National Park Service
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Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail
Hayneville, Alabama

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report



Interior Region 2: South Atlantic – Gulf
Cultural Resources, Partnerships and Science Division

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail Cultural Landscape Report

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Prepared by:
WLA Studio

Under the direction of
National Park Service
Interior Region 2: South Atlantic – Gulf
Cultural Resources, Partnerships and Science Division



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About the cover: Aerial photograph of the Alabama State Capitol and Dexter Avenue in downtown Montgomery on the final day of the Selma to Montgomery March. (Source: National Archives)

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail Cultural Landscape Report

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Foreword

We are pleased to make available this cultural landscape report, part of our ongoing effort to provide comprehensive documentation for the landscapes and historic structures of National Park Service units in the Southeast Region. A number of individuals and institutions contributed to the successful completion of this work. We would particularly like to thank the staff at Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail for their assistance throughout the process. We hope this study will be a useful tool for park management in continuing efforts to preserve the cultural landscape and to others interested in the significance of the park's many cultural resources.

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Interior Region 2: South Atlantic – Gulf
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Introduction

Management Summary

This Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) is for the Selma to Montgomery (SEMO) National Historic Trail (NHT) and the associated Marion to Selma Connecting Trail located in a four-county stretch of south-central Alabama. The NHT spans 54 miles. It begins at Brown Chapel African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church in Selma, Alabama, and follows the march route taken in March 1965 through the city and eastward along US Highway 80 into the city of Montgomery, ending at the Alabama State Capitol. In 2015, the National Park Service (NPS) added to the NHT a 28-mile connecting trail from the city of Marion, Alabama, to Selma.

The SEMO NHT and connecting trail commemorate the nationally significant events leading up to and associated with the Selma civil and voting rights campaign and the three marches that took place in March 1965. These three marches included the violent confrontation between members of the civil rights movement and law enforcement officers known as "Bloody Sunday" on March 7, 1965, followed by the minister's march known as "Turnaround Tuesday" on March 9, 1965, and finally the march from Selma to Montgomery from March 21-25, 1965. The marches brought the issues of civil rights, voting rights, and police brutality to national consciousness and spurred broadened support for racial justice action in the United States. Significantly, the marches were an important catalyst for the passage of the Voting Rights Act on August 6, 1965. The NHT includes iconic march locations, including the Edmund Pettus Bridge, Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church, US Highway 80, and associated marcher campsites. Additional contributing cultural landscape features within SEMO include scenic viewsheds, historic neighborhoods, and downtown streetscapes.

In 1996, Congress approved legislation creating the SEMO NHT, establishing the site as a component landscape of the National Trails System, which is administered by the NPS. Highway 80, which comprises a large portion of the NHT route, is also recognized and managed as a National Scenic Byway, All-American Road, and Alabama State Scenic Highway. The National Park Service partners with the Federal Highway Administration and other stakeholders to interpret and protect this historic route. Importantly, the Alabama Department of Transportation (ALDOT) manages and maintains US Highway 80 and the Edmund Pettus Bridge. In 2006, construction of the Lowndes County Interpretive Center was completed. This 20-acre property is the only site along the NHT owned in fee simple by the NPS. The NPS operates two other visitor centers through partnership agreements, one in downtown Selma and one on the campus of Alabama State University in Montgomery.

Though various properties within SEMO have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places, the route itself remains unlisted. The section from Selma to Montgomery along Highway 80 has been determined eligible for listing; however, a formal nomination has yet to be completed.

Since assuming management, the NPS has issued a collection of reports and management documents related to SEMO. This CLR is the first site-wide report conducted since the 2014 *Foundation Document*.

Historical Overview

The cultural and environmental history of the four-county project area dates back millennia. Native Americans lived within the area for thousands of years, drawing from the rich natural environment characterized by meandering waterways and bountiful resources. Beginning in the 1500s, Spanish occupation and later British settlement undermined Indigenous sovereignty and cultural cohesion. Soon thereafter, European American emigrants enforced a social, political, and economic hierarchy based on an adherence to white supremacy throughout the region. This hierarchy was characterized by the enslavement of

African Americans, disenfranchisement of Native Americans, and patriarchal laws and customs. Undergirding this social system was a capitalist economy that exploited both people and the environment for the benefit of a small upper class. The ability of the landscape to support cotton agriculture through fertile soil and ample sunshine and rain was coupled with the violent enforcement of the white supremacist socio-political system, resulting in the Black Belt becoming one of the leading producers of the lucrative crop. Its rapid expansion in the landscape led to the degradation of soil as well as the rapid intensification of African American enslavement.

Throughout, African Americans resisted subjugation both actively and passively. Concerning the former, work slowdowns or stoppages, self-liberation, and even revolt were actions taken by the enslaved. Concerning the latter, African Americans before and after emancipation devoted themselves to building community bonds through mutual aid and self-empowerment. These activities—and the institutions that fostered their growth, such as the community schoolhouse and church—formed the bedrock for the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

Rosa Parks' refusal to switch seats on a Montgomery city bus in 1955 kickstarted a series of events that led directly to the Selma to Montgomery March ten years later. Though radical action against white supremacy had occurred in the region intermittently since the fall of the Confederacy—notably through labor struggles in the 1930s—it was not until the successful boycott of the city bus system that meaningful change in the Black Belt seemed attainable. The boycott provided a platform to air grievances as well as an opportunity for young public figures like Martin Luther King, Jr. to make a name for themselves.

King and community leaders seized the momentum of the boycott to advance a philosophy of nonviolent direct action against the forces of oppression at all levels of government and society. By 1963, these techniques were being used in cities like Birmingham where protesters of all ages put their lives on the line to show the world the oppressive conditions in which African Americans lived.

After the civil rights campaign in Birmingham, two of the most active civil rights groups of the time—the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)—went to Selma to help organize a massive voting rights campaign there. Over the next two years these two groups, which were at times at odds with each other, built a robust movement that extended into adjacent counties of Perry, Lowndes, and Montgomery.

As the movement gained traction, state police forces increased their use of violent and repressive tactics. This violence turned deadly in late February 1965 when a state trooper in the small town of Marion shot one of the demonstrators, Jimmie Lee Jackson, as part of a crackdown on a nighttime protest. Jackson died at a hospital soon thereafter. Jackson's death led to calls for a march to the state capitol in Montgomery to make direct demands of the segregationist governor George Wallace.

Within two weeks a group of around three hundred people from Perry and Dallas counties gathered—rucksacks in tow—to make the march. They proceeded to march several blocks through Selma and over the Edmund Pettus Bridge. On the other side of the bridge was Sheriff Jim Clark and a line of police and state troopers. They ordered the demonstrators to turn around and then charged, firing tear gas and beating marchers with clubs. Many marchers were injured. The images and news footage of the police brutality were broadcast nationwide, resulting in calls for action.

Building upon public sentiment, organizers led a second march across the bridge. This march, with both sides playing politics and being careful about optics, ended peacefully in prayer. Behind the scenes, King and others were attempting to secure federal protection for the march to Montgomery. There was considerable fear that the marchers would be in danger without sufficient protection. In fact, the brutal beating and death of Rev. Jim Reeb by white vigilantes in Selma on March 11, two days after Bloody Sunday, made this threat clear.

President Johnson eventually agreed to provide the protection and federalized the national guard. They were to scout for bombs, snipers, and any other perceived threat to demonstrators. With permission and protection in place, march

organizers secured campsite locations for the four-day march. The first three campsites were located on African American-owned farms and the fourth was located at the City of St. Jude campus in Montgomery.

The march was long and arduous through dramatic swings in weather, but no violence befell the participants. On the last night of the march, at the St. Jude campus, a massive concert was held, which served as a penultimate celebration. The following day, marchers walked through Montgomery's streets to the state capitol, where dignitaries gave a series of speeches. It is estimated that twenty-five thousand people participated in the final day's events. The march had been a success—it focused the eyes of the nation upon the plight of African Americans in the South and kept the civil rights movement alive.

But for every success there also seems to be tragedy, as the night following the march, Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker from Detroit, was murdered by members of the KKK while helping to shuttle marchers back to Selma. Her death showed that white supremacists were not going to let the civil rights movement have any easy victories.

Still, one such victory was the passage of the Voting Rights Act in August 1965. With its enactment, civil rights organizers rallied to get African Americans registered to vote throughout the area. For example, in Dallas County, where there had been only a few African Americans registered to vote prior to the Act's passage, by the November 1966 election, over ten thousand were eligible to vote. In both Dallas and Lowndes Counties, the right to vote was just the start, and activists soon began to encourage African American candidates to run for public office.

The American public quickly recognized the importance of this era, and commemorative marches and related activities began within a decade. In 1996, the march route was established as a National Historic Trail for its significant contribution to United States history, even though the events had only occurred less than thirty years prior. The rapidity of this recognition and commemoration speaks to the importance of the site.

This cultural landscape report aims to fill in the gaps in our understanding of the cultural landscape of the NHT and offer recommendations to guide its future use.

The site history section of this report organizes the site into periods of development. These periods reflect both broad themes in regional history as well as specific events related to the civil right movement in the project area.

