all-Black independent political parties in the local elections of 1966 and 1968 and, in 1970, electing the first Black politicians to office since Reconstruction. These experiments were exported from Alabama and grew into a nationwide Black Power movement. The period of significance for this SRS was therefore established as 1957 to 1970.

To further reduce the number of sites in the pool to undergo full analysis, the study team identified key events, organizations, and topics associated with the three voting rights marches that occurred in March 1965, as follows:

- Dallas County Voters League (DCVL), including the Courageous Eight
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
- Religious institutions and organizations
- Voter registration march in Marion (February 1965)
- Student and Teacher protest marches for voting rights

- First march, Bloody Sunday (March 7, 1965)
- Second march, Turnaround Tuesday (March 9, 1965)
- Third march, Selma to Montgomery (March 21-25, 1965)
- Educating voters (rights) and training demonstrators (nonviolence)
- Racial violence and intimidation, and counter-violence
- Nonviolence by demonstrators in the face of aggression
- Criminal injustice (incarceration of peaceful protesters, acquittal of perpetrators who committed violence/murder against Black individuals and allies)
- Role of the media in galvanizing national support (including iconic photos)
- Experiments in all-Black political parties and the rise of Black Power

Using this methodology, the original list of more than 160 resources (including landscapes, historic districts, non-extant resources, and resources needing additional research) in the pool of sites was reduced to those that have the strongest direct and contextual connections to the Selma voting rights movement, including the 1965 marches. The existing Trail's three interpretive centers were also included as part of this study for the following reasons: The NPS officials supporting and directing the study had interpreted the study's enabling legislation as requiring their inclusion as part of the potential designation of the Trail as a national park system unit (US Department of the Interior 2022). The National Park Service was seeking to acquire the historic building that houses the Selma Interpretive Center and surrounding historic properties (acquired in December 2022) (Fisher 2022). The National Park Service had expressed potential interest for acquiring the Montgomery Interpretive Center as a supporting administrative facility in the future. The Lowndes County Interpretive Center, already owned by the National Park Service, was included at the direction of NPS officials interested in the archeological remains of Tent City on this property.

These sites will undergo analysis in chapter 3 to determine whether they meet SRS criteria for national significance, suitability, feasibility, and need for direct NPS management. No changes are suggested for management of the interpretive centers since all three interpretive centers are considered supporting administrative facilities.

Many important people and places are associated with the Selma voting rights movement and the Selma to Montgomery marches. It was not possible to fully consider all of them in this study. The task of the study team was *not* to comprehensively determine which stories matter and which do not, and which places are important and which are not. Rather, the team was to apply specific evaluation criteria to sites associated with the events to determine which could be considered for inclusion in a potential national park system unit. In addition to SRS evaluation criteria, the study's timeframe for completion and resources available placed limits on the scope of the study. There are many people and places, including those outside of the study area, whose important contributions to the marches and to the broader voting rights movement will continue to be recounted. Their stories may be further studied in future efforts, incorporated into the interpretive program of the NHT and/or a potential national park system unit, or expanded upon via existing and potential future partnerships.

Resources Evaluated in this Study

See appendix B for photographs of each property.

1. Zion Chapel Methodist Church, Perry County

The church was the starting point of the nighttime protest march on February 18, 1965, to the Old Perry County Jail; it was also the site of Jimmie Lee Jackson's funeral service on March 3, 1965. It is currently the starting point of the Marion Connector Trail segment of the Trail. It is a one-story, frame, Victorian religious structure that was built around 1880 and a cornerstone laid in 1884. In 1926 the church was rebuilt, and the church largely retains its 1926 form and materials. It has a brick veneer exterior, front gable roof, side hipped roof over a bay window near the chancel area, Gothic arched pointed windows, projecting vestibule with gable roof capped by small steeple, central double leaf entrance, and circular vent (Mansell 1994, Stark 2022). The church is in good condition and functions as a place of worship to this day. Despite some improvements to its brickwork and a rear addition (1990), the building overall appears much as it did in 1965, as does its setting. An NPS interpretive wayside near the building describes the importance of the church in the events surrounding the Selma to Montgomery march (Stark 2022, WLA Studio 2021 draft).

2. Old Perry County Jail, Perry County

Reverend James Orange was held here after his arrest on February 18, 1965 for organizing a protest with students from Lincoln High School (Lincoln Normal School). The jail was the destination of the subsequent "night march." The jail is within the viewshed of the Marion Connector trail but is not on the Trail itself. It is a two-story, brick veneered structure that was built in 1938 using funds from the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, part of the New Deal. It has a hipped roof, seven bay façade, and a central single leaf entrance set in masonry, and features a Colonial Revival door surround and masonry stringcourse. The jail is surrounded by a tall chain link fence topped with barbed wire (Stark 2022, Mansell 1994). The jail has sat vacant for more than thirty years. Although the structure has undergone deterioration due to neglect, it generally appears as it did in 1965, retaining its original floor plan and many historic finishes and fixtures. The cell where Reverend Orange was held is in the northwest corner of the first floor and retains its metal-framed bed and ceramic toiletry features (Stark 2022). In 2018, Beyond Fifty Years, a local nonprofit group, received a \$500,000 grant from the National Park Service to rehabilitate the jail into a voting rights museum and theater space (Stark 2022, Candler 2019) beginning in 2023. An SCLC commemorative marker and an NPS interpretive wayside outside of the jail describe its role in the events surrounding the Selma to Montgomery march (Stark 2022, WLA Studio 2021 draft, NPS 2015, Candler 2019).

3. Lincoln Normal School, Perry County

The school produced leaders of the local civil rights movement, and Lincoln students were active in the voting rights protests of the 1960s. Some of their activism was under the direction of SCLC leader Reverend James Orange, who would meet students at the school. The school is not located along the Marion Connector Trail. The Lincoln Normal School was founded in 1867. Almost all its buildings were demolished in the 1970s as part of the desegregation of public schools (University of Alabama Center for Public Television and Radio 1989; Kay 1989). Among the surviving structures are three brick buildings: the Phillips Memorial Auditorium, a high school classroom building, and the gymnasium (Pope Burnes and Van West 2022).

The Phillips Memorial Auditorium was constructed between 1935 and 1939. It is a one-story, rectangular-shaped brick building built in the Classical Revival style. The front elevation

features a colonnaded porch beneath the front-end gable roof, and it has a broken pedimented entrance. Both side elevations have a row of five arched windows. The utilitarian interior consists of an open auditorium space and a raised stage. Situated at the corner of Lincoln Avenue and Lee Street, the auditorium faces west, away from the intersection. The auditorium is in good condition and remains in use by the community for civic events (Pope Burnes and Van West 2022, Kay 1989).

Located immediately in front of the auditorium is a one-story classroom building. The Philips Memorial Auditorium National Register nomination describes this structure as one-story school building built around 1950. The building is in good condition. Alterations since the 1930s have been minimal and include replacing the original asbestos roof shingles with fiberglass shingles and inserting a suspended ceiling (Kay 1989). The 2022 National Register nomination for the Lincoln School describes an addition to this classroom building built in 1968 (Pope Burnes and Van West 2022). The structure retains a high degree of integrity. The one-story school building functions as the Marion Senior Center and as the Lincoln Memorial Museum, and the building was added to the Alabama Register of Landmarks and Heritage in 2008 (Pope Burnes and Van West 2022).

The gymnasium was built 1963 as part of the state of Alabama's upgrade of facilities at African American schools in an attempt to demonstrate that separate educational facilities provided equal opportunities (Pope Burnes and Van West 2022, Southern Engineering 2003). It is a one-story rectangular brick building with a flat asphalt roof that rests on a concrete foundation. The building consists of three major sections: the gym/basketball court, the ticket booth and other facility offices, and locker rooms, and is typical of public-school gymnasiums in Alabama during this period (Pope Burnes and Van West 2022). As part of the Lincoln School's closure in 1970, the gymnasium has not been maintained. A 2003 site evaluation documented significant structural integrity issues with the gymnasium and proposed treatment options (Southern Engineering 2003). In 2005 the gymnasium was added to the Alabama Register of Landmarks and Heritage. Although in poor condition, in 2019-2021 the Lincolnite Club received \$1 million in grants from the National Park Service for rehabilitation (Pope Burnes and Van West 2022). The rehabilitation will begin with replacement of the roof, and the second phase will include replacement of the windows and analyses of the mechanical systems steel superstructure (McDonald 2021a).

The rest of the block has no other buildings associated with the Lincoln Normal School; however, the cultural landscape, historic sidewalks, and pathways create a visual sense of connections between the extant and non-extant buildings (Pope Burnes and Van West 2022). There are no NPS waysides that describe the school's association with the Selma to Montgomery marches. The Lincolnite Club owns the property and the extant historic buildings. In 2002, the club dedicated the Lincoln Memorial Museum in the former Lincoln High School Addition building. Since 2005 the Lincolnite Club has had a museum partnership agreement with the National Park Service to develop the museum to state and national museum standards (Pope Burnes and Van West 2022).

4. Brown Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.), Dallas County

Brown Chapel is among the resources most closely associated with the SCLC's 1965 Selma campaign. During the first three months of 1965, the church served as the headquarters for the SCLC, as the site for rallies conducted by Dr. King and other leaders of the SCLC, and as the starting point for all three of the Selma to Montgomery marches.

This large church was constructed shortly after the turn of the 20th century. Its load-bearing masonry wall and post-and-lintel construction supports intersecting ribbed barrel vaults contained within a gabled roof. Stylistically it is eclectic, with Romanesque and Byzantine influences. The church has a Greek cross plan of Byzantine influence with twin square towers flanking the nave at the front facade. The walls are dark red stretcher bond brick with white stone lintels, sills, mullions, medallions, quoins, and other trim. The roof has two intersecting gables with parapeted gable ends. The front facade has a curvilinear gable. Three large rose windows adorn the front gable end and the transept ends. There are several one-story brick additions at the rear of the building. On the front elevation, twin square towers flank a recessed portico with a triple stone arch on brick piers. The portico has a recess of about six feet and has double doors at both ends which open into the towers. The portico is reached by ascending steps to a point about four feet above grade. The nave end has a curvilinear gable with a large rose window having two horizontal and two vertical mullions dividing the windows into nine panes of stained-glass. The rose window is centered over the entrance portico. Two stone diamond-shape medallions are directly over the right and left arch of the portico. The interior has a coffered ceiling of intersecting ribbed barrel vaults. There are three balconies in the nave and transept with wood spool baluster railings. The vaults are supported on two wooden Ionic columns and on several wood pilasters. Five early chandeliers hang from the ceiling (McKithan 1997).

In 1967, an all-purpose room, a kitchen, education rooms, an office, and rest rooms were added to the rear of the building. Also on the site is the church parsonage, a one-story masonry building with a gable roof that was constructed after the period of significance (McKithan 1997). Outside the church is an “I Have a Dream” Dr. King monument, which the Trail CMP identified as a high-potential commemorative site (NPS 2005).

While the church was in active use as a place of worship and in overall good condition, the temporary closure of the church due to the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020 led to serious structural damage. When the congregation was able to return to in-person worship, they found that termites and water leaks had severely damaged the building, causing structural instability and dangerous mold growth. The structure was in such poor condition that the church has closed to the congregation and the visiting public for the foreseeable future. The church was listed as one of the National Trust for Historic Preservation’s most endangered historic places for 2022 (Puryear 2022, National Trust for Historic Preservation 2022, Historic Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church Preservation Society Inc. 2021). The National Park Service provided a grant of \$1.3 million for restoration of the church (Puryear 2022). In July 2022, the National Trust for Historic Preservation awarded a \$150,000 grant to further address termite and water issues and to replace the tower cupolas’ structural beams (Smith 2022). In October 2022, the church received \$500,000 from the National Park Service for restoration work (Jones 2022).

5. Edmund Pettus Bridge, Dallas County

This bridge is an iconic feature along or at the end of all three Selma to Montgomery marches and was the site of violence on Bloody Sunday during the first march. Built in 1940, the four-lane bridge crosses the Alabama River and is the main approach to Selma, along US 80, the primary road between Selma and Montgomery. It is still an actively used transportation structure owned by the state of Alabama (Walton 2012) even though it was declared functionally obsolete in 2011. In 2019, a grant was awarded to fund the production of a historic structures report for the bridge (CADC Communications 2019), but this report has not yet been completed. Comparisons of photographs taken on Bloody Sunday and today demonstrate that some buildings present in 1965 are extant within the viewshed. For example, photographs from that

day show John Lewis meeting law enforcement officers with the Haisten's Mattress and Awning Company in the background. This building is now an automotive paint and body shop. The Glass House Café, seen in the background of photographs of Amelia Boynton, is also still present.

6. Cecil B. Jackson Jr. Public Safety Building, Dallas County

This building is the former Selma City Hall and Jail where Dr. King and other Selma to Montgomery marchers were incarcerated (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 2005, 1999, Besser 2001). This is where Dr. King wrote "Letter from a Selma Jail." The building is located along the existing Trail. This three-story, yellow brick building was built around 1937 in the Classical Revival style. It features a monumental two-story porch with Doric columns and pilasters surmounted by a stone balustrade. The entrance comprises double doors with reflective glass. There is a classical surround with a triangular broken pediment, fixed-glass windows with stone surround and cornice lintel, fixed-glass windows with cross-topped surround, and a parapet wall enriched with fascia and *cyma reversa* molding. The windows were replaced around 1980 (Besser 2001). The 2021 CLR draft, however, describes the building as a Neoclassical building with a two-story portico supported by columns and a roofline balustrade. White quoins at the corners offset the yellow brick of the building (WLA Studio 2022). Today the building houses the Selma Municipal Court (City of Selma 2022), and its exterior appears much as it did in 1965.

7. Selma Interpretive Center, Dallas County

This building is not directly associated with the events of the Selma to Montgomery march. It is the former People's Bank Building, a three-story, two-part commercial block building built around 1870. It currently houses the Selma Interpretive Center. It and the adjoining buildings at 4 Broad Street and 6 Broad Street, the building façade and vacant lot at 8-10 Broad Street, and the lot at 1119 Water Avenue were transferred to NPS ownership in December 2022. The newly transferred properties will support an expansion of the Selma Interpretive Center (Fisher 2022).

8. Dallas County Courthouse, Dallas County

The courthouse was the destination of numerous marches and demonstrations leading up to the Selma to Montgomery march, including the Teacher's March. It is not on the existing Trail. The courthouse was originally built in 1910 in a Neoclassical architectural style as a three-story building with a five-bay stepped façade. Synthetic marble (added around 1959) covers the original Neoclassical façade. Stucco was applied over the façade around 1999. Vertical windows continue from a granite base to the third story. Despite some modifications to its exterior façade in terms of design and materials, as evidenced from photographs from the march (WLA Studio 2022, figure 18, General Service Administration 1976, photo 2-1969), the exterior of the building appears much as it did in 1965.

9. David Hall Farm (Campsite #1), Dallas County

The David Hall Farm was the first campsite during the Selma to Montgomery march, on the evening of March 21, 1965 (WLA Studio 2022, NPS 2015). This site is on the outskirts of Selma. Historic photographs from 1965 show the marchers, tents, and the farm's barn, outbuildings, and house. A post and wire fence as well as sparse tree coverage are also visible (WLA Studio 2022, figure 27). The farm has changed in appearance since then. A historic barn has been torn down and new family homes have been constructed on the property. Much of the farmland is under tree cover (WLA Studio 2022, figure 27, McGuire 2022, Associated Press Images 1965). The Hall family home, where the leaders spent the night, still stands. The home is a one-story structure on elevated brick piers with a metal roof and wood siding. It features a covered front

porch made of cement blocks and poured cement with decorative metal support columns. The front entrance is off from the porch, and there are three 6/6 windows. A brick chimney is in center of the home. The home's interior was divided into a common room, two bedrooms, a bathroom and a kitchen. The home is in poor condition (Howard 2021a, Southern Exposure Films 2022, McGuire 2022). In 2021, thirty acres of the farm were reconstituted by the USDA Farm Agency and certified by the American Tree Farm System as a sustainable tree farm. There are some plans underway by some of the property owners to establish a new farm, civil rights pilgrimage destination, cultural heritage museum, community advocacy center, and nature park (Hall Heritage Center 2022). Other property owners have their own plans for preservation, education, and partnership with the National Park Service (McGuire 2022). The David Hall Farm has recently been highlighted as an endangered site by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the Conservation Fund (Chhaya 2022, Southern Exposure Films 2022, Howard 2021a, 2021b). An NHT marker on the site identifies the property as the first campsite for the Selma to Montgomery march.

10. First Baptist Church, Dallas County

The church became a mass meeting location for the SNCC in 1963 and during the next two years was a focal point of the mass meeting and nonviolent teaching sessions sponsored by the SNCC. In late 1964, protestors held meetings in the church. Protestors also planned the mass rallies and demonstrations of early 1965 that culminated in the Selma to Montgomery march. After the march, the church continued to headquarter the SNCC and to serve as a distribution center where people who had lost their jobs could obtain food and clothing (Mertins 1979).

It is a large church located that was built around 1894. It is a one-story structure over a full basement with the main floor raised about eight feet above grade. The exterior walls are load-bearing brick and support the system of heavily built-up wood scissor trusses with wood purlins and sub-purlins. The plan of the church is cruciform, with the sanctuary and chancel housed beneath a steeply pitched cross-gable roof and the assembly room (on the east) beneath a slightly lower gable. The exterior of the building reflects the influence of the Gothic Revival with its pointed windows and twin towers at the juncture of the assembly room and sanctuary. The towers serve as entrances to the building and access to them is from small, raised entry porches that have simple shed roofs supported by turned wooden columns and are decorated with gingerbread trim. The tower to the south is the bell tower and featured a tall wood-framed spire, while the northern tower is topped with a low pyramidal roof. Upper-level windows of the bell tower are set into a raised corbeled plane that terminates above the base of the spire in small gablets pierced with small round windows. Windows of the northern tower are set in recessed panels (Mertins 1979). A tornado in 1978 toppled the wood-frame spire and caused the outward collapse of the north and south walls of the sanctuary and a partial collapse of the ceiling and roof systems. The wood truss construction over the central sanctuary and chancel area and the solid brick bearing walls of the rest of the structure survived. The remainder of the church had little damage, although exposure to the weather resulted in additional damage to floors, plaster and other finishes. Currently the church is in good overall condition and is still in active use by congregants.

11. George Washington Carver Homes, Dallas County

During the violence on Bloody Sunday, Sheriff Clark's men and state troopers pursued fleeing marchers back to the George Washington Carver Homes, where further violence ensued (WLA Studio 2022). The George Washington Carver Homes date to 1952 and are administered by the Selma Housing Authority. They are a public housing project between Brown Chapel A.M.E.

Church and First Baptist Church (Center for Historic Preservation 2015). They are two-story apartment units of brick construction and are laid out in a grid pattern. Their design reflects their mid-29th-century period of construction and public housing planning standards from the 1950s. There are more than forty individual apartment buildings on both sides of Martin Luther King Jr. Street. The complex also includes a small brick building used for a Head Start educational program (WLA Studio 2022, figure 381). The homes remain in use as residential housing and appear much as they did in 1965. The multiple property nomination form “The Civil Rights Movement in Selma, Alabama 1865-1972” identified the George Washington Carver Homes as potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (Van West et al. 2013).

12. Tabernacle Baptist Church, Dallas County

The church hosted Selma’s first mass meeting for voting rights on May 14, 1963, after the memorial service for Samuel Boynton. The meeting was led by SNCC field worker Bernard Lafayette and his wife, Colia, and Amelia Boynton (French et al. 2013). Built in 1922, the church was designed by African American architect David T. West, who is also credited with the earlier design of First Baptist Church. Tabernacle Baptist Church is a two-story Classical Revival brick building with an exposed basement level. Two intersecting gables form the cross plan of the main sanctuary of the building and feature a dome enclosed by a clerestory. Four two-story towers sit at each corner of the building. The two principal facades have a full-height pedimented portico. All four facades feature stained glass windows. The church has two different colored bricks; the red bricks on the south and west facades were recycled from the older church building. The older building was located where there is now a small parking lot behind the church (French et al. 2013). The church has two identical entrance facades, one facing Broad Street, the other Minter Avenue. During Selma’s Jim Crow period, the Black congregants were not allowed to walk on Broad Street; that entrance could only be used during funerals. The rest of the time the Minter Avenue entrance was the main entryway. The sanctuary of Tabernacle Baptist Church is an auditorium style that follows a modified Akron plan, with Sunday school rooms surrounding the worship space. The four corner tower rooms are mainly used for Sunday school and office space. The basement follows a similar plan: There is a main fellowship hall with Sunday school rooms and offices surrounding the main area. Tabernacle Baptist served Selma’s middle class; its members included Selma University faculty, primary and secondary educators, doctors (Dr. William H. Dinkins), dentists (Dr. Sullivan Jackson) and hygienists (Marie Foster) and other professionals such as Dr. John D. Hunter, the editor of the *Selma Citizen*, the city’s only Black newspaper (French et al. 2013). The church is in good condition and appears much as it did in 1965. The church is still in active use as a place of worship. In October 2022, the church received \$500,000 from the National Park Service for restoration work (Jones 2022).

13. Samuel and Amelia Boynton House, Dallas County

The Boynton home long served as a strategy center for the civil rights movement (Center of Historic Preservation 2015). The Boyntons hosted DCVL meetings and civil rights leaders such as Dr. King, Andrew Young, Diane Nash, Reverend C.T. Vivian, and Bernard Lafayette (Gateway Education Foundation and Institute n.d.). This was where the decision was made that the DCVL would invite SCLC to Selma (Hartford n.d., Vaughn 2006) and where Reverend Reese signed the letter inviting Dr. King to Selma in late 1964 (French et al. 2013). The Boynton House was built prior to 1913 (Gateway Education Foundation and Institute n.d., Dallas County Alabama 2022, Sanborn Map Company 1913). Samuel Boynton and Amelia Boynton (later Robinson) purchased it in the early 1940s. The home is a craftsman bungalow with yellow-painted wood siding and shingle roof. It rests on elevated brick piers and decorative brick

pylons flank the poured concrete steps to the front entrance (Gateway Education Foundation and Institute n.d.). The home has been vacant and has undergone deterioration. In 2019, a \$500,000 NPS grant was awarded to the Gateway Educational Foundation and Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church to restore it, but the COVID-19 pandemic has delayed the project (McDonald 2022a, 2019).

14. Clark Elementary School, Dallas County

The important “Teachers’ March” on January 22, 1965, led by Reverend Reese, began at Clark Elementary School. A so-called equalization school, it was one of many Black schools built across the South after the *Brown v. Board* decision in 1954 as states scrambled to delay implementation of the Supreme Court decision (Green and Hébert 2022). It was built on the site of the original 19th century Clark School. The publication *The Selma Civil Rights Trail: 50 Landmarks for a 50th Anniversary* gives one address for the school, but newspapers from the 1960s give a different address (*Selma Times Journal* 1965). In August 1964 the City of Selma began demolishing old structures at the Clark School, and purchased adjacent land for an expansion and additions (*Selma Times Journal* 1964). New school buildings were completed in 1965 and later in 1982 (Hébert and Cone 2022). The 1965 additions were completed in August prior to the start of the 1965-1966 school year. These consisted of a new cafetorium and kitchen connected by a covered walkway to a two-story building that housed eleven classrooms, a large multipurpose room, a principal’s office, a first aid room, a teachers’ lounge, and four restrooms (*Selma Times Journal* 1965). These 1965 additions were under construction at the time of the Teachers’ March. The school is still in active use and part of the Selma City Schools district (Clark Elementary 2022).

15. Good Samaritan Hospital, Dallas County

Jimmie Lee Jackson was taken to this hospital after being shot by police, and he died here a few days later. The hospital also provided medical care for Black and white demonstrators hurt on Bloody Sunday. The original Good Samaritan hospital building is not extant. The current building opened in December 1964 and was operated by the Edmundite Brothers and the Sisters of St. Joseph. It was a four-story, modernist-styled, fully equipped hospital (Van West et al. 2013, Center for Historic Preservation 2015). The hospital was permanently closed in 1983 and has remained vacant ever since. It has undergone deterioration and vandalism, and it is currently owned by the Alabama Department of Economic and Community Affairs. Plans to reopen it as an outpatient clinic have yet to move forward due to the costs involved (Henry 2016, McDonald 2016). An accompanying nursing home associated with the hospital was demolished at some point, and the space is now a parking lot.

16. Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson House, Dallas County

This was home to Dr. Sullivan Jackson, an African American dentist and congregant at Tabernacle Baptist Church, and Richie Jean Sherrod Jackson, who worked at the Selma Housing Authority. Dr. Jackson moved to Selma in the 1950s and became active in the local civil rights movement, joining the Boyntons in Washington to testify in favor of civil rights legislation at the US Civil Rights Commission in the 1950s. His wife Richie Jean lost her job at the Housing Authority as a result (Center for Historic Preservation 2015, French et al. 2013, Van West 2013, Sherrod Jackson 2011). The home served as a strategy center for the SCLC, the SNCC, and the DCVL, and as a planning location for the Selma to Montgomery marches. The Jacksons had a close and personal relationship with the King and Abernathy families. Sherrod Jackson and her daughter Jawana marched in the Selma to Montgomery march (Sherrod Jackson 2011, The Sullivan and Richie Jean Sherrod Jackson Foundation and Museum Inc. 2015). The Jackson,

Sullivan and Richie Jean House was built in 1906 and remodeled around 1960. It is a one-story frame bungalow with wide-board siding, a metal pyramidal roof, and brick and concrete foundation. The structure has undergone updates such as interior remodeling and carpeting in or around the 1970s and 1990s; the addition of a brick porch, den, and carport around 1970; an outbuilding that was built around 1980; and metal security doors that were added around 2005. The home also contains artifacts from the period of the Selma to Montgomery marches (Van West 2013).

17. F.D. Reese Home, Dallas County

The Reverend Dr. Frederick D. Reese was the pastor at Ebenezer Baptist Church for fifty years, an educator (math and science), a civil rights activist, and the president of the DCVL and the Selma City Teachers Association. He was also a member of the Courageous Eight. He lived at this home with his wife Alline Reese and their five children. Reese wrote the letter inviting the SCLC and Dr. King to Selma in late 1964 and signed the agreement between the DCVL and the SCLC that merged the two organizations. He led the Teachers' March on January 22, 1965 (Auburn University 2021, F.D. Reese Foundation 2021a, Reese and Walters 2018, Benn 2017, Fitts 2016, Center for Historic Preservation 2015, Van West et al. 2013, Davis 1999, NPS 2005, 1993).

The home is a two-story, single-family home built in 1940 in the Colonial style (Zillow 2022, Alabama Tourism Department 2022). Its exterior features a color combination of white and black. The vinyl siding, brickwork for the front porch, doors, windowsills, and concrete blocks are painted white. The decorative wrought metal columns on the front porch, the porch and front step trim and accents, the metal decorative security door, the second-story railing, and the window shutters are painted black. The window shutters feature a white horse-and-carriage design that stands out against the black background. The first-story front windows appear to be original and are 4/4. The second-story windows also appear to be original and are 6/6. The home is surrounded on two sides by a concrete wall, painted white and topped with a wrought metal fence, and on the other two sides by a chain-link fence. An entrance gate and concrete steps, painted grey, lead to the front door. The rear of the house maintains this color scheme yet is not as ornamental. A separate structure serves as a detached carport, and two other outbuildings are on the property. The dates of the carport and outbuildings are unknown, but they appear to be relatively recent. The interior of the home retains the original room configuration although there have been modifications, such as blocking off the chimneys and installing window-unit air conditioners. The home appears much as it did in 1965. It also contains artifacts from the period of the Selma to Montgomery marches.

18. Tent City Site, Lowndes County

Tent City was the site of a cooperative formed in 1965 for sharecroppers who had been evicted from their homes for voter registration activity. According to an SNCC news release issued on December 29, 1965, more than twenty families had been evicted due to their recent involvement in the voting rights effort. Some of those evicted families, who could not move in with relatives or friends and could not leave the area to find other jobs, would be moving into a "tent city" set up on seven acres of land located along US 80. Viola Smith, a Black landowner, had recently sold that land to the leaders of the LCCMHR (SNCC 1965b, Simmons 2019). The first to arrive, on December 30, 1965, consisted of eight families who lived in four tents that had been provided by the SNCC (Jansen 2012). The number of tents was later expanded to ten in the following sizes: three ten-by-twelve feet, six sixteen-by-sixteen feet, and one sixteen-by-thirty-two feet. Staying

with the Tent City residents were SNCC workers Stokely Carmichael, Gloria Larry, Scotty B. Smith, and Fay Belamy (SNCC 1965b).

Referred to as Freedom City by some local residents, the first set of families to arrive at Tent City totaled fifteen persons, who shared a single privy and hauled water from a well from a distant farm (Jeffries 2009). The site chosen for the creation of Tent City was not ideal. Because much of it was low-lying, the Tent City organizers had to wade through ankle-deep mud to set up the first set of tents (Jeffries 2009), and only two of the tents had the comfort of wooden floors. Short on provisions, with no electricity and no running water, and frequently targeted by drive-by shootings, life was extremely difficult for those who chose to live at Tent City. But, despite their numerous hardships, some residents remained for two years before leaving for permanent homes elsewhere (Jansen 2012).

In 2019, NPS archeologists from the Southeast Archeological Center conducted geophysical and shovel-test surveys at the Lowndes Interpretive Center, at the former location of Tent City. The survey revealed no cultural features. The shovel-test survey indicated that most of the property had been disturbed, most likely from the construction activities of the interpretive center. Only a few outlying areas along the park boundary had intact soils, which limits the information potential of the site. Based on these results, the site is not believed to be eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places under criterion D. There is potential that some archeological resources associated with the 1965-1967 occupation of Tent City remain preserved along the margins of the property (Simmons 2019).

19. Lowndes Interpretive Center, Lowndes County

This building is owned by the National Park Service and managed by the Trail. It is a former Alabama Department of Transportation rest stop constructed in 2003. The building's architecture combines elements of structures and landmarks associated with the Selma to Montgomery march. The building and accompanying landscape features, picnic area, interpretive paths, waysides, park maintenance facility is located on or near the Tent City site, where several Black sharecropper families stayed after being evicted by white landowners in 1965 for exercising their right to vote (Simmons 2019, Alabama Department of Transportation 2004, NPS 2003).

20. Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2), Lowndes County

The Rosie Steele Farm was the second campsite during the Selma to Montgomery march, on the evening of March 22, 1965. After the march, white merchants retaliated against Rosie Steele and her family by boycotting her store. Suppliers refused to stock her shelves. It has also been widely claimed that retaliation included an arson attack that destroyed her home and store (WLA Studio 2022, Howard 2021a, McDonald 2021b, McGuire 2022, Chhaya 2022, Southern Exposure Films 2022). By the time of the march in 1965, Rosie Steele had amassed 240 acres of land, and she and her family operated a filling station, a residence/grocery store, and a tavern. Steele agreed to allow her property to be used as a campsite for the march after hearing President Johnson support the movement in Selma (WLA Studio 2022, Southern Exposure Films 2022). The area in which the marchers stayed was a pasture (Davis 2022). A historic photograph shows the marchers leaving the Steele property and the residence/grocery store in the background (WLA Studio 2022, figure 31). The Steele family still lives on the property. There are no extant structures from 1965. Two houses are now present on the site, and a wood and metal tent/outdoor pavilion was recently constructed for the purpose of interpretive programming, although this has yet to occur due to concerns over public access. The site's vegetation is mostly successional, with planted pines surrounding the property (WLA Studio

2022, Davis 2022, Purifoy 2017). Overall, the site retains its rural setting. An NHT marker on the site identifies the property as a campsite for the march.

21. Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3), Lowndes County

The Robert Gardner Farm was the third campsite during the Selma to Montgomery march, on the evening of March 23, 1965. After the march, the Gardners experienced harassment and retaliation and went under FBI protection for a year afterwards (Gardner Davis 2022, WLA Studio 2022). The Gardner family has owned their land since Hugh Carson, a white slave owner, willed the 110-acre farm to his enslaved mistress, Mrs. Gardner (Howard 2021a, Gardner Davis 2022). At the time of the march there were several heir-owners and managers of the farm. A.G. Gaston, the husband of an heir-owner, asked his brother-in-law Robert Gardner, who managed the farm with his wife Mary, if the site could be used by the marchers. The Gardners agreed to do so, and soon began receiving threatening visits and phone calls. The FBI swept the property for bombs before the marchers arrived and discovered a white neighbor with a high-powered rifle aimed at the Gardner home (Gardner Davis 2022). On March 23, the marchers arrived and camped on one of the muddy fields. At the time, the property included the Gardners' primary residence, several outbuildings including a large barn, a small garden space, crop land, pastureland, and fencing. The Gardner family still owns the property. There are now two additional residences located in the field in which the marchers camped. The historic outbuildings are no longer present, but the original house remains (WLA Studio 2022). The home, built around 1912, features white siding with light-green painted eaves, windows and shutters, and trim of the enclosed porch. The roof is metal and the porch is made of concrete blocks, poured cement, and brick half-columns. There is vegetation growing on the house and visible damage/deterioration to the exterior envelope, windows, roof, and portions of the interior. It has had a few additions since 1965 including a bathroom and a porch enclosure (Gardner Davis 2022). The home is currently vacant. Overall, the site retains its rural setting. An NHT marker on the site identifies the property, which is private and not open to the public.

22. Lowndes County Courthouse, Lowndes County

This was the site of several voter registration drives and demonstrations leading up to the Selma to Montgomery marches, including the March 1 drive organized by the local Daylight Savings Club (WLA Studio 2022) and led by John Hulett (Jeffries 2009). The courthouse was also the site of the trials for the murders of Viola Liuzzo and Jonathan Daniels (Katanga n.d., NPS 1999, Hand 1971). Liuzzo's murderers were acquitted of murder at the state level but were found guilty at the federal level for depriving Liuzzo of her civil rights (May 2005, NPS 2007, Baumgartner 2013, WLA Studio 2022). Daniel's murderer was acquitted of manslaughter, as the grand jury refused to indict Coleman on first-degree murder (WLA Studio 2022, Jeffries 2009, Katanga n.d., NPS 1999, Hand 1971).

A historic photograph from around 1905, included in the 1971 National Register nomination, shows a monumental entrance on the (west) entrance of the courthouse. Two sets of curving stairs lead to a colonnaded second story. The monumental entrance was removed sometime soon after the 1905 photograph, and photographs from the National Register nomination dating to 1970, as well as historic photographs after 1933 and HABS/HAER drawings from 1981, show the courthouse without the monumental entrance (Hand 1971, Historic American Buildings Survey 1981, 1933b). In the 1980s, the courthouse was renovated, the staircases restored, and the building made accessible for people with disabilities. Restrooms and more usable workspace were added. In 1993, a local newspaper reported that the main courtroom had to be closed because of bats. The main courtroom contains a small triangular holding cell in the rear

southwest corner, and there are no other cells visible in other courtrooms in Alabama. The cell, however, is no longer used. Moisture and mildew have caused discoloration to the exterior (American Towns 2022). Restoration work has altered the appearance of the building exterior.

23. Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church, Lowndes County

This is the first church in Lowndes County to host mass meetings during the civil rights movement (NPS 1999), and it is considered the “Mother Church” for civil rights leaders in Lowndes County in the 1960s (Alabama Historical Association 2016). It hosted more than 500 people at a kickoff mass meeting organized by the SNCC and the LCCMHR. The date for this mass meeting has been alternatively given as March 28, 1965 (Alabama Historical Association 2016) and April 2, 1965 (WLA Studio 2022) following the Selma to Montgomery march. The LCCMHR’s political arm (the LCFO) recruited a slate of African American candidates for public office in the election of 1966. The Lowndes County Anti-Poverty Action Committee was also organized here. Mount Gillard congregants were active in each organization (Alabama Historical Association 2016).

The church, also known as Mt. Gilead Baptist Church and Mount Gilliard Baptist Church, was founded in 1820 with a congregation of Black and white members (NPS 1999, Sims 1999, Alabama Historical Association 2016). In 1875 (or 1868, according to the Alabama Historical Association’s historic marker), Black church members separated and formed their own congregation. White members gave the Black members five acres of land, where the current Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church is located, so they could build their own church. The white members moved the church to the town of Benton. The Black members built a “brush harbor” to serve as their first church and dedicated it as Little Mt. Gilliard Baptist Church (NPS 1999, Groundspeak Inc. 2022).

In 1901, a wood-frame structure was built (NPS 1999, Groundspeak Inc. 2022) on the five acres to accommodate membership growth and the cornerstone was placed. In 1928 or 1929 the current baptismal pool was dug. In 1950, church members bricked the wood-frame building. Renovations were completed in 1966 and a new cornerstone was placed. During this period, the name of the church was changed to Mt. Gillard Baptist Church and an annex was added that housed the kitchen and restrooms. In 1974 and 1975, new pews and carpeting were installed and in 1983 city water service was added. In 1987, another set of church renovations included new walls and ceilings, an extended front, relocation of bathrooms, new lights, ceiling fans, stained glass windows, carpeting, and central heating and air. Between 1992 and 2011 a wheelchair ramp was added (Groundspeak Inc. 2022).

24. SNCC/LCFO Freedom House, Lowndes County

This was an unoccupied house owned by the Jackson family, who were African American landowners. The Jacksons aided the SNCC by offering this “Freedom House” as a headquarters, providing cultural orientation to the county, connections with the community, and meals for the activists. The SNCC first contacted residents in Lowndes County during the 1965 Selma to Montgomery march, and there was already local activism. An essential aspect of the SNCC’s organizing was their willingness to live in the community and struggle with them (SNCC n.d.). The work of the SNCC and the LCFO during local elections in 1966 and 1968 was an important and radical experiment in grassroots political organizing that would inspire a nationwide Black Power movement.

The building was built in 1962. At the time of the march, the Jackson property included a general store and a historic dog trot cabin. Today, the SNCC/LCFO Freedom House stands in its

original location, although there have been some alterations such as a new front porch, windows, and a wheelchair ramp added to the side of the front porch. There have also been improvements to the roof, foundation pylons, and throughout the interior to stabilize the structure. The dog-trot cabin and general store, along with an unused gas pump, are also extant. A commemorative space made of poured concrete and Plymouth chassis has been built in front of the dog-trot cabin for potential interpretive opportunities (Jackson 2022). The home also features a small exhibit on the SNCC, the home, the Black Panther Party, and African American achievement. Despite these changes to the home and property, the structure retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the Selma to Montgomery march.

25. Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery County

During the Selma to Montgomery march, the church was a refuge for students from Tuskegee Institute, Alabama State College, and elsewhere who had spent the day of March 10 and the cold, rainy night of March 10-11 engaged in a sit-in in front of the state capitol (Hartford n.d., Patton 1981, Fager 2005). The church was also a staging area for the concluding Selma to Montgomery march rally on March 25 in front of the capitol (NPS 2015).

The church has a simple rectangular plan and design features indicative of different architectural styles. Its geometrically symmetrical openings, including doors and windows, bell tower, and massive steps are indicative of the late English Renaissance. The low gable roof with its decorative triangular pediment, hung from the front edge of the roof line and extending across the front face of the building to its extremities, is a Classical design feature, as is the use of keystones above the windows. Large narrow window openings, pointed arches, and inlaid glass are typical Gothic characteristics (Greenlee 1973). In 1965, the church was entered from the front by a steep set of stairs that led directly to the street. In the 1980s, a major renovation of the church occurred and these steep stairs were removed. A ten by forty-seven-foot mural was also painted on the lower level by deacon John W. Feagin depicting scenes from Dr. King's journey during the civil rights movement (Dexter King Memorial Baptist Church 2022). A prominent set of split stairs (WLA Studio 2022) was constructed to return the stairs to the original 1800s design. The building still houses an active congregation and is undergoing some stabilization and restoration work on its lower levels.

26. Alabama State Capitol, Montgomery County

The state capitol formed the backdrop of the concluding rally for the Selma to Montgomery march on March 25, 1965. The march ended on the street in front of the capitol and the marchers were blocked from entering onto the capitol grounds or building (Schroer 1975). The capitol's location overlooks the entire section of Montgomery along Dexter Avenue, the city's main business street. Originally constructed in 1847, during the next century the building was mostly destroyed by fire, was rebuilt, underwent additions, and was renovated. The rotunda dome and portions of the 1851 capitol building were restored to their 1851-1865 appearance, and other areas of the building were restored and rehabilitation for modern use in the late 1970s. The capitol grounds were planned by the firm of Frederick Law Olmstead and included historic monuments and rare shrubbery and trees (Schroer 1975).

27. City of St. Jude (Campsite #4), Montgomery County

The City of St. Jude served as the fourth and final campsite for the Selma to Montgomery marchers, who arrived on March 24, 1965. This is a well-defined campus of functional Romanesque institutional, residential, and administrative buildings on about forty acres in

Montgomery. The campus includes a church, a school, a hospital, a social center, and residential buildings for the teaching and nursing staff, an administration building, and a gymnasium. Established during the 1930s when racial segregation was mandated by law, the City of St. Jude played a significant role in pioneering nondiscriminatory health service, education, and social services. Since Alabama's laws prevented the admittance of Black people to any of the white facilities, the hospital played a vital role during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s in providing quality healthcare for African American citizens. With its history of integrated community services, the campus had become such a powerful symbol of racial desegregation and social harmony that organizers of the Selma to Montgomery march requested permission to end the march there. By the time the jubilant marchers reached the site, their numbers had grown to around 5,000 people. The marchers benefited from health services provided by the hospital. In the athletic fields, organizers set up tents and a stage, built on coffins donated by local Black funeral homes (WLA Studio 2022, City of Montgomery 2022, NPS 2015, 2005, 1999, Sullivan and Nelson 1990).

The main entrance is lined with tall pines and leads to the front of St. Jude Catholic Church, the first-built of the campus structures. Directly behind the church and finished a few months after it is the old Social Center, now known as the "old convent." To the west of the church is the rectory. St. Jude Hospital, the easternmost of the buildings, also faces West Fairview. Although it has a separate, semicircular drive, it is linked to the rest of the campus by hedgerows, paths, and covered walkways. To the west on the same line is the school, originally called the Educational Institute, surrounded by generous yards and playing fields (Sullivan and Nelson 1990). The City of St. Jude has undergone some changes to its buildings and structures since 1965 but overall the character of the campus reflects historic period conditions. The most obvious alteration is the construction of a building in the northern portion of the site in the open field used by campers during the march (WLA Studio 2022, figure 386). An NHT marker at the site identifies the property as the fourth campsite of the march.

28. Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church, Montgomery County

This site was used as a brief resting point during the Selma to Montgomery march. It is one of the few structures still standing in this area that is directly associated with the march. Much of the area was leveled to build a freeway shortly after the march. This was also the site of voter rights mass meetings.

The church was built in 1899. Its present appearance dates to 1921, when the building underwent extensive renovations that removed the central steeple and replaced it with front twin towers and a central portico that reflect the Classical Revival style. In 1950, a divided stairway with a central basement entrance was added (Anderson and Brinkley 2001). The church was vacant and no longer in use by 2002. It was suffering collapse of the nave balcony, some roof trusses, and deterioration from broken windows and vegetation cover, although its form and features remained generally intact (Anderson and Brinkley 2001). In 2018, the church received a \$500,000 grant from the National Park Service for stabilization and renovation (Harper 2018). During the study team's site visit in 2022, stabilization was underway to restore the church to its appearance during the 1955-1956 Montgomery bus boycott and for use as a museum. The restrooms on the lower level, used during Selma to Montgomery march, are being restored to their 1965 appearance. The upper level is being stabilized for use as a flexible space and meeting space.

29. Ben Moore Hotel, Majestic Café, and Malden Brothers Barber Shop, Montgomery County

In 1965, the Ben Moore Hotel served as the unofficial headquarters of the SNCC, and its adjoining streetscape was the setting of student marches on March 15-16 held by the SNCC, ASC students, and other students in solidarity for voting rights in Selma. On March 17 it was the site where Dr. King, Ralph Abernathy, John Lewis, James Forman, James Farmer, and Reverend Jesse Douglas met to talk and then join the student marchers in solidarity against police brutality. The iconic streetscape appears in many famous press photographs of these events, giving it added historical representative power (Alabama African American Civil Rights Heritage Sites Consortium n.d., Hartford n.d., Harmon 2015, WLA Studio 2022, Associated Press 2020).

The four-story Ben Moore Hotel was built in 1945 (Alabama African American Civil Rights Heritage Sites Consortium n.d.) and opened in 1951 by Matthew Franklin Moore, who named the hotel after his father. During the mid-20th century, African American visitors to Montgomery were subject to the city's segregation laws, and many sought refuge in the Centennial Hill neighborhood. As late as 1962, only a handful of Montgomery hotels were advertised in the *Negro Motorist Green Book* as being friendly to African American travelers, the Ben Moore Hotel among them. The hotel offered commercial space such as the Malden Brothers Barber Shop and hotel services (City of Montgomery 2022) such as the Majestic Café. The top floor featured a rooftop garden that was sometimes used for dances (Alabama African American Civil Rights Heritage Sites Consortium n.d.). The hotel boasted twenty-eight rooms and became a regular meeting point for Dr. King, Reverend Ralph Abernathy, and other civil rights movement leaders (City of Montgomery 2022).

The hotel has been vacant for nearly forty years and has undergone water and animal infiltration, broken windows, and general aging and decay (Johnson 2019). The current owner has been exploring options for funding renovations and future use. Despite its deterioration, the hotel retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the Selma to Montgomery march.

30. Montgomery Interpretive Center, Montgomery County

This building is not directly associated with the events of the Selma to Montgomery march and is introduced here only because it will be described in the feasibility analysis as a potential park operations structure. Construction on the building began in 2014 to create an interpretive center for the Trail, and construction was finished in 2017. The interpretive center opened in 2020. The interpretive center is on the Alabama State University campus and is operated in partnership between the National Park Service and Alabama State University (Johnson 2020). The interpretive center has a temporary exhibit that focuses on the "second front" of student demonstrations in Montgomery and the role that students played in the Selma to Montgomery march and Black Belt voting rights demonstrations. The interpretive center also has an exhibit section dedicated to the Stars for Freedom Rally, which was held at the City of St. Jude on the last night of the Selma to Montgomery march. A non-NPS-produced interpretive film introduces visitors to the efforts of the student demonstrators.

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Chapter 3: Evaluation of Study Area for Inclusion in the National Park System

This chapter presents the evaluation of the four criteria that must be met for a study area to be considered for designation as a national park system unit. The application of these criteria follows NPS *Management Policies 2006* Section 1.3, Criteria for Inclusion (see appendix E) and the NPS New Areas Studies Act (54 USC 100507). For a study area to be considered for designation as a potential new national park system unit, it must fully meet the following four criteria:

1. possess nationally significant resources
2. be a suitable addition to the system
3. be a feasible addition to the system
4. require direct NPS management or administration instead of alternative protection by other agencies or the private sector

These four criteria are analyzed sequentially, and there are several pathways for concluding the study process based on individual criteria findings. The findings presented in this chapter serve as the basis for a formal recommendation from the Secretary of the Interior to Congress on whether or not the study area should be designated as a new national park system unit. A summary of these findings can be found at the end of this chapter.

Evaluation of National Significance

Criteria for Establishing National Significance: Special Resource Study

NPS *Management Policies 2006* Section 1.3.1 directs that proposed additions to the national park system must possess significance at the national level. For cultural resources, national significance is evaluated by applying the National Historic Landmark nomination criteria in 36 CFR Part 65.5. The use of the National Historic Landmark criteria to determine national significance is the only link between the SRS process and the National Historic Landmark program regulations. Use of these criteria does not recommend or confer landmark designation. All sites would need to undergo a separate National Historic Landmark designation process governed by National Historic Landmark program regulations.

The quality of national significance can be ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that have exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation's heritage. NPS *Management Policies 2006* provides that a resource will be considered nationally significant if it meets the following four criteria:

1. It is an outstanding example of a particular type of resource.
2. It has exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation's heritage.
3. It offers superlative opportunities for public enjoyment or scientific study.
4. It retains a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of the resource.

In addition to the four standards, nationally significant cultural resources must satisfy at least one of the six following National Historic Landmark criteria:¹

1. **Criterion A:** That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of US history and from which an understanding and appreciation of the patterns may be gained.
2. **Criterion B:** That are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States.
3. **Criterion C:** That represent some great idea or ideals of the American people.
4. **Criterion D:** That embody the distinguishing characteristics or an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for the study of a period, style, or method of construction, or represent a significant, distinct, and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction.
5. **Criterion E:** That are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historic or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture.
6. **Criterion F:** That have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation of large areas of the United States. Such sites are those that have yielded, or that may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

Existing Historic Designations

There are numerous overlapping National Register Historic Districts and individual nominations that include many of the sites in this study area. Some of these National Register listings have periods of significance or National Register significance criteria that are unrelated to the study area scope. The following list includes the most relevant existing designations for sites in the study area.

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail. The Trail, in central Alabama, was established by Congress in 1996 to commemorate the routes, people, places, and events significantly linked to the Selma voting rights movement and the three voting rights marches that took place in 1965.² This NHT and the Marion to Selma Connector Trail are the core of the current study area.

Marion Courthouse Square Historic District. Additional documentation accepted in 2022 lists the Old Perry County Jail (210 Pickens Street) and Zion Chapel Methodist Church (301 Pickens Street) as individually eligible for listing in the National Register under criterion A at the

1. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places National Register Bulletin: How to Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations, www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nhl/index.htm.

² See appendix A for the full text of Public Law 117-103, March 15, 2022, the National Park System Advisory Board, Resolution 107-3, February 27, 1992 (NPS 1993) and Public Law 104-333, November 12, 1996, which established the NHT.

local, statewide, and national levels of significance for their association with events that took place in 1965 related to the Selma to Montgomery march. The Old Perry County Jail was previously listed (1994) as a contributing resource (Inventory #79), but lacked information related to the 1965 Selma to Montgomery marches. The Zion Chapel Methodist Church was identified as noncontributing (Inventory #82) in the earlier historic district nomination (Mansell 1994, Stark 2022). With the 2022 nomination, both sites are considered as contributing to the historic district and as eligible for individual nomination (Stark 2022).

Lincoln Normal School. The Lincoln Normal School was individually listed in the National Register in 2022 under criterion A for its local significance with education, Black ethnic heritage, and social history: civil rights. Its period of significance is 1902-1970 with significant dates of 1937 and 1965 (Pope Burnes and Van West 2022).

The Civil Rights Movement in Selma, Alabama, 1865-1972. On June 26, 2013, the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places accepted a multiple property submission: “The Civil Rights Movement in Selma, Alabama, 1865-1972.” The sites listed in the document were eligible for listing on the National Register under criterion A under the themes of ethnic heritage: Black, social history, and law and under criterion B for their association with a prominent person and the civil rights movement history of Selma and with that person’s period of significance in the civil rights movement. Finally, the nomination included sites that had not yet reached the fifty-year mark for listing in the National Register but the nomination noted that historians had previously reached consensus on the “extraordinary significance” of the civil rights movement for sites that have attained significance within less than fifty years. Historians have also reached consensus on the national significance of the Selma civil rights movement. Many of the sites evaluated in this study are considered in the National Register multiple-property submission (Van West et al. 2013).

Old Town Historic District. This historic district was listed in the National Register in 1978 for its national significance in architecture and politics government in the 1800s and 1900s (Holmes and Holmes 1976). In 2003, an updated nomination was accepted under criteria A and C for the expanded district’s local significance in industry, architecture, commerce, ethnic heritage, education and transportation. While the period of significance was noted as 1839-1952, the nomination briefly mentioned that some of the resources were directly tied to the civil rights movement in Selma (Besser 2001).

Water Avenue Historic District. This historic district was listed in the National Register in 1972 for its state level of significance in 19th century architecture and commerce (Floyd 1972). In 2005, an updated nomination was accepted under criteria A and C for commerce and architecture. The periods of significance of the historic district were approximately 1837, 1855, and 1860-1952 (Besser 2002). In 2021, additional documentation and a boundary increase were accepted under criteria A, C, and D. Under criteria A, the nomination established the district’s national significance in the areas of social history: civil rights and ethnic heritage: Black under the *Civil Rights Movement in Selma Alabama, 1865-1972* multiple property submission, extending the period of significance of the district to 1965. The district’s boundary increase now includes the Edmund Pettus Bridge, and one significant date mentioned on the nomination is March 9, 1965: Turnaround Tuesday (Schneider et al. 2021).

Brown Chapel African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church. Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church was designated a National Historic Landmark on December 9, 1997, meeting National Historic Landmark criterion 1 (exceptions 1 and 8) for the role it played in the events that led to the adoption of the Voting Rights Act of 1965; criterion 2 for its direct and important association

with persons of national significance such as Dr. King and Malcom X; and criterion 3 for the symbolic role it played in the acquisition of voting rights for Black Americans in the United States. The period of significance for the church is from January 1, 1965 to March 25, 1965. The church is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark themes: II. Creating Social Institutions and Movement. 2. Reform movements and IV. Shaping the Political Landscape. 1. Parties, protests, and movements and 4. Political ideas, cultures, theories. The church is also part of the National Historic Landmark historic context: XXXI Social and Humanitarian Movements. M. Civil Rights Movements (McKithan 1997).

Edmund Pettus Bridge. The Edmund Pettus Bridge was designated a National Historic Landmark on February 27, 2013, meeting National Historic Landmark Criterion 1, (exception 8) for its association with the civil rights movement, particularly the events of March 7, 1965, now known as Bloody Sunday. On that day, law enforcement officers used billy clubs and tear gas to stop civil rights activists from crossing the bridge. The activists were attempting to march from Selma to the state capitol in Montgomery, to advocate for voting rights legislation. Media coverage of the violent confrontation between law enforcement officers and the marchers led to a national outcry that pressured politicians to pass the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The period of significance for the bridge is March 7-21, 1965, from the events of Bloody Sunday to the day the marchers set out across the bridge for the final march to Montgomery. The bridge is significant under National Historic Landmark themes: II. Creating Social Institutions and Movement. 2. Reform movements and IV. Shaping the Political Landscape. 1. Parties, protests, and movements (Walton 2012).

First Baptist Church, Dallas County. First Baptist Church was individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places (1979) for its national significance in architecture and Black history and specific years of 1894 and 1963-1965 (Mertins 1979).

Tabernacle Baptist Church. Tabernacle Baptist Church was individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places (2013) under criteria A and C for its national significance in architecture, religion, social history, and Black ethnic heritage. The period of significance is approximately 1922-1968 with specific years of 1922, 1963, 1965, and 1968 (French et al. 2013).

The Jackson, Sullivan and Richie Jean House. This house was individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places (2014) under criteria A and criteria consideration G (achieving significance within the past fifty years) for its national significance with social history and Black ethnic heritage. The period of significance for the home is 1958-1965, with specific years of approximately 1960 and 1965 (Van West 2013).

The Lowndes County Courthouse: The courthouse was individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places (1971) for its state-level significance in politics and civil rights from the 19th century to the 20th century. It was built in 1856 in the Greek Revival style and is one of only four antebellum courthouses still in use in Alabama (Hand 1971).

Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. This church was designated a National Historic Landmark on May 30, 1974, and was listed in the National Register on July 1, 1974. The period of significance for the church is the 20th century; it is significant in the areas of politics, religion/philosophy, social/humanitarian, and African American history (Greenlee 1973).

Alabama State Capitol. The capitol was designated a National Historic Landmark on December 19, 1960, and was listed in the National Register on October 15, 1966 (Schroer 1975). In conjunction with the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings theme study, *The Civil War 1861-1865*, the property's significance was documented with the themes of XIV, "The Civil

War, 1861-1865” and XX, “Architecture” (Sarles Jr. 1959, Seaton 1960, Pratt 1965). The period of significance for the property is 1800-1899 for the areas of politics and government with specific dates of February-May 1861 (Schroer 1975). The National Historic Landmark file contains correspondences to Carol Shull, the Keeper of the National Register, opposing a 2001 proposed National Historic Landmark nomination amendment, which would include the capitol as the terminus of the Selma to Montgomery march. As the correspondence notes, the march ended on the street in front of the capitol and the marchers were blocked from entering the capitol grounds or building.

The City of St. Jude Historic District. This historic district was individually listed in the National Register in 1990 under criteria A and C with criteria considerations A and G for its local significance with Black ethnic heritage and architecture. Its period of significance is from 1937 to around 1965 with specific years of 1937, 1938, 1940, 1946-1947, 1949-1951, 1953, and 1965. It is a well-defined campus of functional Romanesque-style institutional, residential, and administrative buildings on about forty acres of land on the north side of West Fairview Avenue (US Highway 31) in Montgomery (Sullivan and Nelson 1990).

Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church, Montgomery County. Also known as Varick Chapel and Little Zion, this church was individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places (2002) for its local significance under criterion A and considerations A and G for its role in politics/government and Black ethnic heritage in 1955 (Anderson and Brinkley 2001).

National Significance Analysis

Special resource studies use National Historic Landmark criteria, which were applied to this study and through which the current study area is found nationally significant under criteria 1 and 3. Some of the sites analyzed below are part of the existing Trail; however, their current status as contributing resources of the Trail is not applicable to the SRS evaluation of national significance because the SRS criterion for national significance differs from the national significance criteria used for NHTs. Note that the use of the National Historic Landmark criteria to determine national significance is the only link between the SRS process and the National Historic Landmark program regulations. Use of these criteria does not recommend or confer landmark designation. All sites would need to undergo a separate National Historic Landmark designation process governed by National Historic Landmark program regulations.

Criterion 1

The Selma to Montgomery march and associated sites are nationally significant under criterion 1 for leading to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The 2007 National Historic Landmark program’s theme study for racial voting rights (revised 2009) prominently features the Selma to Montgomery march as an event with a clear national impact for its role in the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Upon review, the current study team finds that the event is nationally significant. The theme study also mentions in a brief footnote the connection between the march and the genesis of the nationwide Black Power movement.

As noted in the historic context section, the bloody conflict in Selma accelerated the timetable for President Johnson’s voting rights legislation, shaped the outline of the proposal, and guaranteed that his White House and its congressional allies would fight for it vigorously. After closely monitoring the events in Selma and conferring with Dr. King, Johnson opted for a legislative approach to end suffrage discrimination immediately, rather than waiting for the ongoing implementation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and shifted enforcement of voting rights

to the DOJ. As events in Selma were still unfolding—between the second and third marches—Johnson held a televised address to a joint session of Congress during which he signaled his intent to push through voting rights legislation, evoking the battle cry of the civil rights movement, “We shall overcome.” It met with only mild resistance in Congress. Johnson’s party had swept Congressional elections in 1964, and media coverage of the Selma to Montgomery marches had galvanized national support, with polling data taken during the marches showing three-quarters of the American public in favor of voting rights legislation. Implementation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 resulted in dramatic improvements to Black suffrage throughout the South (NPS 2009a, 69-71).

The study area’s association with the following themes adds to its national significance for its association with the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Critical themes illustrated by the study area include the striking contrast between disciplined activists who were trained in nonviolent protest, and the unrestrained violence and intimidation inflicted on them and their allies by white citizens and law enforcement. Nonviolent protestors were repeatedly beaten, arrested, murdered, or retaliated against using economic means. Yet in the face of repeated danger, the activists were not passive: Demonstrations that ended in beatings and arrests were immediately followed by more nonviolent demonstrations and eventually to the Selma to Montgomery voting rights march. Media coverage of these events moved the nation. This nexus of disciplined nonviolent protestors, perseverance in the face of violence by citizens and law enforcement, and media coverage had national implications for swift introduction of voting rights legislation and subsequent broad support. Furthermore, the study area is associated with a nationally significant story of ongoing disenfranchisement and violence even after federal action in support of civil rights. White supremacists continued to prevent Black citizens from exercising their rights and the bloodshed continued. The intransigence of white supremacists, even after the enactment of the Voting Rights Act, led some activists to consider new forms of political and social expression in their struggle for freedom, especially SNCC leaders. Local elections in Lowndes County in 1966 and 1968 became a radical experiment in grassroots organization and for all-Black independent political parties to try and wrest control of local politics from white supremacists. The efforts of the SNCC and the LCFO in developing these alternative strategies in the struggle for Black freedom inspired activists across the country and helped spur a nationwide Black Power movement.

Criterion 3

The Selma to Montgomery march and associated sites collectively are also nationally significant under criterion 3 as representations of the great American ideals of democratic equality and nonviolent protest. In 1992, the Secretary of the Interior’s NPS Advisory Board established and unanimously confirmed that the Selma to Montgomery march represents two fundamental ideals of the American people: democratic equality and nonviolent protest. The current study affirms this and finds that the 1965 march study area is therefore nationally significant under National Historic Landmark criterion 3.

Several sites are related to one or both of the two fundamental themes that establish the study area as significant under criterion 3: democratic equality and nonviolent protest. “Democratic equality” in the context of the study area means, in particular, holding mass meetings regarding voting rights, educating voters about their rights, and organizing voter registration drives and demonstrations. Another important theme relevant for the 1965 march is racial violence and intimidation, identified in the *NPS African American National Historic Landmark Assessment Study* (NPS 2008a) as an underrepresented theme in the national park system that warrants

future research and documentation. Another important theme relevant for the 1965 march is criminal injustice, identified in the *NPS African American National Historic Landmark Assessment Study* (NPS 2008a) as a prominent revised thematic framework that represented a gap in the NPS mission for establishing national significance of sites. Examples of criminal injustice might include the incarceration of peaceful protesters and the acquittal of perpetrators who committed violence/murder against Black individuals and allies.

Some of the sites are also significant because they represent the role of the media in galvanizing national support for voting rights. As described above, video and photographs of the march, including those that show violence against the peaceful demonstrators, were circulated nationwide; polling data suggested that this helped sway the majority of the US public in favor of immediate voting rights legislation.

The key organizations and events that lend significance to some of the sites are described in detail in the historic context section and include DCVL (including the Courageous Eight); the SNCC; the SCLC (including Dr. King); LCFO; Black churches and religious institutions in general; the voter registration march in Marion on February 18, 1965; various student and teacher protest marches for voting rights; and key events during the three Selma to Montgomery marches such as violence at the Edmund Pettus Bridge and overnight camping. Certain sites in Lowndes County are representative of new strategies in achieving political representation for African Americans, specifically in the grassroots efforts of the SNCC and the LCFO that inspired the Black Power movement.

The individual sites listed in the property descriptions section of chapter 2 will now be evaluated as to how they represent different aspects of and contribute to the collective national significance of the study area. Because these sites collectively represent various aspects of the national significance of the Selma to Montgomery march, this evaluation does not indicate a finding of individual national significance or eligibility.

Given the number of sites under consideration and their overlapping significance, the sites have been organized in the following table and connected to relevant themes, organizations, and events. As noted in the methodology for resource identification section in chapter 2, these sites were selected for evaluation out of the large pool of sites not only for their associations with key events, organizations, and topics, but also for the strength of those associations. The associated events, organizations, and topics assigned to each site represent each site’s primary associations; sites may also have other less direct or less strongly connected associations.

As noted under their property descriptions in chapter 2, the Selma Interpretive Center, Lowndes County Interpretive Center, and Montgomery Interpretive Center are not analyzed here since they do not contribute to the collective national significance of the study area. They are potential park administrative/operations buildings that will be described in the feasibility section, below.

Table 3. Site Associations and Descriptions

Site	Associated Events, Organizations and Topics	Brief Description
Zion Chapel Methodist Church, Perry County	Event: Protest marches in Marion Event: Funeral of Jimmie Lee Jackson Organization: PCLC, SCLC, SNCC Topic: Educating voters (rights)	Location of mass meetings and the starting point of the night march on February 18, 1965. Site of the March 3 funeral of Jimmie Lee Jackson, whose murder is widely cited as the catalyst for the Selma to Montgomery march.

Site	Associated Events, Organizations and Topics	Brief Description
	<p>Topic: Voter registration drives and demonstrations</p> <p>Topic: Nonviolent protest</p> <p>Topic: Racial violence and intimidation</p>	
Old Perry County Jail, Perry County	<p>Event: Protest march in Marion</p> <p>Organization: SCLC</p> <p>Topic: Voter registration drives and demonstrations</p> <p>Topic: Nonviolent protest</p> <p>Topic: Criminal injustice</p>	Reverend Orange was incarcerated here for leading a peaceful march of local youth on February 18, 1965. This was also the destination of the "night march" that evening. Many students from Lincoln Normal School were also incarcerated here.
Lincoln Normal School, Perry County	<p>Topic: Nonviolent protest</p>	Under the guidance of SCLC leader Reverend James Orange, students organized protests and boycotts in Marion. The students engaged in a letter-writing campaign in 1962, led by Albert Turner of the PCCL, to the federal judge in Mobile calling for intercession on behalf of African Americans who had been denied the right to register to vote. Jimmie Lee Jackson helped draft the text of the form letters. Lincoln Normal School students also directly participated in the Selma to Montgomery marches.
Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church, Dallas County	<p>Event: First march, Bloody Sunday</p> <p>Event: Second march, Turnaround Tuesday</p> <p>Event: Third march, Selma to Montgomery</p> <p>Organization: SCLC, SNCC</p> <p>Topic: Educating voters (rights)</p> <p>Topic: Voter registration drives and demonstrations</p> <p>Topic: Nonviolent protest</p>	This was the site of many mass meetings with notable speakers and the starting point of multiple marches to the county courthouse. Dr. King addressed a mass meeting upon arrival in Selma in January 1965 and spoke periodically through March 1965. Malcom X spoke here in February 1965. The church was the starting point for all three Selma to Montgomery marches.
Edmund Pettus Bridge, Dallas County	<p>Event: First march, Bloody Sunday</p> <p>Event: Second march, Turnaround Tuesday</p> <p>Event: Third march, Selma to Montgomery</p> <p>Topic: Nonviolent protest</p> <p>Topic: Racial violence and intimidation</p> <p>Topic: Role of the media in galvanizing national support</p>	This is the iconic bridge over which the marchers walked and the site of such events as the highly publicized violence on Bloody Sunday and the symbolic standoff on Turnaround Tuesday.
Cecil B. Jackson Jr. Public Safety Building, Dallas County	<p>Topic: Nonviolent protest</p> <p>Topic: Criminal injustice</p>	Dr. King and other Selma to Montgomery marchers were incarcerated here. This is where Dr. King wrote "Letter from a Selma Jail."
Dallas County Court House	<p>Organization: DCVL, SCLC, SNCC</p> <p>Topic: Voter registration drives and demonstrations</p> <p>Topic: Student and teacher protest marches for voting rights</p> <p>Topic: Nonviolent protest</p>	This was the site of many voter registration efforts and the endpoint of many voter rights demonstrations in Dallas County.

Site	Associated Events, Organizations and Topics	Brief Description
	Topic: Racial violence and intimidation	
David Hall Campsite (Campsite #1), Dallas County	Event: Third march, Selma to Montgomery Topic: Nonviolent protest	This was the first overnight campsite of the march (March 21, 1965).
First Baptist Church, Dallas County	Organization: DCVL, SNCC Topic: Educating voters (rights) Topic: Nonviolent protest Topic: Racial violence and intimidation	This was the site of mass meetings and nonviolent protest training by the SNCC, as well as meetings of the DCVL. It was also the site of work relief for fired workers from the Dunn Nursing Home who demonstrated for voting rights.
George Washington Carver Homes, Dallas County	Topic: Racial violence and intimidation Event: First march, Bloody Sunday	This neighborhood was home to many march participants and it housed leaders from SCLC and SNCC. The neighborhood was the site of police brutality on Bloody Sunday and an example of counter-violence by marchers who were trained in nonviolent protest.
Tabernacle Baptist Church, Dallas County	Organization: SNCC	This was the site of the first SNCC mass meeting for voter rights following Samuel Boynton's memorial service in May 1963.
Samuel and Amelia Boynton's Home, Dallas County	Organization: DCVL	This was the site of Courageous Eight meetings. It is particularly associated with member Amelia Boynton, who was influential in the voter rights movement.
Clark Elementary School, Dallas County	Event: Teachers' March Topic: Student and teacher protest marches for voting rights Topic: Nonviolent protest	This was the starting point of the Teachers' March led by F.D. Reese on January 22, 1965. The Teachers' March invigorated the protestors and galvanized other professional groups to support the movement.
Good Samaritan Hospital, Dallas County	Topic: Racial violence and intimidation Topic: Democratic equality Event: First march, Bloody Sunday	This is the site where most injured Black and white demonstrators were treated after Bloody Sunday. Earlier, Jimmie Lee Jackson died here of wounds inflicted by law enforcement. The topic of "democratic equality" is extrapolated here to apply to treating wounded demonstrators in a segregated environment, life-saving healthcare being a form of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness often denied to Black individuals at this time.
Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson Home, Dallas County	Event: First march, Bloody Sunday Event: Second march, Turnaround Tuesday Event: Third march, Selma to Montgomery Organization: DCVL, SNCC, SCLC	This house was used as a strategy center by the SCLC, the SNCC, and the DCVL. Groups met with representatives of the federal government to discuss the events around Bloody Sunday, to broker an agreement for Turnaround Tuesday, and to plan the final march to Montgomery.
F.D. Reese Home, Dallas County	Organization: DCVL	This was the home of F.D. Reese, DCVL leader, Courageous Eight member, and president of the Selma Teachers Association. Reese signed the letter inviting Dr. King to Selma, which brought national media attention. Reese led the Teachers' March.
Tent City site, Lowndes County	Organization: SNCC, LCCMHR Topic: Racial violence and intimidation	Numerous tenant-farming families were evicted from their homes as reprisals for exercising their right to vote. Tent City was established for relief in December 1965.
Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2), Lowndes County	Event: Third march, Selma to Montgomery	This was the second overnight campsite of the march (March 22, 1965).