These periods are:

Native American Alabama
Antebellum Black Belt Alabama
Civil War In Alabama (1860-1865)
Post-Civil War Era in Alabama (1865-1954)
Mid-Century Movement for Civil Rights (1954-1965)
The Selma to Montgomery March
Post March Civil Rights Activity (1965-1966)
Commemoration and the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (1966-2019)

Scope of Work and Methodology

As stated in the Project Statement, the CLR will (1) describe the route's character at the time of the marches in 1965; (2) document the existing site conditions; (3) provide analysis of the landscape's potential National Register significance; (4) identify and assess integrity of character defining features; (5) determine appropriate treatment strategies; and (6) develop treatment recommendations that facilitate preservation of these resources, address park management concerns, and inform ongoing and proposed facility development.

The site history included in this report gives an overview of the SEMO NHT cultural landscape. Research for the site history included consultation of both primary and secondary sources of information, informing the analysis of the historical significance of the site. These sources include documents gathered from the Alabama Department of Archives and History, county courthouses, several online repositories, and the families of campsite owners. Interviews were also conducted with two campsite families and other locals in the area. Sources for contextual

information included past NPS reports, various National Register of Historic Places nomination forms, and a variety of scholarly texts that address both broad and specific histories related to the events of 1965. Information pertaining to the development history, determination of the periods of development, and historical analysis of the resources draw heavily from these sources.

The existing conditions section provides a comprehensive description of cultural landscape features, including natural and cultural resources. The inventory includes information gathered during site visits by project team members between November 2019 and February 2020.[1] The analysis and evaluation section uses criteria developed by the National Register of Historic Places and the *Secretary of Interior Standards for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* to evaluate the historic integrity of existing landscape resources. The section on treatment recommendations provides guidance for future management decisions related to the site's historic landscape resources.

Using information gathered during site documentation field work, this CLR identifies landscape characteristics and associated features that contribute to the historic significance of the site. This CLR compares the historic condition of a particular resource with its current condition to evaluate its historic integrity.

Note that there is no precedent to follow concerning developing a CLR for a National Historic Trail. The size of the project area poses challenges to standard CLR methodologies where historic conditions are difficult if not impossible to fully comprehend due to a lack of available and detailed historic documentation. Through consultation with the NPS Interior Region 2 and SEMO staff, it was determined to limit the analysis of historic period conditions of the project site to the year 1965, but to provide some general context for the years before and after this date. Further, the standard approach to site documentation used on smaller, less sprawling historic sites does not translate well to a site the size of SEMO. As such, it was agreed that generalizations of both historic and existing conditions would be used when appropriate, which allows more detail to be given to properties or landscapes of high significance or where historic documentation is more readily available. Existing conditions documentation of the Lowndes Interpretive Center site was the most thorough, given that it is the only property within the project area owned by the NPS.

1. Note that additional fieldwork was due to be completed, but due to the Covid-19 pandemic, these trips were canceled because of health and safety concerns.

Description of Study Boundaries

The study boundaries include the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail and the Marion to Selma Connecting Trail. The former begins at the Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma, follows the routes taken in 1965 through the city and eastward along US Highway 80 into the city of Montgomery, ending at the Alabama State Capitol. The Marion to Selma Connecting Trail begins at the Zion United Methodist Church in Marion, follows Jimmie Jackson Highway (Old Highway 45) south and US Highway 80 east, ending at the Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma. The Selma to Montgomery NHT is 54 miles and the Marion to Selma Connecting Trail is 28.3 miles.

The Marion to Selma Connecting Trail commemorates the role of people and events in Marion, Alabama, related to the civil rights movement. It follows the route taken by citizens of Perry County to participate in the voting rights marches.

The Connecting Trail begins at the Zion United Methodist Church in Marion on Martin Luther King, Jr. Parkway, turns south on Washington Street and proceeds onto Albert Turner, Sr. & Jimmie Jackson Highway (Old Highway 45), then east onto US Highway 80, and into Selma, ending at Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. The Marion to Selma Connecting Trail travels through Perry and Dallas Counties. Figure 1 - Figure 3 illustrate the location of the trail.

The study boundaries also include:

- The marchers' routes through the streets within the City of Selma
- US Highway 80 right-of-way between Selma and Montgomery (roadway, medians, shoulders, and bridges)
- The 20-acre Lowndes Interpretive Center site and historic location of Tent City

- The marchers' route through the City of Montgomery to the Alabama State Capitol, including Five Points Hill where the marchers gathered before descending to the State Capitol
- The Selma to Montgomery NHT easements with private property owners of the four campsite locations along the Trail. These easements allow for signage at historic locations
- The Violet Liuzzo Memorial
- Viewsheds beyond the US Highway 80 right-of-way
- The designated route of the Marion to Selma Connecting Trail through the streets within the City of Marion
- The designated route of the Marion to Selma Connecting Trail along Jimmie Jackson Highway (Old Highway 45) and US Highway 80 right-of-way (roadway, medians, shoulders, and bridges)
- The designated route of the Marion to Selma Connecting Trail through the streets into Selma
- Viewsheds beyond the Marion to Selma Connecting Trail right-of-way

Summary of Findings

The National Park Service assumed management of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail in 1996. It later established the Lowndes Interpretive Center site in 2006 in an effort interpret both the National Historic Trail and the Tent City site for the public. Since that time, the NPS has established two more interpretive centers. In 2015, a stretch of roadway between Marion and Selma was designated an official connecting trail, earning it special planning status, which is reflected in this report.

While addressed by various park planning documents, a comprehensive management plan for SEMO's historic landscape had yet to be developed. As such, this CLR serves to guide the NPS in decision making concerning the ongoing stewardship of this cultural landscape.

This CLR assessed SEMO's cultural landscape in terms of its past and present use. This assessment informed treatment recommendations that aim to guide future management decisions related to the stewardship of the site's historic landscape resources, with a particular emphasis on the Lowndes Interpretive Center site.

The management of SEMO's cultural landscape is complicated by the limited amount of land owned by the NPS and the multi-agency approach to decision making. As the agency only owns the Lowndes Interpretive Center site, most treatment recommendations in this CLR focus on that property.

For both the Lowndes Interpretive Center site and the whole of the National Historic Trail, this report recommends rehabilitation as the most appropriate choice for the site's overall treatment, using a 1965 treatment date. A rehabilitation treatment approach preserves historic features, improves features that are in decline, and permits compatible changes throughout SEMO. As such, rehabilitation allows the park to continue safeguarding the historic character of the National Historic Trail, while allowing changes that increase public use and appreciation of the landscape.

Recommendations for further research include completion of a National Register Nomination Form for the national historic trail and connecting trail, an update to the 2012 interpretive pullout report, a call for public assistance to solicit historic photographs and information, an update of the 2010 viewshed / property protection plan, and a climate change planning document that addresses cultural resources within SEMO.

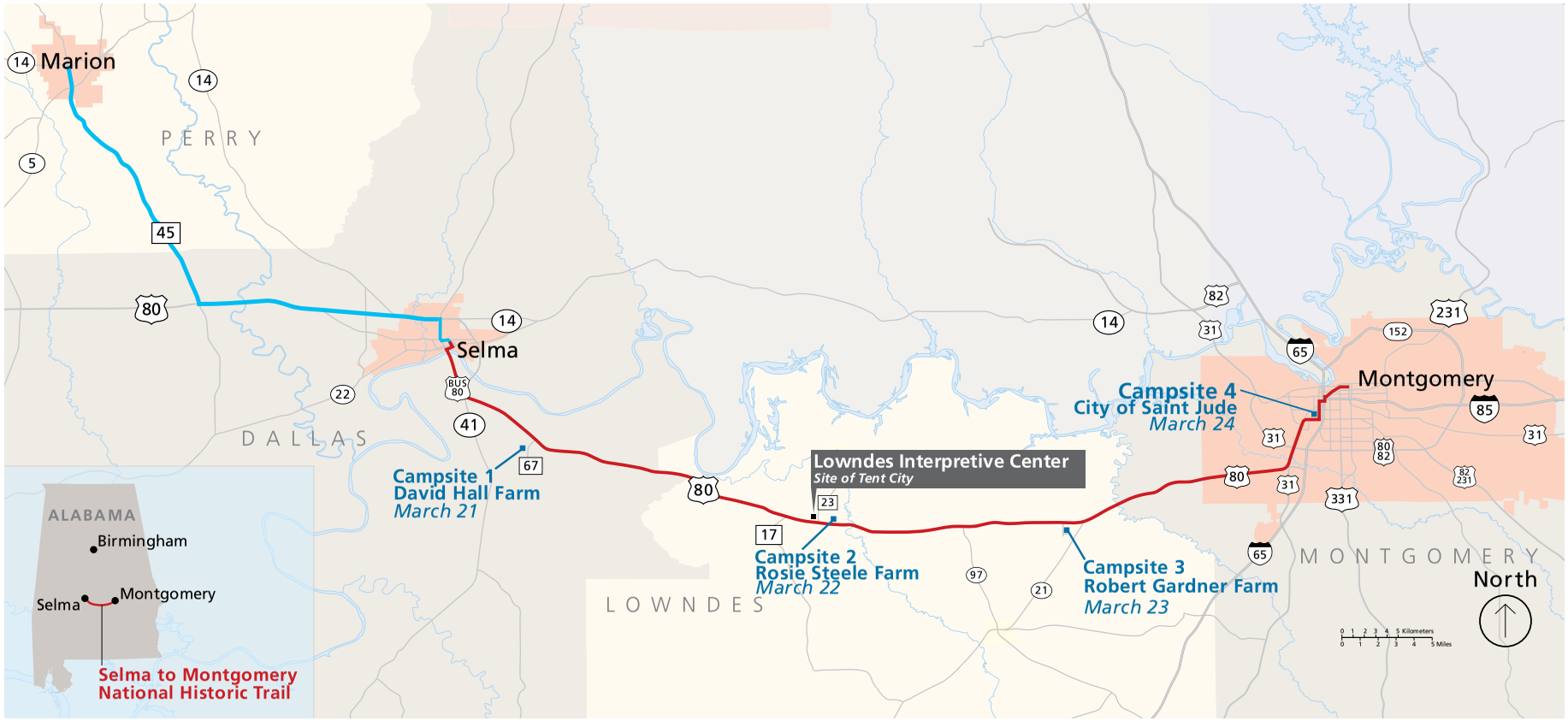

Figure 1. Amended map of the SEMO NHT showing the march route in red from Selma to Montgomery, with the Marion to Selma Connecting Trail in blue. An enlarged version showing important sites along the trail is included in Appendix A. (Source: National Park Service and WLA Studio)**.**

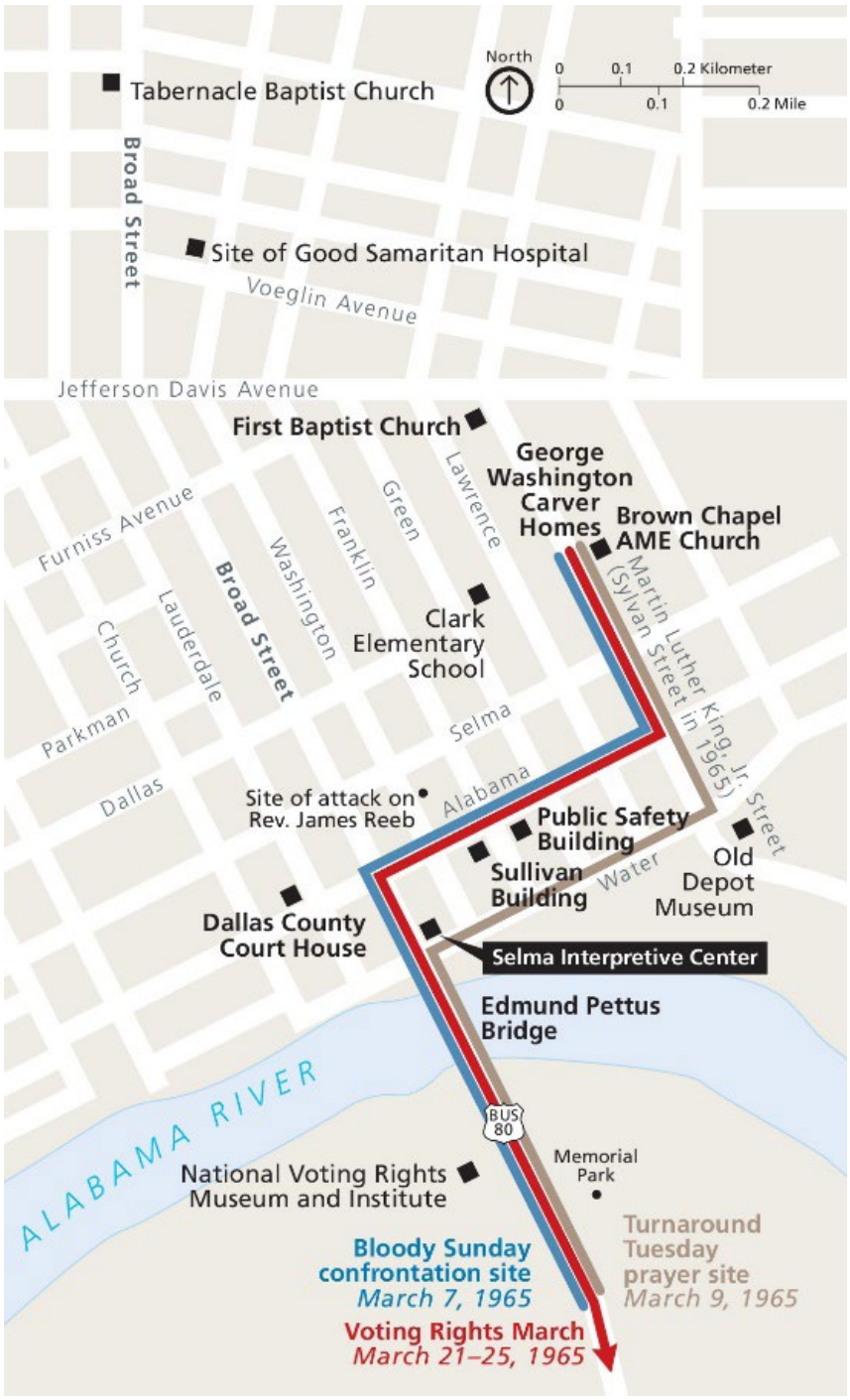

Figure 2. Official map of the SEMO NHT showing the three march routes through Selma. All routes began at Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church and extend over the Edmund Pettus Bridge. (Source: National Park Service).

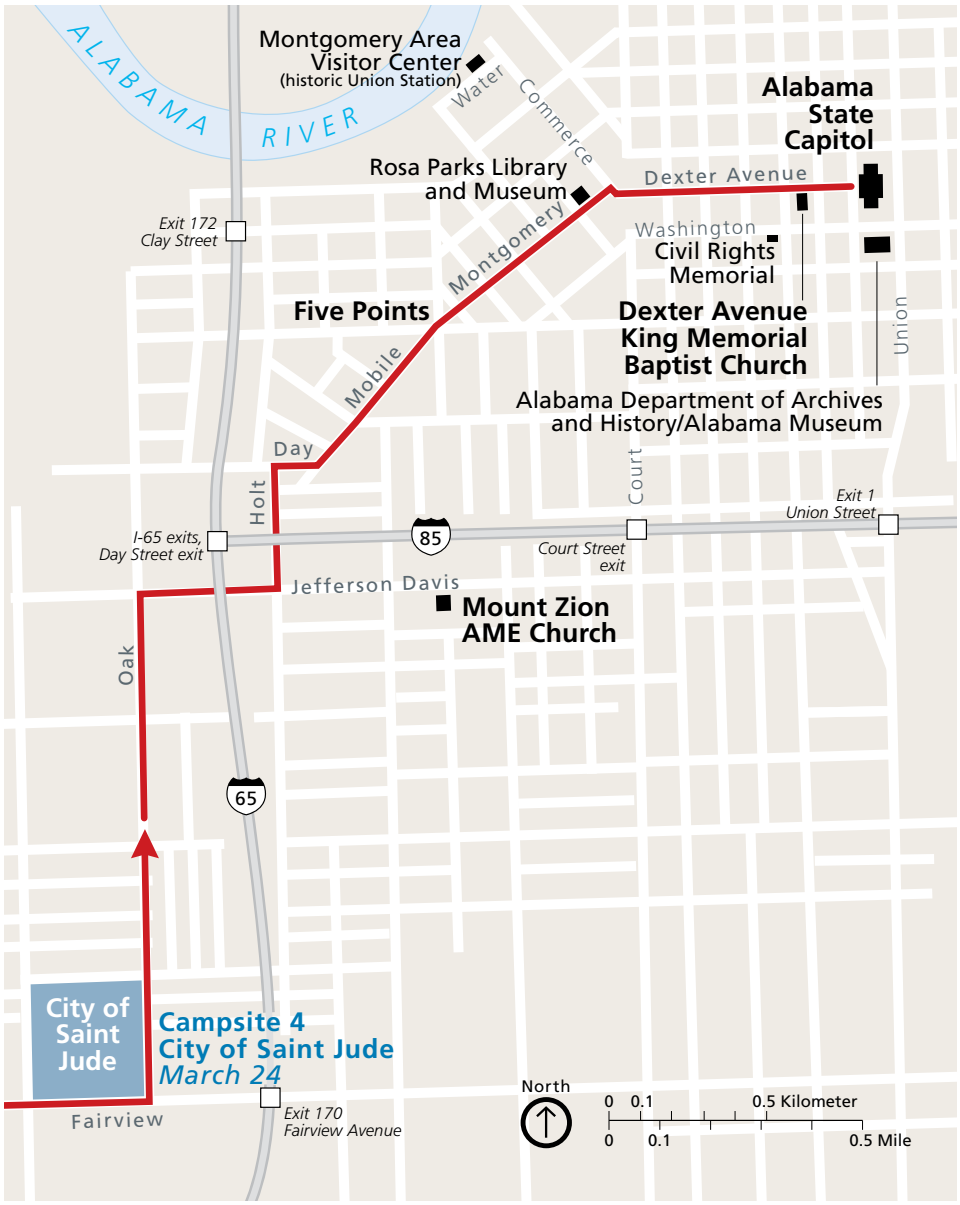

Figure 3. Official map of the SEMO NHT showing the march route in red through Montgomery. (Source: National Park Service).