Site	Associated Events, Organizations and Topics	Brief Description
Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3), Lowndes County	Event: Third march, Selma to Montgomery	This was the third overnight campsite of the march (March 23, 1965).
Lowndes County Courthouse	Topic: Racial violence and intimidation	This was the site of the trials for the murder of Viola Liuzzo and Jonathan Daniels.
Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church	Organization: SNCC, LCCMHR Topic: Educating voters (rights) Topic: Voter registration drives and demonstrations Topic: Rise of Black Power	This was the first church in Lowndes County to allow mass meetings. It hosted more than 500 people at a kickoff mass meeting organized by the SNCC LCCMHR shortly after the Selma to Montgomery march. It is considered the "Mother Church" for civil rights leaders in Lowndes County in the 1960s.
SNCC/LCFO Freedom House, Lowndes County	Organization: SNCC, LCFO Topic: Educating voters (rights) Topic: Racial violence and intimidation	This building housed SNCC volunteers and is the sole surviving SNCC Freedom House. The LCFO also operated out of this house. The SNCC began organizing in Lowndes County in March 1965 during the Selma to Montgomery march. The Jackson family took significant risk in providing this building.
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery County	Event: Student marches in Montgomery Event: Third march, Selma to Montgomery Organization: SNCC, SCLC, TIAL Topic: Racial violence and intimidation	This church was a site of refuge on March 11 for Tuskegee Institute, ASC, and other students during a student-led voting rights demonstration. It was also a site of conflict between the SNCC and the SCLC over tactics. The church served as a staging area for the final Selma to Montgomery march rally on March 25.
Alabama State Capitol, Montgomery County	Event: Third march, Selma to Montgomery	This was the final destination of the Selma to Montgomery march. The marchers were denied access to the state capitol grounds and held a culminating rally on March 25, 1965 in front of the capitol.
City of St. Jude (Campsite #4), Montgomery County	Event: Third march, Selma to Montgomery	This was the fourth overnight campsite of the march (March 24, 1965) and the location of the "Stars of Freedom" rally.
Mount Zion A.M.E. Zion Church, Montgomery County	Event: Third march, Selma to Montgomery Topic: Educating voters (rights) Topic: Racial violence and intimidation	This site, significant for the role it played during the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott, was used as a brief resting point during the 1965 marches. It was also the site of mass meetings. It is one of the few structures in this historically Black neighborhood that is still standing and directly associated with the march. Much of the area was leveled to build a freeway shortly after the march.
Ben Moore Hotel, Montgomery County	Organization: SNCC, SCLC, CORE Topic: Student and teacher protest marches for voting rights Topic: Role of the media in galvanizing national support Topic: Racial violence and intimidation	This streetscape was the site of student marches on March 15-16, 1965, and violence against the students. It was a meeting point for Dr. King, Abernathy, and other leaders for a March 17 march. The iconic streetscape appears in many famous press photographs of these events, giving it added historical representative power.

In addition to meeting the National Historic Landmark criteria for national significance, sites must retain high integrity to convey their historical significance in order to fully meet the SRS national significance criteria.

Integrity

The resources in the study area have been assessed for integrity to contribute to the collective national significance of the study area under National Historic Landmark criteria 1 and 3, for purposes of the SRS.

1. **Zion Chapel Methodist Church.** Despite some improvements to its brickwork and an addition, the church retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the Selma to Montgomery march.
2. **Old Perry County Jail.** The jail retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the Selma to Montgomery march.
3. **Lincoln Normal School.** The historic campus retains integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association, despite the loss of several buildings after the school closed in 1970. The Phillips Memorial Auditorium is in good condition and retains its integrity as a 1930s school auditorium. Alterations to the building have been minimal and include replacing the original asbestos roof shingles with fiberglass shingles and inserting a suspended ceiling. None of these alterations compromise the auditorium's architectural or historical integrity. The one-story classroom building and addition is in good condition and retains integrity of design workmanship, association, feeling, and materials to 1968. The gymnasium is in poor condition but in 2021 it received grants from the National Park Service for rehabilitation. The gymnasium retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the Selma to Montgomery march.
4. **Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church (Dallas County)** is temporarily closed due to structural damage. In 2022 it received grants from the National Park Service for restoration. It retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the Selma to Montgomery march. An assessment of integrity should be completed following restoration efforts.
5. **Edmund Pettus Bridge.** Comparisons of photographs taken on Bloody Sunday and today demonstrate that some buildings present in 1965 are extant within the viewshed. Thus, the Edmund Pettus Bridge and the portion of US 80 east of the bridge, the March 7, 1965 Bloody Sunday site have a high degree of all seven aspects of integrity and convey their historical significance.
6. **Cecil B. Jackson Jr. Public Safety Building.** The exterior retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the Selma to Montgomery march.
7. **Dallas County Courthouse.** Despite some modifications to its exterior façade in terms of design and materials (WLA Studio 2022, figure 18, General Service Administration 1976, photo 2-1969), the exterior of the building appears much as it did in 1965. It retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the Selma to Montgomery march.
8. **David Hall Farm (Campsite #1).** The home is in poor condition yet retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the Selma to Montgomery march (Howard 2021a, Southern Exposure

Films 2022, McGuire 2022). The farm property as a whole, therefore, retains a high degree of integrity of location, feeling, and association to the Selma to Montgomery march, although the setting, design, materials, workmanship are diminished.

9. **First Baptist Church.** Despite significant 1978 tornado damage, the church retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association to the Selma to Montgomery march. Due to the tornado damage, the structure's integrity of design and materials is somewhat diminished. Restoration largely consisted of returning the damaged parts of the church to their original configuration and design. The wood-frame spire was modified during reconstruction.
10. **George Washington Carver homes.** In terms of their exterior and layout, the homes retain a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the Selma to Montgomery march. The homes are still used for housing and are currently occupied by residents.
11. **Tabernacle Church.** The church is in good condition and retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the Selma to Montgomery march. The church is still used as a place of worship.
12. **Samuel and Amelia Boynton House.** Despite standing vacant and undergoing deterioration, the home retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the Selma to Montgomery march. In 2019, a \$500,000 NPS grant was awarded to the Gateway Educational Foundation and Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church to restore the house. While the COVID-19 pandemic has delayed the restoration, the goal of the work is to restore and rehabilitate the home, as closely as possible, to the period in which Amelia Boynton lived in it (McDonald 2022a, 2019).
13. **Clark Elementary School.** Although the school was under construction during the period of the Selma to Montgomery march (the old buildings were demolished the previous year), the 1965 additions retain a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the Selma to Montgomery march.
14. **Good Samaritan Hospital.** Despite being vacant and undergoing vandalism, the exterior of the main structure retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the Selma to Montgomery march.
15. **Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson House.** The structure has undergone updates such as interior remodeling and carpeting in or around the 1970s and 1990s; the addition of a brick porch, den, and carport around 1970; an outbuilding around 1980; and metal security doors around 2005. The home retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the Selma to Montgomery march.
16. **F.D. Reese Home.** Despite some modifications, the home retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the Selma to Montgomery march.
17. **Tent City site.** The former location of this site retains integrity of association, location, and feeling to the events following the Selma to Montgomery march from December

1965 to 1968. The site, however, has been extensively disturbed due to the construction of the Lowndes Interpretive Center, and its integrity of setting, design, materials, and workmanship have been lost. The site is not believed to be eligible for nomination to the National Register due to its limited potential to yield new information.

18. **Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2).** Overall, this site retains its rural setting. It retains a high degree of integrity of location, feeling, and association to the Selma to Montgomery march, but the integrity of setting, design, materials, and workmanship has been somewhat diminished with post-1965 additions and losses to the property.
19. **Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3).** Overall, the site retains its rural setting and a high degree of integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the Selma to Montgomery march. However, the integrity of setting has been somewhat diminished with post-1965 additions to the property.
20. **Lowndes County Courthouse.** The courthouse retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association to the events related to and after the Selma to Montgomery march. Due to restoration work and changes to the exterior, however, the integrity of the design, materials, workmanship of the courthouse has been diminished as they relate to the period of the march.
21. **Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church.** The church retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association to the events related to and after the Selma to Montgomery march. Due to renovation work since the mid-1970s, the integrity of the design, materials, and workmanship of the exterior and the interior has been somewhat diminished as they related to the period of the march.
22. **SNCC/LCFO Freedom House.** Despite alterations to the home and property, the structure retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the Selma to Montgomery march.
23. **Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.** Despite some modifications, particularly to the front entrance, the church retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the Selma to Montgomery march.
24. **Alabama State Capitol.** Despite some modifications, the capitol building and grounds retain a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the Selma to Montgomery march.
25. **City of St. Jude (Campsite #4):** The most obvious alteration was the construction of a building in the northern portion of the site in the open field used by campers during the march. The building, however, does not overly distract from the historic character of the buildings on the campus (WLA Studio 2022, figure 386). Thus, despite some modifications, the campus retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the march.
26. **Mount Zion A.M.E. Zion Church.** Restoration work is underway. Overall, the church retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the Selma to Montgomery march.
27. **The Ben Moore Hotel** has been vacant for nearly forty years and has undergone water and animal infiltration, broken windows, and general aging and decay (Johnson 2019). The current owner has been exploring options for funding renovations and for future

use of the property. Despite this deterioration, the hotel retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to the events of the Selma to Montgomery march.

Conclusion: Summary of National Significance Evaluation

The study area meets national significance criteria for special resource studies under National Historic Landmark criterion 1 for its association with the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, a landmark in civil rights legislation; and under National Historic Landmark criterion 3 as representative of the great American ideals of democratic equality and nonviolent protest.

Tent City has lost integrity and is not contributing to the study area. The remaining twenty-six sites, listed below, collectively contribute to the national significance of the study area. These sites will further be evaluated collectively for suitability in the next section:

1. Zion Chapel Methodist Church, Perry County
2. Old Perry County Jail, Perry County
3. Lincoln Normal School, Perry County
4. Brown Chapel A.M.E., Dallas County (National Historic Landmark, Selma to Montgomery march significance)
5. Edmund Pettus Bridge, Dallas County (National Historic Landmark, Selma to Montgomery march significance)
6. Cecil B. Jackson Jr. Public Safety Building, Dallas County
7. Dallas County Court House, Dallas County
8. David Hall Farm (Campsite #1), Dallas County
9. First Baptist Church, Dallas County
10. George Washington Carver Homes, Dallas County
11. Tabernacle Baptist Church, Dallas County
12. Samuel and Amelia Boynton's Home, Dallas County
13. Clark Elementary School, Dallas County
14. Good Samaritan Hospital, Dallas County
15. Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson Home, Dallas County
16. F.D. Reese Home, Dallas County
17. Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2), Lowndes County
18. Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3), Lowndes County
19. Lowndes County Courthouse, Lowndes County
20. Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church, Lowndes County
21. SNCC/LCFO Freedom House, Lowndes County
22. Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery County (National Historic Landmark, Montgomery bus boycott significance)

23. Alabama State Capitol, Montgomery County (National Historic Landmark, unrelated significance)
24. City of St. Jude (Campsite #4), Montgomery County
25. Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church, Montgomery County
26. Ben Moore Hotel, Montgomery County

Evaluation of Suitability

Criteria for Establishing Suitability

To qualify as a potential addition to the national park system, an area that is nationally significant must also meet the criterion for suitability. NPS *Management Policies 2006* section 1.3.2 states, “an area is considered suitable for addition to the national park system if it represents a natural or cultural resources type that is not already adequately represented in the national park system or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by other federal agencies, Tribal, state, or local governments, or the private sector.”³ Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing of the proposed area to other similar resources in the national park system or other protected areas. The comparison should determine whether the study area would expand, enhance, or duplicate resources or visitor use opportunities found in other areas.

Types of Resource Represented by the Study Area

Twenty-six resources in the study area satisfied criteria for national significance and were evaluated for suitability. The resources consist of buildings and historic landscapes, and they will be evaluated collectively rather than individually. These resources are associated with the African American struggle for civil rights and with the modern civil rights movement and more specifically with the racial voting rights movement in and around Selma. This includes the Selma to Montgomery voting rights march and subsequent events that galvanized passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and led to pioneering strategies for achieving Black representation in government, such as the Black Power movement. The study area’s period of significance is 1957-1970.

Themes or Contexts in which the Study Area Fits

In considering the most appropriate historical themes with which the study area is associated, this study referenced the *Revisions of the National Park Service’s Thematic Framework* (1996) and more recent studies that identified and sought to remedy gaps in the thematic framework used to evaluate national significance for national historic landmarks and national park system units. These studies, conducted in partnership with the Organization of American Historians and others, include *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significance Sites* (revised 2008) and the *African American National Historic Landmark Assessment Study* (2008). The study area is associated with the following themes and theme topics:

³ See appendix E for the full text of the criteria for inclusion.

Theme Topic: Racial Voting Rights

This theme is defined in a study conducted by the National Park Service and the Organization of American Historians that identifies sites that may be nationally significant for their association with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and other aspects of the struggle for equal voting rights in America (NPS 2009a). Congress adopted the Act in response to the ongoing obstruction African Americans faced in exercising their right to vote, especially in Southern states that systematically resisted the right to vote regardless of race or color as guaranteed by the 15th Amendment. The theme also considers the struggles of Hispanics, Asian Americans, and American Indians, who faced the same systemic resistance and methods used to disenfranchise African American voters. The theme study describes the struggle for equal voting rights among these different marginalized groups from 1848 to 1975. Most germane for the current study is the struggle for African American voting rights from 1954 to 1965.

National Historic Landmark Theme II: Creating Social Institutions and Movements

Subtheme 1: Clubs and Organizations

Subtheme 2: Reform Movements

Subtheme 3: Religious Institutions

This theme focuses on the diverse formal and informal structures such as voluntary associations through which people express values and live their lives. Americans generate temporary movements and create enduring institutions in order to define, sustain, or reform these values.⁴ The resources in the study area reflect the powerful role that organizations such as the DCVL, the SNCC, and the SCLC played in the national civil rights movement, fighting for political reform and equal voting rights. The resources are also representative of the pivotal role that religious institutions such as Black churches played in the national civil rights movement, including in the fight for voting rights in the study area. One important characteristic of these religious institutions that is relevant to the current study is that their religious functions were entwined with cultural, social, and political functions, hence their rich and vital role in Black communities and in the tapestry of American life.

National Historic Landmark Theme IV: Shaping the Political Landscape

Subtheme 1: Parties, Protests, and Movements

This theme encompasses political and governmental institutions that create public policy and those groups that seek to shape policies and institutions. Sites associated with political leaders, theorists, organizations, movements, campaigns, and grassroots political activities all illustrate aspects of the political environment. The political landscape has been shaped by military events and decisions, by transitory movements and protests, and by political parties. Places associated with leaders in the development of the American constitutional system, such as Abraham Lincoln's home in Illinois and the birthplace of Dr. King in Atlanta, embody key aspects of the political landscape.⁵ The events represented by the study area shaped the strategy and timing for passing the national Voting Rights Act of 1965 and spurred the rise of pioneering strategies for achieving Black representation in government, such as the Black Power movement.

⁴ NPS n.d. [Thematic Framework; www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/nhl-thematic-framework.htm](http://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/nhl-thematic-framework.htm)

⁵ NPS n.d. [Thematic Framework; www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/nhl-thematic-framework.htm](http://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/nhl-thematic-framework.htm)

Theme Topic: Racial Violence and Intimidation

In the NPS *African American National Historic Landmark Assessment Study* (NPS 2008a), in order to address critically underrepresented themes in the national park system, the Scholars Meeting Group recommended racial violence and intimidation as a thematic area warranting future research and documentation. This theme spans the establishment, maintenance, and demise of the American slave system; lynching and white racial riots of the late 19th and early 20th centuries; and violence during the 1950s and 60s civil rights movement. This theme also encompasses the history of resistance to such violence via anti-lynching campaigns, establishment of institutions such as the NAACP, theories such as nonviolence and self-defense, and other efforts. The events represented by the study area exemplify the use of violence and intimidation by white citizens and by state and local law enforcement to discourage African American citizens from exercising their right to vote, as well as coordinated resistance by activists who trained in and practiced nonviolence during voting rights protests even as they came under attack.

Theme Topic: Criminal Injustice

In the NPS civil rights thematic framework (NPS 2008b), “criminal injustice” was identified as a prominent theme that represented a gap in the NPS framework for establishing national significance of sites. The theme covers multiple topics and minority groups, often with a focus on violence and harassment toward these groups—including by law enforcement—and how they were categorized as antisocial and a menace to society. This sort of villainization and dehumanization was essential to the context in which racial violence occurred, and the injustices typically persisted after the violence in that the perpetrators were not convicted. The voting rights movement in and around Selma exemplifies this theme in its representation of violence with impunity against Black citizens and their allies who were peacefully demonstrating for their right to vote, and for the arrests of these peaceful protestors.

Comparative Analysis of Resources Similar to the Trail Special Resource Study Area

A comparative analysis is needed to determine if duplicate resource protection and visitor opportunities are already offered by national park system units or other land-management entities. Resources similar to those found in the study area could include protected sites that are associated with national voting rights campaigns during the modern civil rights movement and passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Examples of similar resources are described here.

1964 Freedom Summer sites, Mississippi. Seven noncontiguous sites in Neshoba and Lauderdale Counties, Mississippi, comprise the 1964 Freedom Summer sites, which collectively have been evaluated for their potential as a national park system unit (NPS 2022d). The Council of Federated Organizations trained its volunteers in nonviolent protest and nonviolent resistance in anticipation of resistance and violence. The barrage of national and international condemnation and outrage of the murder of three white volunteers changed the way Americans viewed the civil rights struggle for African Americans living in the Deep South and further solidified public support for the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts in Congress. The Freedom Summer movement continued to push for voting rights peacefully and nonviolently in the face of extreme violence from and murder by white supremacists. The uproar over the murders and the refusal of Freedom Summer leaders to call for retaliation against white Mississippians sustained the sympathy and support of white Americans across the nation and proved to local white elites that violent resistance was counterproductive. National outrage over the murders led to an FBI-led investigation that resulted in the first time an all-white jury in Mississippi

convicted a white person on civil rights charges. This event was a turning point in federal involvement in civil rights-related violence; and the seven sites collectively represent a significant turning point in national media coverage and national public awareness in the civil rights movement.

M.W. Stringer Grand Lodge, Jackson, Mississippi. This building has been evaluated for its potential as a national park system unit (NPS 2022d). It is associated with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which played an important role in the campaign for equal voting rights. Built in 1955, the M.W. Stringer Grand Lodge is in the Lynch Street neighborhood of Jackson, Mississippi, a neighborhood that was historically an important gathering place for African Americans. Much of the organizational efforts for the Mississippi Freedom Vote campaign of 1963 and the Mississippi Freedom Summer activities of 1964 took place in the lodge. The lodge hosted the statewide conventions of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in 1964, which included national civil rights leaders such as Fannie Lou Hamer.

The Stringer Lodge's auditorium, with a capacity of 1,300, provided one of the few large spaces available in the state for African Americans to congregate under some relative protection from white supremacists. The goal of the party was to bring an opposition platform to the national convention by electing and sending Black delegates equal in number to the official delegates representing Mississippi. The bold opposition of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to its own national party during the 1964 Democratic National Convention was an important moment in the modern civil rights movement that led to lasting change in the political convention system and that shined a light on the violently enforced disenfranchisement of Black voters in Mississippi. The challenge was unsuccessful, and the official, all-white Mississippi delegation was not unseated. Nevertheless, the efforts and the powerful testimony of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party marked a turning point in the struggle for civil rights. Nationally, publicity from the convention and widespread disapproval of the result slowly began to erode the entrenched all-white politics in Mississippi. In challenging the legitimacy of the all-white Mississippi delegation, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party struck the first blow against the long-established political convention system and thereby brought about sweeping change to the national political system.

The Prince Hall Masonic Temple and Tabor Building, Atlanta, Georgia, was completed in 1940 and an addition was constructed in 1955 to house commercial space and additional Masonic offices. The three-story brick building is constructed with arches and decorative banding. In 1963, Dr. King, then president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, established the organization's headquarters on the first floor and basement of the building and led a national campaign to end segregation from this space. When the organization first set up in the Temple there were only about five members, including King, Ella Baker, and Andrew Young. Before long, however, membership grew, and the Temple was busy with civil rights meetings and activities. Above Dr. King's office was WERD Atlanta, the first radio station owned and operated by African Americans in the United States. The radio station broadcasters were well-known throughout the country. Dr. King used the proximity of the station and the popularity of the radio personalities to broadcast the message of the civil rights movement throughout the south. Speaking at a 1967 convention of Atlanta radio broadcasters, Dr. King noted that without the involvement of disc jockeys in the South, the civil rights movement would not have advanced as it did. The Temple was also a frequent meeting location for other civil rights groups such as the Atlanta Civic Political League, which championed voting rights, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a labor union for African Americans. In 1980, the Martin Luther King Jr. National Historic Site and Preservation District was established, and in 2017 this

site was redesignated as a National Historical Park and its boundary was expanded to include the Prince Hall Masonic Building.

Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home National Monument, Jackson, Mississippi. This is a single-property site associated with racially motivated violence that gained national attention. The property was the home of Medgar and Myrlie Evers, who were leaders in the civil rights movement. It is a midcentury house in the Elaine Subdivision of Jackson, the first post-World War II subdivision created for middle-class African Americans in Mississippi. Medgar Evers was the first field secretary for the NAACP in Mississippi and was at the forefront of every major civil rights event in the state from 1955 until his assassination. He was murdered in his driveway by a lone rifleman in June 1963. His assassination was the first murder of a nationally significant civil rights leader and it shocked and galvanized the civil rights movement, becoming a catalyst for passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Evers's murderer was brought to trial twice in 1964 and in both cases the all-white jury deadlocked, requiring the judge to declare mistrials. In 1994, Evers's murderer was finally convicted and sentenced to life in prison (Baughn 2018). The home is the only NPS-administered park unit in Mississippi that has a primary purpose of interpreting themes related to the modern civil rights movement.

Howard University, Washington, DC. Founded in 1867, Howard University was incorporated by Congress as a multiracial college to educate free men, especially enslaved African Americans who were newly freed by the end of the Civil War. Portions of the campus of Howard University, such as the Andrew Rankin Memorial Chapel (1894), Founders Library (1939), and Frederick Douglass Memorial Hall (1935) are nationally significant as the settings for the institution's role in the legal establishment of racially desegregated public education and for its association with Charles Hamilton Houston and Thurgood Marshall. Howard University provided resources and preparation of the legal strategy conceived by Marshall for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and Educational Fund, leading to the historic decisions in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* and ending segregation in public education. Through Houston's vision, beginning in 1929, Howard Law School became an educational training ground for activist lawyers dedicated to securing the civil rights of all people of color. In 1936, the nation's first legal course in civil rights was established there.

Butler Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church, Tuskegee, Alabama. In a 1960 case that gave precedence to the issue of federal judicial intervention in state redistricting, the US Supreme Court unanimously found that a 1957 Alabama statute changing Tuskegee's boundaries in a way that excluded all but four or five of its 400 Black voters and none of its white voters violated the 15th Amendment. Charles G. Gomillion, community activist and sociology professor at Tuskegee Institute, was the lead plaintiff in the case and leader of the Tuskegee Civic Association, which campaigned to get Black citizens registered to vote. Civil rights scholars refer to the case as a pivotal point in constitutional law that laid the foundation for reapportionment decisions. Butler Chapel A. M. E. Zion Church was where the struggle gained momentum and a new direction with Black ministers and leaders speaking out more forcefully than ever before for their constitutional rights. The Butler Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1995. According to the National Register nomination, Butler Chapel was the focal point for a multi-year grassroots project that united and empowered African Americans to fight for the right to vote.

Susan B. Anthony House, Rochester, New York. This two-story rectangular brick house with wood trim and a steep, shingled, gable roof was built in 1845 on a small residential street. For forty years, the house served as the private home of legendary American civil rights leader Susan B. Anthony and the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association when

she was its president. This is also where she died in 1906 at age eighty-six, following her “Failure is Impossible” speech in Baltimore.

Susan B. Anthony recognized that without the right to vote, women would keep fighting the same battles for equality. She traveled many miles, giving hundreds of speeches, gathering thousands of signatures on petitions, and organizing suffragists, to press for women’s suffrage. Throughout Anthony’s life, this house served as her organizational headquarters. It was in the house’s front parlor, after trying to force the Supreme Court to question the 14th Amendment’s constitutionality, that Anthony was arrested for illegally casting a ballot in the 1872 presidential election. The Susan B. Anthony House was added to the National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966, and designated a National Historic Landmark on June 23, 1965. In 1945, the private residence was acquired by the Susan B. Anthony Memorial corporation and adapted for museum use. Today it is managed by the National Susan B. Anthony Museum & House. It is open to the public for tours.

National Headquarters, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, New York, New York. The building on this single-property site was originally built in 1884 as a single-family house in the Queen Anne style with a combination of brick and rusticated brownstone. In the 1920s, it was completely remodeled by architect Vertner Tandy, an early and important African American architect in New York City.

The building is most significant for its association with the theme of African American civil rights during the summer of 1963, when it served as the National Headquarters for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, which took place on August 28, 1963. This heroic event, which brought out more than 250,000 people, primarily African-American citizens from all walks of life, was the largest US civil rights demonstration to date at the time. Among the reasons for its success was meticulous planning by its organizers, who began gathering at the Harlem headquarters several months prior to the march. The goals of the march focused on economic inequality and equal access to public accommodations, housing, voting rights, education and jobs, and it was supported by collaboration by major civil rights organizations and labor and religious leaders.

Although many politicians feared that the large gathering would lead to violence and thus set back the cause of civil rights, the day was entirely peaceful and was remembered for the massive gathering of a plaintive people asking for basic rights of citizenship, as well as for Dr. King’s most famous and inspirational speech, “I have a dream,” which culminated the assembly. By any measure, the March on Washington was a huge success. As the nation’s largest political rally for human rights to date, the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom helped spur the federal government to pass major legislation on civil rights, beginning with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and followed by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The National Headquarters for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in the Harlem neighborhood of New York City was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2020 and is managed by the New York State Historic Preservation Office. It is not open to the public.

Suitability Analysis

It is not sufficient to think broadly in terms of civil rights when determining whether the resource types represented by the study area are duplicative of comparably protected and interpreted resources elsewhere. This is because the struggle for civil rights in America has spanned centuries, has touched all geographic areas of the nation, and has been fought on many fronts and on behalf of many marginalized peoples. Although the resources in the study area are

associated with several different themes, their principal association as argued in the national significance section is with the struggle for racial voting rights during the modern civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The ongoing struggle for civil rights in America has been multifaceted and the National Historic Landmark program has identified several major themes as a framework for understanding it: equal education, public accommodation, voting, housing, equal employment, criminal injustice, immigrant rights, and American Indian civil rights (NPS 2008b, 31-34). It is not sufficient to protect and interpret sites related to one front in the struggle, for example racial desegregation of public education, as a stand-in for another front, such as racial voting rights. The campaigns along these different fronts were often coordinated and overlapping but represent distinct aspects of American life in which systems of white supremacy were preventing different groups of American citizens from enjoying their basic freedoms. In order to tell the whole story, representative sites are needed for the major events and milestones in each of these civil rights campaign fronts and at different moments in the struggle. For this reason, any comparable sites listed above that are not associated with racial voting rights during the modern civil rights movement cannot stand in for, and are not comparable to, the resources in the Trail study area. They cannot tell the story of how activists won their fight to realize one of the basic rights of American citizenship: the right to vote without threat of violence or intimidation.

For example, the purpose and interpretive focus of the Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home National Monument is on the leadership and legacies of Medgar and Myrlie Evers, the latter of whose career spanned decades. The campaign for racial voting rights was only one of many in which these two leaders participated, and this park on its own does not adequately convey the narrative of that struggle, nor of any key moment in it. Similarly, the Prince Hall Masonic Temple is representative of an organization that played a critical role in many campaigns during the modern civil rights struggle, one of which was the struggle for racial voting rights. But the story of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference alone is not adequate to convey the narrative of that struggle or any key moment in it. The Susan B. Anthony House celebrates the legacy of a titan in the struggle for equal voting rights. Anthony's legacy, however, concerned the struggle for gender equality in the realm of voting. This crucial movement in America's overall struggle for civil rights is quite separate from the struggle for racial voting rights during the modern civil rights movement and is inadequate to convey the narrative of that struggle. Howard University is associated with Black education in America and the struggle for racial equality in public education, especially via its associations with the principal architects of the NAACP's legal strategy that led to the landmark Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. While this was a major milestone in the modern civil rights struggle, it is unrelated to the narrative of the struggle for equal racial voting rights. Compared to all of these sites, the resources in the Trail study area convey a very different historical narrative.

The National Headquarters for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom represents the meticulous planning that led to the success of an ambitious and iconic event in the modern civil rights movement. The March on Washington raised awareness via a large-scale demonstration about a suite of injustices, including economic inequality and unequal access to public accommodations, housing, voting rights, education, and jobs. This peaceful, nationally televised march helped build momentum toward passage of seminal civil rights legislation. In this sense, it shares similarities with the Selma to Montgomery march. However, the resources in the Trail study area are more focused on the narrative of voting rights and so tell a different story, as well as a more complete story about that aspect of the modern civil rights movement. For example, the resources trace the story back from the famous march to the grassroots and county-level struggles that led up to it, and the story of years of local organization and perseverance in the

face of state-sponsored violence, intimidation, and criminal injustice. The resources in Lowndes County, furthermore, present an important challenge to the common trope of “happily ever after” that is often attached to iconic moments in history. It is tempting to see the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 as the victorious end of a struggle, but the resources in the study area continue the story to reveal how Black citizens still had to overcome violence and intimidation, grapple with the failure of their candidates to win elections, and develop new and innovative ways to push grassroots organizing toward achieving actual political representation. The resources in the study area are about much more than the famous march, and represent a very different narrative than that conveyed by the National Headquarters for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

The 1964 Freedom Summer sites, similar to the resources in the study area, represent a grassroots movement for racial voting rights that met with intimidation and violence. However, the Freedom Summer sites primarily relate to the extreme violence that activists regularly faced in Mississippi, and with the national outrage and federal response that followed this particular set of murders. The names of victims James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner would appear on posters and protestors’ signs and their names became a rallying cry. During the Selma to Montgomery march, national coverage of the violence likewise had a galvanizing effect: President Johnson personally followed the events and conferred with Dr. King during them, and this shaped the passage of the landmark Voting Rights Act of 1965. This detail is significant in itself and sets the study area apart as a unique story worthy of public interpretation. The study area’s resources are further distinguished by the context they provide for events before, during, and after the march.

Even when Black citizens had secured protections that enabled them to register and cast their votes, they still had to fight to make those votes meaningful. Some of the comparable sites analyzed here represent these struggles, which took on different aspects of the election system and which illustrate the ongoing difficulty of achieving real representation. The M.W. Stringer Grand Lodge represents civil rights leader Fannie Lou Hamer and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party’s efforts to break the white establishment’s hold on the political convention system, a system in which white delegates campaigned on party platforms that were irrelevant to or even counter to the interests and needs of Black constituents. Butler Chapel represents another front in the fight for real representation: electoral districts. The chapel is representative of a US Supreme Court case that is a landmark in constitutional law, and the grassroots organizing that led up to the case and that set the precedent for the federal government intervening when electoral redistricting was clearly designed to exclude Black voters. The resources in the study area enhance and expand these narratives by representing the genesis of the Black Power movement, another grassroots approach that Black citizens employed in their efforts to have their voices heard in the election process.

Finally, the Trail already exists to represent the narrative of the famous voting rights march. The trail’s scope is narrowly bound to the events of the march itself, whereas the potential park unit under consideration would expand and enhance that story in important ways by adding sites related to the grassroots fight for voting rights in the decade leading up to the march and in the ongoing fight to make the Black vote meaningful even after legislative victory had been secured.

Conclusion: Summary of Suitability Evaluation

The sites in the study area stand apart in their significance for passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, for which reason the Selma to Montgomery march is featured prominently in the National Historic Landmark program’s theme study on racial voting rights (NPS 2009a: see for

example pages 65-72 and appendix A). The sites in the study area collectively enhance and expand the narratives presented by comparable resources across the nation related to racial voting rights, including the existing Trail, and are not duplicative of existing designations in the national park system or those managed by others. Even though many sites in the study area are already associated with the Trail, the study area represents an expanded period of significance that encompasses critical events before, during, and after the famous march, during which a grassroots struggle for voting rights grew to have national implications. The study area meets SRS suitability criterion for inclusion in the national park system.

Evaluation of Feasibility

An area or site that is nationally significant and that meets suitability criteria must also meet feasibility criteria to qualify as a potential addition to the national park system. To be feasible as a new unit or as an addition to an existing national park system unit, an area must be of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure sustainable resource protection and visitor enjoyment (taking into account current and potential impacts from sources beyond proposed park boundaries) and be capable of efficient administration by the National Park Service at a reasonable cost.

Twenty-seven sites are analyzed in this feasibility analysis. Twenty-six individual historic sites met SRS criteria 1 and 2 to be further evaluated under SRS criterion 3 for feasibility in this section. The Montgomery Interpretive Center was not considered for national significance or suitability but is evaluated in feasibility as a supporting facility for administration and management. The following list includes the sites analyzed in this feasibility analysis:

1. Zion Chapel Methodist Church, Perry County
2. Old Perry County Jail, Perry County
3. Lincoln Normal School, Perry County
4. Brown Chapel A.M.E., Dallas County
5. Edmund Pettus Bridge, Dallas County
6. Cecil B. Jackson Jr. Public Safety Building, Dallas County
7. Dallas County Court House, Dallas County
8. David Hall Farm (Campsite #1), Dallas County
9. First Baptist Church, Dallas County
10. George Washington Carver Homes, Dallas County
11. Tabernacle Baptist Church, Dallas County
12. Samuel and Amelia Boynton's Home, Dallas County
13. Clark Elementary School, Dallas County
14. Good Samaritan Hospital, Dallas County
15. Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson Home, Dallas County
16. F.D. Reese Home, Dallas County
17. Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2), Lowndes County

18. Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3), Lowndes County
19. Lowndes County Courthouse, Lowndes County
20. Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church, Lowndes County
21. SNCC/LCFO Freedom House, Lowndes County
22. Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery County
23. Alabama State Capitol, Montgomery County
24. City of St. Jude (Campsite #4), Montgomery County
25. Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church, Montgomery County
26. Ben Moore Hotel, Montgomery County

For a site to be considered feasible as a new national park system unit, the following factors must be considered:

- site size, boundary configurations, and land ownership
- local planning and potential land uses
- existing and potential threats
- access and public enjoyment potential
- public support (including landowners)
- economic and socioeconomic impacts
- costs associated with acquisition, development, and operation

These feasibility factors are used as an analytical tool to support this study's analysis of the prospective new national park system unit being established at or including these sites. However, this study's analysis and findings do not guarantee the establishment of a national park system unit or future funding for any NPS actions. Even if a national park system unit is established, while new units share common elements, each unit requires a distinct organizational structure that could be different from the framework analyzed here. The organizational structure of an established national park system unit may be influenced by that unit's enabling legislation or proclamation, its size, resources, scope and delivery of public programming, and its location. Further, national park system units are not considered operational (i.e., prepared to welcome visitors, preserving resources, and providing programming and services on a regular basis) until they receive an operating appropriation from Congress, which can take years. Evaluation of the feasibility of establishing a new national park system unit considers all of the above factors in the context of current NPS management. Evaluation of these factors under SRS criterion 3 must also consider if the National Park Service can feasibly manage the proposed new park unit, given current agencywide limitations and constraints.