Site History

Introduction

Though it was just one of hundreds of demonstrations and agitations occurring at the time, the Selma to Montgomery March and associated activity represents a watershed moment in the modern civil rights movement and the broader struggle for African American freedom. As Barbara Harris Combs notes, "[p]erhaps no other word is more synonymous with the black liberation movement in America than freedom."[2] To get there, African Americans strategized and worked at gaining various individual freedom rights, such as the freedom to receive a quality education, the freedom to work with dignity, the freedom to live and love as they pleased. Of course, these efforts were met with resistance. African Americans repeatedly challenged the systemic inequities and violent enforcement of white supremacy to demand their liberation.

As such, the modern civil rights movement can be viewed as part of a continuum of resistance among African Americans dating back centuries.[3] This timeline of American Americans' fight for civil and human rights begins in the early-1500s with the successful revolt against the Spanish by enslaved Africans and indigenous Guale people at San Miguel de Gualdape on the coast of what is now Georgia or South Carolina.[4] While this was only a momentary victory, it presaged the next several hundred years of struggle against a system of violently enforced slavery and white supremacy. During the colonial and antebellum eras, African Americans employed a variety of strategies for undermining this system. Tactics at this time included work slowdowns, self-liberation (i.e. "running away"), leveraging a sympathetic press and public, and instances of armed rebellion that culminated in the Civil War. During Reconstruction, African Americans used electoral politics to gain a foothold in government. Following Reconstruction, after a backlash to federal initiatives undermined many of the advances made towards African American empowerment, new strategies developed in the early twentieth century. These strategies revolved around labor organizing, mutual aid, and economic self-determination, which sought to secure the basic material conditions of daily life for African American communities. Finally, during the modern civil rights movement of the mid-twentieth century, mass meetings, litigation, sit-ins, public protests, nationwide student organizing, and voter drives served as primary modes of resistance.

Local communities and their institutions—the churches, schools, and businesses—formed the bedrock of this resistance. In a seemingly condensed and intense span of time, the civil rights activities of the 1950s and 1960s—of which the Selma to Montgomery March plays a central role—helped to secure a suite of political rights for African Americans. However, as scholar Hasan Kwame Jeffries notes, that while the "startling change seemed to appear out of nowhere…it was actually more than a century in the making."[5] The change also appeared *somewhere*, and in this case, African Americans both demanded and won these rights in a four-county stretch in the Black Belt region of south-central Alabama.

This chapter will provide a general overview history of the cultural landscape of the Black Belt to serve as context for the civil rights activities of 1965. Differing from other Cultural Landscape Reports, this history will not provide extensive detail about the developmental history of the project area before or after that year. Anecdotes from various locations within the project area will be used to illuminate various local and national events. Footnotes will be used to supply additional context, as well as suggestions for more in-depth analysis of topics. Given the size of the project

2. Barbara Harris Combs, *From Selma to Montgomery: The Long March to Freedom* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 3.
3. Herb Boyd, "Radicalism and Resistance: The Evolution of Black Radical Thought," *The Black Scholar* 28, no. 1 (1998): 43.
4. Guy Cameron and Stephen Vermette, "The Role of Extreme Cold in the Failure of the San Miguel de Gualdape Colony," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 96, no. 3 (2012): 297.; while the New York Times' *1619 Project* has centered 1619 as the year enslaved Africans came to North America, the Spanish had brought some number of captive Africans to the continent roughly 100 year prior.
5. Hasan Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 1.

area, detailed descriptions of its historic landscape are not provided in this chapter but are instead presented in the Analysis and Evaluation chapter to follow.

Finally, the definition of "land" offered by sociologist Monica White serves as a useful frame for this narrative, where land is both a "scene of a crime and a strategy of freedom and liberation."[6] Indeed, Lowndes County was known as "Bloody Lowndes" for the violence experienced by and inflicted upon African Americans and their allies; we can also include Perry, Dallas, and Montgomery counties in this violent history. At the same time, it was African American organized resistance within and in relation to the landscape that allowed—and still allows—the civil rights movement to advance the unfinished goal of attaining full liberation for Black people in the United States.

Native American Alabama

For thousands of years prior to European colonization of southeastern North America, Native Americans inhabited the area now known as the Black Belt of Alabama. Here, a dynamic and ecologically abundant landscape supplied generations of Native Americans a place to develop extensive cultural traditions related to kinship, religion, trade, and use of natural resources. Over millennia, these traditions evolved, adapting to both environmental and societal changes. The earliest Native American peoples moved into the area around 10,000-8,000 BCE. These groups formed "highly mobile, nomadic, egalitarian bands that hunted such Pleistocene megafauna as antique bison, mastodons, and mammoths, but also likely exploited small animal species, too."[7]

Around this time, warming of the global climate forced the retreat of the continent's glaciers. Afterword, a distinct crescent-shaped ecological region known as Blackland Prairie developed, spanning more than 300 miles from south-central Alabama up to eastern Mississippi, covering roughly 3.5 million acres.[8] This ecosystem featured "a mosaic of open prairie, chalk outcrop, and forest/woodland."[9] The term "Black Belt" and "Blackland Prairie" "refer to the dark soils, rich and organic matter" that were characteristic of the landscape prior to widespread agricultural practices transformed the environment.[10] Accounts from Dallas county in the early 1800s describe these prairies as sporadic patches of grasslands surrounded by a wall of woods. Native Americans of the region "probably expanded grassland in the Black Belt through burning and other activities," which provided desired habitat for white-tailed deer—an important food source for southeastern Native Americans.[11] Later, they used these opened areas for growing food crops such as corn, beans, and squash.

Beginning around 800 CE, an influential cultural florescence called the Mississippian Period developed in the Mississippi Valley and spread throughout the Southeast.[12] Mississippian Period societies established socially-stratified chiefdoms characterized by extensive agricultural production, centralized and fortified towns, complex religious practices, long-distant trade, and chiefs that possessed the ability to direct large numbers of people to conduct war or construct massive earthworks.[13] Within a few hundred years however, due to a combination of factors, many, though not all, Mississippian chiefdoms collapsed.[14] When the Spanish began their occupation of the Southeast in the sixteenth century, Native Americans in the region had established or were in the process of

6. Elizabeth Hennessy, "What Is Land? A Conversation with Tania Murray Li, Rafael Marquese, and Monica White," Edge Effects, December 17, 2019, https://edgeeffects.net/land-plantationocene/.
7. Guy Prentice and Rusty L. Simmons, "Archeological Overview and Assessment, Lowndes Interpretive Center, Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail" (Tallahassee, Florida: Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, 2020), 19.
8. Reed F. Noss, *Forgotten Grasslands of the South: Natural History and Conservation* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2013), 12, 15.
9. Noss, *Forgotten Grasslands of the South: Natural History and Conservation*, 12.; According to Noss, this ecosystem "has been reduced since EuroAmerican settlement by more than 99 percent."
10. Noss, *Forgotten Grasslands of the South: Natural History and Conservation*, 121.
11. Noss, *Forgotten Grasslands of the South: Natural History and Conservation*, 125.
12. Eric E. Bowne, *Mound Sites of the Ancient South: A Guide to the Mississippian Chiefdoms* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 3.
13. Bowne, *Mound Sites of the Ancient South: A Guide to the Mississippian Chiefdoms*, 3.
14. Noss, *Forgotten Grasslands of the South: Natural History and Conservation*, 65.

establishing a new "multicultural and multilingual" social order.[15]

The Spanish encountered these newly formed chiefdoms as they traversed the Southeast. This includes Hernando de Soto's "explorations along the Coosa, Alabama and Tombigbee rivers in 1540."[16] These explorations both within and near the project area resulted in Spaniards interacting with Native Americans through both trade and cooperation as well as combat and pillage.[17] One particularly brutal episode occurred in the Indian town of Mabila, near present-day Selma, where the Spanish killed 2,000 Mabila villagers and burned their town to the ground.[18]

Through these interactions, the Spanish exposed Native Americans to European diseases for which they had no immunity. The diseases swept through Native American settlements, decimating local populations and shattering social cohesion. By the time Britain and France expanded their own colonial projects in North America during the seventeenth century, the recently reorganized Late Mississippian chiefdoms had collapsed, forcing the survivors to reorganize their societies yet again.[19] The fallout caused an "incalculable loss of knowledge and traditional practices."[20] As a result, the period between 1540 and 1670s is considered "one of the most tumultuous periods in Alabama history."[21]

Southern Native Americans who survived the waves of European colonization then formed what are known as "coalescent societies."[22] Several of these coalescent societies developed in the region, including the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Catawbas; and, in the deep South, the survivors "integrated into what became known as the Creek" Confederacy, also known as the Muscogee (Creek).[23] Rather than being a monolithic group, people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds formed the Creek Confederacy, though many spoke variants of the Muskogean language. While the British had assigned the name "Creek" to the group, adding "Lower" or "Upper" depending on the settlement's location, the Muscogee (Creek) initially organized themselves differently. As Robbie Ethridge explains, "three protohistoric provinces formed the nuclei for people emigrating from their fallen chiefdoms. One was the Abihka province on the middle Coosa River in present-day northern Alabama; the second was the Tallapoosa province on the Tallapoosa River in present-day central Alabama; and the third was the Apalachicola province on the lower Chattahoochee River in present-day western Georgia. The Abihka and Tallapoosa provinces eventually formed what became known as the Upper Creeks, and the Apalachicola province was the nexus of the Lower Creeks."[24]