Each study site is evaluated individually according to the feasibility factors, which when taken combined, inform the study's finding of feasibility for that site. Each site's feasibility finding is presented at the conclusion of each site's analysis. There are three options for the feasibility findings: the site is feasible as a potential national park system unit or part of a national park system unit; the site is not feasible as a potential national park system unit or as part of a national park system unit; or the site is conditionally feasible in cases where there is a possibility that the

reason a site is currently infeasible could change in the future. Sites noted to be conditionally feasible could be reevaluated if their circumstances change.

Local Planning and Land Use

The 1965 Selma to Montgomery march traveled through four counties: Perry, Dallas, Lowndes, and Montgomery. Local planning for each of the counties has limited publicly available planning and zoning information accessible online. For this reason, this study relied on the planning and land use resources for the Selma and the Montgomery. The sites are varying distances from one another and consist of independent land parcels; therefore, each property evaluation includes analysis of the local area land use for each property. Selma and Montgomery are known for historical events that occurred in these areas during the civil rights movement and for significant historical events prior to, during, and after the 1965 Selma to Montgomery march. Areas in Selma and Montgomery are included in the Civil Rights Trail, which is sponsored by tourism organization in several southern states. The Civil Rights Trail includes the state of Alabama, calling out cities in which historical events occurred with introductory information about some sites. The Montgomery Regional Airport is on the southwest side of Montgomery, about ten miles from the Montgomery Interpretive Center. Hartfield-Jackson International Airport in Atlanta is the next-closest airport, about 150 miles from Montgomery and about 200 miles from Selma.

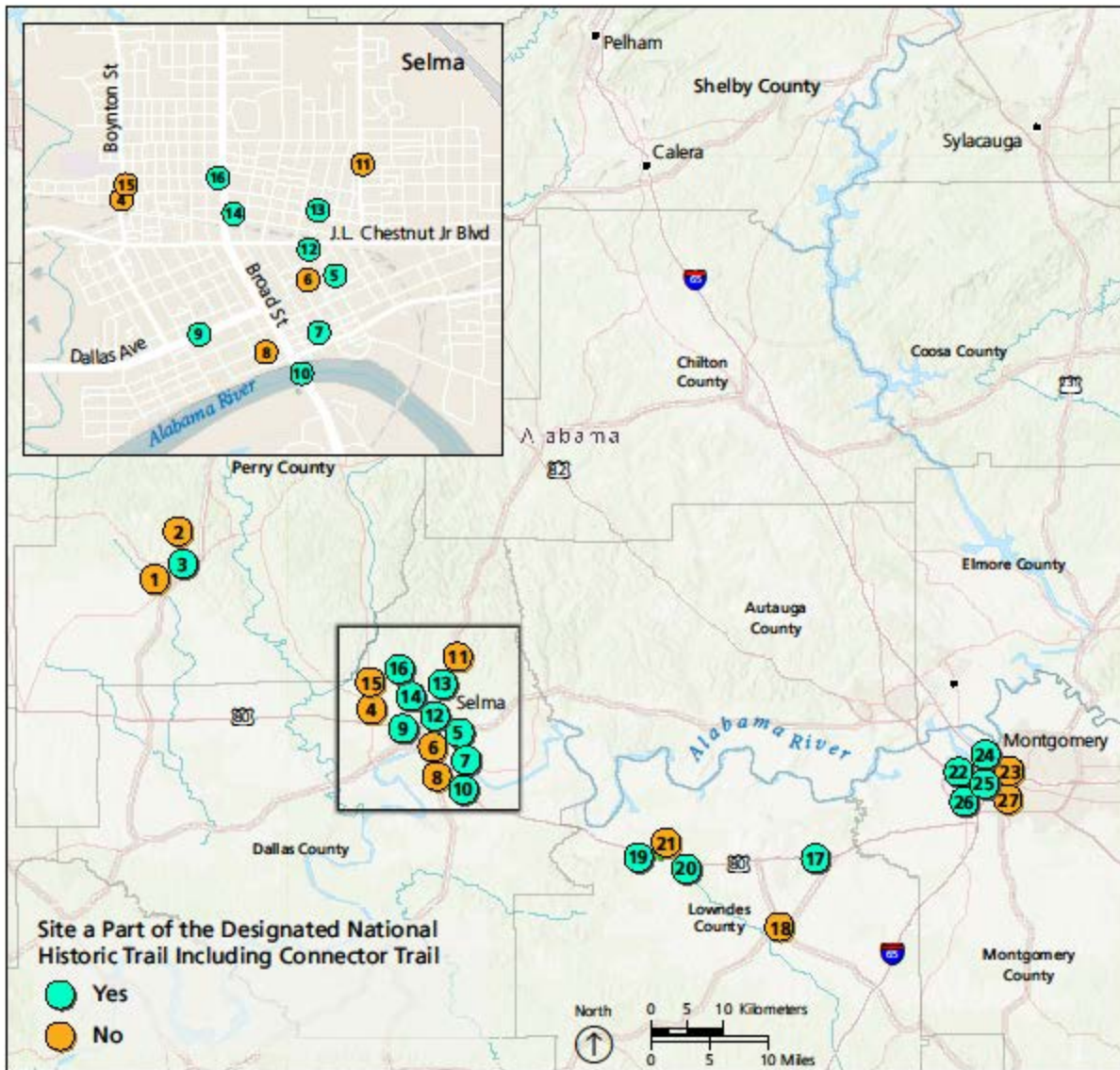
Selma is in Dallas County in the Black Belt region of Alabama with a population of 17,600 in 2021 (US Census 2022a). The city is bounded by the Alabama River on the south end. US 80 passes through and has interchanges in Selma that follow the route of the march. The highway serves as a main corridor with commercial development and services. Selma has a regional Greyhound bus station but does not operate public transportation. The Trail and sites in the study are easily navigated by vehicle. There are older and historic residential neighborhoods near downtown and along both sides of Broad Street. The city reports vacant, deteriorated, and underused properties as an issue in certain neighborhoods. Building structures include historic and modern infrastructures. In 2009, the city developed a Selma comprehensive community master plan to direct economic growth and quality-of-life initiatives for the long-term goals of the city. Among the master plan's initiatives were equitable neighborhood development in the preservation and adaptive reuse of historic properties projects (City of Selma, Alabama 2009). The city expressed interest in engaging with Selma residents and connecting to other regional initiatives in Black Belt heritage tourism and cultural landscapes. The city preserves the center of one of the city's first and largest federal housing project for Blacks, which influenced the passage of 1965 Civil Rights Act.

One specific initiative called out in the plan is "Greening the Selma to Montgomery Trail: Reconnecting and Remembering." The Selma strategic plan was adopted in 2013 and has the goal of developing a holistic vision for a more attractive and sustainable neighborhood that could improve experiences related to new and existing buildings for city residents and visitors. The project also fits into a larger, multi-agency effort that includes collaboration between the National Park Service and the US Environmental Protection Agency to develop the entire Trail from Selma to Montgomery to reflect the importance of its history, to be a destination for tourists and visitors who come to honor the American civil rights movement, and to showcase best practices in environmental protection to other communities. As part of this initiative, there can be future opportunities for the Trail or for a potential new national park system unit to collaborate with the city as it contributes to the historical significance preserved and managed by the National Park Service.

The capital of Alabama, Montgomery is in central Alabama in Montgomery County. The city had a population of about 198,600 residents in 2021 (US Census 2022b). Montgomery is a moderately sized metropolitan city. The M is the public transportation system operating in Montgomery, with fixed-route service within city limits. The Envision Montgomery 2040 Comprehensive Plan states that the City of Montgomery maintains more than 1,400 acres of public park land and recreation facilities containing neighborhood parks, recreation centers, and playgrounds, trails, and historic sites. It mentions the need for improvements and maintenance goals as they relate to storytelling and narratives of parks and recreational areas, in particular, the parks and recreation role in the Montgomery civil rights movement (City of Montgomery, Alabama Planning Commission, Envision Montgomery 2040 Comprehensive Plan, adopted July 7, 2020). In addition, the city acknowledges this once-in-a-generation responsibility to reimagine the city as the civil rights movement destination to serve a 21st century emphasis on local preservationists.

Two city departments collaborate on historic preservation initiatives: The Historic Preservation Commission works to promote the educational, cultural, economic, and general welfare via protection of sites and structures of historic significance, and the Architectural Review Board reviews requests for exterior changes to historic structures to ensure consistency with the architectural and historical character of the site and neighborhood. The plan further identified a gap in Montgomery's local preservation districts, specifically in the Centennial Hill neighborhood.

The Legacy Museum in Montgomery, owned and operated by Montgomery's Equal Justice Initiative, opened in 2018 with new modern infrastructure. Three sites are included as part of the interpretation: the Legacy Museum, the Peace and Justice Memorial Center, and the National Memorial for Peace and Justice. The museum provides a comprehensive history of the United States with a focus on the legacy of slavery. Interpretation at the museum includes film, images, and first-person narratives. The National Memorial for Peace and Justice is adjacent to the museum and is the nation's first memorial dedicated to the legacy of enslaved Black people, people terrorized by lynching, and racial segregation. The Legacy Museum interprets a much broader history than the 1965 Selma to Montgomery march and the events prior to, during, and after the march and serves as an additional site that may attract tourists to the area.



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|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 - Lincoln Normal School 2 - Old Perry County Jail 3 - Zion Chapel Methodist Church 4 - Samuel and Amelia Boynton House 5 - Brown Chapel A.M.E Church 6 - Clark Elementary School 7 - Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building 8 - Dallas County Courthouse 9 - David Hall Campsite (Campsite #1) 10 - Edmund Pettus Bridge 11 - E.D. Reese Home 12 - First Baptist Church 13 - George Washington Carver Homes 14 - Good Samaritan Hospital | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 15 - Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson House 16 - Tabernacle Baptist Church 17 - Robert Gardner Campsite (Campsite #3) 18 - Lowndes County Courthouse 19 - Mount Gilliard Missionary Baptist Church 20 - Rosie Steele Campsite (Campsite #2) 21 - SNCCALCFO Freedom House 22 - Alabama State Capitol 23 - Ben Moore Hotel, Majestic Cafe & Malden Brothers Barber Shop 24 - Dexter Avenue Baptist Church 25 - Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church 26 - City of St. Jude Campsite (Campsite #4) 27 - Montgomery Interpretive Center |
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Figure 2. Sites Evaluated in Feasibility

Evaluation of Feasibility by Site

Zion Chapel Methodist Church, Perry County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Zion Chapel Methodist Church is one block south of the Old Perry County Jail in Marion. It is currently the starting point of the Marion Connector Trail, which travels to Selma and connects to the Trail. The church faces west and is next to a post office and a private business. The Perry County Courthouse is directly across the street on Pickens Street. Several mixed-use private businesses surround the property. The property is owned by the Zion Methodist Church. The church is in good condition and functions as a place of worship to this day, as it did in 1965.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to resources at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Zion Chapel Methodist Church is in central Marion, one block from the Old Perry County Jail on Pickens Street. Nearby attractions including the jail and courthouse provide visitor engagement opportunities. A parking lot is adjacent to the church to the north, with about twenty parking spaces. The front entrance of the church has about six steps with metal railings on each side. An accessible ramp leads from the parking lot to an entrance on the side of the church.

This site has a medium level of public enjoyment potential. Since the Zion Chapel Methodist Church currently operates as a place of worship, it is mostly closed to the public during the week. The church is open for services on Sundays and various holidays, with scheduled special events throughout the year. Since the church is not open throughout the day to the public, visitors typically are unable to access the interior. An NPS interpretive wayside near the main entrance describes the importance of the church to the Selma to Montgomery march. The site features other interpretation. The church is highlighted in a few private websites that show historic sites. Due to the wishes of the owner to retain the property and operate as a church, there are no additional visitor use opportunities as of the time of the study.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property continues to be used as a place of worship for the local community in Marion. The property owner expressed support for the study as well as interest in retaining ownership and continuing its current use as a church; however, they support a continued NPS partnership.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site due to the owner's preference to retain ownership and continue current use with limited public access. If this changes, the site would need to be further evaluated.

Feasibility Finding

The Zion Chapel Methodist Church is currently not feasible due to the property owner's desire to keep the property as an operating church. However, if the owner becomes willing to sell to the government, the feasibility of the site could be reconsidered. Therefore, a finding of

conditional feasibility applies to the Zion Chapel Methodist Church based on the potential for future acquisition.

Old Perry County Jail, Perry County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Old Perry County Jail is in Perry County in Marion. The jail is within an approximately half-mile corridor along the Marion Connector Trail. The area surrounding the Old Perry County Jail includes public city buildings such as the Perry County Courthouse and federal buildings such as a US post office. Private businesses around the site include several private retail businesses and churches such as Zion Chapel Methodist Church. Perry County owns the Old Perry County Jail. The building is estimated to be 4,000 square feet. In 2018, in coordination with a nonprofit, the county was awarded a \$500,000 grant by the National Park Service to restore the property with historic integrity. At the time of the study, the property was vacant. Restoration began in January 2023 and is scheduled to be complete after about one year.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

A nonprofit led by Dr. Billie Jean Young was awarded an NPS grant of \$500,000 in 2018 to secure drawings and start restoration work with a goal of developing the site into a public museum. The building is in poor condition but construction is planned to begin in 2023 to ensure that the building retains its historic integrity. The site includes asbestos and lead paint that will be addressed as part of the restoration. The site poses no major riverine flooding concerns from a climate change perspective.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Old Perry County Jail is near the Perry County Courthouse and Zion Chapel Methodist Church. The nearby historic buildings offer additional recreational opportunities within a few blocks of the jail where visitors can view interpretative signs from the exterior of these properties to understand the events that occurred at these locations. The site has about six off-street parking spaces in front of the building. The Perry County Courthouse is located to the southwest and provides public street parking. The area provides a quiet place with a small-town feel that could serve as a place for visitors to reflect on the history of the site.

The site has a high level of public enjoyment potential. In its current state, there is an NPS interpretative panel in front of the building and a memorial to James Orange. While the interior of the site is inaccessible at this time, the planned restoration will make it safe and accessible for visitor use. The restoration will include stabilization of the building, with most of the construction planned for the interior of the building. The restoration includes a new roof, windows, and mitigation of hazardous materials. The construction plans include development of an accessible entrance on the side of the building. The plans include restoration of two jail cells, one of which is where James Orange was held. Other plans include office space and open space to better allow visitors to move around the main level. The second floor has additional jail cells but plans for the second floor are still being determined based on funding and building condition. The combination of the restored interior of the building and the close proximity to nearby sites telling the story of how Marion played a significant role in the history could be a unique opportunity for visitors.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

A representative for the county expressed support for a potential national park system unit designation at this site. The county is in the beginning stages of construction for building restoration. The county has no additional plans for the property beyond the planned renovations. The county is supportive of visitor use and interpretation at this site to share the history with future generations. The county is supportive of a partnership and is willing to sell the property to the National Park Service for management of the site.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

The county indicated willingness to sell the property to the National Park Service as part of a potential designation as a new national park system unit. The Perry County tax assessor data estimates \$15,450 in 2022. The county is currently in the construction phase of restoring the property, addressing hazardous abatement of lead and asbestos, a new roof, painting, making accessibility improvements, and updating restrooms. Their current funding may not accomplish full restoration, so it is anticipated that there will be some additional one-time development necessary to make additional improvements to be able to accommodate visitors.

One-time development costs required for additional restoration of the building are estimated at \$2.5 million depending on the level of construction that can be done with current funding. Restoration would include interior and exterior rehabilitation, masonry repair, HVAC replacement, public restrooms, parking improvement, possible elevator exhibit displays, NPS administrative space, and site security. In addition, it is estimated that the home will require \$160,000 in annual NPS maintenance costs, utilities, and component replacement.

It is estimated that three full-time employees will support operations and interpretation of the historic site. Staffing costs are estimated at \$250,000 annually. This would include staff to provide maintenance, develop interpretive materials, and provide tours and interpretation. It is assumed that one park superintendent would oversee the sites within a potential national park system unit as well as the Trail. It will be important to ensure adequate NPS staff presence since there is currently no designated NPS staff presence in Marion. A partnership between the National Park Service and the property owner would provide for cost-sharing to preserve and interpret the site, but exact details could be determined in the future. More information about staff coordination and management responsibilities can be found in chapter 4 of this study, summarized for the sites as a total.

Feasibility Finding

The Old Perry County Jail site is currently in the early stages of construction to restore the building with historic integrity and to make it safe and accessible for visitor use. The property owner has plans to rehabilitate the property but no plans for visitor opportunities. The site has visitor enjoyment potential and appropriate access for visitor use and management. The county has expressed willingness to sell the property to the National Park Service and would be interested in a potential partnership for long-term management. The property is currently feasible and could be feasibly managed by the National Park Service.

Lincoln Normal School

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Lincoln Normal School in Marion, is located within a half-mile corridor along the Marion Connector Trail. The site includes about 10.8 acres of land with three primary buildings: the Phillips Memorial Auditorium, the gymnasium, and a classroom building. Several of the other buildings, including dormitories, classrooms, and related school facilities, were demolished in the 1970s when ownership between the county and the Lincolnites was uncertain. The property owner is the Lincolnite Club, a nonprofit 501(c)3 that includes alumni, friends, and supporters who work to protect and preserve the campus. The organization's goal is to ensure that the land and buildings are preserved as a memorial and a place for educational enrichment and civic meetings on the original school campus. The property is used as a community space used primarily by alumni and members of the Lincolnite Club. The property was recently listed in the National Register (2022).

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

The buildings are maintained by the Lincolnite Club, which has been successful in fundraising and securing grants for stabilizing and restoring the buildings. The owner is working on active restoration of the gymnasium in two phases under a 2021 African American Civil Rights Preservation Grant. Phase I will replace the roof and phase II includes rehabilitation of windows and mechanical systems and an evaluation of steel structures. The goal of the restoration will be to use the building as an accessible multi-purpose community facility for community activities. Possible uses include shelter during inclement weather, housing for volunteer workers, youth education programs and recreational activities, senior-citizen activities, physical fitness and performing arts classes, health fairs, career training, summer youth camps, family gatherings, and a center for research and documentation for the civil rights struggle in Marion and Perry Counties.

The property owners stated that long-term concerns are having resources in the future and the commitment of future generations to steward the above-ground resources. Alumni include several former students who attended the school and who have personal history regarding the events. There is concern that in the future there may be increased difficulty for fundraising and preservation of the property.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Lincoln Normal School is in southwest Marion in a rural part of town. The campus is accessed by an entrance on Lee Street and is surrounded by a chain-link fence. The Phillips Memorial Auditorium is on the northeast corner of the land parcel; the gymnasium is on the east side and can be accessed by stairs or an accessible ramp. No NPS waysides describe the school's association with the Selma to Montgomery march, but the property owner supports adding signs that would show the connection between the school and the designated Trail as well as being a part of a national park system unit. The site includes space for vehicle parking adjacent to the classroom building in an open field.

The site has a high level of public enjoyment potential for interpreting the events related to the 1965 voting rights march in Marion. The owner plans to use the auditorium as a sacred area and event hall, the gymnasium for meeting space, and the remaining classroom and waysides of the

previously demolished buildings for interpretation. The property is open to the public for weekly senior-citizen meals; arts and crafts events; educational and cultural activities such as plays, workshops, and community programs; school reunions; and other recreational activities. Guided tours of the museum and the site are available by appointment. The site includes a high level of public enjoyment potential where visitors can view the museum with a history of the school and its significance to the 1965 Selma to Montgomery voting rights march. Several alumni support sharing their personal histories and preserving the site.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property owner submitted a written response to the study team expressing support of the site being included as a significant site along the designated Trail as well as within the boundary of a potential national park system unit where the current owner retains ownership and engages with the National Park Service for partnerships to preserve the buildings and for interpretation and visitor use of the site. Several alumni support sharing their personal histories and preserving the site.

The organization includes alumni and local supporters who have interest in preserving the site's history and sharing the history with the public. The study team conducted a site visit in December 2022 and met with members of the board and alumni. During that meeting, alumni shared personal experiences and the importance of preserving that history for future generations. There was strong support for giving visitors greater opportunities to learn this history in Marion.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

The property owner of this site would like to further develop a partnership with the National Park Service to provide public interpretation, preservation, operations, and administration. The campus could also be considered for providing operational support space and interpretive opportunities associated with the events that occurred here before, during, and after the march. Given the partnership opportunity of including the Lincoln Normal School in a potential national park system unit, it is estimated that an NPS employee would dedicate 0.5 full-time employee to support partner activities and functions and help identify appropriate NPS funds to support general repairs and maintenance of the historic site according to anticipated terms of a cooperative agreement. Approximately \$150,000 is estimated to be required in annual NPS costs to support partner activities and functions. If congressionally authorized, the National Park Service could also assist the Lincolnite Club in securing funding, via grants or other means, for more substantial and mutually beneficial building investments to preserve the building and offer visitor opportunities. Further discussions with the Lincolnite Club would be necessary to evaluate these opportunities.

Feasibility Finding

The Lincoln Normal School could feasibly be supported as a partner site via an agreement with the National Park Service. The property is currently used for interpretation and community events. The property owner would like to maintain ownership but is supportive of a stronger NPS presence via partnership to support site preservation and interpretation. The owner plans to rehabilitate the site as a community venue to include services for the local community and the association. Details of a future partnership would need further agreement, but would include

the owner maintaining ownership; however, if the owner becomes willing to sell to the government, the Lincoln Normal School is considered feasible. The owner is supportive of a new national park system unit designation to expand the partnership between the Lincolnite Club and the National Park Service. Therefore, the Lincoln Normal School is feasible.

Brown Chapel African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church, Dallas County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church is near downtown Selma. The 8,000-square-foot building was built in 1951 facing southwest onto Martin Luther King Jr. Street. George Washington Carver Homes (evaluated below) surround the church on all sides. The Historic Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church Preservation Society owns the property. The foundation operates with a board of directors to preserve the site. The church was closed during the COVID-19 pandemic and, upon returning to the facility, the board discovered that the building was unstable due to termite and water damage. Structural and electrical repairs are in progress as well as a new HVAC system. The owners have secured grants via the African American Civil Rights Grant Program to maintain and preserve the building. The owners need significant repairs to stabilize the building and reopen to the public. The building includes an all-purpose room, a kitchen, education rooms, an office, and restrooms.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

The building is in need of stabilization but the property owner has secured grants and fundraising for restoration of the building. There are no additional known threats to the resources at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church is near downtown Selma on Martin Luther King Jr. Street. The interior of the building is currently inaccessible to the public, as it is undergoing restoration. The site has a long staircase out front with accessible entrances on the side of the building. It is in a mixed-use residential area that includes several private businesses and has limited designated parking onsite; however, street parking is available. The interior is not open to the public unless scheduled, and the exterior can be viewed by public right-of-way.

This site offers a high level of public enjoyment. The church is well-known in the local community and beyond for its role in civil rights history. The church typically hosts thousands of visitors per year in addition to serving as a place of worship and providing local community support to nearby residents. In the past, the church has offered tours to the public by reservation. On the exterior of the site are an NPS interpretative panel and a memorial to Dr. King. Limits to NPS involvement at this site are the owner's plans to continue ownership and operating the site as a church, but these factors could be reevaluated at a future date. An NPS interpretive sign is directly across the street from the church with interpretation of the connection to the Trail.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property owner is seeking partnerships, resources, and support to preserve this site to serve the community and to continue to interpret the history of this site. The church is well-known for the events that occurred here and the owner remains committed to promoting social change and spiritual enrichment. At the time of the study, it is uncertain if the owner supports an

additional NPS presence at the site or if they would be willing to sell the property to the National Park Service.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site due to the owner's preference to retain ownership and continue its use with limited public access. If this changes, the site would need to be further evaluated but it is anticipated that the preference would be for partnership rather than acquisition by the National Park Service.

Feasibility Finding

Brown Chapel A.M.E Church is currently not feasible due to the property owner's wishes to keep the property as an operating church. However, if this circumstance changes, feasibility of the site could be reconsidered. Therefore, a finding of conditional feasibility applies to Brown Chapel A.M.E Church based on the potential for future acquisition if the owner becomes willing to sell.

Edmund Pettus Bridge, Dallas County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Edmund Pettus Bridge is the four-lane bridge that is the main approach to Selma along US 80 and the principal road between Selma and Montgomery crossing over the Alabama River. The bridge is an actively used transportation structure even though it was declared functionally obsolete by the Federal Highway Administration in 2011, meaning that it does not meet current design standards for its current traffic load. The US 80 bypass is south of the Edmund Pettus Bridge and serves as the main connector highway across the Alabama River.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

The bridge is considered functionally obsolete, so it is uncertain how long it will be maintained. However, the bridge is recognized as the iconic place of events during the 1965 march and subsequent commemorations paying tribute to the original marchers. The Federal Highway Administration continues to maintain the bridge, which supports high traffic volume.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Edmund Pettus Bridge crosses the Alabama River into downtown Selma. The bridge and the Selma to Montgomery March Byway are included on the Federal Highway Administration's website highlighting America's Byways. Visitors typically access the bridge by parking in front of the Selma Interpretive Center, which is managed by the National Park Service, and walking across. The Selma Interpretive Center offers a rich history on the voting rights movement and the Trail. The bridge can be accessed and crossed on both sides via pedestrian sidewalks. There are no guard rails between oncoming traffic and pedestrians, but the sidewalk is curbed. The bridge has a high volume of vehicle traffic with a steady flow, which results in a high noise level as vehicles pass.

There is a high level of public enjoyment potential for interpreting the events at the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Signs and interpretive waysides on the south side of the bridge describe its significance. The bridge is also interpreted in the Selma Interpretive Center at the base of the

bridge on the north side, off Broad Street. The ability to drive across the bridge is significant to the Trail because the entire fifty-four miles of the Trail can be navigated by personal vehicle. The bridge is still being managed by the Federal Highway Administration, but future evaluation may alter the feasibility of additional interpretation at the bridge.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The National Park Service attempted to contact the Federal Highway Administration to better understand its support for a potential national park system unit designation, but was unsuccessful. It is uncertain if the Federal Highway Administration would support an increased NPS presence in the future and what its plans are for the site.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site since it is currently managed by the Federal Highway Administration. If this situation changes, such as if the Federal Highway Administration determines that management changes are necessary and the bridge will no longer be maintained, the National Park Service may further evaluate the feasibility of managing and maintaining the bridge.

Feasibility Finding

The bridge is currently owned and maintained by the Federal Highway Administration. Current management of the bridge is adequate for visitor use and interpretation when paired with the Selma Interpretive Center. The bridge has been determined to be functionally obsolete. If the Federal Highway Administration determines that management changes are necessary and the bridge will no longer be maintained, the National Park Service may further evaluate the feasibility of managing and maintaining the bridge; therefore, the Edmund Pettus Bridge is conditionally feasible.

Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building, Dallas County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building is at the intersection of Franklin Street and Alabama Avenue, about two blocks from the Edmund Pettus Bridge. The building serves as the home of the Selma Police Department. The City of Selma owns the land parcel. Mixed-use businesses surround the property. Brown Chapel A.M.E Church is about half a mile from the building.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

The setting of the school and the construction of the building in Selma currently reflect the general historic character of the time of 1965. Any future construction changes are unknown as of the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building is located downtown on Alabama Avenue in Selma. The property is currently used for the Selma Police Department; however, the owner has stated the possibility of using the building as a museum in the future. The site includes non-public parking for police vehicles located adjacent to and in front of the building. The front of the building has two accessible public parking spaces, a ramp, and stairs for site access. Public street parking is available on the same city block. Brown Chapel A.M.E Church is about half a mile

from the Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building and offers additional nearby historical viewing opportunities.

This site has a medium level of public enjoyment potential but could be reevaluated at a future date if the city decides to relocate or to dedicate space in the building for visitor use opportunities. There is no public access for interpretation of the facility on the interior, and additional visitor use could conflict with the current property use as the police department. While access to the inside of the facility is restricted, the public can view the building's exterior from the public right-of-way along Alabama Avenue. There is potential for interpretive wayside panels in front of the building.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property owner is supportive of an NPS presence at this property beyond interpretive signage in front of the building. The owner stated that they would be willing to sell the property if they could secure a new space for the Selma Police Department. As it currently serves as the home of the Selma Police Department, additional visitor use would conflict with the current use of the property.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site due to its current use by the Selma Police Department, with limited access for interpretation. If this changes, the site would need to be further evaluated.

Feasibility Finding

The Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building is not a feasible addition to the national park system at this time, as the site currently serves as the home of the Selma Police Department. Continuing its current function as a police department is the only site use identified for this property now. If the situation changes and the property owner secures a new facility for the Selma Police Department, the site could be further evaluated. Therefore, the Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building is considered conditionally feasible.

Dallas County Courthouse, Dallas County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Dallas County Courthouse is at the corner of Lauderdale Street and Alabama Avenue. Dallas County owns the property; its current use is the Dallas County Courthouse. Dallas County also owns properties on the same block that are used for the Dallas County Sheriff's Office and the Dallas County Chamber of Commerce. Mixed-use businesses are in the area surrounding the property.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to the property at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Dallas County Courthouse is downtown, on Lauderdale Street. It is 0.2 miles from the Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building and 0.6 miles from Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. There are about twelve designated parking spaces along Lauderdale Street and additional city street parking is available nearby. There is no public access for interpretation of the facility on the

interior and additional visitor use could conflict with the current property use as the courthouse.

Visitor enjoyment potential is currently low since the property functions as an active courthouse. There could be opportunities for external public viewing from the public right-of-way, but public visitor use and interpretation of the site would likely interfere with the current use of the property. The site is located near other historical points along the Trail, including the Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building and Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church, which may enhance the external visitor enjoyment of the courthouse.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property is actively used by Dallas County as the county courthouse. Dallas County is not interested in selling or donating the property as part of a potential national park designation.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site due to its current use as a courthouse with limited access for interpretation. This situation is unlikely to change.

Feasibility Finding

The Dallas County Courthouse is not a feasible addition to the national park system. The site currently serves as an active courthouse. Continuing its current function as a courthouse is the only site use identified for this property now and into the future.

David Hall Farm (Campsite #1), Dallas County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The David Hall Farm (Campsite #1) is in a rural area south of Selma. The property and the surrounding area are used for agricultural purposes. The original Hall farm comprised eighty acres; it is now divided into eight ten-acre parcels privately owned by family members. There is disagreement regarding where the exact camp was located; however, the original home of David Hall is on one land parcel along with a modern home occupied by family members. Another family, which established the David and Channie Hall Foundation, owns another land parcel with a modern home.

The original home of David Hall is a one-story structure on elevated brick piers with a metal roof and wood siding. The home features a covered front porch made of cement blocks and poured cement with decorative metal support columns. The front entrance to the home is accessed from the porch, and there are three 6/6 windows. A brick chimney is in the center of the home. The home's interior includes a common room, two bedrooms, a bathroom, and a kitchen. The home is in poor condition, but the property owner is in the early stages of restoring the property. At the time of the study, the home was wrapped for short-term preservation while the structure was being stabilized. The property also includes the foundations of a barn and outhouse that are no longer extant. The property includes a historic viewshed consistent with the period of significance.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

The original eighty-acre farm is divided into eight parcels owned by family descendants who have differing opinions on future land use. The property owner where the original David Hall home is located is in the initial stages of stabilizing the building and has plans to restore it. It is difficult to determine what the future use of the other ten-acre parcels will include and what development could pose threats to the historic landscape.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The David Hall Farm (Campsite #1) is outside of Selma in Dallas County. Currently, the site is not open to the public. The public can view an interpretive sign from the public right-of-way along Dallas County Road 67. A sign marks the site as part of the Trail, Campsite 1, David Hall Farm, March 21, 1965. Typically, visitors stop and park along the roadway to view and photograph the sign. The public can view the property from the street but cannot access the property beyond the sign.

There is high potential for visitor enjoyment, but the property serves as residences and there is potential for visitor use to conflict with the current use of the property. The property also holds multiple owners with differing interests in management of the site. One owner is open to a partnership for interpretation and another has interest in selling a portion of the site to the National Park Service. One of the site owners provides scheduled interpretive visits to the property, demonstrating its potential for public interpretation. There are only private buildings and no public buildings on the property for visitor use opportunities. This property owner expressed interest in providing visitor use opportunities in connection with the Trail.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property owner of the parcel with the original home of David Hall is supportive of an NPS presence at the site; however, the owner would like to maintain ownership since the property also serves as a private residence. The owner is supportive of an NPS partnership to interpret the site with scheduled visitor use. The other owner expressed willingness to sell a portion of property to the National Park Service for protection and visitor use.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

The property owner of the parcel with the original home of David Hall would like to further develop an NPS partnership to provide public interpretation of the campsite. Given the partnership opportunity including the David Hall Farm (Campsite #1), minimal NPS facilities, annual operations, and maintenance costs would be required. Currently, there is not a dedicated NPS staff presence due to limited visitor use and opportunities. If circumstances change and an agreement for additional visitor opportunities at this location is developed, one-time development and operation costs would be evaluated at that time. If congressionally authorized, the National Park Service could also assist in securing funding, via grants or other means, more substantial and mutually beneficial building investments. Further discussions with the owner would be necessary to evaluate these opportunities.

Feasibility Finding

The David Hall Farm (Campsite #1) is currently feasible as a property that could be managed by the National Park Service. One property owner would like to maintain ownership but is

supportive of an NPS presence via partnership. This owner plans to rehabilitate the home for visitor use opportunities. The other owner is willing to sell a portion of the land to the National Park Service in support of a new national park system unit. For these reasons, the David Hall Farm (Campsite #1) is considered feasible.

First Baptist Church, Dallas County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

First Baptist Church is on the corner of J.L. Chestnut Boulevard and Martin Luther King Jr. Street. The church is an operating place of worship owned by First Baptist Church. The area is a mixed-use residential area. The site includes about 7,000 square feet. The church was built in 1910 to serve as a place of worship.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to the resources at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The First Baptist Church is near downtown Selma and is 0.2 miles away on Martin Luther King Jr. Street from Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. The church has a large parking area with about twenty parking spaces including two accessible parking spaces with additional public parking on the street adjacent to the property. The property is accessed from ten stairs on either side of the front of the church. The church is an active place of worship. The exterior of the church can be viewed from the public right-of-way and the interior is not open to visitors.

The site has a medium level of public enjoyment potential for interpretation. The public may view an NPS interpretive panel in front of the church, helping to connect the First Baptist Church to the march. Proximity to other attractions allows for additional nearby interpretation. The owner would be willing to continue their partnership with the National Park Service but interpretation would be limited due to the church being an active place of worship. The public enjoyment potential for this site could be reevaluated if the owner becomes interested in selling the property to the National Park Service.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property owner expressed interest in retaining ownership but is interested in continued partnership with the National Park Service.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site due to its current use as a church with limited access for interpretation. If this situation changes, the site could be further evaluated.