Totaling around 8,000 in 1730, their population rose over the course of the 1700s. By the late 1700s, "73 towns, ranging in size from as few as 10 to 20 families to more than 200 families, comprised the Creek Confederacy—48 Upper Creek towns and 25 Lower Creek towns, in total about 15,000-20,000 people."[25] These towns spread across an expansive swath of territory, encompassing large parts of Alabama, Georgia, and Florida.[26]

Throughout the colonization process, relations between Europeans and the Muscogee (Creek) varied and evolved over time.[27] In general, some aligned closer with the Europeans and adopted

15. Charles Hudson, *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 30.
16. Prentice and Simmons, "Archeological Overview and Assessment, Lowndes Interpretive Center, Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail," 20.
17. Hudson, *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms*, 30.
18. Prentice and Simmons, "Archeological Overview and Assessment, Lowndes Interpretive Center, Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail," 21-22.
19. Hudson, *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms*, 30.
20. Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 22.
21. Prentice and Simmons, "Archeological Overview and Assessment, Lowndes Interpretive Center, Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail," 20.
22. Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World*, 22.
23. Beth Wheeler Byrd, "Horseshoe Bend National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report" (National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, 2013), 7.
24. Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World*, 24.
25. Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World*, 31.
26. Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1999), 12.
27. The complexities of these relations between the various European powers in the region as well within the Creek Confederacy and neighboring Native American groups is not covered in depth here. This history is complex, changes over short periods of time, and particularly site-specific.

Western forms of political structure, marriage, land ownership, and economy...including chattel slavery.[28] Others sought to retain their traditional culture and homelands and rebelled against assimilation. The division resulted in the outbreak of civil war between the two factions in 1813.[29] While the reasons for the conflict were numerous and complex, "in broad terms, the Creek Civil War was a clash between those building a capitalist nation-state and those fighting against it."[30] Battles were fought throughout the project area, including at the Holy Ground site near present-day White Hall.

Soon, the United States, which the Muscogee (Creek) had generally supported during the American Revolution, became involved, waging war on the traditionalists and their African American allies.[31] With the support of the United States military, the war ended with the defeat of the traditionalist faction at Horseshoe Bend. Afterward, the 1814 Treaty of Fort Jackson forced both groups of Creeks to cede an immense piece of land containing much of central and southern Alabama and Georgia to the United States, 23 million acres in total.[32] As a result of this treaty and others signed in subsequent years, the Muscogee (Creek) occupied only a fraction of their former territory—a small area straddling the Alabama-Georgia border. These treaties marked the beginning of end of Native American control of a region they occupied for over 10,000 years.

In 1830, the United States government passed the Indian Removal Act. Though the federal government offered land and money to Native American groups in exchange for the land, it also maintained the right to forcibly remove anyone unwilling to leave the area. Many resisted through the 1830s, resulting in armed conflicts in southern Alabama and Georgia, but ultimately federal authorities forced most of those who remained to leave their homeland for reservations west of the Mississippi.[33] The forced relocations of the Muscogee (Creek), Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw resulted in thousands of deaths both during the migration and soon after arriving at the new settlements in the West.

Landscape Summary (Native American Alabama to 1814)

The cultural landscape of the project area during this period is characterized by a lack of widespread development as compared to later periods. Native Americans, most recently the Muscogee (Creek), established numerous towns, settlements, and agricultural fields throughout the region. Foot paths, some more prominent than others, crisscrossed the project area. The precursor to Highway 80 was established at the tail end of the period with the creation of the Old Federal Road in 1805, which entered the project area at Montgomery. Although the Muscogee (Creek) agreed to let the United States establish a road used primarily for mail delivery to New Orleans, the road was eventually used during their forced removal in the 1830s.

Antebellum Black Belt Alabama (1814-1860)

The actions against Native Americans were in response to European Americans demanding more and more access to property—both human and land.[34] Since the founding of the colonies, establishing settlements on former Native American lands frequently relied upon the use of enslaved African labor. By the time the Indian Removal Act cleared the way west for settlement, slavery was well entrenched and was "one of the engines of colonial economic growth."[35]

28. "Creeks in Alabama," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed September 19, 2018, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1088.
29. Byrd, "Horseshoe Bend National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report," 13.
30. Cameron Shriver, "Reflecting on Justice 200 Years after the Creek Civil War," Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective, accessed September 21, 2018, https://origins.osu.edu/milestones/september-2013-reflecting-justice-200-years-after-creek-civil-war.
31. Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816*, 270.
32. Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816*, 272.
33. The history of the Muscogee-Creek Nation after forced removal from the Southeast is an important story to tell, but due to it primarily taking place outside the project area, will not be told in this document. Please consult the bibliography for more references.
34. "Episode 2: The Economy That Slavery Built," *The New York Times*, August 31, 2019, sec. Podcasts, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/30/podcasts/1619-slavery-cotton-capitalism.html.
35. Edward E. Baptist, *The Other Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), 3.

Undergirding the economic system were both cultural and legal norms. Applying the same form of race-based enslavement practiced in other European colonial holdings, by 1670, "custom and law insisted that children were slaves if their mothers were slaves, that enslaved Africans were to be treated as perpetual outsiders without rights (even if they converted to Christianity), that they could be whipped and forced to labor, and that they could be sold and moved. They were chattel property. And everyone of visible African decent was assumed to be a slave."[36] Despite growing opposition, slavery only became more ingrained in the cultural landscape of the country due to its central position in the economic fortunes of whites, both in America as well as abroad.

After the Treaty of Fort Jackson and subsequent forced removal of Southeastern Native Americans, white American settlement of the area exploded, and authorities quickly doled out properties to settlers.[37] By 1816 "more than 170,000 acres of Alabama lands were legally sold at the land office in St. Stephens and many more were occupied by squatters without proper title. The following year, in 1817, Alabama was designated as a territory separate from Mississippi, with Madison as its capital. Alabama statehood would follow just two years later, on December 14, 1819, with Cahaba (Cahawba) as its state capital until 1825."[38] The counties of Perry, Dallas, Lowndes, and Montgomery were all created between 1816 and 1830 (Figure 4). Many of the towns that are present today were established at this time—Marion in 1817, Lowndesboro in 1818, Montgomery in 1819, and Selma, Fort Deposit, and Hayneville in 1820. The settlement resulted in the establishment of a novel political order in the landscape, complete with new boundaries, customs, and procedures. It also resulted in a new economic and social order premised on the cultivation of cotton and the continued enslavement of African Americans.

Cotton Agriculture, Economy, and Society

The environmental and geographical conditions of the Black Belt—its productive soil and abundance of rain and sun—made the region particularly well-suited to cotton production. In short time, the economy of the four-county region became centered on growing, selling, and exporting cotton (Figure 5). The Black Belt quickly became one of the leading regions in both cultivation and sale of this cash crop.[39] Coupled with the productive soil, these counties' proximity to the Alabama River and the market centers of Selma and Montgomery facilitated the transport of goods and people to more distant markets and shipping ports such as Mobile.[40] The Black Belt was the only region of Alabama to be part of the so-called Plantation Belt—the collection of areas spanning from South Carolina to Mississippi with the highest percentage of farms averaging 600 acres or more.[41] In 1820, at the beginning of the cotton rush, "Alabama produced an estimated 25,390 bales of cotton (at about 225 pounds per bale), or 3.7 percent of the national total" but by 1849 "Alabama led the nation in cotton production, and with 22.9 percent of the national total."[42]

These developments in the Black Belt were part of a larger trend in the South. The first half of the nineteenth century saw the explosion of cotton production throughout the region—from 1800 to 1820 production rose from 73,000 bales to 335,000 bales.[43] Production eventually reached 4.5 million bales on the eve of the Civil War.[44] Demand for cotton was global and it was "by far the most important commodity in 19th-century international trade."[45] The wealth cotton generated was immense. As a result, the South

36. Baptist, *The Other Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*, 3.
37. "Alabama Fever," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed February 27, 2020, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-3155.
38. Prentice and Simmons, "Archeological Overview and Assessment, Lowndes Interpretive Center, Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail," 37.
39. William J. Cooper Jr., Thomas E. Terrill, and Christopher Childers, *The American South: A History*, Fifth Edition, vol. I (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017), 198–99.
40. "Cotton," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed February 27, 2020, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1491.
41. Cooper Jr., Terrill, and Childers, *The American South: A History*, 2017, I:210.
42. "Cotton."
43. Cooper Jr., Terrill, and Childers, *The American South: A History*, 2017, I:200.
44. Baptist, *The Other Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*, xxv.
45. Eric Foner, "A Brutal Process," *The New York Times*, October 3, 2014, sec. Books, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/05/books/review/the-half-has-never-been-told-by-edward-e-baptist.html.

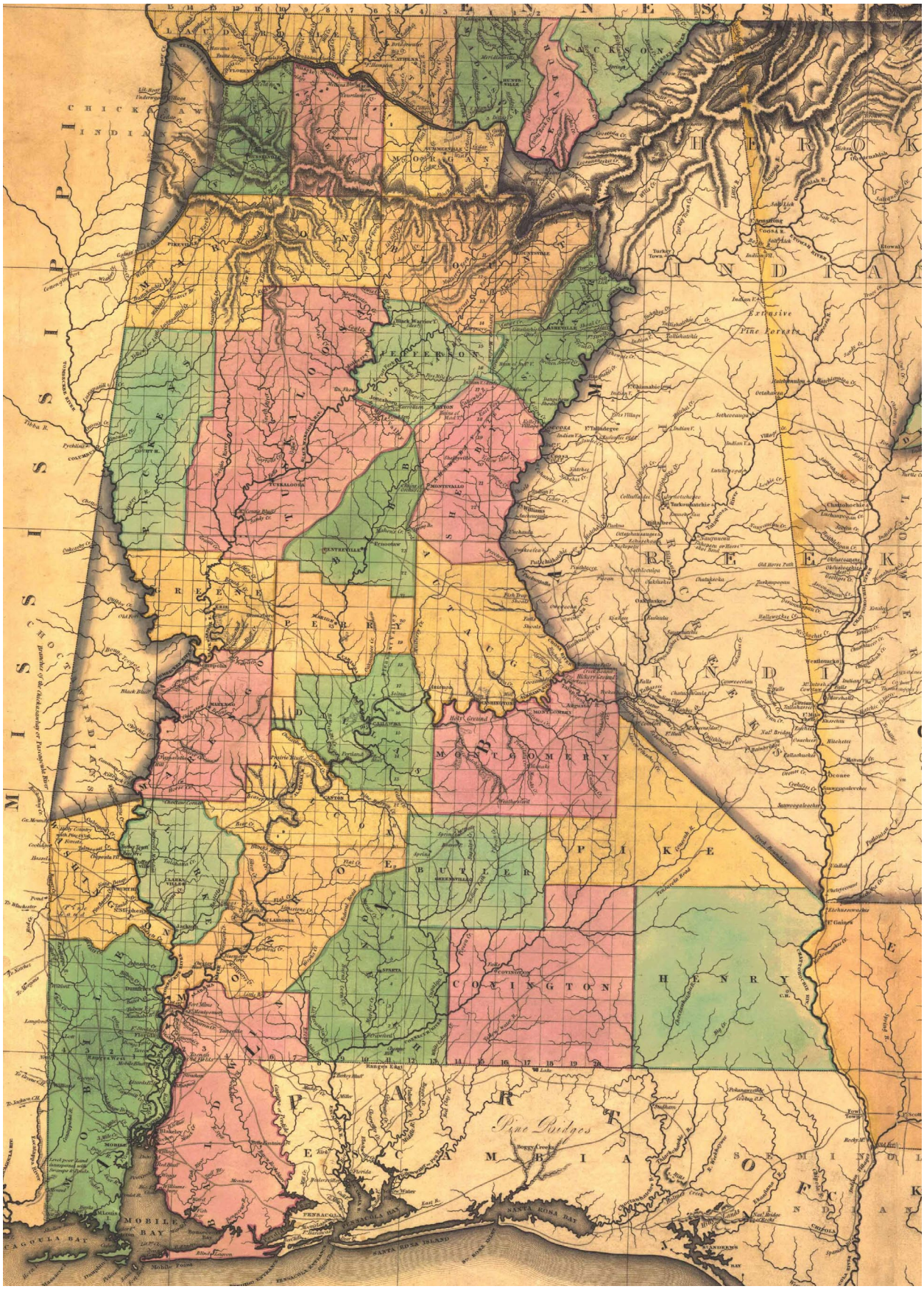

Figure 4. Portion of an 1823 map of Georgia and Alabama showing American Indian lands (uncolored) and established counties (colored) after a period of cessations. (Source: Georgia and Alabama By H.S. Tanner. Published by H.S. Tanner, Philadelphia. Engraved by H.S. Tanner & Assistants. Entered 20th day of August 1823, by H.S. Tanner Pennsylvania. American Atlas).



Figure 5. African Americans harvesting cotton on a farm near Montgomery, circa 1860s. (Source: Lakin, J. H, photographer. Picking cotton near Montgomery, Alabama. [c. 1860s] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2012648057/).

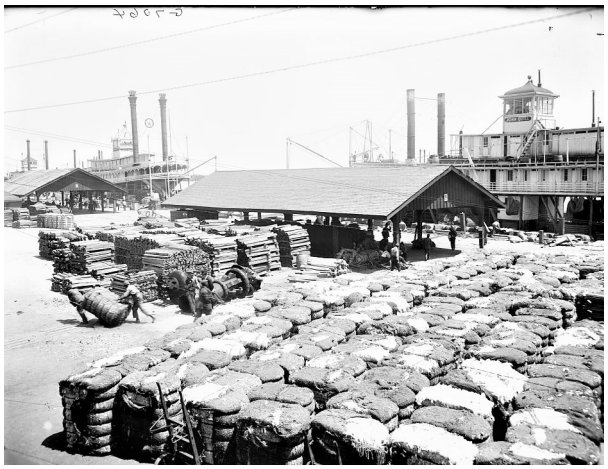

Figure 6. The cotton grown in the Black Belt was shipped down river to Mobile and then on to other national and international markets. (Source: Detroit Publishing Co., *The Cotton docks, Mobile, Ala*. United States. [Between 1905 and 1915] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2016815321/).

became gripped by "cotton fever."[46] Cotton was a ubiquitous sight in the fields, markets, and ports of the South, and the entirety of the antebellum economy and society was based on it (Figure 6). Cotton was also tied directly to social standing and political power, from large planters to the small-scale farmers, and none more than the enslaved African Americans who produced and processed it.[47]

In terms of European Americans moving into the Black Belt, the region became a "magnet both for men looking to make their first mark and for established families in the seaboard states seeking to renew or increase their wealth."[48] As such, in the early decades of the nineteenth century the area contained people of considerable means as well as those with little to no material wealth. And as the cotton-based agricultural economy expanded, so did class distinctions between European American settlers, principally between the planter classes and the yeoman farmer class. The planter class, characterized by its members' ownership of vast plantations and immense wealth, "controlled the political systems" and established the "social norms subscribed to by the rest of society."[49]

In turn, the small-scale market or subsistence farmer often looked at the planter classes as "models to aspire to."[50] In trying to climb the social and economic ladder however, small-scale farmers regularly fell into deep financial hardship attempting to pay off debt incurred by purchasing property or scaling up production. Oftentimes, the only land these farmers could afford or get access to was poor quality, as the planter class regularly purchased the most productive farmland (cotton can deplete the productivity of the land in three years). Some of this valuable land was not even put into production by the planters. Instead, the large planters used the unplanted land both to limit the small farmers upward mobility and to serve as a physical buffer to limit interactions between poor whites and enslaved laborers who might find solidarity with one another.[51] Overall, the nature of the credit system at this time, which a period newspaper described as designed to "make the Rich, richer and the Poor, poorer," did not allow for widespread upward mobility.[52]

Whether poor or rich, all people participated in cultural traditions and economic systems that maintained the planter class's preferred social order, one that profited off the enslavement and forced labor of African Americans. White supremacy, defined here as "the interlocking system of political, economic, and social control that protected white privilege," became an essential

46. Baptist, *The Other Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*, xxiv.
47. Cooper Jr., Terrill, and Childers, I:198-201.
48. Cooper Jr., Terrill, and Childers, *The American South: A History*, 2017, I:209.
49. William Patrick O'Brien, "Special History Study: Jimmy Carter National Historic Site and Preservation District" (National Park Service, 1991), 16.
50. O'Brien, "Special History Study," 16.
51. Keri Leigh Merrit, *Masterless Men: Poor Whites and Slavery in the Antebellum South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 48–51.
52. James C. Bonner, *A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 57.

characteristic of the culture of this region.[53] Foundationally, a white supremacist system is about maintaining power; and power—both social and political—was most often gained and safeguarded by material wealth. The economic core of white supremacy was the growing American capitalist financial system. Specifically, this novel economic system lay at the center of the slave economy, from accumulating overall wealth to creating daily work schedules. Fortunes were measured in the number of people an enslaver owned, with profits based on how efficient the enslaved labor was.[54] In this way, the history of slavery and the history of American capitalism are inseparable, and the plantations of the Alabama Black Belt contributed to its founding and development in a significant way. As Eric Foner summarizes, slavery "was essential to American development and, indeed, to the violent construction of the capitalist world in which we live."[55] This capitalist world was molded and tested in the plantations of the Deep South.