Feasibility Finding

The property owner of First Baptist Church wishes to retain site ownership; however, the owner is interested in a continued partnership with the National Park Service as part of the Trail. If the owner becomes willing to sell the property to the government, its feasibility could be reconsidered; therefore this property is considered conditionally feasible.

George Washington Carver Homes, Dallas County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The George Washington Carver Homes are a public housing project between Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church and First Baptist Church. More than forty buildings are arranged on both sides of Martin Luther King Jr. Street. The complex also includes a small brick building that is used for a Head Start educational program. The City of Selma Housing Authority owns the property. The George Washington Carver Homes is a public housing project managed by the Selma Housing Authority. It has about 216 units.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

An NPS sign at the site is directly across from Brown Chapel A.M.E.; however, the National Park Service has struggled with vandalism of the sign and is currently working on a replacement.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The George Washington Carver Homes are near downtown Selma in a residential area adjacent to Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church on Martin Luther King Jr. Street. Public parking is available along nearby streets. There is no public access to the interior of the homes but the exterior can be viewed from the public right-of-way. In 2016, a three-day planning brainstorm process took place, focusing on the City of Selma. Improvements to the George Washington Carver Homes were recommended as following: retaining some of the residential buildings around Brown Chapel A.M.E Church and adaptively reusing one or more of these residential buildings for interpretive purposes while re-subdividing and renovating other retained residential buildings; creating mixed-income housing types; constructing a new street, shared street, or multiuse path through two of the complex's superblocks; and planting street trees and establishing a community garden. At the time of the study, these improvements were not being pursued; however, the site is suitable for exterior interpretation such as signage.

The site has a low level of public enjoyment level for interpretation. The homes are currently used as public housing via the Selma Housing Authority. The homes consist of multiple residential structures on the 500 and 600 blocks. The site includes a historical marker owned by the Alabama Historical Association. One interpretive wayside panel nearby is associated with the Trail; it has been a target of vandalism. The nearby recreational opportunities related to the march provide additional opportunities for interpretation and historical understanding. If site plans change for additional public access, the public enjoyment level could be reevaluated.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The homes are used as private residences managed by the Selma Housing Authority, which does not wish to change this use. The property owner is supportive of interpretive signs at the site, but additional visitor use would conflict with the current use.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site due to its current use as a housing project with limited access for interpretation. This situation is unlikely to change.

Feasibility Finding

The George Washington Carver Homes are not a feasible addition to the national park system. The site currently serves as public housing for the community. Continuing its current function as public housing is the only site use identified for this property now and into the future.

Tabernacle Baptist Church, Dallas County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The present-day Tabernacle Baptist Church was constructed in 1922 next to the original edifice. The church has two identical entrance facades, one facing Broad Street and the other facing Minter Avenue. Behind the church to the west is a residential neighborhood. Along Broad Street is a commercial mixed-use area with a recreation center and firehouse directly across from the church on Broad Street. The Good Samaritan Hospital is about two blocks south on Broad Street. The Historic Tabernacle Baptist Church Legacy Foundation is a nonprofit organization that owns and operates the property. The church mission, including research, education, and informational activities, increases public awareness of the church's contribution to world progress.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to the property at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Tabernacle Baptist Church is north of downtown Selma, about a half mile east of the Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson Home and a few blocks from the Good Samaritan Hospital. The site includes parking on the front, side, and rear of the building with eight accessible spaces directly adjacent to the building. There is also a parking lot to the north of the church across Minter Avenue on a parcel of land owned by the church. The exterior of the church can be viewed from the public right-of-way, and the church is open for guided tours by appointment to view the interior. The church is entered via a set of stairs but has an accessible elevator for visitors with limited mobility.

There is high potential for visitor enjoyment at this site in the worship space and the basement level of the building. The church has a Selma Alabama Tourism Listen and Learn sign in front of the building. The sign allows the public to call a phone number or scan a code to hear the history of the building.

The church became part of the African American Civil Rights Network in February 2021. In addition, the site was listed on the National Register of Historic places in 2013 and is a member of the Alabama African American Civil Rights Heritage Sites Consortium, a collaboration of twenty historic places of worship, lodging, and civic engagement associated with civil rights. The church currently operates as a place of worship; however, the property owner has plans to build a new building in the parking lot for worship space. The church is in the early stages of design work and is securing funding to begin construction in 2023. When the new worship space is complete, the church will operate out of the new facility, leaving the historic church available for additional visitor use, tours, and interpretation. There has been significant alteration to the surrounding landscape due to demolition of historic structures and new construction, and the historic landscape retains minimal integrity to the period of significance.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property owner is supportive of a stronger NPS presence at the site than their current partnership with the Trail. With the planned construction of the new worship space for the congregation, the owner expressed interest in partnering with the National Park Service for preservation of the building and developing NPS interpretive programming for visitor use. The owner has been successful in fundraising and securing grants for ongoing maintenance of the site; however, the owner stated that it is important to preserve the historic legacy of the church and to make it available to the public. The owner is interested in retaining ownership with a formalized NPS partnership to support long-term preservation and management of the site.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

The Tabernacle Baptist Church Legacy Foundation does not wish to sell the property at this time and wishes to partner with the National Park Service to provide public interpretation, preservation, operations, and administration. The church could also be considered to provide operational support and interpretive opportunities associated with the events that occurred here prior to and during the march. Given the partnership opportunity of including the Tabernacle Baptist Church Legacy Foundation, it is estimated that 0.5 of a full-time NPS employee would be required to support partner activities and functions and help identify appropriate NPS funds to support general repairs and maintenance of the historic site according to anticipated terms of a cooperative agreement. Given the partnership opportunity of including the Tabernacle Baptist Church in a potential national park system unit, about \$150,000 would be required annually to support partner activities and functions. If congressionally authorized, the National Park Service could also assist the foundation in securing funding, via grants or other means, for more substantial and mutually beneficial building investments to preserve the building and offer visitor opportunities. Further discussions with the Historic Tabernacle Baptist Church Legacy Foundation would be necessary to evaluate these opportunities.

Feasibility Finding

The Tabernacle Baptist Church building could feasibly be managed by the National Park Service. The church is currently used for service and community events; however, the church is in the design phase of building a new worship space that would allow the church to be preserved and open for visitor opportunities and interpretation. There is a high level of visitor use potential at the site, and the study team is unaware of any threats (such as demolition) to the site. The owner would like to retain ownership but is supportive of a new national park system unit designation to expand the partnership with the National Park Service. Therefore, the Tabernacle Baptist Church is considered feasible.

Samuel and Amelia Boynton Home, Dallas County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Samuel and Amelia Boynton Home is in a residential neighborhood about 0.5 miles from Tabernacle Baptist Church, on the corner of LL Anderson Avenue and Boynton Street. Privately owned residential homes are to the south and the west of the home. The Gateway Educational Foundation, a nonprofit organization, owns the property and is seeking funds to restore the property with the support of Reverend Leodis Strong of Brown Chapel A.M.E. The organization is a supportive service assisting the community in job placement.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

The property has been vacant for several years, leading to vandalism and deterioration. The home was built in 1913. In 2019, a \$500,000 NPS grant for phase 1 was awarded to the Gateway Educational Foundation and Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church to stabilize and restore the house. The restoration began but was delayed by the COVID-19 pandemic. Currently property assessments, identification of hazardous materials, and a restoration plan are underway. The goal is to restore the home as closely as possible to the period and then open it to the public. If the home has additional deterioration, its historic integrity could be negatively impacted beyond repair.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Samuel and Amelia Boynton Home is in a residential neighborhood near central Selma. The home has no driveway or space for onsite parking and has limited street parking. The home is in need of stabilization and restoration. The interior is inaccessible to the public but the public can view the exterior from the public right-of-way.

This site currently offers a medium level of public enjoyment. While there are house restoration plans, it is uncertain what the property owner plans to do with the property after restoration. At the time of the study, the home does not offer visitor opportunities or interpretation. Managing the home for visitor enjoyment could be challenging for the National Park Service, given the surrounding residential homes; however, these challenges could be mitigated. The public enjoyment level could be reevaluated if further information about site plans is obtained from the owner.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The National Park Service was unable to contact the property owner to better evaluate support for a potential national park system unit designation. The owner is supportive of a future NPS presence but it is uncertain what their plans are for the site. The current landowner has made progress in securing funding to restore the home and maintaining historic integrity. At the time of the study, the owner was in the process of implementing restoration funding and the site was not open to visitors.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site due to unknowns about the property owner's plans for the site. It is assumed that the owner would like to maintain ownership and restore the home. If this situation changes, the site would need to be further evaluated.

Feasibility Finding

The Samuel and Amelia Boynton Home is currently not feasible since it is unknown what the property owner wishes for the future of the site. However, if the owner becomes willing to partner with the National Park Service or sell to the government, the feasibility of the site could be reconsidered. Therefore, a finding of conditional feasibility applies to the Samuel and Amelia Boynton Home.

Clark Elementary School, Dallas County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

Clark Elementary School is a few city blocks from Brown Chapel A.M.E Church and is adjacent to the George Washington Carver Homes. The school is owned by the City of Selma and serves as an elementary school in the Selma City School District. The City of Selma reported that that the building had some unused space. In 2016, a planning brainstorm process took place that focused on the City of Selma: With about 50,000 square feet of the site unused, the design team recommended that this location be used to develop townhouses, “a housing option appropriate in scale and density for the downtown location and that can be designed as market rate or affordable” (Reimagining Selma, Alabama, A design place report, University of Alabama Center for Economic Development, 2016). If additional space continues to be an issue in the future, the city could explore additional opportunities to utilize the space to serve the community; however, any future construction could impact the historic integrity of the building.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to the property at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

Clark Elementary School is near downtown Selma off Lawrence Street and is close to Brown Chapel A.M.E Church. The site has an approximately twenty-vehicle staff parking lot off Green Street and street parking. The building is inaccessible to the public while it is used as a public elementary school. The public can view the building’s exterior from the public right-of-way.

There is low visitor use potential for this site since it is operating as a public school. Interpretation would be limited to the exterior of the building, and it could be problematic to increase visitor use even at the exterior of the school.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property owner is not supportive of an NPS presence at this property. Any additional visitor use would conflict with the current use of the property as a public school.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site due to its current use as a public school with limited access for interpretation. This situation is unlikely to change.

Feasibility Finding

Clark Elementary School is not a feasible addition to the national park system. Continuing its current function as a public school is the only site use identified for this property now and into the future.

Good Samaritan Hospital, Dallas County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

Good Samaritan Hospital faces Voeglin Avenue from the middle of a rectangular block between Broad Street and Washington Street. The Tabernacle Baptist Church is about two blocks north

on Broad Street. The site is mixed-use and it includes a fenced-in empty lot on the eastern portion of the parcel. The owner is the state of Alabama, specifically the Alabama Department of Economic and Community Affairs. The hospital is a four-story building that was permanently closed in 1983 and has remained vacant. It has undergone deterioration and vandalism. Plans to reopen it as an outpatient clinic have yet to move forward due to the costs involved (Henry 2016, McDonald 2016). The property owner has no plans for the building at this time.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

At the time of the study, the building was vacant and in poor condition. The building requires significant restoration. Although there are no restoration plans at this time, further deterioration or any potential restoration could reduce its historic integrity.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

Good Samaritan Hospital is 0.8 miles from downtown Selma and is nearby other important historical sites associated with the march. The four-story building is vacant and is in need of external and internal restoration. A large paved lot adjacent to the building, surrounded by an iron fence, could be used for parking. Accessibility of the building is unknown.

There is low potential for visitor enjoyment at the site. It can be viewed from the public right-of-way and there is no access to the interior. It is uncertain from which rooms victims from the march received treatment. The large building could make it difficult to provide enough visitor opportunities and interpretation to balance the high cost of operation and maintenance. Though the site owner is interested in transfer of ownership to the National Park Service, the building would require a multi-million-dollar investment for restoration. There could be potential to utilize some of the additional rooms as office space for NPS staff, but the anticipated repair, maintenance, utility cost, and limited use overall would outweigh visitor engagement potential. External viewing using the public right-of-way would provide historical context and understanding of the march.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The Alabama Department of Economic and Community Affairs expressed support for the development of a new national park system unit that includes the property for historic interpretation for visitor use. The Department also would be willing to sell or transfer the property to the National Park Service.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

The property owner indicated that they would consider selling the building to the National Park Service; however, considering the multi-level building and the current condition, paired with the focused interest on the specific hospital rooms where victims from the march were treated, acquisition of the entire building would not be feasible due to the high costs of acquisition, maintenance, development, and operation. Therefore, costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not fully developed for this site. Restoration would be a multi-million-dollar investment and annual operating costs would be significant. There is significant deterioration of the building and surrounding land. The multistory building would require stabilization and restoration to meet historic integrity standards. At the current time, the owner has no plans for restoration or future uses of the property. There would also be a need to determine additional uses for the building to adequately utilize the space since potential park

administration, operations, interpretation, and visitor services would not require the entire building. Since the building is in Selma, there is potential to interpret the history as part of the Selma Interpretive Center.

Feasibility Finding

Good Samaritan Hospital is not a feasible addition to the national park system. Although the property owner is willing to sell or transfer the property, the building is large and would require extensive resources to stabilize and restore, actions that do not balance with the level of interpretation that the site would provide for visitors. Exterior interpretation could be pursued in the future with the building's connection to the march. Good Samaritan Hospital is considered infeasible.

Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson Home, Dallas County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson Home is in a residential neighborhood in northeast Selma just a few houses away from the Samuel and Amelia Boynton Home. Privately owned residential homes are on all sides of the home. The house faces Boynton Street with the driveway entrance on Duke Street. In 2023, the family sold the home to The Henry Ford organization. Under the sale, the home will be disassembled and moved to the Henry Ford Museum near Dearborn, Michigan. The family continues to own the land parcel.

The Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson Home was built in 1906 and remodeled around 1960. It is a one-story frame bungalow with wide-board siding, a metal pyramid roof, and a brick-and-concrete foundation. The backyard includes an open-gable-roof garage and an unattached two-car open-frame garage. The open-gable roof garage has a south concrete block wall and three square metal posts on the north side that opens into a shed-roof carport, around 1970. The two-car open-frame garage, built around 1980, has an asphalt shingle flat roof, a concrete foundation, and a small storage unit as part of its east end.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

The property owner indicated difficulty in maintaining the property, noting some issues with the water and sewer system as well as other routine maintenance issues. The owner also noted that the home and its furnishings could be threatened due to inadequate fire-suppression and security systems at the property. As part of the recent sale, it has been agreed that the home and furnishings will be relocated to and preserved by the Henry Ford Museum. When the home is moved, it will result in a loss of historic integrity that will reduce its national significance. At the time of the study, the sale had recently occurred and the home had not been relocated. Additional review may be needed to determine if the site meets national significance criteria.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson Home is in a residential neighborhood 1.2 miles north of downtown Selma. During the period of significance and today, visitors enter the house from the rear door, indicating how the back was often utilized to quietly and safely enter in the days of violence. The back opens into a large den, then a bathroom and a kitchen where so much was provided to civil rights activists by Mrs. Jackson and her friends. The dining room is next to the kitchen. The front of the house has a formal living room and access to the bedrooms. The guest

room was used by Dr. King, Reverend Abernathy, and other visitors. The recent sale and planned relocation of the home will reduce visitor opportunities at the site.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

At the time of the study, the property owner was exploring management options for future operation and maintenance of the home. Toward the end of the study period, the owner sold the home to The Henry Ford organization to be included in the Henry Ford Museum near Dearborn, Michigan. The home will be moved to Michigan to be displayed in the museum.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs were not developed for this site since the property owner recently sold the property to the Henry Ford Museum.

Feasibility Finding

The Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson Home is conditionally feasible. The property could be managed by the National Park Service in the future; however, the recent sale and planned relocation of the home would reduce its historic integrity. The sale was finalized in early 2023 but relocation had not begun at the time of the study.

F.D. Reese Home, Dallas County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The F.D. Reese Home is on the corner of Range Street/Marie Foster Street and Eugene Avenue in a residential area in the northeastern portion of Selma. The property is owned and managed by family members of F.D. Reese. The site includes a main (2,772 square feet) two-story house with siding, five-step front and rear staircase entrances, a main-level porch, and two second-story walk-out patios. The home was built in 1940. The property also has two sheds, a two-car carport in the rear, and a wrought iron fence along the parcel's perimeter. While the entrances are not accessible for people with disabilities, there is room for an accessible entrance.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to the property at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The F.D. Reese Home is in a residential neighborhood about one mile north of downtown Selma. The property can be seen from the public-right-of-way along the street. Parking is available along the street and onsite for two private vehicles. The front and rear entrances are only accessible via stairs but there is space for accessible ramps. The property owner shows a video as part of interpretation; this could lead to additional options for developing accessibility materials. The owner is interested in partnering with the National Park Service to create an interpretative presence at the location but would like to maintain ownership of the home.

There is a high level of public enjoyment potential for interpreting the events of the 1965 voting rights march. The owners of the site offer the F.D. Reese Historical Tour, which is publicly available: Visitors can reserve a time for a guided tour that includes the Edmund Pettus Bridge, Brown Chapel A.M.E., the Dallas County Courthouse, Clark Elementary School, and the home. The home's interior can only be viewed by reserving a scheduled tour, typically on Friday to

Sunday. The owners provide access and visitor opportunities to engage the public via guided tours and podcasts, offering interpretation and personal stories of the events and significance of F.D. Reese. The tour also provides visitors an opportunity to experience the home and the broader context of the 1965 march and significant events at other sites.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property owner is supportive of an NPS presence at the site; however, the owner would like to maintain ownership, as it also serves as a private residence. The owner is supportive of an NPS partnership to help preserve the home and to interpret the site.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

The property owner would like to further develop an NPS partnership to provide public interpretation, preservation, operations, and administration. The home could also provide operational support and interpretation of the events that occurred here prior to the march. Given the partnership opportunity of including the F.D. Reese Home in a potential national park system unit, it is estimated that an NPS employee would dedicate 0.5 full-time employee to support partner activities and functions and help identify NPS funds to support general repairs and maintenance of the historic site. Given the partnership opportunity of including the F.D. Reese Home in a potential national park system unit, \$150,000 is estimated to be required in annual NPS funding to support partner activities and functions. If congressionally authorized, the National Park Service could also assist the owner in securing funding, via grants or other means, for more substantial and mutually beneficial building investments to preserve the building and offer visitor opportunities. Further discussions with the F.D. Reese Home owner would be necessary to evaluate these opportunities.

Feasibility Finding

The F.D. Reese Home is currently feasible as a property that could be managed by the National Park Service in the future. The property owner would like to maintain ownership but is supportive of an NPS presence via partnership. The owner plans to continue preserving the home for visitor use opportunities. The partnership would require a written agreement between the owner and the National Park Service.

Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2), Lowndes County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2), in a rural area of Hayneville, Alabama, is surrounded by forest and agricultural uses and owned by the family of Rosie Steele; they use the property for private residences. These residences include modern housing that is unrelated to the period of significance. The property spans several acres to the north and south of US 80 with a view to either side. The private residences are found on the north and south sides of the highway. The north side of the highway is where the marchers camped and where the grocery store once stood. No structures on the property today were present during the 1965 march. Two houses on the site post-date the march, including the brick home that the community helped Steele build.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to the resources at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2) is in a rural part of Hayneville 1.4 miles east of the Lowndes Interpretive Center. The site is not currently open to the public. There is no public parking at the site, but visitors typically stop and park along the public right-of-way to view and photograph an interpretive sign visible from US 80. The property owner is potentially interested in partnering with the National Park Service, including a potential sale of a portion of the property for interpretation.

There is high potential for visitor enjoyment at the site. A historical marker at the site identifies the property as part of the Trail, Campsite #2, Rosie Steele Farm, March 22, 1965. The public can view it from the street but cannot access the property beyond the sign. With the potential opportunity for a portion of the land to be sold to the government, a designated parking area could allow safer and easier site access. Site interpretation could be performed by NPS staff to connect the events of the site to the march. The property also serves as primary residences for families and there is high potential for visitor use to conflict with the current use of the property; however, there are ways to mitigate these conflicts. There are no public buildings on the property for visitor use opportunities.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property owner is willing to consider an NPS partnership and the sale of a portion of the property on the north side of US 80 for site interpretation, but the owner wishes to maintain ownership where private residences are located.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

The property owner would like to further develop an NPS partnership to provide public interpretation of the campsite. Given the partnership opportunity of including the Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2), minimal NPS facilities and maintenance costs would likely be required. At this time, there is no dedicated NPS staff presence due to limited visitor use and opportunities. If circumstances change and there was an agreement for additional visitor opportunities, one-time development and operation costs would be evaluated. If congressionally authorized, the National Park Service could also assist in securing funding, via grants or other means, for more substantial and mutually beneficial building investments. Further discussions with the owner would be necessary to evaluate these opportunities.

Feasibility Finding

The Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2) is currently feasible as a property that could be managed by the National Park Service in the future. The property owner is willing to consider partnership and potential sale of a portion of land to the National Park Service. There is a high level of public enjoyment potential for interpretation and visitor use opportunities at the site. However, the family plans to continue ownership and using private residence at the site, so any future partnership or designation will need to be coordinated with the owner. For these reasons, the Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2) is considered feasible.

Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3), Lowndes County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3) is in rural Lowndesboro. The property and the surrounding area support agricultural uses. The Gardner family owns the property. At the time of the march, the Gardner's primary residence along with several outbuildings including a large barn, a small garden space, crop land, pastureland, and fencing were present. An additional two residences on the property are in the field where the marchers camped. The original house remains but the outbuildings are no longer present.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to resources at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Robert Gardner Farm is about five miles east of downtown Lowndesboro in a rural area. The owner operates a farm at the site and plans to continue this use and maintain ownership. The campsite is open for external viewing only from the public right-of-way along Frederick Douglass Road. Visitors stop and park along the roadway to view and photograph the sign, but there is no designated public parking.

Public enjoyment potential at the site is low since the site is currently used for private agriculture. The site is not open to the public. A sign marks the site as part of the Trail, Campsite #3, Robert Gardner Farm, March 23, 1965. The public can view the farm from the street but cannot access the property beyond the sign. The property owner is not interested in regular visitor use and would like to continue the current partnership with the Trail with future potential for offering scheduled visits.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property owner is supportive of an NPS presence at the site, similar to the existing coordination with the Trail. The owner is willing to partner with the National Park Service to facilitate scheduled visits. The owner wishes to maintain ownership and plans to continue operating a farm.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site due to its current use as a farm with limited access for interpretation. If this situation changes, the site could be further evaluated.

Feasibility Finding

The Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3) is currently marked along the Trail where visitor access is limited to a short stop to view the interpretive sign. The property owner would like to maintain ownership of the Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3) and continue coordinating with the Trail via partnership. However, if the owner becomes willing to sell a portion of land to the National Park Service, the Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3) would be considered feasible.

Lowndes County Courthouse, Lowndes County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Lowndes County Courthouse is near the city center of the Town of Hayneville, Alabama. Lowndes County owns the property, and the building has served as the Lowndes County Courthouse since 1856. Mixed-use businesses are in the area surrounding the property. The two-story Greek Revival-style building has symmetrical staircases on both sides that lead to the main entrance.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to the property at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Lowndes County Courthouse is located in downtown Hayneville. Visitors enter from two symmetrical staircases that curve toward South Washington Street. Street parking is available adjacent to the building. Just off east Lafayette Street, a small parking lot is connected to the site with a parking space that is accessible for people with disabilities. Accessible access to the building is unknown. Lowndes County plans to continue using the building as a courthouse.

Visitor enjoyment potential is low since the property functions as an active courthouse. Public visitor use and interpretation of the site would likely interfere with this use of the property. The public can view the site from the public right-of-way. Across south Washington Street in front of the courthouse is the murder site and memorial for civil rights activist Jonathan Daniels.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property is actively used by Lowndes County as a courthouse. Lowndes County is not interested in selling or donating the property as part of a potential national park designation.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site due to its current use as a courthouse with limited access for interpretation. This situation is unlikely to change.

Feasibility Finding

The Lowndes County Courthouse is not a feasible addition to the national park system. The site currently serves as an active courthouse. Continuing its current function as a courthouse is the only site use identified for this property now and into the future.

Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church, Lowndes County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church is in White Hall, Alabama where a rural landscape surrounds the church. The property includes three land parcels on about ten acres. The Mount Gillard Baptist Church owns the 4.6-acre parcel where the church is located; the cemetery covers 4.3 acres. The church was built in 1800 and was restored in 1966. The cemetery is not considered in this feasibility analysis. There is a one-acre parcel between the cemetery and

church parcels owned by St. Anthony Lodge. The middle parcel includes one detached building structure built in 1992.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to the property at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church is near US 80 on a dirt road in a rural area of White Hall, Alabama. It is 1.3 miles west of the Lowndes Interpretive Center, which is owned and managed by the National Park Service. The church has an onsite parking lot for active church members. The exterior can be viewed from the public right-of-way, where there is space for vehicles to pull off and view the sign in front of the church. The study team was unable to contact the current owner to understand future planned uses of the site and whether the National Park Service could engage in interpretation at the site.

In its current state, there is a medium level of visitor enjoyment potential. The church interior is not open to the public and is used as a place of worship. It is uncertain if tours are offered. A historical marker on the property notes that Mount Gillard is known as the “Mother Church of the Civil Rights Movement” in Lowndes County. The church was listed on the Alabama Register of Historic Places in 2003. Public enjoyment potential at the site could be reevaluated if the owner is interested in an NPS presence at the site. The building could provide adequate space for interpretation and visitor access near the Lowndes Interpretive Center.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The study team was unable to contact the property owner to gauge support for a potential national park system unit designation. The building appears to be in good condition from the exterior, and it can be reasonably assumed that the owner has kept the building well-maintained and intends to keep the use of the property as a place of worship. It is uncertain if the owner would support an NPS presence at the site.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site since the study team was unable to contact the property owner. If this situation changes, further evaluation would be needed.

Feasibility Finding

The Mount Gillard Baptist Church is conditionally feasible as a property that could feasibly be managed by the National Park Service in the future. The study team assumes that the property owner would like to maintain ownership and continue using it as a church. However, if the owner becomes willing to sell to the National Park Service or engage in a partnership, the property could be further evaluated. For these reasons the Mount Gillard Baptist Church is considered conditionally feasible.

SNCC/LCFO Freedom House, Lowndes County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The site is located in Hayneville, Alabama. The surrounding rural area is primarily used for agriculture. The site covers several acres, with structures on the parcel near the road. The site includes a commemorative space for the Black Panther Party and African American achievement; it is made of poured concrete and Plymouth chassis. There is also a cabin, a small SNCC exhibit, and the house itself. The site is owned by family members who do not live on the property.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to the resources at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The SNCC/LCFO Freedom House is located in a rural area about two miles north of the Lowndes Interpretive Center in Hayneville. The owner, who preserves and manages the site, conducts tours by appointment. The owner is interested in an NPS presence for interpretation but would like to maintain ownership of the home. No public or street parking is available, but the site has driveway access. A neighboring landowner has a private residence to the north of the site; another is across the highway.

There is high potential for visitor enjoyment at the house. The site has various structures for civil rights movement interpretation: a commemorative area, a cabin, an exhibit on a student-led civil rights organization, and the home. The owner provides scheduled interpretive visits. While the owner would like to maintain ownership, they would be interested in the National Park Service preserving and interpreting the site. Potential conflicts could be reasonably mitigated via visitor use management. There are no public buildings on the property.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property owner is supportive of an NPS presence for preservation of the home and to interpret the site; however, the owner would like to maintain ownership.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

The property owner would like to further develop an NPS partnership to provide public interpretation, preservation, operations, and administration. The site could also be used to provide operational support and interpretive opportunities associated with the events that occurred here prior to and after the march. It is estimated that 0.5 of a full time NPS employee would be required to support partner activities and functions and help identify appropriate NPS funds to support general repairs and maintenance of the site according to anticipated terms of a cooperative agreement. Given the partnership opportunity of including the SNCC/LCFO Freedom House in a potential national park system unit, about \$150,000 is estimated to be required in annual NPS costs to support partner activities and functions. If congressionally authorized, the National Park Service could also assist in securing funding, via grants or other means, for more substantial and mutually beneficial building investments to preserve the building and offer visitor opportunities. Further discussions with the SNCC/LCFO Freedom House would be necessary to evaluate these opportunities.

Feasibility Finding

The SNCC/LCFO Freedom House is currently feasible as a property that could be managed by the National Park Service in the future. The property owner would like to maintain property ownership but is supportive of an NPS presence via a partnership. Partnership details would require further agreement.

Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Dexter Avenue Baptist Church is in Montgomery one block west of the Alabama State Capitol. The building, which is a functioning place of worship, on the corner of Dexter Avenue and South Decatur Street, facing Dexter Avenue. The Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church owns the property.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to the resources at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Dexter Avenue Baptist Church is just west of the Alabama State Capital. It has two large symmetrical staircases that open to the main entrance. An entrance that is accessible for people with disabilities uses a ramp and side door. Public parking spaces that are accessible for people with disabilities are available on the street adjacent to the site. Public street parking is also available. The owner plans to continue operation of the church.

The site has high public enjoyment potential for interpretation. This is an active place of worship and is only accessible to the public by appointment. The public can view the building's exterior from the public right-of-way. The exterior visitor experience includes a view of the Alabama State Capitol with a city-maintained crosswalk with foot imprints representing the marchers directly in front of the main entrance. A non-NPS interpretive sign out front notes the importance of the church to Dr. King as the church's pastor and the use of the church for the Montgomery bus boycott. The church provides virtual tours and in-person tours by appointment.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The current property owner would like to maintain ownership of the church and continue its operation as the church. The church is well-known for the events that occurred here and the church remains committed to promoting social change and spiritual enrichment. The owner has been successful in fundraising and maintaining the property.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site since the property owner wishes to maintain its current operation. If this situation changes, further evaluation would be needed.

Feasibility Finding

The Dexter Avenue Baptist church, as an active church, is not feasible. However, if the owner becomes willing to sell to the government or to develop an NPS partnership, the feasibility could be reconsidered. Therefore, the site is conditionally feasible.

Alabama State Capitol, Montgomery County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Alabama State Capitol is in downtown Montgomery. The state of Alabama owns the property and uses it as state government offices. Mixed-use businesses are in the area surrounding the property.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to the property at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Alabama State Capitol is in downtown Montgomery. Public street parking is available around the building, which is accessed via stairs, with entrances that are accessible for people with disabilities. The building is open to the public. All floors of the building are accessible to people with disabilities. The Alabama State Capitol is an active capitol building and is owned by the state of Alabama, which would like to retain possession of the site.

Visitor enjoyment potential is low since the property functions as an active state government building. Public visitor use and site interpretation would likely interfere with the property's current use. While an NPS presence might not be feasible, this site offers rich history, monuments, paintings, architecture, guided tours for fifteen or more visitors, and a gift shop. This site is unsuitable for NPS designation but it does offer interpretive services that can be connected to the civil rights movement and the march.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property is actively used as the Alabama State Capitol. The state of Alabama is not interested in selling or donating the property as part of a potential national park designation.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site due to its current use as the capitol with limited access for interpretation. This situation is unlikely to change.

Feasibility Finding

The Alabama State Capitol is not a feasible addition to the national park system. Continuing its current function as the capitol is the only site use identified for this property now and into the future.

City of St. Jude (Campsite #4), Montgomery County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The City of St. Jude (Campsite #4) is in Montgomery, in a more developed area than the other campsites. The City of St. Jude is owned by the City of St. Jude Parish and is a well-defined campus with church, residential, and administrative buildings on about forty acres on the north side of West Fairview Avenue (US Highway 31) in Montgomery. It is surrounded by residential development to the north, commercial development to the east and west, and commercial and educational development to the south.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to the resources at the time of this study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The City of St. Jude (Campsite #4) is about four miles southwest of the Alabama State Capital. A historical marker on the site identifies the property as Campsite #4, City of St. Jude, March 24, 1965. A marker on the west of the campus that is not identified as part of the designated Trail reads, "Final stop before arrival at State Capital." Visitors can pull into a large parking lot and take photographs by the sign. There is public street parking near the site. The church is supportive of an NPS partnership and is considering the transfer of a building to the National Park Service for interpretive use.

The site has high public enjoyment potential for interpretive purposes. Several signs note the site's importance to the march. Toward the rear of the campus is the field that was used for the final campsite and for the Freedom Rally. No additional interpretation is at the site. A school operates on the campus; there are also residential apartments and administrative buildings for the church. The campus is large enough that congestion or visitor use conflicts should not be a problem, as there is adequate space between buildings.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The church is supportive of an NPS partnership for interpretation of the campsite, although the church does not offer visitor opportunities. The parish is currently reviewing the uses of two administrative buildings near the field. Both were built after 1965. The property owner is in the process of relocating services from these buildings. The buildings could represent an opportunity for the parish to sell or donate a building to the National Park Service to provide additional visitor opportunities near the field.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

The property owner would like to further develop an NPS partnership to provide public interpretation of the campsite. Given the partnership opportunity, there would likely be minimal annual NPS operations and maintenance costs. There is currently no dedicated NPS staff presence due to limited visitor use and opportunities. If circumstances change and there is agreement for additional visitor opportunities, one-time development and operation costs would be evaluated. If congressionally authorized, the National Park Service could also assist in securing funding, via grants or other means, for more substantial and mutually beneficial

building investments. Further discussions with the City of St. Jude would be necessary to evaluate these opportunities.

Feasibility Finding

The City of St. Jude (Campsite #4) is currently feasible as a property that could be managed by the National Park Service in the future. The property owner is willing to consider NPS partnership as it relates to the field and the potential sale of an unused administrative building to the National Park Service. There is a high level of public enjoyment potential for interpretation and visitor use opportunities. For these reasons, the City of St. Jude (Campsite #4) is considered feasible.

Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church, Montgomery County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The historic Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church (Memorial Annex) is in Montgomery in a mixed-use residential area. The Mount Zion A.M.E. Church Foundation owns the property, which is currently vacant and being restored. The foundation uses another modern property at a different location for church services. The historic church is also known as the Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church Memorial Annex. The foundation has secured grants for restoration of the historic Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church and is beginning restoration. The site is about half a block from the Highway 85-Highway 65 interchange. There is no highway exit near the site, but the highway is visible.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

Proximity to the state highway could be a threat to this site, as the property owner said the building was previously threatened to be demolished due to potential highway construction in the area.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The historic Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church is adjacent to a highway interchange about 1.5 miles southwest of the Alabama State Capitol. Two symmetrical staircases off South Holt Street merge to join at the main entrance. The church is currently undergoing restoration. The building can only be viewed from the exterior right-of-way during restoration, but the owner intends to open the building as a museum with a goal of completing restoration by 2025. The property owner plans to restore the restrooms used by marchers to contribute to visitor experience and interpretation. The rooms where significant events occurred will also be restored for historic integrity or visitor use. The restoration plans include restrooms that are accessible for people with disabilities. The building has no dedicated parking but there is public street parking in front of the site.

There is high potential for visitor enjoyment at this site. Dr. King was voted to the church coalition in this building, and the church opened its doors to marchers as a final stop before reaching the State Capitol. It is one of the few such historic structures still standing in this area due to highway construction over the years. The Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church Memorial Annex is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. An interpretive panel is on the corner of South Holt Street and Stone Street. While the site owner would like to maintain ownership,

they are supportive of an NPS partnership and management of the site for interpretation and technical expertise.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property owner is dedicated to restoring this site and is making good progress. The community supports this work. The owner is interested in the church being designated as part of the national park system and being managed via a partnership where the owner maintains full ownership and collaborates with the National Park Service for technical expertise and interpretation. The owner has secured three grants from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development and the National Park Service. The grants are funding stabilization of the infrastructure, water system, fire suppression, and general restoration of the fellowship hall, sanctuary, basement, and bathrooms. The owner has stated that their goals are to serve as good neighbors to the community and to preserve site resources.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

The property owner would like to further develop an NPS partnership to provide public interpretation, preservation, operations, and administration. The church could also provide operational support and interpretive opportunities associated with the events that occurred here prior to and during the march. Given the partnership opportunity of including the historic Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church in a potential national park system unit, it is estimated that 0.5 NPS employee would be required to support partner activities and functions and help identify appropriate NPS funds to support general repairs and maintenance of the historic site. Given the partnership opportunity of including the church in a potential national park system unit, the National Park Service would require about \$150,000 annually to support partner activities and functions. If congressionally authorized, the National Park Service could also assist the foundation in securing funding, via grants or other means, for more substantial and mutually beneficial building investments to preserve the building and offer visitor opportunities. Further discussions with the Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church Foundation would be necessary to evaluate these opportunities.

Feasibility Finding

The property owner wishes to retain site ownership but is interested in an NPS partnership for interpretation of the building and ongoing preservation. If the owner becomes willing to sell to the government, further evaluation could be completed. The site includes a high level of public enjoyment potential. A partnership would likely provide costs savings to the owner and to the National Park Service. Therefore, the Mount Zion A.M.E. Zion Church Memorial Annex is considered feasible.

Ben Moore Hotel, Montgomery County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Ben Moore Hotel is on the corner of South Jackson Street and Highland Avenue on the east side of Centennial Hill neighborhood in Montgomery. The area is mixed-use and residential, with privately owned homes across from the property on Jackson Street. The four-story building was built in 1945 with about 3,000 square feet. At the time of the study, the property was vacant. The property is owned by family members of the owner who owned the property in 1965.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

The most significant threat to the property is that it is in need of stabilization and restoration to preserve historic integrity. Via the Architectural Review Board, the city's historic preservation commission identified the Ben Moore Hotel as an important structure in the neighborhood that is not currently protected. The hotel was an anchor of the city's African American business district and was an important meeting place for Black leaders during the civil rights movement. The Montgomery Comprehensive Plan (2020) states, "The once critical hotel is now in a state of risk." It is uncertain what the property owner plans for the site.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Ben Moore Hotel is in downtown Montgomery 0.6 miles southeast of the Alabama State Capitol. It is not currently open to visitors. Visitors can view the property from the public right-of-way but the site is closed for interior viewing. There is no designated parking but public street parking is available adjacent to the building on South Jackson Street. The study team was unable to contact the current owner to determine future uses of the building and whether the National Park Service could engage in interpretation at the site.

The hotel currently has high public enjoyment potential but the building is in need of restoration. Although the building is large, there are opportunities to stabilize the building and to only restore specific rooms for visitor use opportunities and historic interpretation. The public can view the building's exterior from the public right-of-way. The building is listed as part of the Alabama African American Civil Rights Heritage Sites Consortium. There is potential for visitor enjoyment and interpretation in the rooms of the building, in particular where civil rights leaders held meetings and the barbershop on the first floor.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The study team was unable to contact the property owner and it is uncertain if the owner is supportive of an NPS presence and their plans for the building. However, it has been reported by local media that the owner is in the process of determining potential options for managing the property.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

Costs associated with acquisition, park development, and operations were not developed for this site since the study team was unable to contact the property owner. If this situation changes, the site could be further evaluated.

Feasibility Finding

The Ben Moore Hotel is conditionally feasible as a property that could feasibly be managed by the National Park Service. It is uncertain if the property owner would like to maintain ownership or what they plan to do with the property. However, if the owner becomes willing to sell to the government or to engage in a partnership, the property could be further evaluated. For these reasons the Ben Moore Hotel is considered conditionally feasible.

Montgomery Interpretive Center, Montgomery County

Size, Boundary Configurations, and Land Ownership

The Montgomery Interpretive Center is on the Alabama State University campus in Montgomery next to the university stadium. The university owns the property and partners with the National Park Service to provide visitor opportunities and interpretation. The building is included in the study due to its current use as an interpretive center but has not been evaluated for historic integrity. The property was built to serve as an interpretive center in partnership with the National Park Service. The building was completed in 2017 and is about 10,000 square feet.

Existing and Potential Threats to Resources

There are no known threats to resources at the time of the study.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The Montgomery Interpretive Center is next to the university's Hornet Stadium. The center can be entered by stairs or a ramp that is accessible for people with disabilities. Directly across the street is a large parking lot used for multiple campus buildings and local bus stops are in front of the building. Alabama State University owns the property but the site is managed by the National Park Service for interpretive services.

The site has high public enjoyment potential for interpretive purposes. The building is currently open to visitors, offering interpretation and exhibits that tell the history of the last leg of the 1965 Selma to Montgomery voting rights march, student involvement in the voting rights movement, the Freedom Rally that occurred at the City of St. Jude campus on the fourth night of the march, and events that occurred after the march. The building is staffed during the day and includes a small gift shop. The Ben Moore Hotel is the closest Trail site, about a mile from the interpretive center. Staff reported that area visitors may be unaware of the interpretive center and that visitation may increase as awareness increases.

Public Support (Including Landowner)

The property owner would like to continue under the current partnership, in which Alabama State University owns the building and the National Park Service manages operations. The National Park Service owns and operates the other two interpretive centers: Selma Interpretive Center and the Lowndes Interpretive Center. The current management and partnership between the University of Alabama and the National Park Service provides visitor access and opportunities. In the future, if circumstances change and the owner would like to modify the partnership and reevaluate ownership, the Trail would be interested in ownership to ensure consistency among the three interpretive centers.

Costs Associated with Acquisition, Development, and Operation

The property owner would like to further develop an NPS partnership to provide public interpretation, operations, and administration. Given the partnership opportunity of including the Montgomery Interpretive Center in a national park system unit, operations would be maintained at the current level of one full-time employee to support NPS operations, interpretation, and coordination of activities. Further discussions with Alabama State University

would be necessary to evaluate these opportunities and any additional opportunities for a potential partnership as part of a potential national park system unit designation.

Feasibility Finding

The Montgomery Interpretive Center currently operates under a partnership where Alabama State University owns the building and the National Park Service manages operations. The property owner wishes to continue under this partnership. However, if this circumstance changes, additional operation and maintenance at this site would be a small addition to current NPS responsibilities. Therefore, the Montgomery Interpretive Center is a feasible based on the current partnership.

Economic Impact

The potential economic benefits of national park system units are well established, as the National Park Service preserves unique resources for the enjoyment of future generations. Nationwide, visitors to NPS lands purchase goods and services in local gateway regions, and these expenditures generate and support economic activity in those local economies. Such visitor spending is far-reaching, directly affecting sectors such as lodging, restaurants, retail, recreation industries, and transportation. The 2021 *NPS Visitor Spending Effects Report* analyzes and presents an estimated amount of annual dollars that visitors spend in gateway economies across the country. The model uses information from visitor survey data, visitation data, and regional economic multipliers to generate estimates for visitor spending and economic contributions. The report showed that park visitors spent an estimated \$20.5 billion in local gateway regions while visiting NPS lands in 2021. These expenditures supported an estimated 323,000 jobs, \$14.6 billion in labor income, and \$42.5 billion in economic output in the national economy (NPS 2021).

In 2021, the state of Alabama welcomed 1.4 million park visitors to its national parks, resulting in an estimated \$74.8 million in local gateway region spending. These expenditures supported 1,120 jobs, \$31.6 million in labor income, and \$98.6 million in economic output in the Alabama economy (NPS 2021). At present, the socioeconomic impact of a new national park system unit on the local area is uncertain but is projected to be modest. Social and economic impacts of national park system unit designation would vary depending on the size and scope of the new park, management approach, staffing levels, and especially visitation. Any impacts could accumulate over time as a new unit becomes better established in the national park system. The current designation of the Trail provides economic benefits, and any potential future designation would be in addition to current levels. Socioeconomic impacts correlate directly with the number of visitors to a site.

The Trail began collecting visitor use data in 2006 at the Lowndes Interpretive Center. Since then, the Selma Interpretive Center (2010) and the Montgomery Interpretive Center (2020) have opened to visitation, and the data include visitors counted at these locations. There is potential for double- or triple-counting, as a visitor could visit all three interpretive centers and be counted each time. During the most recent ten-year period (2013-2022), an average of 132,163 visitors were counted annually across all three interpretive centers.

The annual Bridge Crossing Jubilee event accounts for a large amount of the annual visitation. If we account for the same visitor visiting each interpretive center, annual visitation for the Trail is estimated at 44,000. This visitor use data are not currently included in the visitor spending effects for the state of Alabama described above. If a new national park system unit is established, visitor use would be in addition to the reported data in NPS visitor spending effects.

To determine estimated visitation of a potential national park system unit designation under NPS management, visitation statistics were analyzed for four established NPS reference sites that shared similarities in geographic proximity, resource type, or as discontinuous sites. The four sites are Cane River Creole National Historical Park, Natchez National Historical Park, Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site, and Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site:

- During the most recent ten-year period (2012–2021), Cane River Creole National Historical Park in Natchitoches, Louisiana, averaged 26,000 visitors annually (NPS 2022a).
- During the most recent ten-year period (2012–2021), Natchez National Historical Park in Natchez, Mississippi, averaged 176,000 visitors annually (NPS 2022a).
- During the most recent ten-year period (2012–2021), Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site, Alabama, averaged 23,000 visitors annually (NPS 2022).
- During the most recent ten-year period (2012–2021), Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site, Alabama averaged 20,000 visitors annually (NPS 2022).

Based on the visitation of these comparable units, the current visitation of the Trail, the location of the potential sites within Alabama, and additional tourism opportunities in the area, it is estimated that potential future visitation of a new park unit could reach 40,000-80,000 visitors annually.

Typically, establishment of a new national park system unit would also involve the construction of some new visitor and administrative facilities. This would provide a modest and temporary economic benefit via worker spending or local jobs. A new park would also require staff to operate facilities and care for the grounds. Presumably, some employees could be sourced from the local area, though job creation would likely be minimal, particularly when compared to larger national park system units.

While the impact on the local economy is uncertain, socioeconomic factors would not preclude designation of a new national park system unit. Designation is not expected to result in negative economic impacts, as minimal land and other resources would be diverted from their existing uses. The site would likely generate low economic benefit in accommodation, food services, and retail trade used by site visitors. The overall socioeconomic impact of designation to nearby communities would likely be slight.

Conclusion: Feasibility Analysis Summary

Since the National Park Service has a legislated mandate to conserve resources unimpaired for public enjoyment, the park units it manages would presumably continue to be managed according to this mandate. However, designation of a new national park system unit does not

guarantee that funding or staffing to administer that new unit will be appropriated by Congress. Any newly designated national park system unit would have to compete with more than 400 existing park units for limited funding and resources in a currently fiscally constrained environment. Study areas that may be nationally significant, suitable, and technically feasible for designation as a new park unit may not be feasible considering current budget constraints, competing needs across the entire agency, and the NPS deferred maintenance and repair backlog.

In an SRS, feasibility analysis provides an initial opportunity to understand the magnitude of costs required for acquiring park lands and establishing park operations. The full costs to acquire and sustain the site as a national park system unit are unknown and would be affected by visitation level, resource preservation requirements, and desired level of facility development. Projects that would be technically possible and desirable for the new park may not be feasible considering current budgetary constraints. While estimated costs of acquisition, development, and operations associated with the site would be modest in comparison to larger national park system units, any new expenditures would need to be carefully weighed in the context of the agency's maintenance backlog, other fiscal constraints, and potential future visitation. Establishment of a new national park system unit is a gradual process that happens in phases. As a result of agencywide priorities, it would likely take several years or more for the National Park Service to fully staff and operate any newly designated national park system unit.

Completion and transmittal of the study does not guarantee establishment of a national park system unit or future funding for any NPS actions at any of the sites. Even if a unit is established, while new national park system units share common elements, each national park system unit requires a distinct organizational structure. The organizational structure may be influenced by the park unit's enabling legislation or proclamation, its size, resources, scope and delivery of public programming, and its location. National park system units are not considered operational (prepared to welcome visitors, preserve resources, and provide programming and services on a regular basis) until they receive an operating appropriation from Congress, for which there is no set timeline.

Table 4 below summarizes feasibility findings by site. Twenty-seven sites were evaluated for feasibility: Eleven are considered feasible, ten are considered conditionally feasible, and six are considered not feasible under the feasibility factors where a site must be of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure that sustainable resource protection and visitor enjoyment, current land ownership patterns amendable to the operations of a national park system unit, minimal economic and socioeconomic impacts, minimal potential threats to the resources, and the anticipated costs associated development, management, and operations of a potential national park system unit are within reason and are commensurate with anticipated future visitation.

Table 4. Summary of Feasibility Findings

Site	County	Feasibility Finding
Zion Chapel Methodist Church	Perry	Conditionally feasible
Old Perry County Jail	Perry	Feasible
Lincoln Normal School	Perry	Feasible
Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church	Dallas	Conditionally feasible
Edmund Pettus Bridge	Dallas	Conditionally feasible
Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building	Dallas	Conditionally feasible
Dallas County Court House	Dallas	Not feasible
David Hall Farm (Campsite #1)	Dallas	Feasible
First Baptist Church	Dallas	Conditionally feasible
George Washington Carver Homes	Dallas	Not feasible
Tabernacle Baptist Church	Dallas	Feasible
Samuel and Amelia Boynton Home	Dallas	Conditionally feasible
Clark Elementary School	Dallas	Not feasible
Good Samaritan Hospital	Dallas	Not feasible
Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson Site	Dallas	Conditionally feasible
F.D. Reese Home	Dallas	Feasible
Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2)	Lowndes	Feasible
Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3)	Lowndes	Feasible
Lowndes County Courthouse	Lowndes	Not feasible
Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church	Lowndes	Conditionally feasible
SNCC/LCFO Freedom House	Lowndes	Feasible
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church	Montgomery	Conditionally feasible
Alabama State Capitol	Montgomery	Not feasible
City of St. Jude (Campsite #4)	Montgomery	Feasible
Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church	Montgomery	Feasible
Ben Moore Hotel, Majestic Café & Malden Brothers Barber Shop	Montgomery	Conditionally feasible
Montgomery Interpretive Center	Montgomery	Feasible

Evaluation of the Need for Direct NPS Management

Need for Direct NPS Management Criterion

The fourth criterion in the SRS evaluation process is whether the study area requires direct NPS management instead of protection by another public agency or the private sector. NPS *Management Policies 2006* section 1.3.4 further requires that direct NPS management not only be needed but that it be “the clearly superior alternative.” NPS inclusion would provide a study area with the stewardship mandate defined in the NPS Organic Act “to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.”

Direct NPS management may be needed if current or potential management entities cannot provide opportunities for resource stewardship or public enjoyment. Unless direct NPS management is identified as the clearly superior alternative, the National Park Service recommends that other existing organizations or agencies continue resource management responsibilities, and the study area is not recommended for inclusion as a new national park system unit.

In the context of an SRS, “direct NPS management” means the National Park Service owns or manages lands within an authorized park boundary and has lead responsibility for park operations, resource protection, and visitor services. Direct NPS management is defined as sites where the National Park Service owns and manages sites within an authorized boundary and has responsibility for park operations, resource protection, and visitor services at the time of the study. This does not include partnership sites where ownership and the lead management role is retained by the current property owner. This management level provides national park system units with a dual mandate of resource preservation while providing opportunities for visitor enjoyment. “Clearly superior” is understood to mean that the National Park Service could provide optimal resource protection and visitor opportunities when compared to current management or other management scenarios. In this section, management by public and private entities is evaluated to determine if these entities can effectively and efficiently provide long-term resource protection and visitor services or if direct NPS management is the clearly superior option. In the event that any of the sites are designated as part of a new national park system unit, the enabling legislation will specify the terms to which site are managed, either via direct NPS management or shared partnership.

Evaluation of Need for NPS Management By Site

Eleven sites were found to meet SRS criterion 3; they are analyzed below for evaluation on meeting criterion 4 to be included as a potential new national park system unit. These sites are:

- Old Perry County Jail
- Lincoln Normal School
- David Hall Farm (Campsite #1)
- Tabernacle Baptist Church
- F.D. Reese Home
- Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2)
- Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3)
- SNCC/LCFO Freedom House
- City of St. Jude (Campsite #4)
- Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church
- Montgomery Interpretive Center.

Details on these sites follow.

Old Perry County Jail. The Old Perry County Jail is owned by Perry County. It is a historically significant property and would be a feasible NPS addition. While the Trail starts at Zion Chapel Methodist Church, the Old Perry County Jail has the potential to become a visitor contact point or an interpretive center in Marion, similar to the Trail's other interpretive centers. The property owner has secured grant funds for restoration via NPS grants. The county intends to restore the building with historic integrity, and this work began in January 2023. The county has no plans beyond restoration but would like the jail to be interpreted. The county supports an NPS site presence for management. The county has expressed willingness to sell or donate this property and has expressed urgency since construction is underway and visitor opportunities will soon be available. The National Park Service has the technical expertise to provide in-depth interpretation and a consistent presence for a positive visitor experience. The jail also has a strong connection to events in Marion. The historic jail is a good place for visitor use opportunities due to its central location on a quiet city block across about one block from Perry County Courthouse and Zion Chapel Methodist Church, both of which were determined to be not feasible. The jail can also provide a space to interpret the arrest of Reverend James Orange, the fatal wounding of Jimmie Lee Jackson, and the days leading up to the march. The county expressed support for direct NPS management to preserve the site and provide interpretation. The building provides adequate space for administrative staff and visitor use opportunities to view the jail cell where Reverend James Orange was held. For these reasons, the National Park Service could provide significant benefits for direct management and long-term preservation.

Lincoln Normal School. Lincoln Normal School is owned by a private nonprofit that uses the site for interpretation and alumni events. One building on the property is used as a museum where a dedicated person provides interpretation to visitors in the museum and throughout the site regarding the past and current significance of the buildings. The Lincolnite Club has secured grants for restoration work in the buildings and for ensuring that the properties are restored with historic integrity. The Lincolnite Club expressed support for the National Park Service including Lincoln Normal School as part of a new national park system unit. The Lincolnite Club would like to retain ownership, including the museum and its contents, and partner with the National Park Service to offer additional visitor opportunities at the site. The site provides additional opportunities for interpretation of the history of the school and events in Marion. The site could include additional wayside exhibits, regularly scheduled tours and events, and additional interpretation of the school campus for buildings that are no longer standing. The owners stated that an NPS partnership would provide added preservation, technical assistance, and highlight site significance on a national level. No threats to resources are reported specifically, but it would be necessary to ensure that the sites can be preserved. The owner has a good relationship with the Trail. Designation of a new national park system unit would increase access to NPS technical expertise for preservation and interpretation that would complement current efforts by the Lincolnite Club. The Lincolnite alumni association includes former students who care for the resources and who could partner with the National Park Service at a higher level for increased visitor opportunities. For these reasons, the National Park Service can provide a significant benefit by partnering with the Lincolnite Club for shared management and long-term site preservation.

David Hall Farm (Campsite #1). The David Hall Farm (Campsite #1) is privately owned. The property owner is actively working to preserve the original home and to offer scheduled visitor use opportunities. The owner offers tours for small groups such as schools and community organizations; these tours include the original home and the surrounding land. Since the land includes private residences, it would be difficult to offer additional visitor use opportunities. The National Park Service is already interpreting the campsites at the NPS-managed interpretive

centers. The current NPS partnership provides latitude to collaborate on additional scheduled events supported by the owners and the National Park Service. Based on the partnership level at which the owner is willing to engage at this time, paired with how this situation is unlikely to change, the campsite can best be managed via a continued partnership with the Trail.

Tabernacle Baptist Church. Tabernacle Baptist Church is owned by the Historic Tabernacle Baptist Church Legacy Foundation, a nonprofit that preserves the building. The church operates as a place of worship but the foundation is in the process of beginning construction to build a new worship space. The owner has secured grants and other funds to preserve the building. The owner currently offers group tours of the property and would like to continue to expand interpretation and ensure that the property is preserved and interpreted for future generations via NPS management. They would like to retain ownership of the church but may be interested in selling or donating it to the National Park Service for long-term preservation and management. They would like the property to be interpreted, for visitor use opportunities to be developed, and to expand their NPS partnership. For these reasons, the National Park Service can provide a significant benefit by partnering with the Historic Tabernacle Baptist Church Legacy Foundation for shared management and long-term preservation and interpretation.

F.D. Reese Home. The F.D. Reese Home is privately owned and operated. The property owner offers small group tours to the public inside the home, including interpretation of F.D. Reese and the Teachers' March via a video and by showing artifact throughout the home. The owner has established a nonprofit that has raised funds to support ongoing preservation of the home. The owner does not wish to sell or donate the property to the National Park Service at this time but is interested in a continued NPS partnership. The need for NPS management could be reevaluated if circumstances change and if the owner were willing to expand the NPS partnership for preservation and interpretation or to sell or donate the property for direct NPS management. For these reasons, the current owners are the best entity to maintain and operate the home at this time. There is no need for direct NPS management at the time of the study.

Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2). The Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2) is privately owned. The property owner does not offer visitor use opportunities at the site but is open to NPS partnership and the possibility of selling a portion of the land to the National Park Service. The National Park Service already interprets the campsites at the NPS-managed interpretive centers. The current NPS partnership provides enough flexibility for both parties to collaborate in future visitor use opportunities such as scheduled events supported by the owner and the National Park Service. Based on the level of partnership in which the owner is willing to engage at this time, paired with how this situation is unlikely to change, the site can best be managed via a continued partnership with the Trail.

Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3). The Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3) is privately owned. The property owner operates the land as a working farm, offering minimal scheduled visitor use opportunities. Since the land includes a private residence and business, it would be difficult to offer additional visitor use opportunities. The National Park Service already interprets the campsites at NPS-managed interpretive centers. The current NPS partnership provides latitude to collaborate on additional scheduled events. Based on the partnership level at which the owner is willing to engage at this time, paired with how this situation is unlikely to change, the campsite can best be managed via a continued partnership with the Trail.

SNCC/LCFO Freedom House. The SNCC/LCFO Freedom House is privately owned. The property owner currently preserves and manages the site, including interpretation. The owner

conducts tours by scheduled appointment and provides interpretation for visitors. The owner does not wish to sell or donate the property to the National Park Service at this time, but there is interest in an NPS partnership. Loss of historical integrity is a primary threat, especially at this site, as it is privately owned with no formal guarantees of site protection. A limited ability to secure technical expertise for preservation activities has led to some deterioration of the site and risk of further deterioration or total loss. However, the owner has raised funds to preserve the site and wishes to retain ownership and continue managing it. The house meets the SRS criterion of national significance, suitability, and feasibility. The need for NPS management could be reevaluated if circumstances change and the owner becomes willing to partner with the National Park Service for preservation and interpretation or becomes willing to sell or donate the property for direct NPS management. For these reasons, the owner is the best entity to maintain and operate the site at this time. There is no need for direct NPS management at the time of the study.

City of St. Jude (Campsite #4). The City of St. Jude (Campsite #4) is owned by the City of St. Jude parish. The site is on the City of St. Jude campus, where there is an active church, administration offices, a school, and apartment housing. The church supports an NPS presence at the site. The National Park Service is already interpreting the campsites at NPS-managed interpretive centers. The current NPS partnership allows the owner to collaborate on potential visitor opportunities supported by the owner and the National Park Service. Based on the partnership level at which the property owner is currently willing to engage, paired with how this situation is unlikely to change, the campsite can best be managed via a continued partnership with the Trail.

Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church. The Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church (Memorial Annex) is owned by the Mount Zion A.M.E. Church Foundation, a nonprofit organization that preserves the building. They have secured grants for preservation and restoration of the church. They coordinate the church body and contemporary worship at another location and plan to keep the Memorial Annex building preserved with historic integrity and used for visitor use opportunities. The foundation stated that an NPS partnership would provide added preservation, technical assistance, and highlight site significance on a national level. The site is near the highway, which presents a potential threat to long-term preservation and making ensuring preservation essential. The property owner has a good relationship with the Trail. A designation of a new national park system unit would increase access to technical expertise for preservation and interpretation. NPS technical assistance would supplement and compliment the foundation's current efforts. The foundation would like to retain ownership but is interested in a partnership model. For these reasons, the National Park Service can provide a significant benefit by partnering with the Mt. Zion A.M.E Zion Church Foundation for shared management and long-term preservation.

Montgomery Interpretive Center. The Montgomery Interpretive Center is owned by Alabama State University and is managed and operated by the National Park Service via the Trail. The site is on campus near the stadium. The university built the building to serve as an interpretive center managed and operated by the National Park Service. Its current use and collaboration have been successful. The National Park Service interprets march events via historic photos and interpretive panels. A small gift shop here is consistent with each of the other two interpretive centers. The building itself does not meet criteria for national significance, as it was recently constructed, but it serves as a visitor contact station for the Trail, part of which is about one mile away. For these reasons, the National Park Service can continue to provide a significant benefit

for long-term interpretation of the Trail via continued partnership with Alabama State University as the property owner and managed by the National Park Service.

Summary of SRS Criteria Findings

The study concludes that the Old Perry County Jail meets criterion 4: Need for NPS Management. There are five additional sites with owners that have expressed interest in expanding their current NPS partnership, which would help expand Trail interpretation to represent an expanded period of significance of 1957 to 1970. Lincoln Normal School, Tabernacle Baptist Church, F.D. Reese Home, SNCC/LCFO Freedom House, and Mount Zion A.M.E. Zion Church are sites where the property owner would like to retain ownership and partner with the National Park Service for site management as part of a new national park designation. These owners wish to continue with a similar level or expanded NPS partnership. If these circumstances change, these sites could be reevaluated.

The Montgomery Interpretive Center is owned by Alabama State University and managed by the National Park Service. Since the Montgomery Interpretive Center meets criteria 3 and 4, the study determines that a continuation of this partnership and management structure should continue, as described in chapter 4. The study concludes that the following sites should continue in partnership with the Trail:

- David Hall Farm (Campsite #1)
- Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2)
- Robert Gardner Campsite #3
- City of St. Jude (Campsite #4)

More detailed management alternatives are described in chapter 4. Table 5. summarizes the four SRS criteria findings for each study site analyzed in this chapter for each of the criteria.

Table 5. Summary of Study Findings: All SRS Criteria

Site	Part of the Designated Trail Including Connector	Criterion 1 – National Significance	Criterion 2 – Suitability	Criterion 3 – Feasibility	Criterion 4 – Need for Direct NPS Management	Management Alternative
Old Perry County Jail	No	Yes	Yes	Feasible	Yes	NPS Unit
Tabernacle Baptist Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	NPS Unit
Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	NPS Unit
Lincoln Normal School	No	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	NPS Unit
F.D. Reese Home	No	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	NPS Unit
SNCC/LCFO Freedom House	No	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	NPS Unit

Site	Part of the Designated Trail Including Connector	Criterion 1 – National Significance	Criterion 2 – Suitability	Criterion 3 – Feasibility	Criterion 4 – Need for Direct NPS Management	Management Alternative
David Hall Campsite (Campsite #1)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	No change from current partnership with NHT
Rosie Steele Campsite (Campsite #2)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	No change from current partnership with NHT
Robert Gardner Campsite (Campsite #3)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	No change from current partnership with NHT
City of St. Jude Campsite (Campsite #4)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Feasible	No - Partnership	No change from current partnership with NHT
Zion Chapel Methodist Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
Brown Chapel A.M.E Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
Edmund Pettus Bridge	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
First Baptist Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Conditionally feasible	N/A	No change from current partnership with NHT
Samuel and Amelia Boynton House	No	Yes	Yes	Conditionally feasible	N/A	N/A
Ben Moore Hotel, Majestic Café & Malden Brothers Barber Shop	No	Yes	Yes	Conditionally feasible	N/A	N/A
Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson Home	No	Yes	Yes	Conditionally feasible	N/A	N/A

Site	Part of the Designated Trail Including Connector	Criterion 1 – National Significance	Criterion 2 – Suitability	Criterion 3 – Feasibility	Criterion 4 – Need for Direct NPS Management	Management Alternative
George Washington Carver Homes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A
Alabama State Capitol	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A
Clark Elementary School	No	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A
Dallas County Court House	No	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A
Good Samaritan Hospital	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A
Lowndes County Courthouse	No	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A
Tent City	Yes	No	N/A	N/A	N/A – NPS owned	No change from current NPS ownership at Lowndes Interpretive Center

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Chapter 4: NPS Management Alternatives

Management alternatives are developed for the sites that are found to be eligible for potential inclusion in the national park system. The study findings are applied to the management alternatives to determine possible management options to optimize preservation, visitor use, and partnerships in order to achieve a successful management model.

Several options were considered for future management of the sites: management by the existing partners, partnerships for management with the National Park Service, management by state or local agencies, inclusion in a national heritage area, continuing to administer and manage the Trail, or management under a new national park system unit. This chapter describes the actions that the National Park Service can take to preserve key sites, conduct visitor services and interpretation, and manage and operate the sites described in each alternative. The alternative presented below is based on the period of significance for each site paired with findings for each criteria, as described in chapter 3. Included in the summary are one-time costs for acquisition (for sites under direct NPS ownership) and development requirements for each site. See the feasibility analysis in chapter 3 for a more detailed description of these cost estimates.

The alternative identifies the most efficient and effective way to protect significant resources and provide opportunities for visitor access. The SRS determined that the Old Perry County Jail met all four study criteria for direct ownership and management by the National Park Service, and five additional sites (the Lincoln Normal School, Tabernacle Baptist Church, Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church, F.D. Reese Home, and the SNCC/LCFO Freedom House) were supportive of being NPS partners and having their site included in a potential new national park system unit. A new national park system unit designation is proposed as a conceptual management framework for the following six sites: the Old Perry County Jail, the Lincoln Normal School, Tabernacle Baptist Church, Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church, F.D. Reese Home, and the SNCC/LCFO Freedom House.

The Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail

The Trail was established by Congress in 1996 to be administered and managed, when appropriate, by the National Park Service in cooperation with other federal, state, and local authorities to preserve historic sites along the route of the fifty-four miles of city streets and US 80 from Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma to the state capitol building in Montgomery traveled by voting rights advocates during March 1965 to advocate for voting rights legislation (Public Law 104-333). In 2015, a stretch of roadway between Marion and Selma was designated by the Secretary of the Interior as an official connecting trail because of the role that the events in Marion played leading up to the Selma to Montgomery march. Visitors can drive the historic route from Marion to Montgomery and view significant sites along the Trail and connector trail. The Trail is designated as a historic trail, as it follows the original route of a nationally significant historic travel route for the purpose of identification and protection of the historic route and its artifacts for public use and enjoyment (DO 45). The Trail operates under the National Trails System Act, P.L. 90-543, as amended in P.L. 116-9.

In support of implementing the National Trails System Act, NPS staff are responsible for administering and managing, as appropriate, trails in a manner that ensures adequate protection for the trails and their related features; this includes sustaining trail partnerships, trail marking, promoting recreation and access, and mapping. Since 1996, the Trail has operated in partnership with sites along the Trail to interpret events from the marches, preserve resources including

personal stories of marchers, and provide visitor opportunities to connect with the story. In addition to administration of the Trail, the National Park Service has assumed management roles along the Trail that include the Selma Interpretive Center, the Lowndes Interpretive Center, and the Montgomery Interpretive Center.

Management Alternatives

The proposed management alternative will not change the current designation or administration of the Trail as a component of the National Trails System. The Trail will continue to represent sites related to the 1965 marches. In addition to the Trail designation, the study determines that a new national park system unit designation would allow partnership opportunities, preservation, visitor experience, and interpretation for an expanded period of significance related to the voting rights movement from 1957 to 1970. The proposed management alternative allows for the most efficient and effective way to support partnership opportunities, preservation, visitor experience, and interpretation.

The study determined that the designated Trail continues to provide adequate partnership, support interpretation, and visitor access for the sites associated with the 1965 marches as directed by the National Trails System Act. The study found that it is in the best interest of the Trail for the National Park Service to continue administration and management of the Trail. There is also an need to expand current interpretation and increase funding and technical expertise for additional sites that are significant for their roles before, during, and after the march from 1957 to 1970. During the public outreach for the study, stakeholders and property owners supported legislation to ensure preservation of the sites associated with the expanded period of significance. The study and its findings do not change any current partnerships and do not obligate any future partnerships, but simply evaluate future opportunities.

Although the Trail designation allows for resource protection, interpretation, and visitor access, several property owners and the public commented that designation of a new national park system unit in addition to the current National Historic Trail would be in the best interest of the sites to interpret the 1965 marches and the greater period of significance. The public supported keeping the current designated Trail and adding a new national park system unit designation to provide additional funding and technical expertise to sites where historic integrity could be lost without additional support. Owners of several of the sites evaluated in the study expressed interest in increased NPS partnership levels to provide additional visitor access and interpretation of the voting rights movement and local community efforts to organize marches and advocate for voting rights. There is an opportunity to expand on current partnerships via a new national park system unit designation to allow residents and participants to share their firsthand accounts of the events and present a higher level of resource stewardship.

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail

The proposed management alternative does not recommend any change to the current Trail as described above. The four campsites and the three interpretive centers should remain included as sites along the Trail. The campsites will continue to work via partnership with the Trail. The sites include:

- David Hall Farm (Campsite #1)
- Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2)
- Robert Gardner Campsite #3
- the City of St. Jude (Campsite #4)
- Selma Interpretive Center
- Lowndes Interpretive Center

Montgomery Interpretive Center (owned by Alabama State University and managed by the National Park Service).

These sites represent important places along the Trail and have place-based connections to before, during, and after the march. The three interpretive centers interpret different aspects of the marches. Figure 2 below illustrates these sites along the Trail. The study determined that there is continued value in the Trail partnering with each campsite and providing visitor opportunities at the interpretive centers. If circumstances change and a property owner wishes to sell their property to the National Park Service, there could be opportunities to expand interpretation. The study determined that each campsite is considered feasible; however, any future acquisition or transfer of land parcels can also be done under the current Trail designation.

All of the site owners expressed support for an NPS presence at the sites, with varying levels of support for selling or donating property to the National Park Service, and several property owners suggested that transfer of ownership is a possibility. Several owners also shared a high level of support for continuing current partnerships and willingness to collaborate more with the National Park Service if a national park system unit is designated. For these reasons, the study concludes that the Trail should continue in its current management under the National Trails System with partnerships at each of the campsites and the Montgomery Interpretive Center.

New National Park Unit Designation

The proposed management alternative for a new national park system unit designation includes six sites in the study area with an expanded period of significance from 1957 to 1970. One of the six sites would be owned and managed by the National Park Service: the Old Perry County Jail, which meets all criteria for national significance, suitability, feasibility and need for direct NPS management. The owner has expressed support for including the property as part of a potential new national historical park unit designation where the National Park Service directly manages and preserves the site while offering visitor use opportunities.