Capitalism values profits and especially the efficient generation of profit, and in the plantation South, planters turned to both technology and punishment to maximize both. The invention of the cotton gin is usually heralded as a mostly benign labor-saving technology. Though it did indeed improve efficiency of manufacture, it also resulted in the rapid expansion of cotton production and, therefore, slavery. Now planters could increase the number of cultivated acres while demanding greater productivity from enslaved laborers under the threat and actuality of brutal punishment. The subsequent expansion of cotton in the Black Belt transformed the demographics of the region. While enslaved people in the region "made up only 30 percent of the total population in 1819…40 years later the ratio in many areas had risen to well over 50 percent of the region's total population."[56] In Dallas County alone, by 1860, a mere 1,280 people enslaved 25,760 African American men, women, and children (Figure 7).[57]

As the plantations of the Black Belt scaled up, they took on the form more akin to a "modern multinational corporation."[58] Far from being "bucolic and small," the plantations of the Black Belt were:

> complex hierarchies with mid-level managers and workers who reported to other workers who reported to other workers. There were sophisticated data-tracking techniques that were developed, so [enslavers] knew how much labor and money went into producing each bale of cotton. Complicated workforce supervision techniques were developed for making sure people met their quotas by the end of the day. Professional manuals and credentials were developed so enslavers could trade information about what to feed their enslaved workforce, how to house them, even how to speak to them. But behind all the sophistication, behind all this capitalistic rationality, was violence.[59]

This violence continued unabated up to and through the Civil War.

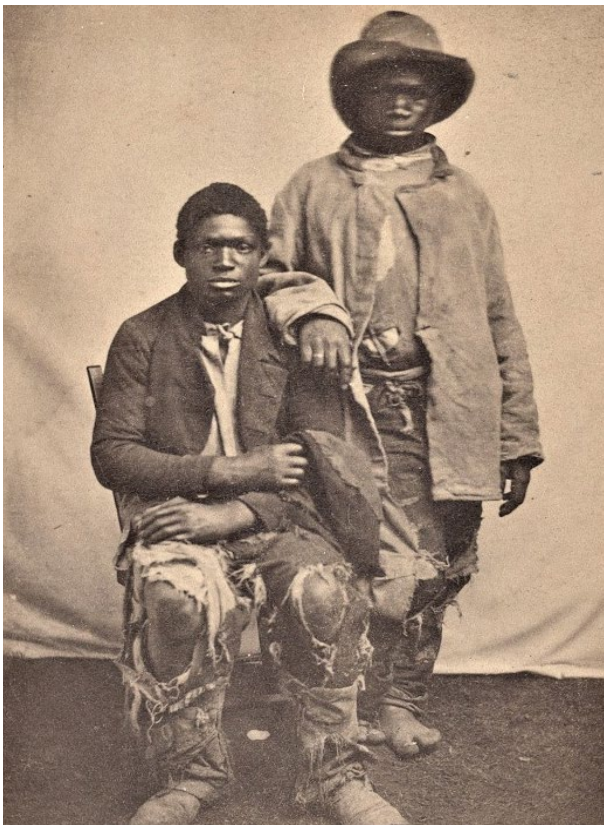

Figure 7. This photograph shows two children who had recently escaped their enslavement. (Source: Mcpherson & Oliver, photographer. *Two unidentified escaped slaves wearing ragged clothes / Photographed by McPherson & Oliver, Baton Rouge, La*. United States. [Between 1861 and 1865] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2017659658/).

53. Karlyn Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 12.
54. Bonner, *A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860*, 196.
55. Foner, "A Brutal Process."
56. "Cotton."
57. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 6.
58. "Episode 2."
59. "Episode 2."

Landscape Summary (1814-1860)

Alabama became a state in 1819. The counties of the study area—Perry, Dallas, Lowndes, and Montgomery—were all created between 1816 and 1830. Regionally important towns were concurrently established, including Marion in 1817, Lowndesboro in 1818, Montgomery in 1819, and Selma, Fort Deposit, and Hayneville in 1820. Circulation networks consisted of both older Native American paths and newer roadways, all of which were unpaved at this time. The Federal Road, which entered Alabama from the east, was actively used for settlement of the area. These routes passed through a landscape that was being transformed by cotton agriculture, principally through the creation of large plantations. The monocrops replaced a more dynamic ecology. Buildings in the rural landscape consisted of a mixture of grand estates built in the popular classical styles of the era, as well as small basic dwellings for yeoman farmers and enslaved laborers. Buildings in the urban centers featured a mixture of churches, courthouses, and commercial storefronts, with limited dwellings.

Civil War in Alabama (1860-1865)

The American Civil War was a response to long-simmering political and economic tensions among the culturally diverse regions of the United States. Southern political leaders contended that the election of a Republican Congress headed by newly elected President Abraham Lincoln would destroy the Southern way of life, which was dependent on the enslaved labor-based plantation system.[60] While the majority of Southerners did not enslave African Americans, Southern elites employed a multi-faceted propaganda campaign to counter any resentment among working class whites.

In December of 1860, echoing the arguments put forward in communities across the South, the South Carolina Legislature declared that the Northern states had joined together to elect a President "whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery" and asserted that the "slaveholding states will no longer have the power of self-government, or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy."[61] South Carolina thus seceded from the United States. News of South Carolina's secession spread across the Southeast. In January 1861, Alabama held its own convention to vote the state out of the Union. The following month, "delegates from six other seceded states met in Montgomery to create the new government of the Confederate States of America. Alabama quickly offered Montgomery to serve as the new government's capital. The new president, Jefferson Davis, arrived on February 16."[62] By June 1862, eleven southern states had left the United States for the Confederacy.

The new country prepared to take up arms to protect what they deemed was their property and moved to seize Federal military posts. After the shelling of Fort Sumter, Alabamians realized war was at hand and began troop mobilizations (Figure 8). The war came quickly to Alabama, with North Alabama initially serving as the flash point in the state where in early 1862 Union forces targeted both river and railroad transportation routes. Soon, the Union developed the plan of "squeezing Alabama from the north and south" in order to "destroy Alabama's ability to feed the armies and arm the Confederate war machine."[63]

By 1863, Josiah Gorgas, chief of ordnance for the Confederacy, was in desperate need of weapons and munitions. In order to ramp up production, Gorgas "created an industrial corridor through central Alabama of iron furnaces, rolling mills, powder mills, arsenals, laboratories, and factories. Arguably his most impressive achievement was the Selma foundry and manufacturing complex."[64] The Selma Foundry became one of the most productive and important manufacturing centers for the Confederacy and at its peak, employed 10,000 workers.[65] "By 1864, the government-owned facilities in Selma's vast ordnance complex

60. Cooper Jr., Terrill, and Childers, *The American South: A History*, 2017, I:339.

61. "Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union," The Avalon Project, n.d., http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_scarsec .asp.

62. "Civil War in Alabama | Encyclopedia of Alabama," accessed February 26, 2020, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1429.; As a result, the Alabama State Capitol in Montgomery is recognized as a National Historic Landmark.

63. "Civil War in Alabama | Encyclopedia of Alabama."

64. "Civil War in Alabama | Encyclopedia of Alabama."

65. "Selma Ordnance and Naval Foundry," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed February 26, 2020, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2331.

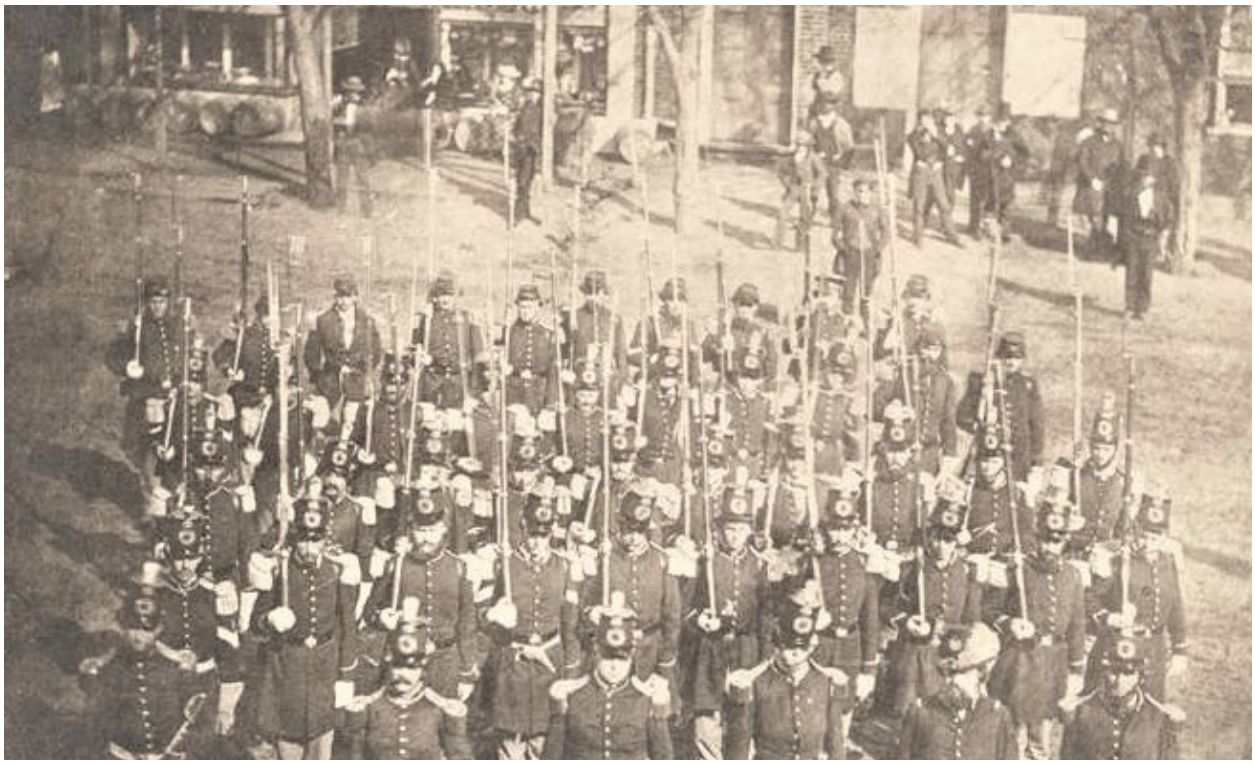

Figure 8. "Members of the Independent Blues of Selma, Alabama," a Confederate military company. This photograph may have been taken on the city streets of Selma, c. 1861. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History).