It is anticipated that the other five sites would be included in a potential national park system unit and the current property owners would remain in close partnership with the National Park Service since they are closely invested in the preservation of the sites and historic interpretation. These sites are the Lincoln Normal School, the Tabernacle Baptist Church, the F.D. Reese Home, the SNCC/LCFO Freedom House, and the Mount Zion A.M.E. Zion Church.

Collectively, these sites will interpret an expanded period of significance of the voting rights movement from 1957 to 1970. These five site owners expressed interest in being included in a new potential national park system unit in partnership with the National Park Service while retaining ownership. The expanded partnership would be a collaborative effort documented by cooperative agreements and easements where the National Park Service provides overall support by collaborating with owners to preserve the historically significant sites and properties used for visitor access and experience. The owners indicated that they would support technical expertise and funding for historic preservation and technical expertise in interpretation and guided tours for a visitor experience to connect all of the events that occurred beyond the march itself.

In this partnership model, the National Park Service does not own and manage each property but rather partners with property owners where management responsibilities are shared. This model requires one or more federal or nonfederal management entities with substantial ownership and commitments to continuing resource protection and providing visitor enjoyment. This model may prove beneficial in cases where it may not be feasible for the National Park Service to own and manage an area on its own and it benefits owners in need of resources to preserve the sites and provide more extensive interpretation for visitors. If circumstances change and there is willingness to sell or donate property to the National Park Service, it would not require an update to the national park system unit boundary.

Proposed Management Structure

Boundary and potential partnerships. The proposed management structure includes a potential boundary, partnership opportunities, preservation, and interpretation. The potential boundary of a new national park system unit is the six individual discontinuous sites with management, operation, and connection to the Trail are coordinated by NPS staff while providing varying levels of staff at each unit depending on the needs of each site. The Trail will contribute to the significance of a new potential national park system unit. For the sites where the National Park Service does not own property, the National Park Service would partner with property owners wherein the National Park Service would provide technical expertise to assist the owners with funding opportunities for grants and other mechanisms to fund preservation of the historic structures. In addition to preservation, these partnerships would facilitate the National Park Service providing interpretation under an expanded period of significance for the voting rights and civil rights movements. The four campsites and three interpretive centers will be managed in partnership with the Trail and six sites will be included in the potential new national park system unit designation, as illustrated in the following map:

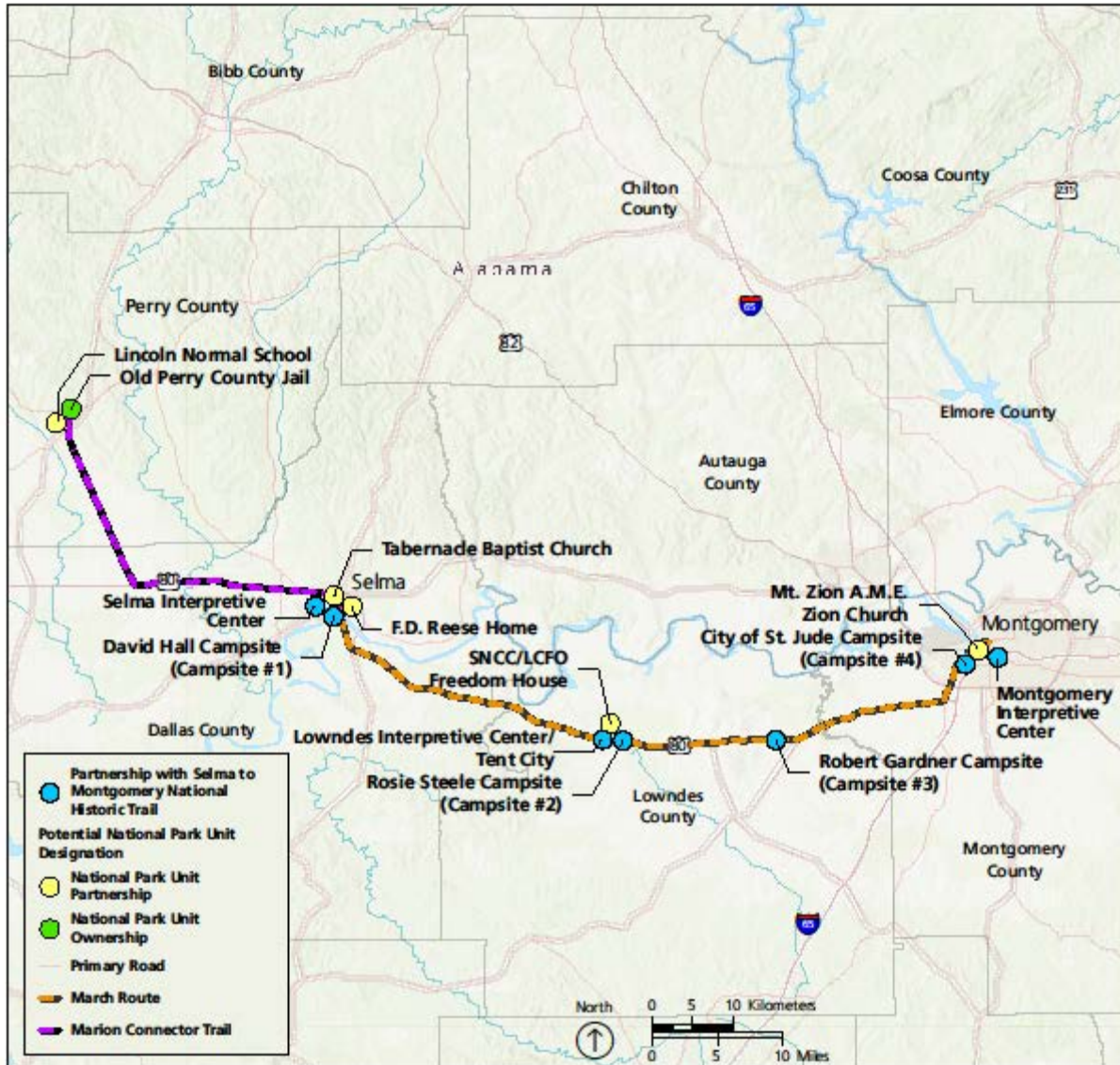


Figure 3. Potential boundary map

Interpretation. Each nationally significant site represents a unique resource type for different aspects of history related to the 1965 Selma to Montgomery marches, and a potential new national park system unit could interpret the expanded period of significance of the voting rights movement for the period from 1957 to 1970. This allows for more creative interpretation and educational materials. Technological advances could provide more interpretive opportunities without a significant increase in onsite interpretive staff via self-guided tours. Web-based educational materials could provide additional detail and context for site visitors or online researchers. Bus tours could also provide interpreter-led site experiences. If a potential new national park system unit designation occurs, it would then be decided where interpretive staff would be stationed to offer daily site orientation and programming. Under any future designation, plans would be developed for resource management, such as a comprehensive interpretive plan and park-level management documents would include guidance on NPS interpretive programming and potential partner roles.

Costs. National park unit operating costs vary widely depending on park size, types and quantities of resources, visitor numbers, program levels, safety and security needs, staffing, and other factors. At a minimum, the operating cost of a proposed new park unit would include grounds and facilities maintenance, utilities, communications, administration, and other miscellaneous expenses. Operating costs would include staffing. Personnel would be required to design and deliver interpretive programming (such as personal interpretation, exhibits, and special events), maintain facilities and grounds, perform administrative functions (budget, management, planning, and compliance), provide for law enforcement (if necessary), and conduct outreach to the community and related sites.

To evaluate the potential management structure and budget of a new national park system unit, two sites were chosen as models: Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park in Dayton, Ohio, and Reconstruction Era National Historical Park in Beaufort, South Carolina. Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park partners with federal, state, local, and private partners to accomplish its mission and maintain close relationships with related communities, area businesses, and local citizens. The park’s mission is to preserve, enhance, and interpret the historic and cultural structures, districts, and artifacts associated with the Wright Brothers, the invention and development of aviation, and the life and works of Paul Laurence Dunbar via these partnerships. The park has eighteen full-time employees and an annual operating budget of \$2.3 million. Reconstruction Era National Historical Park manages the Reconstruction Era Network, which includes sites and programs that are affiliated with the Reconstruction Era but not necessarily managed by the National Park Service. The network facilitates and reviews Reconstruction Era-related research and collaboration with affiliated sites and programs via agreements and partnerships. This network is nationwide and works to provide opportunities for visitors to connect to the stories of Reconstruction. The park has six full-time employees and an annual operating budget of \$1.5 million.

For the Trail study area, it is reasonable to assume that management of a potential national park system unit designation would include a similar annual operating budget ranging from \$1.5 million to \$2.3 million with about six to eight full-time employees. Staff expertise would include partnerships, curation, interpretation, maintenance, and administrative. These would be in addition to current staffing and funding of the Trail, which currently has about twelve full-time employees and an annual operating budget of \$2.6 million. A new national park system unit could include some overlap where leadership positions would be shared with the Trail, Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site, and Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site.

Table 6 summarizes costs for this proposed management structure. The costs estimated for the Montgomery Interpretive Center are not included since NPS-funded operations are expected to continue. The costs summarized in table 6 are new costs to the National Park Service.

Table 6. Estimated Costs of a new national park system unit designation

Site Name	Management	Acquisition Costs	One-time Development Costs	Maintenance Costs	Annual Operation Labor Costs
Old Perry County Jail	NPS ownership	\$15,450	\$2.5 million	\$160,000	\$250,000
Lincoln Normal School	Partnership	N/A	N/A	N/A	\$150,000
Tabernacle Baptist Church	Partnership	N/A	N/A	N/A	\$150,000

Site Name	Management	Acquisition Costs	One-time Development Costs	Maintenance Costs	Annual Operation Labor Costs
Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church	Partnership	N/A	N/A	N/A	\$150,000
F.D. Reese Home	Partnership	N/A	N/A	N/A	\$150,000
SNCC/LCFO Freedom House	Partnership	N/A	N/A	N/A	\$150,000
Total		\$15,450	\$2.5 million	\$160,000	\$1 million

Summary of the Trail and Potential New National Park Unit Alternative

No changes are proposed to the Trail and the four campsites, and three interpretive centers will continue under their current management and partnership. A new potential national park system unit would include the Old Perry County Jail as directly owned and managed by the National Park Service. The Lincoln Normal School, Tabernacle Baptist Church, F.D. Reese Home, the SNCC/LCFO Freedom House, and Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church would be owned by private property owners and managed via NPS partnerships under a new national park system unit designation.

The proposed management alternative is the most effective and efficient alternative to preserve and interpret the events of the marches and maintain meaningful discussions about this difficult history. The Trail designation will continue to bring the history alive for the public for generations to come. A potential new national park system unit designation would complement the current designated Trail, expanding preservation and interpretation beyond the 1965 marches. Although the National Park Service has funding limitations, it provides cohesive site preservation and management. It is anticipated that the costs and site additions would be phased in over several years and not be an added lump-sum cost to the National Park Service at one time.

The best way to build a strong foundation for a national park system unit that relies heavily on private property owners and stakeholders is to provide expanded support to them for preservation, funding, technical assistance, and interpretation. This provides advantages to the owners and to the National Park Service as cost savings and helps ensure that each property has access to adequate preservation to protect historic integrity. As this process grows, there will be a need for site reevaluations to ensure that they continue to demonstrate historic integrity.

In some cases, without additional support for preservation, sites are in danger of deteriorating beyond repair. Under this partnership model, it is anticipated that legislation changes could occur, as it is possible for circumstances to change for owners.

The estimated acquisition and one-time development costs for the Old Perry County Jail are \$2,515,450. Estimated annual operating and maintenance costs for all of the sites would be \$1.16 million to \$2.3 million for the proposed alternative of a new national park system unit in addition to the current Trail. Estimated staffing requirements for this designation would include about six to eight full-time employees with expertise in curation, interpretation, partnerships, maintenance, and administration.

The National Park Service has also identified the need to update the 2005 CMP for the Trail. An updated plan would identify potential new route segments, additional protection strategies for existing resources, and opportunities for new and expanded partnerships. The updated plan would include collaboration with local stakeholders and be conducted in accordance with the

National Trails System Act, Director's Order 45, and *Reference Manual 45*, all of which outline law and policy for the use, protection, management, development, and administration of NHTs. Congressional legislation is not necessary to prepare an updated plan; the National Park Service could pursue this effort under its current authority as the Trail administrator.

Other Potential Management Options

NPS Affiliated Area

NPS affiliated areas preserve sites outside the national park system that are linked in importance and purpose to the larger system. These related areas are established by Congress or by administrative action of the Secretary of the Interior under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935; however, unlike national park system units, these sites are not federally owned or directly managed by the National Park Service. The role of the National Park Service in the management and administration of affiliated areas is typically outlined in the designation legislation or Secretarial action and varies from strong partnerships with NPS staffing to occasional programmatic assistance. Federal funding for affiliated areas is determined on a case-by-case basis. Affiliated areas established via legislative means may receive base funding for staffing and/or interpretation and operations via the Department of Interior, similar to federally owned and managed national park system units. Areas established via administrative action may only receive direct federal funding if Congress specifically appropriates funding for that site. Other affiliated areas receive no federal funding; their primary connection to the National Park Service is via technical assistance.

To be eligible for affiliated area status, *NPS Management Policies 2006* guidelines state that the potential area's resources must:

1. meet the same standards for significance and suitability that apply to national park system units
2. require some special recognition or technical assistance beyond what is available through existing NPS programs
3. be managed in accordance with the policies and standards that apply to national park system units
4. be assured of sustained resource protection, as documented in a formal agreement between the National Park Service and the nonfederal management entity

This SRS has determined that twenty-six sites (see suitability conclusion for list) are significant and suitable for inclusion in the national park system and thereby meet the first two eligibility criteria for affiliated areas.

If any of the sites were designated an NPS affiliated area, the current management partners would be expected to adhere to federal mandates and the high standards specified in NPS management policies, as stated in affiliated area eligibility criterion 3. As volunteer nonprofit organizations and private owners, the current management entities may not be equipped to assume additional responsibilities connected to federal compliance and management constraints associated with federal policies required for an affiliated area; the management organizations could require additional funding or direct NPS support to continue to offer visitor facilities and experiences that meet NPS standards and comply with federal regulations. Any arrangements for continued NPS involvement and/or funding at the site would ideally be outlined in establishing legislation. The action that established any of the sites as an affiliated

area would guide development of any subsequent formal partner agreements between the non-federal site managers and the National Park System that are necessary to meet eligibility criterion 4.

Several sites could pursue designation of an NPS affiliated area; however, the sites would continue to operate under separate management entities without a cohesive management structure to preserve and interpret the voting rights movement from 1957 to 1970. The sites would continue to operate independently of one another with a visitor experience focused on each site individually rather than a larger experience of the civil rights movement and the march. Although affiliated area could be one option for sites where the property owner prefers to retain ownership at and pursue an NPS partnership, several sites are in need of stabilization and restoration and a designation of affiliated area to secure adequate funding may be difficult.

National Heritage Area

National heritage areas (NHAs) are designated by Congress as places where natural, cultural, and historic resources combine to form a cohesive, nationally important landscape. The National Park Service assists the coordinating organization in developing a management plan for the administration, use of federal funding, and interpretation of the NHA. Individual sites are managed independently within a regional framework of related sites but benefit from NPS brand recognition and opportunities for technical support or financial aid from the National Park Service via the NHA program. NHAs are community-led conservation and development for lived-in landscapes where the National Park Service owns little to no land. NHAs collaborate with the National Park Service and local partners to expand conservation and historic preservation by supporting community-driven initiatives. The Alabama Black Belt NHA was designated by Congress in January 2023 with nineteen counties, including the four evaluated in this study. Although there is a designated NHA, the need for resource preservation at several of the sites and the need for consistent interpretation and coordination between sites can be challenges in managing NHAs. It is also uncertain if there is an organization to take the lead for an NHA to provide support for all of the sites in the area.

Although the counties would receive additional support via the NHA designation, the sites have varying levels of risk of losing historic integrity from property owners having limited access to funding and limited expertise in stabilization and restoration. Property owners have mixed success when applying for grants and often compete against other civil rights sites in the region. Some owners have limited funding, limited expertise in grant applications, and limited technical expertise to ensure that sites retain historic integrity. Several sites need stabilization, restoration, and ongoing maintenance. Several owners shared the importance of preserving the history at each site and developing visitor opportunities for the future. A common theme among owners is that as time goes on, future generations may have less connection to the history versus those with related firsthand experiences and recollections. For these reasons, owners have expressed support for partnerships and direct NPS management to ensure that the sites are preserved and have continuing access to technical expertise and interpretation. In some of the sites, the owners would like to retain ownership, but since there is potential for this to change, it is important to provide long-term NPS support for preservation to retain historic integrity and offer visitor opportunities. Any future designation of a new national park system unit would collaborate with the Alabama Black Belt NHA.

Management by State and Local Agencies

As described throughout the study, the sites meeting national significance, suitability, and feasibility span four counties and several different cities and towns. It is highly likely that some sites marked as conditionally feasible or that have no direct need for NPS management at the time of the study could have changing circumstances that could lead to positive findings. All of the sites require technical expertise for preservation and interpretation, which state and local governments may find challenging. For these reasons, state and local governments may not be the best in providing site connections and preservation.

Other Opportunities for Preservation

The National Park Service recognizes that, beyond the study findings, there is strong public support and many opportunities for enhancing interpretation and preservation of the sites evaluated in this study. These opportunities could be pursued by property owners and local advocates independently of a national park system unit designation. Since the sites evaluated in this study are civil rights sites, their owners may be eligible to apply to participate in the African American Civil Rights Grants Program, which is funded by the Historic Preservation Fund administered by the National Park Service. Additionally, the NPS African American Civil Rights Network encompasses properties, facilities, and interpretive programs that present a comprehensive narrative of the people, places, and events associated with the US civil rights movement. Study sites may also qualify for grant opportunities from the NPS Underrepresented Community Grant Program, which provides funding to support identification, planning, and development of nominations for designation of national historic landmarks to increase representation of Black, indigenous, and other communities of color.

Chapter 5: Public Outreach

Overview

The NPS New Areas Studies Act requires that each SRS “shall be prepared with appropriate opportunity for public involvement, including at least one public meeting in the vicinity of the study, and after reasonable efforts to notify potential affected landowners and State and local governments” (54 USC 100507). Due to the shortened timeline of this SRS, the National Park Service conducted one virtual public outreach to share information about the SRS process and collect information to inform study findings. The National Park Service solicited public input on a variety of topics, including current management of the study area and ideas for future resource protection and visitor enjoyment. This outreach also helped the National Park Service assess local support for adding the Trail and associated resources to the national park system. Public outreach efforts conducted as part of this study are described below.

Notifying the Public

In March 2022, the National Park Service initiated the SRS for the Trail and associated resources. In the initial steps of the study process, the study team met with representatives from NPS regional offices, the Washington, DC, office, and the National Trails System to determine the project scope and outline the direction for a hybrid study. The study team also talked with Trail staff and the team began gathering information regarding the NHT and conducting research to identify associated resources. In June 2022, the study team initiated a civic engagement process to inform the public about the SRS. During the civic engagement process, the National Park Service solicited feedback from the public via the project website and a virtual meeting, which was advertised on the project website and a press release in local and regional media. A project website was created on the PEPC website at <https://parkplanning.nps.gov/SEMOSRS> to share project updates, provide information regarding the public meeting, and collect public comments.

The study team coordinated with staff from the Trail to share notice of the public meeting and encourage the public to respond during the public comment period from June 22 to August 3, 2022. In addition to the public meeting, the National Park Service conducted site visits of the study area in July and December 2022, where related individuals and organizations participated in and supported the process.

Public Information Meetings

The NPS study team hosted a public virtual meeting on June 23, 2022 to share information regarding the purpose and process for SRSs, provide an overview of the criteria the National Park Service applies when conducting SRSs, provide an overview of the area and current uses, and provide direction for how to provide feedback. The meeting began with a presentation about the SRS process, a brief description of the Trail, and an explanation of the National Trails System. At the end of the meeting, an open question-and-answer session was held in which members of the public could submit questions to the National Park Service. About fifty members of the public attended the virtual meeting. The National Park Service received questions and comments from the meeting attendees and addressed questions and comments in real time. Attendees were also encouraged to submit comments to the project’s PEPC site.

Public Comments

The NPS study team sought feedback by asking the public to answer questions that were designed to gauge public support. The questions were listed in the newsletter and displayed during the virtual public meeting. The questions were:

1. How would you like to see the resources and sites related to the Trail protected and preserved for future generations?
2. Do you support or oppose some type of NPS designation in addition to or in combination with the current Trail?
3. What types of activities and visitor experiences do you want to see as part of a potential new national park system unit?
4. What objects, buildings, remaining features, values, and stories do you believe are most important for a potential national park system unit here, and why? Are there any other suggested resources associated with the 1965 voting rights march that are not currently part of the Trail that should be considered to add to the designated Trail or a potential national park system unit?
5. Do you have any other ideas or comments that the National Park Service should be aware of and should address in the study process?

During the public comment period, twenty-six comments were submitted to the study team: twenty-one via PEPC, four during the virtual public meeting, and one emailed to the study team. Correspondence during the virtual public meeting and the emailed correspondence were entered into the PEPC website by NPS staff. Seventeen individual public comments were submitted from Alabama and four were from other US locations. Commenters indicated that they were unaffiliated individuals. The following organizations had official representatives submit comments:

- US National Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites
- Committee to Remember the Life and Legacy of Reverend Richard C. Boone
- Appalachian Trail Conservancy
- Historic Tabernacle Baptist Church-Selma, AL Legacy Foundation
- Selma and Dallas County Chamber of Commerce and Tourism Information
- Alabama River Diversity Network

What We Heard

Following is an overview of respondents' comments, broken down by the five main topics in the scoping questions above.

Fifty-seven percent of the comments received supported NPS designation; fourteen percent were opposed. The remainder were unsure or did not state whether they were in support of NPS designation or not.

The public cited the importance of the Trail and associated sites and noted that the sites should be preserved and protected for the public and future generations under NPS management. Most supportive commentors favored more education programs and interactive interpretation. Although most were favored designating the Trail as a national park system unit, there were

concerns about retaining private ownership of some sites. Other concerns related to privacy and safety if public access were expanded. Some current partners also requested more technical support from the Trail to preserve their sites.

Support for NPS Designation

Twelve comments expressed specific support for some type of NPS designation due to important cultural and natural resources that should be considered nationally significant and should be protected for current and future generations. These stakeholders value the history of the sites along the Trail, the significance of the march as a pivotal event in the country's history, and the stories and character of the marchers and supporters.

Opposition for Designation

Three comments explicitly opposed some type of NPS designation of the Trail, noting that current land or building owners should retain full use and management of their property and NPS designation should not be given until property owners are willing to turn over ownership to the National Park Service. Others opposed NPS designation if the site's resources are not related to the civil rights movement or are not presenting factual information.

Activities and Experiences at the Site

Commenters would like to see a wide range of experiences and activities offered at the sites, especially education and interpretation. Commenters would like signage, reenactments, displays, and interactive exhibits that share historically accurate stories, events, and experiences with visitors. In addition to stories and experiences related to the march, they would like indigenous stories and experiences to be shared. They want visitors to understand the impact that the movement and the marchers had on the community and the nation. They would also like homesites to be preserved and reconstructed.

Some commenters would like to see more specialized exhibits such as videos and a documentary of the individuals involved in the march or exhibits that share information about the families who assisted the marchers, featuring photos and other family items. Commenters would also like opportunities for research, volunteering, and youth and community engagement.

In addition to education and interpretation opportunities along the Trail, some commenters would like sites to include auditoriums for public seminars, live presentations and performances, movies, and other large group educational opportunities.

Commenters also stated that hiring a diverse staff that is representative of the stories told at the sites is important to the experience. Staff members such as interpretive rangers and docents should have a connection to the stories being told or experience in oral history research and interpretation. Additionally, recruitment from the local community should be prioritized. All of these experiences and activities should be historically accurate, respectful, and invoke emotion.

Concerns

Some commenters expressed concerns about the privacy and consent of property owners, the community, and the marchers' families. They feel that visitation should be limited in order to protect privacy. They are also concerned with ensuring that families that have stories or physical items shared at the site have the opportunity to review the information and materials and consent to it being shared with the public. Similarly, they believe that site research should only be published or shared with their permission.

Commenters are also concerned that unverified narratives will be shared at the site and that some community members who do not have easy access to the planning site were unable to provide comments.

Suggestions for the Study Team

Commenters would like the study team to consider the following locations for either inclusion in the site or for reference:

- Tabernacle Baptist
- First Baptist
- the Jackson/Sherrod Museum
- Good Samaritan Hospital
- Selma University
- Jackson/SNCC Compound (White Hall)
- St. Jude Catholic Church
- Bethel Baptist Church
- Mount Zion A.M.E. Zion Church Memorial Annex
- Safe House in Greensboro, Alabama
- R.B. Hudson High School
- Burwell-Dinkins-Anderson House
- Burwell Infirmary
- Don Bosco Club
- St. Elizabeth's Catholic Church
- Union St./Bernard Lafayette Street(site of the attempted assassination of Bernard Lafayette)
- SNCC/LCFO Freedom House
- the home of Mrs. Margaret Moore
- Camp Selma
- campsite in Camden
- the Moss Hotel
- the Elks Lodge and Elks Building in downtown Selma
- Dallas County Court House
- Jackson House
- Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church and parsonage

- C.M.E. Church
- Holt Street Baptist Church

Commenters would like the study team to consider the following individuals for inclusion in the site or for reference:

- Greater Washington Park community leaders
- Representative Thad McClammy
- Jimmie Lee Jackson
- Mrs. Annie Cooper
- Mr. S. W. Boynton
- Bernard Lafayette Jr.
- Mrs. Amelia Boynton
- Reverend Louis Lloyd (L.L.) Anderson
- Mrs. Marie Foster
- Reverend John D. Hunter
- Dr. Sullivan Jackson
- the Courageous Eight
- Nurse Etta Perkins
- Chief Henry Allen
- Nurse Vera Booker
- Ms Pat Blalock
- Father Ouelett
- Sisters of Selma's Edmundites' Missions
- Nurse Lula Edwards
- R.B. Hudson Principal Joseph Yelder
- Selma City Schools Superintendent J.A. Pickard
- Selma Mayor Joe Smitherman
- Dr. Billy Dinkins
- the Selma Civic Association/Dallas County Voter's League
- Mr. C. Adams
- Mr. Gildersleeve
- Mr. Earnest Doyle

Commenters suggested Trenholm State Community College as a potential partner and suggested that the study team work with other non-governmental organizations to ensure that study content is factual and inclusive.

Commenters suggested that the National Park Service support owners of historic structures along the Trail by providing training and financial assistance for property owners that want to restore site buildings.

Commenters would like future site facilities to be designed and constructed in an environmentally sustainable and responsible way, with considerations made for climate change and climate futures. As existing resources are identified, their structural needs should be assessed and addressed with similar considerations.

It was also suggested that the Trail begin in Marion.

Questions for the Study Team

Commenters posed two questions for the study team:

- What can people do to share this information?
- Why was more effort not made to include the Alabama Department of Archives and History in this effort?

Additionally, the Appalachian Trail Conservancy emailed with questions as to why this study needed to be done, as the Trail is already a designated National Historic Scenic Trail (NHST) and should therefore receive access to its needed resources and not need an additional designation. They stated that this SRS process would serve as an example or case study and that the designation determined for the Trail should be applied for all other NHSTs as well.

NPS Response to These Questions

- What can people do to share this information?
Information regarding the study process can be found and shared by visiting the project webpage at www.parkplanning.nps.gov/SEMOSRS.
- Why was more effort not made to include the Alabama Department of Archives and History in this effort?
The Alabama Department of Archives and History was contacted about the study. In addition, the recent (2019) cultural landscape report was referenced for all of the properties evaluated.

Alabama Site Visits

In addition to the virtual public meeting held in June 2022, NPS staff travelled to Alabama to conduct two fieldwork trips for this SRS. In June 2022, NPS staff took part in an orientation trip of the twenty-seven sites associated with the 1965 Selma to Montgomery voting rights march. In December 2022, NPS staff travelled to Alabama to gather information on the SRS criteria for feasibility and the need for direct NPS management for each of the study sites that met SRS criteria 1 and 2. Each fieldwork trip included viewing the study sites to inform the team's ongoing research and analysis per SRS criteria. During all onsite visits, NPS staff met with property owners or delegates, local officials and representatives, and other interested stakeholders to collect feedback and site information.

Tribal Consultation

Any national park system unit that may eventually include the study area would be created on the ancestral homelands of indigenous peoples. The study team therefore consulted with Native American Tribal nations whose traditional homelands intersect the study area. Eighteen Tribal nations were contacted and two responded: the Chickasaw Nation responded with a letter of support for the study and the Choctaw Nation responded via email, followed by a phone call to discuss potential concerns. The Choctaw Nation determined that the study would not negatively impact their ancestral lands and asked that the study team note their historical connection to the area, as done in chapter 2. Following are the Tribal nations that were contacted for this study:

- Absentee Shawnee Tribe
- Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas
- Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town
- Chickasaw Nation
- Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma
- Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
- Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma
- Jena Band of Choctaw Indians
- Kialegee Tribal Town
- Miccosukee Tribe of Indians
- Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
- Muscogee Creek Nation
- Poarch Band of Creek Indians
- Seminole Nation of Oklahoma
- Seminole Tribe of Florida
- Shawnee Tribe
- Thlopthlocco Tribal Town
- United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Legislation for the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail Study and Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail

PUBLIC LAW 117–103—MAR. 15, 2022

136 STAT. 379

(o) Section 210(a) of title II of Public Law 106–278 (114 Stat. 824) is amended by striking “\$10,000,000” and inserting “\$12,000,000”. 54 USC 320101 note.

(p) Section 804(j) of division B of H.R. 5666 (Appendix D) as enacted into law by section 1(a)(4) of Public Law 106–554, as amended (54 U.S.C. 320101 note; 114 Stat. 2763, 2763A–295; 123 Stat. 1294; 128 Stat. 3802; 131 Stat. 461; 133 Stat. 2714), is further amended by striking “September 30, 2021” and inserting “September 30, 2037”. 54 USC 320101 note.

(q) Section 295D(d) of Public Law 109–338, as amended (54 U.S.C. 320101 note; 120 Stat. 1833; 130 Stat. 962), is further amended by striking “15 years after the date of enactment of this Act” and inserting “on September 30, 2037”. 54 USC 320101 note.

STUDY FOR SELMA TO MONTGOMERY NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

Alabama.

SEC. 120. (a) STUDY.—The Secretary of the Interior (Secretary) shall conduct a study to evaluate—

(1) resources associated with the 1965 Voting Rights March from Selma to Montgomery not currently part of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (Trail) (16 U.S.C. 1244(a)(20)) that would be appropriate for addition to the Trail; and

(2) the potential designation of the Trail as a unit of the National Park System instead of, or in addition to, remaining a designated part of the National Trails System.

(b) REPORT.—Not later than one year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall submit to the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations, the Committee on Natural Resources of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate a report that describes the results of the study and the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

(c) LAND ACQUISITION.—The Secretary is authorized, subject to the availability of appropriations and at her discretion, to acquire property or interests therein located in the city of Selma, Alabama and generally depicted on the map entitled, “Selma to Montgomery NHT Proposed Addition,” numbered 628/177376 and dated September 14, 2021, with the consent of the owner, for the benefit of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail and to further the purpose for which the trail has been established.

TITLE V—HISTORIC AREAS AND CIVIL RIGHTS

SEC. 501. THE SELMA TO MONTGOMERY NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL.

Section 5(a) of the National Trails System Act (16 U.S.C. 1244(a)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

“() The Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail, consisting of 54 miles of city streets and United States Highway 80 from Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma to the State Capitol Building in Montgomery, Alabama, traveled by voting rights advocates during March 1965 to dramatize the need for voting rights legislation, as generally described in the report of the Secretary of the Interior prepared pursuant to subsection (b) of this section entitled “Selma to Montgomery” and dated April 1993. Maps depicting the route shall be on file and available for public inspection

110 STAT. 4154

PUBLIC LAW 104-333—NOV. 12, 1996

in the Office of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior. The trail shall be administered in accordance with this Act, including section 7(h). The Secretary of the Interior, acting through the National Park Service, which shall be the lead Federal agency, shall cooperate with other Federal, State and local authorities to preserve historic sites along the route, including (but not limited to) the Edmund Pettus Bridge and the Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church.”.

National Park System Advisory Board

R e s o l u t i o n 107-3

February 27, 1992

***WHEREAS**, in 1990, an Act of Congress authorized a study of the 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, to determine the route's eligibility for national historic trail status; and*

***WHEREAS**, the congressional Act found the following:*

(1) The march from Selma to Montgomery led to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965; and

(2) Events associated with the march from Selma to Montgomery, such as "Bloody Sunday," sent shock waves around the world, raised the Nation's consciousness and convinced political leaders that the time had come for voting rights legislation; and

(3) The designation of the route of the march from Selma to Montgomery as a national historic trail will be a reminder of the right and responsibility of all Americans to fully participate in the election process; and

***WHEREAS**, the National Trail System Act, Section 5(b)(3), requires the members of the National Park System Advisory Board to evaluate proposed national historic trails to determine their national significance under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 criteria; and*

***WHEREAS**, the Board on February 26, 1992, reviewed the National Park Service's Selma to Montgomery trail study, and determined that:*

National Park System Advisory Board
RESOLUTION 107-3

Page 2

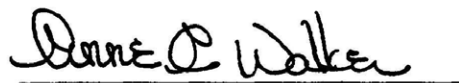
(1) *The route of the march from Selma to Montgomery is nationally significant;*
and

(2) *The route and events associated with the march are of such extraordinary national importance so as to warrant being an exception to the 50-year rule; so now*

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT, *the National Park System Advisory Board determines and recommends that the Selma to Montgomery route possesses and meets the criteria of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 for national historic significance.*



Bryan Wagner, Chairman



Anne Walker, Secretary

Appendix B: Property Description Figures

1. Zion Chapel Methodist Church



Zion Chapel Methodist Church as seen the day after Jimmie Lee Jackson was killed by a state trooper in February 1965. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, *Birmingham News*.



Zion Chapel Methodist Church. The photograph is part of the National Register nomination for the Marion Courthouse Square Historic District. Mansell 1994.



Zion Chapel Methodist Church. NPS study team 2022.

2. Old Perry County Jail



Old Perry County Jail with commemorative marker and NPS wayside.
NPS study team 2022.



Old Perry County Jail rear of building. Window on left side of photo is visible from the jail cell where Reverend James Orange was held. NPS study team 2022.



Interior of Old Perry County Jail. Jail cell on the first floor where Reverend James Orange was held. NPS study team 2022.



Interior of Old Perry County Jail. NPS study team 2022.



Interior of Old Perry County Jail. First floor individual jail cell. NPS study team 2022.



Interior of Old Perry County Jail. Second floor group jail cell. NPS study team 2022.



Interior of Old Perry County Jail. Second floor group jail cell. NPS study team 2022.

3. Phillips Memorial Auditorium (Lincoln Normal School)



Phillips Memorial Auditorium, 1988. The photograph is part of the National Register nomination for the Philips Memorial Auditorium. Kay 1989).



Phillips Memorial Auditorium. NPS study team 2022.



Gymnasium. The photograph is part of the National Register nomination for the Lincoln Normal School. Causey 2020 in Pope Burns and Van West 2022.



Gymnasium. The photograph is part of the National Register nomination for the Lincoln Normal School. Causey 2020 in Pope Burns and Van West 2022.



One-story classroom building with Lincoln Memorial Museum sign.
NPS study team 2022.



One-story classroom building. The photograph is part of the National Register nomination for the Lincoln Normal School.
Causey 2020 in Pope Burns and Van West 2022.



One-story classroom building. The photograph is part of the National Register nomination for the Lincoln Normal School. Causey 2020 in Pope Burns and Van West 2022.

4. Brown Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church



Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church, January 2, 1965. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Ed Jones, *Birmingham News*.



This March 1965 aerial photo of Sylvan Street shows a crowd in front of Brown Chapel A.M.E. and the location and organization of the George Washington Carver Homes. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Haywood Paravicini, *Birmingham News*.



Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church under restoration. NPS study team 2022.

5. Edmund Pettus Bridge



This photo, facing west, shows Hosea Williams and John Lewis (front row) and Albert Turner and Bob Mants (second row) leading marchers across the Edmund Pettus Bridge along the elevated sidewalk on Bloody Sunday, March 7, 1965. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, *Birmingham News*.



Edmund Pettus Bridge. NPS study team 2022.



Civil rights marchers on the Edmund Pettus Bridge, facing east out of Selma, on Bloody Sunday, March 7, 1965. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, *Birmingham News*.

6. Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building



WLA Studio 2022. Figure 367. Aerial view of marchers along Alabama Avenue at the beginning of the Selma to Montgomery march on March 21. The side of the Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building, then the City Hall and Jail, is visible (center right). Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Haywood Paravicini, *Birmingham News*.



Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building. The photograph, taken in 2002, is part of the National Register nomination for the Old Town Historic District. Besser 2001.



Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building. NPS study team 2022.

7. Selma Interpretive Center



This image shows marchers on the sidewalk on Broad Street in Selma, Alabama, headed toward the the Edmund Pettus Bridge on Bloody Sunday. Also in this photo is the intersection of Broad Street and Water Avenue. The building to the far right, undergoing renovations, houses the Selma Interpretive Center (2 Broad Street). 4 Broad Street is to the left and is denoted by the “Levy’s” sign. 6 Broad Street is denoted with the “Rives Appliance Company” sign located between 4 Broad Street (Levy’s) and 8-10 Broad Street, which is a building with a triangular façade. An unreadable sign protrudes from the façade and a sign above 8 Broad Street reads Cahaba Furniture. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, *Birmingham News*.



The photograph is part of the Old Town Historic District National Register nomination and shows 10 through 2 Broad Street to the right of building with the sign “TOP Dollar Stores.” Kling 1976 in Holmes and Holmes 1976.

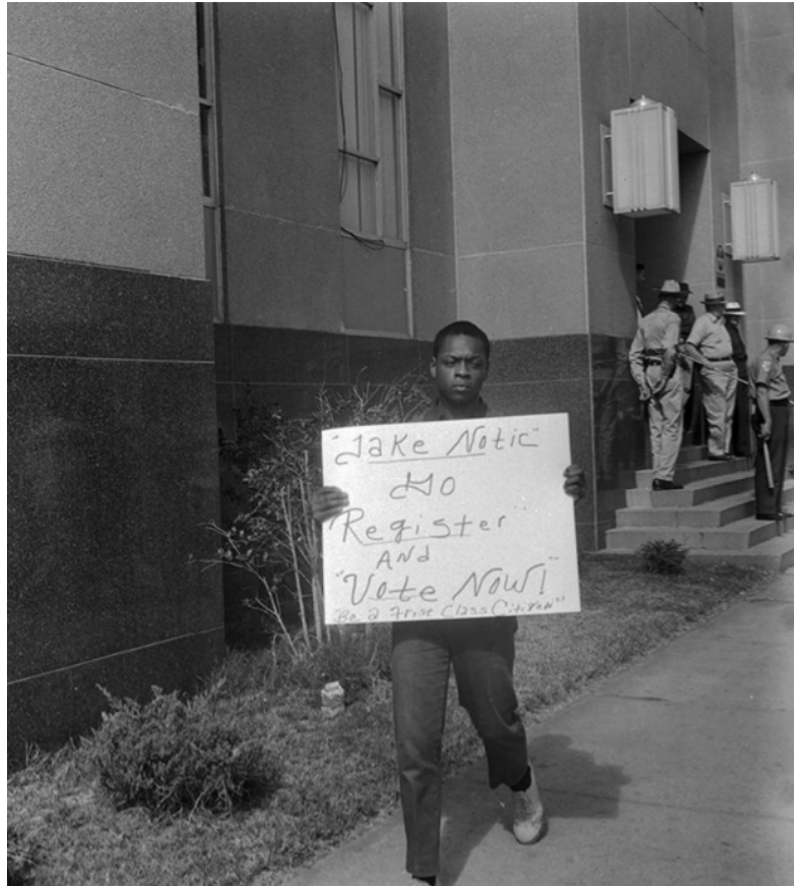


Street view showing 2 through 10 Broad Street (right to left) and the vacant lot with black privacy screen at 1119 Water Avenue (far right). Google, February 2022.



View from Broad Street showing Selma Interpretive Center and 4 Broad Street and their proximity to the Edmund Pettus Bridge. NPS study team 2022.

8. Dallas County Courthouse



A young African American man picketing outside the Dallas County Courthouse. He is carrying a sign that reads, "Take Notic [sic] Go Register and Vote Now! Be a First Class Citizen." Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Elizabeth Boone Aiken, *Birmingham News*, 1963.



Sheriff Jim Clark attempting to arrest or remove C.T. Vivian from the steps of the Dallas County courthouse during a voting rights demonstration in Selma, Alabama (February 5, 1965). Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Ed Jones, *Birmingham News*.



The Dallas County Courthouse is visible in the background with the Federal Building in the foreground. The photograph is part of the National Register nomination for the Federal Building in Selma. Giles, 1969 in General Services Administration 1976.



Street view of Dallas County Courthouse. Google 2016.

9. Campsite #1, David Hall Farm



Original home of David Hall, present at the time of the march. NPS study team 2022.

10. First Baptist Church



This March 1965 aerial photograph shows the north end of Sylvan Street, from First Baptist Church (foreground, right) to Brown Chapel (background, left).

The George Washington Carver Homes are visible as well.

Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group.

Photo by Haywood Paravicini, *Birmingham News*.



Exterior of First Baptist Church from the southwest. NPS study team 2022.



View from southeast, prior to tornado damage. This photograph part of the National Register nomination for First Baptist Church. Williams c. 1976. Mertins 1979.



South wall, showing tornado damage. This photograph part of the National Register nomination for First Baptist Church. *Selma Times Journal* 1978. Mertins 1979).



Interior, showing tornado damage. This photograph part of the National Register nomination for the First Baptist Church. Selma Times Journal (1978). Mertins 1979.



Interior of First Baptist Church looking into the sanctuary. NPS study team, 2022.

11. George Washington Carver Homes



WLA Studio 2022. Figure 323. March 21, 1965 photograph of march participants, National Guard, police, and media along Sylvan Street. Some George Washington Carver Homes are visible in the background on the left. Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church is visible in the background on the right. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, *Birmingham News*.



Street view of George Washington Carver Homes (left and right) with Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in the background (with scaffolding) right of center. Google, February 2022.



Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church (left) and George Washington Carver Homes (right).
NPS study team 2022.

12. Tabernacle Baptist Church



Interior sanctuary at Tabernacle Baptist Church. The photograph is part of the National Register nomination. The balcony seen in the historic image of Dr. King speaking at Tabernacle Baptist Church above is on the right. Humphreys 2012 in French et al. 2013.



Interior sanctuary at Tabernacle Baptist Church. The photograph is part of the National Register nomination. The balcony and wood and glass doors seen in the historic image of Dr. King speaking at Tabernacle Baptist Church above is to the left of this image. Humphreys 2012 in French et al. 2013



Tabernacle Baptist Church showing both entrances. The photograph is part of the National Register nomination. Humphreys 2012 in French et al. 2013.



Tabernacle Baptist Church showing the Minter Avenue entrance and added chair lift.
NPS study team 2022.

13. Samuel and Amelia Boynton House



A 1964 photograph of Amelia Boynton in her Selma home. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group.
Photo by Elizabeth Boone Aiken, *Birmingham News*.



View of the front of the Boynton Home and rehabilitation project information.
NPS study team 2022.



Front and side view of Boynton Home. NPS study team 2022.



Rear view of Boynton Home. NPS study team 2022.

14. Clark Elementary School



New addition to Clark Elementary School, 1965. *Selma Times-Journal*. August 8, 1965.



Street view of Clark Elementary School. Google, July 2016.



Street view of Clark Elementary School. Google, July 2016.

15. Good Samaritan Hospital



Good Samaritan Hospital from Voeglin Ave. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group.
Photo by Elizabeth Boone Aiken, *Birmingham News*.



Good Samaritan Hospital from the corner of Washington Street and Voeglin Ave. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Elizabeth Boone Aiken, *Birmingham News*.



Good Samaritan Hospital Nursing Home in Selma, Alabama. Alabama Department of Archives and History.



Street view of Good Samaritan Hospital. Google, April 2016.



Street view of Good Samaritan Hospital. Google, April 2016



Good Samaritan Hospital. NPS study team 2022.



Good Samaritan Hospital. NPS study team 2022.

16. Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson House



Front view of the Jackson house. The photograph is part of the National Register nomination. (Van West 2013)



Front and side view of the Jackson house. NPS study team 2022.

17. F.D. Reese Home



Street view of the F.D. Reese Home from Range Street. Google, October 2022.



Front entrance of the F.D. Reese home. NPS study team, 2022.

18. Tent City Site



WLA Studio 2022. Figure 340. 1966 image of Tent City in Lowndes County. The views in Tent City were mostly open, though with a patchy barrier on the settlement's western edge. This image faces west from near or along White Hall Road. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group.

Photo by Tom Lankford, *Birmingham News*.



Area of former Tent City looking northeast at the Lowndes Interpretive Center.
NPS 2015.

19. Lowndes Interpretive Center



Aerial photograph comparing 1966 (left) and existing conditions of the Tent City/Lowndes Interpretive Center site (right).
Source: USDA/ESRI in WLA Studio 2022. Figure 332.



2020 photo of the south side of the Lowndes Interpretive Center.
WLA Studio 2022. Figure 43.

20. Campsite #2, Rosie Steele Farm



The Steele Service Station, which served as a grocery as well. The associated tavern is barely visible behind the Coca Cola business sign in this March 1965 photograph. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group.
Photo by Spider Martin, *Birmingham News*.



Marchers leaving the Rosie Steele farm in Lowndes County. Note the family store in the background left of the image. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, *Birmingham News*.



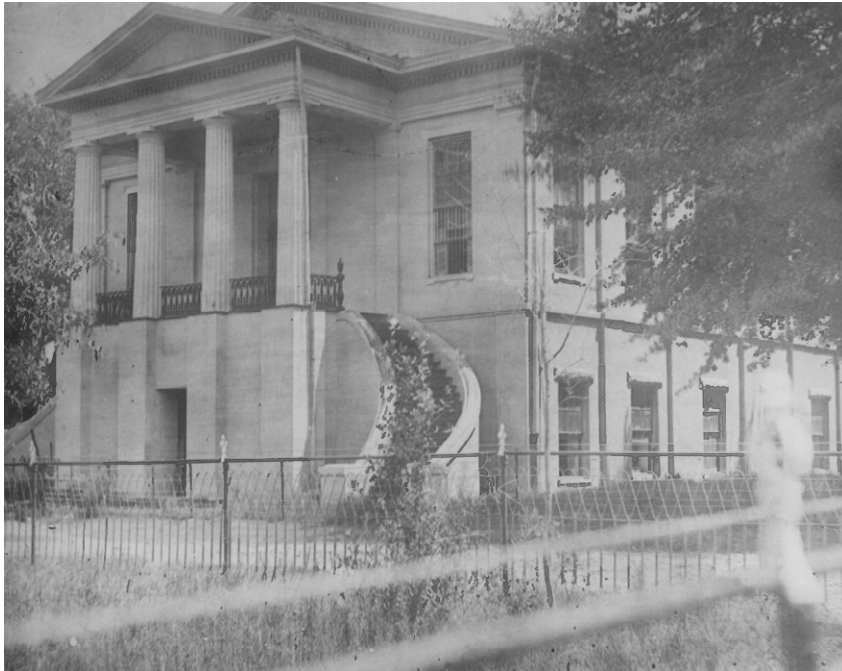
The National Historic Trail sign on the former property of Rosie Steele (Campsite #2). None of the buildings date to the period of significance, but the brick home built after the 1967 fire is still present (left) (Google, March 2022).

21. Campsite #3, The Gardner Farm



Robert Gardner historic residence. NPS study team, 2022.

22. Lowndes County Courthouse



Front view of courthouse before alterations. Dr. C.E. Marlette c. 1905. The photograph is part of the National Register nomination. Hand 1971.



Front view of courthouse after alterations. W. Warner Floyd 1970.
The photograph is part of the National Register nomination. Hand 1971.



Front view of courthouse after restoration. Google images (January 2016).

23. Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church



Front view of church and annex. Google images. December 2022.

24. Lowndes County Freedom House/SNCC Freedom House/LCFO Headquarters



WLA Studio 2022. Figure 39. Circa 1966 photo of the SNCC/LCFO "Freedom House" on the Jackson Farm in Lowndes County. Civil Rights Movement Archive, crvet.org.



SNCC Freedom House. Historic dog-trot home on left. NPS study team, 2022.



Historic dog-trot home on the Jackson property. NPS study team, 2022.



Commemorative plaza and dog trot home on Jackson property. NPS study team 2022.



Historic general store and commemorative plaza on the Jackson property.
NPS study team, 2022.

25. Dexter Avenue Baptist Church



Still image of video (1:18) captured during student protests in Montgomery the week of March 10 1965. The images shows Tuskegee University students on the stairs of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church and police at the bottom of the stairs.
Alabama Department of Archives and History.



Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. NPS study team 2022.

26. Alabama State Capitol



Cropped aerial photo of marchers approaching the Alabama State Capitol (top left) along Dexter Avenue on March 25, 1965. Dexter Avenue Baptist Church (center right) is visible in this image. The yellow arrow indicates military police. Department of Defense 1965, National Archives NAID: 17366133.



Cropped image of the Alabama State Capitol building as seen on March 25, 1965 with a number of law enforcement officers on the staircase. Photographer Loy Williams.



View of the culminating rally and the flatbed truck in front of the Alabama State Capitol on March 25, 1965. Dexter Avenue Baptist Church is in the background (top left). NPS 2015.



Alabama State Capitol from Dexter Avenue. Google images June 2019.

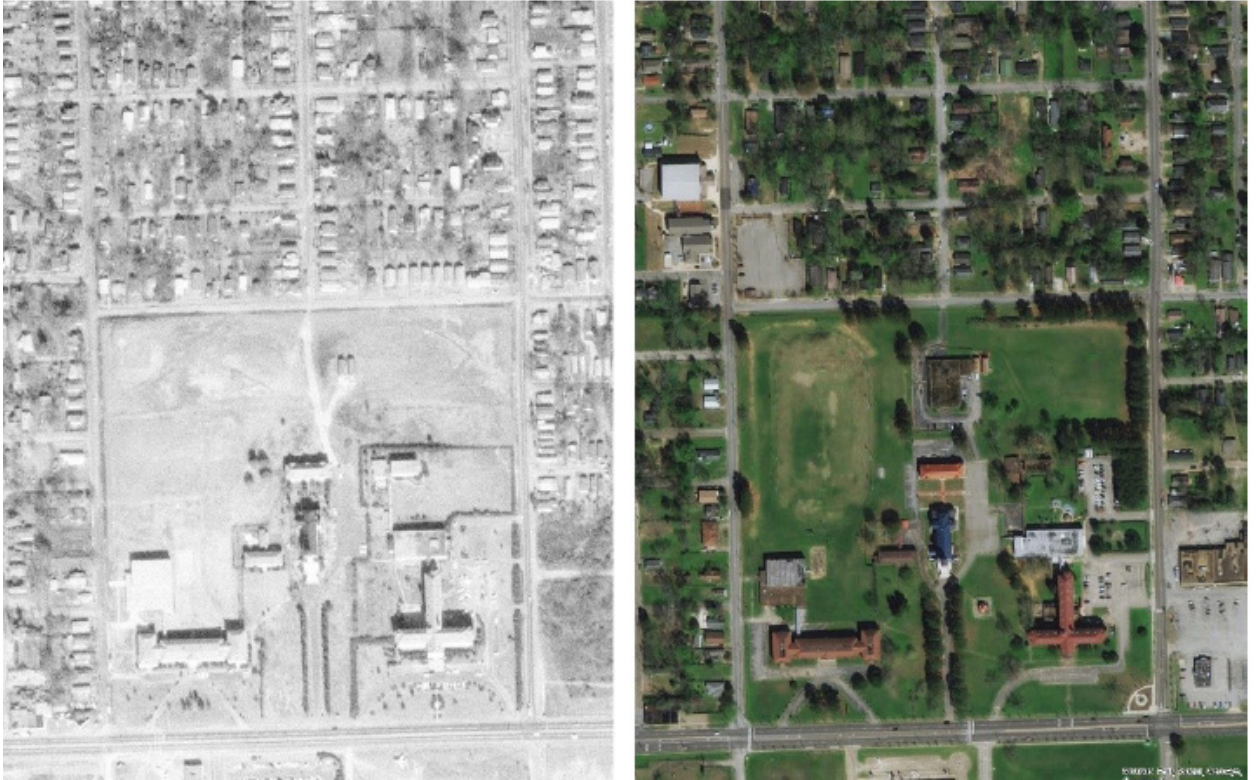
27. Campsite #4, City of St. Jude



WLA Studio 2022. Figure 338. The view across the open campground field at the City of St. Jude revealed the extent of the crowd size as it gathered in preparation for the final day of the march, on March 25. Photographer Loy Williams.



View across the athletic field at the City of St. Jude from the campus toward Hill Street. NPS study team 2022.



WLA Studio 2022. Figure 386. Aerial image comparing 1965 and existing conditions of the City of St. Jude campus. Note the consistency in buildings and other key landscape features between the two periods. The most impactful deviation from historic conditions was the addition of a large building in the north central portion of the site. USDA/ESRI.



Corner of City of St. Jude campus, showing National Historic Trail marker (center).
Google images March 2022.

28. Mt. Zion A.M.E Zion Church



Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church now sits vacant behind a chain link fence. The church building served as a hub for Montgomery's civil rights activities. WLA Studio 2022, Figure 387.

29. Ben Moore Hotel, Majestic Café & Malden Brothers Barber Shop



Original headboards sit in the hallway at the Ben Moore Hotel, Friday January 4, 2019.
Photo by Jake Crandall/Advertiser as part of Johnson 2019.



The upstairs lounge at the Ben Moore Hotel, Friday January 4, 2019. Photo by Jake Crandall/Advertiser as part of Johnson 2019.



Ben Moore Hotel view from South Jackson Street. NPS study team 2022.

30. Montgomery Interpretive Center



Exterior of the Montgomery Interpretive Center on the Alabama State campus in Montgomery, Alabama, on Tuesday, February 25, 2020.
Photo by Jake Crandall/Advertiser as part of Johnson 2020.



Interior exhibits at the Montgomery Interpretive Center. NPS study team 2022.



Interior exhibits at the Montgomery Interpretive Center. NPS study team 2022.

Appendix C: Comprehensive Site List

Sites Analyzed for National Significance

Site Name	County
Lincoln Normal School	Perry
Old Perry County Jail	Perry
Zion Chapel Methodist Church	Perry
Samuel and Amelia Boynton House	Dallas
Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church	Dallas
Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building	Dallas
Clark Elementary School	Dallas
Dallas County Courthouse	Dallas
David Hall Farm (Campsite #1)	Dallas
Edmund Pettus Bridge	Dallas
F.D. Reese Home	Dallas
First Baptist Church	Dallas
George Washington Carver Homes	Dallas
Good Samaritan Hospital	Dallas
Sullivan and Richie Jean Jackson House	Dallas
Tabernacle Baptist Church	Dallas
Robert Gardner Farm (Campsite #3)	Lowndes
Lowndes County Courthouse	Lowndes
Rosie Steele Farm (Campsite #2)	Lowndes
SNCC/LCFO Freedom House	Lowndes
Alabama State Capitol	Montgomery
Ben Moore Hotel	Montgomery
City of St. Jude (Campsite #4)	Montgomery
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church	Montgomery
Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church	Montgomery
Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church	Lowndes

Sites Identified During the Study Where More Research Is Needed

Site Name	County	Notes
First Congregational Church	Perry	-
Jean Childs Young Childhood Home	Perry	-
Judson College Historic District	Perry	-
Korner Café	Perry	-
Lincoln Normal School	Perry	-
Lucy Foster Home	Perry	-
Mack's Café	Perry	non-extant
Marion Baptist Academy	Perry	-
Marion Courthouse Square Historic District	Perry	-
Marion Post Office	Perry	-
Marion's First Congregational Church	Perry	-
Mr. Albert Turner Sr. Home	Perry	-
Mt. Tabor A.M.E. Zion Church	Perry	-
Neely Theater	Perry	-
Obadiah "Obie" and Bernice M. Scott Home	Perry	-
Perry County Civic League	Perry	-
Perry County Courthouse	Perry	-
Rising Star Lodge Hall	Perry	-
West Marion Historic District	Perry	-
"Bloody Sunday" Site	Dallas	-
"I had a dream monument"	Dallas	-
4 Broad Street	Dallas	-
6 Broad Street	Dallas	-
Annie Lee Cooper Huff House	Dallas	-
Black Elks' Lodge	Dallas	-
Boynton Office	Dallas	-
Burwell Infirmary	Dallas	-
Burwell-Dinkins-Anderson House	Dallas	-
Camp Selma	Dallas	-
Carter Drug Company	Dallas	-
Chicken Shack	Dallas	closed
Civil Rights Freedom Wall	Dallas	-
Clinton Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church	Dallas	-
Concordia College	Dallas	-
Craig Air Field	Dallas	-
Dunn Nursing Home	Dallas	-
Ebenezer Baptist Church	Dallas	-
Edmund W. Pettus Home	Dallas	-

Site Name	County	Notes
Elmwood Cemetery aka Lorenzo Harrison Memorial Gardens	Dallas	-
Federal Building	Dallas	-
First Presbyterian Church	Dallas	-
George Wilson Community Center	Dallas	-
Green Street Baptist Church	Dallas	-
Icehouse Historic District	Dallas	-
James Reeb Commemorative Marker	Dallas	-
James Reeb Monument	Dallas	-
Jim Clark Farm	Dallas	-
Joseph T. Smitherman Home	Dallas	-
Knox Academy	Dallas	-
Lannie's Bar-B-Q spot	Dallas	-
Lincoln Cemetery	Dallas	-
Little Canaan Primitive Baptist Church	Dallas	-
Louretta Johnson Carter House	Dallas	-
Margaret Jones Moore Home	Dallas	received location info 2/21/23
Margaret Jones Moore Rental Property	Dallas	received location info 2/21/23
Memorial Stadium	Dallas	-
Morning Star Baptist Church	Dallas	-
Mt. Ararat Missionary Baptist Church	Dallas	-
Mt. Zion Primitive Baptist	Dallas	-
National Voting Rights Museum	Dallas	-
Northern Heights Presbyterian Church	Dallas	-
Old Depot Museum and James Reeb Monument	Dallas	-
Old Live Oak Cemetery	Dallas	-
Old Town Historic District	Dallas	-
Pollard-Brown House	Dallas	-
Queen of Peace Catholic Church	Dallas	-
R.B. Hudson High School	Dallas	-
Reformed Presbyterian Church	Dallas	-
Richard B. Hudson House	Dallas	-
Riverview Historic District	Dallas	-
Second Baptist Church	Dallas	-
Selma and Dallas County Chamber of Commerce	Dallas	-
Selma Interpretive Center	Dallas	-
Selma Times-Journal Building	Dallas	-
Selma University (historic campus)	Dallas	-
Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church	Dallas	-
Silver Moon Café	Dallas	-

Site Name	County	Notes
St. Elizabeth Mission	Dallas	including the Don Bosco Club
St. Elizabeth School	Dallas	-
St. James Hotel	Dallas	-
St. Paul C.M.E. Church	Dallas	-
Sullivan Buiding	Dallas	-
Temple Gate Seventh Day Adventist Church	Dallas	-
Temple Mishkan Israel	Dallas	-
The Berlin Wall	Dallas	-
The Edmundite Mission in Selma	Dallas	-
Torch Motel	Dallas	-
Trinity Lutheran Church (historic building)	Dallas	-
Site of B. Lafayette attempted assassination	Dallas	-
Walker's Café	Dallas	-
Ward Chapel A.M.E.	Dallas	-
Water Avenue Historic District	Dallas	-
West Trinity Baptist Church	Dallas	-
City of Lowndesboro Historic District	Lowndes	-
Elmore Bolling Historic Site	Lowndes	-
First Missionary Baptist Church	Lowndes	-
Frank "Bud" Haralson Store	Lowndes	-
Jonathan Daniels Monument/Cash's Store	Lowndes	-
Liuzzo Memorial Overlook/Viola Liuzzo Monument	Lowndes	-
Lowndes Interpretive Center (Tent City Site)	Lowndes	-
Mount Gillard Missionary Baptist Church	Lowndes	-
Mt. Zion Christian Church School	Lowndes	-
Od Lowndes County Jail	Lowndes	-
The Calhoun School	Lowndes	-
Wright Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church	Lowndes	-
Alabama State University	Montgomery	-
Alabama State University Historic District	Montgomery	-
Bell-Lee's Funeral Home	Montgomery	-
Bethel Baptist Church	Montgomery	-
Cabin Inn	Montgomery	more info needed
Carver Elementary and Arts Magnet School	Montgomery	-
Carver High School	Montgomery	-
Citizens' Club	Montgomery	not open, not sure if building still standing
City of St. Jude Historic District	Montgomery	-
Civil Rights Memorial Park	Montgomery	-
Cleveland Ave Branch YMCA	Montgomery	-
Cleveland Court Apartments	Montgomery	-

Site Name	County	Notes
Contributions of Virginia Darr	Montgomery	The public comment from the 1993 trail management plan notes the importance of the site (NPS 1993).
Corner of Grove and Dericote Streets	Montgomery	Marker may not be extant
Corner of High and Jackson Streets	Montgomery	-
Court Square Historic District (and boundary increase)	Montgomery	-
Dave Williams Service Station	Montgomery	more info needed
Deaths of W. Edwards and H. Brooks	Montgomery	The public comment from the 1993 trail management plan notes the importance of the site (NPS 1993).
Dexter Avenue Parsonage Museum	Montgomery	-
Dr. E. D. Nixon House	Montgomery	-
Dr. Richard H. Harris, Jr. House	Montgomery	-
Dumas Service Station	Montgomery	more info needed
Elks Club	Montgomery	-
First Baptist Church of Montgomery	Montgomery	-
Greyhound Bus Station	Montgomery	-
Hall Street	Montgomery	-
Holt Street Baptist Church	Montgomery	-
Homes at St. Jude Complex	Montgomery	more info needed
First Baptist Church Parsonage, Rev. Ralph David Abernathy Home	Montgomery	not original location of home
C.K. Steele Home	Montgomery	-
Willie Williams Home	Montgomery	-
Hutchinson Missionary Baptist Church	Montgomery	-
Jackson Street Baptist Church	Montgomery	-
LaCois Club	Montgomery	-
Loveless School	Montgomery	-
Lower Commerce Street Historic District (and boundary increase)	Montgomery	-
Lowe's Business School	Montgomery	more info needed
Lutheran Church served by Rev. Gratz	Montgomery	-
Montgomery County Courthouse	Montgomery	-
Montgomery Interpretive Center	Montgomery	-
Moses Jones House	Montgomery	more info needed
North Lawrence-Monroe Street Historic District	Montgomery	-
Office of Drs. Jeff Underwood II & III	Montgomery	unsure of office location during march
Old Montgomery Jail	Montgomery	unsure of street address, possibly 934 N. Ripley based on 2009 image search. Historic building may no longer be standing
Old Shirt Factory	Montgomery	more info needed

Site Name	County	Notes
Patterson Court	Montgomery	more info needed
People's Cab Company	Montgomery	more info needed
Peter Shine's House	Montgomery	more info needed
Posey's (Monroe Street Parking Lot)	Montgomery	-
Regal Café	Montgomery	-
Rev. Boone historic marker	Montgomery	-
Rufus Lewis' House	Montgomery	-
The Rosa Parks Library and Museum in Montgomery	Montgomery	-
Trinity Lutheran Church and Parsonage	Montgomery	-
Washington Park Neighborhood	Montgomery	-
Williams Pool Hall	Montgomery	more info needed
Moss Hotel	unknown	-
Tuskegee University	Macon	-
Tuskegee History Center: Tuskegee Human and Civil Rights Multicultural Center	Macon	-
Sites in Tuskegee	Macon	Potentially Attorney Fred Gray home and other sites yet to be identified.

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Appendix E: NPS Management Policies: Criteria for Inclusion

1.3 Criteria for Inclusion

Congress declared in the National Park System General Authorities Act of 1970 that areas comprising the national park system are cumulative expressions of a single national heritage. Potential additions to the national park system should therefore contribute in their own special way to a system that fully represents the broad spectrum of natural and cultural resources that characterize our nation. The National Park Service is responsible for conducting professional studies of potential additions to the national park system when specifically authorized by an act of Congress and for making recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior, the president, and Congress. Several laws outline criteria for national park system units and for additions to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System and the National Trails System.

To receive a favorable recommendation from the National Park Service, a proposed addition to the national park system must: 1) possess nationally significant natural or cultural resources, 2) be a suitable addition to the system, 3) be a feasible addition to the system, and 4) require direct NPS management instead of protection by other public agencies or the private sector. These criteria are designed to ensure that the national park system includes only the most outstanding examples of the nation's natural and cultural resources. These criteria also recognize that there are other management alternatives for preserving the nation's outstanding resources.

1.3.1 National Significance

NPS professionals, in consultation with subject matter experts, scholars, and scientists, will determine whether a resource is nationally significant. An area will be considered nationally significant if it meets all of the following criteria:

1. It is an outstanding example of a particular type of resource.
2. It possesses exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation's heritage.
3. It offers superlative opportunities for public enjoyment or for scientific study.
4. It retains a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of a resource.

National significance for cultural resources will be evaluated by applying the national historic landmarks criteria contained in 36 CFR Part 65 (*Code of Federal Regulations*).

1.3.2 Suitability

An area is considered suitable for addition to the national park system if it represents a natural or cultural resource type that is not already adequately represented in the national park system or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by other federal agencies; Tribal, state, or local governments; or the private sector.

Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the potential addition to other comparably managed areas representing the same resource type, while considering differences or similarities in the character, quality, quantity, or combination of resource values. The comparative analysis also addresses rarity of the resources, interpretive and

educational potential, and similar resources already protected in the national park system or in other public or private ownership. The comparison results in a determination of whether the proposed new area would expand, enhance, or duplicate resource protection or visitor use opportunities found in other comparably managed areas.

1.3.3 Feasibility

To be feasible as a new national park system unit, an area must be (1) of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure sustainable resource protection and visitor enjoyment (taking into account current and potential impacts from sources beyond proposed park boundaries), and (2) capable of efficient administration by the National Park Service at a reasonable cost.

In evaluating feasibility, the National Park Service considers a variety of factors for a study area, such as the following:

1. size
2. boundary configurations
3. current and potential uses of the study area and surrounding lands
4. landownership patterns
5. public enjoyment potential
6. costs associated with acquisition, development, restoration, and operation
7. access
8. current and potential threats to the resources
9. existing degradation of resources
10. staffing requirements
11. local planning and zoning
12. the level of local and general public support (including landowners)
13. the economic/socioeconomic impacts of designation as a national park system unit

The feasibility evaluation also considers the ability of the National Park Service to undertake new management responsibilities in light of current and projected availability of funding and personnel.

An overall evaluation of feasibility will be made after taking into account all of the above factors. However, evaluations may sometimes identify concerns or conditions, rather than simply reach a yes or no conclusion. For example, some new areas may be feasible additions to the national park system only if landowners are willing to sell, or the boundary encompasses specific areas necessary for visitor access, or state or local governments will provide appropriate assurances that adjacent land uses will remain compatible with the study area's resources and values.

1.3.4 Direct NPS Management

There are many excellent examples of the successful management of important natural and cultural resources by other public agencies, private conservation organizations, and individuals. The National Park Service applauds these accomplishments and actively encourages the

expansion of conservation activities by state, local, and private entities and by other federal agencies. Unless direct NPS management of a studied area is identified as the clearly superior alternative, the National Park Service will recommend that one or more of these other entities assume a lead management role and that the area not receive national park system status.

Studies will evaluate an appropriate range of management alternatives and will identify which alternative or combination of alternatives would, in the professional judgment of the National Park Service Director, be most effective and efficient in protecting significant resources and providing opportunities for appropriate public enjoyment. Alternatives for NPS management will not be developed for study areas that fail to meet any one of the four criteria for inclusion listed in section 1.3.

In cases where a study area's resources meet criteria for national significance but do not meet other criteria for inclusion in the national park system, the National Park Service may instead recommend an alternative status, such as "affiliated area." To be eligible for affiliated area status, the area's resources must: 1) meet the same standards for significance and suitability that apply to national park system units; 2) require some special recognition or technical assistance beyond what is available through existing NPS programs; 3) be managed in accordance with the policies and standards that apply to national park system units; and 4) be assured of sustained resource protection, as documented in a formal agreement between the National Park Service and the nonfederal management entity. Designation as a "heritage area" is another option that may be recommended. Heritage areas have a nationally important, distinctive assemblage of resources that is best managed for conservation, recreation, education, and continued use through partnerships among public and private entities at the local or regional level. Either of these two alternatives (and others as well) would recognize an area's importance to the nation without requiring or implying management by the National Park Service.

Appendix F: Preparers and Consultants

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Photo on back cover:

Civil Rights Movement Co-Founder Dr. Ralph David Abernathy and his wife Mrs. Juanita Abernathy follow with Dr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King as the Abernathy children march on the front line, leading the Selma to Montgomery march in 1965. The Children are Donzaleigh Abernathy in striped sweater, Ralph David Abernathy, 3rd and Juandalynn R. Abernathy in glasses. Name of the white Minister in the photo is unknown. Photo in the public domain, courtesy Abernathy Family Photos.



As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historic places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under US administration.



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SELMA TO MONTGOMERY NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

SOUTH ATLANTIC GULF REGION 2 | SPECIAL RESOURCE STUDY

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