included the naval foundry, shipyard, army arsenal, and gunpowder works. The complex covered 50 acres along present-day Water Avenue."[66]

The output made the Selma Foundry a prime target for the Union, but due to its inland location, Union forces did not reach it until April 2, 1865. When Union troops did arrive in Selma however, they destroyed the entirety of the complex, from ammunition to lumber. The loss of the foundry was a significant blow to the Confederate war effort. "Just one week after the destruction of Selma, General Robert E. Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia, and the war was effectively over. Selma's manufacturing center had contributed greatly to the South's ability to continue fighting during the last two years of the war. But its destruction insured that arms and ammunition could not be supplied to any guerilla forces that might be encouraged to keep on fighting."[67]

66. "Selma Ordnance and Naval Foundry."
67. "Selma Ordnance and Naval Foundry."

Landscape Summary (1860-1865)

The cultural landscape of the study area was affected in varying ways over the course of the Civil War. Federal troops destroyed a large portion of the built environment of Selma. The countryside surrounding urban centers continued to be farmed, though perhaps not as intensely as in antebellum times. The general building types and circulation features present in the previous period were still present during the war.

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

Reconstruction

Like everywhere else after the war, the communities in Alabama's Black Belt faced an uncertain future, especially so for the region's recently emancipated African Americans, who totaled over 400,000. With the factories destroyed and the agricultural economy in disarray, towns across the South struggled with how to rebuild—and heal—after such a divisive and destructive war. The Reconstruction Era was intended to serve as a way through the turmoil and towards a new just future, but despite some momentary



Figure 9. Lithograph of the Reconstruction era African Americans to be elected to U.S. Congress. Benjamin Turner (second from left) was elected from Alabama. (Source: Currier & Ives. *The first colored senator and representatives - in the 41st and 42nd Congress of the United States*. United States, 1872. New York: Published by Currier & Ives. https://www.loc.gov/item/98501907/).

gains, this path was blocked for many Americans. The South's African American population was no longer enslaved, but this did not change attitudes held by many whites about the place of African Americans in the social hierarchy, nor did it end the enforcement of white supremacy through law, custom, and violence. Further, the economic system in the United States remained intact, with capitalism limiting the widespread economic uplift—and resulting political power—of its citizens.

Despite this, for a short time during the Reconstruction Era, African American men in the South held elected political positions in state and federal legislatures, including in Alabama (Figure 9). African American women often served as vital "behind the scenes" political actors in their communities, because they were prohibited from public civic participation like voting and serving in office. Though access to resources were slim following the war, African American communities came together and pieced together what they needed to build schools, shops, homes, and farms. Additionally, at this time the seeds of a multi-racial political and economic solidarity took root, whereby poor whites and African Americans helped to elect Republicans on the hopes they could deliver on the promise of Reconstruction. The Radical Republican proposal of political equality seemed within reach.

It soon became clear however that there were many enemies of Reconstruction. Southern Democrats, wielding the press, stoked fear in the populace over granting African Americans access to political power. They played to economic insecurities—that African Americans would take their jobs—as well as racist notions concerning the "inferiority" of African Americans. It did not help when Republican President Andrew Johnson actively undermined progress by promoting a lenient and discriminatory Reconstruction proposal. Though President Johnson was a Republican himself, he did not approve of the Radical Republican's more progressive Reconstruction Act that supported wide-spread enfranchisement of African Americans. President Johnson pushed for one

that pardoned Confederates and perpetuated discrimination against African Americans. President Johnson vetoed the Reconstruction Act after it passed Congress. Congress eventually overrode the vetoes. For this and his firing of War Secretary Stanton, President Johnson was impeached but was not convicted.

This political turmoil coupled with unrelenting white terrorism against African American citizens, the hope for true Reconstruction in America was dashed. The Democratic Party soon took back control of many Southern legislatures and "achieved overwhelming dominance by making white supremacy the cornerstone of their party."[68] By 1877, as Federal troops withdrew from the South, former Confederates increasingly reclaimed political offices. In turn, the civil rights of African American throughout the South were systematically denied and the prospect for a multi-racial working-class political movement was put to rest. As W. E. B. Du Bois famously wrote of Reconstruction, "The slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery."[69]

For Du Bois, Reconstruction was "an idealistic effort to construct a democratic, interracial political order from the ashes of slavery, as well as a phase in a prolonged struggle between capital and labor for control of the South's economic resources."[70] When the Reconstruction period began, it was clear that "African Americans had been preparing for the franchise, not just hoping for it."[71] Because African Americans had been planning for their freedom throughout enslavement, after the Civil War, they "mobilized with remarkable efficiency" to claim what had long been denied to them. They employed a variety of tactics and strategies, initiating "a broadly configured struggle to exercise the privileges of American citizenship and enjoy the full benefits of their human rights."[72]

A number of African American civil rights organizations were soon established, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW), National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes (National Urban League), and the National Afro-American League. African Americans also fought for their rights through labor organizations, such as the Sharecroppers Union and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Due to the widespread violence against American Americans during and following Reconstruction that "made it abundantly clear that public protest was foolishly dangerous," African Americans instead worked strategically to claim particular rights, often through these organizations.[73] Such rights included the right to own land, to labor as they saw fit, to receive an education, to vote in elections, and importantly, to live in peace.

The foundation for securing these rights was their community and family "social ties" (Figure 10).[74] As Kwame Jeffries explains,

> Instead of money, they had marriage; rather than land, they had laughter and love; and in lieu of military protection they had family and community. The value of capital they invested in one another, however, was priceless. Bonds among real and fictive kin enabled black families and communities to survive the horrors of slavery, including forced separation. In the aftermath of emancipation, social networks based on these personal relationships provided African Americans with an organizing infrastructure through which they mobilized their scarce resources.[75]

These community bonds found in Alabama's Black Belt and beyond provided the means in which to persevere throughout the Jim Crow era. They were rooted in the African American church, in newly established schools, and in the land itself. Despite lacking material abundance, families and communities were strong, and scholars like W.E.B. Du Bois wanted to convey this to the world.

68. Cooper Jr., Terrill, and Childers, *The American South: A History*, 2017, I:446.
69. W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880* (Ney York: The Free Press, 1998), 30.
70. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 2014), xix.
71. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 14.
72. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 13; 1–2.
73. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 17; 1–2.
74. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 10.
75. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 10.



Figure 10. Circa 1903 photograph of a Calhoun (Lowndes County) family. (Source: Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Transfer from the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts, Social Museum Collection).

In the early 1900s, W.E.B. Du Bois lived in Lowndes County while working on a study to be titled "Negro Labor in Lowndes County." The study sought to "refute the dominant belief in blacks' mental and physical inferiority—sometimes called the 'retrogression hypothesis'—by presenting historical evidence of the flourishing of domestic life and virtue among black Americans."[76] Through "house-to-house canvassing of more than twenty-five thousand homes" and "collecting data on thirty-five thousand printed schedules concerning Negro schools, homes, landownership, and mortality," DuBois documented "the flourishing of communities" of Lowndes County.[77] When Du Bois submitted the manuscript to the US Bureau of Labor however, it was destroyed for allegedly being "too critical of the social sources of rural poverty and social inequality in its findings."[78]

Through his work in Lowndes County and elsewhere, Du Bois found that mutual support outside the State was key to African American success in the South. Though labor issues were widespread throughout the region, Du Bois concluded that African American communities had formed pockets of equitable economic exchange amongst themselves to create an opportunity for economic self-determination.[79] Due to segregation, African Americans "turned inward" and established businesses, churches, and other enterprises that catered to their own needs.[80] Throughout the Black Belt, African Americans "built schools and churches, opened grocery stores and other businesses, organized fraternal lodges and savings clubs, and bought land."[81] The establishment of these institutions required African American craftspeople, food cooked by African American kitchen workers, finances maintained by African American accountants, African American banks to manage money, African American pharmacists to provide medications, and so on.

76. Maria Farland, "W. E. B. DuBois, Anthropometric Science, and the Limits of Racial Uplift," *American Quarterly* 58, no. No. 4 (December 2006): 1017.
77. Farland, "DuBois," 1017.
78. Joseph Jakubek and Spencer D. Wood, "Emancipatory Empiricism: The Rural Sociology of W.E.B. Du Bois," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 4, no. 1 (2017): 18.; Du Bois later weaved his findings into a novel called *The Quest of the Silver Fleece*.
79. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 29.
80. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 33.
81. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 27.

This "economic solidarity" created an African American middle class in the cities and towns of the Black Belt, and "brought a modicum of security for black southerners in a world of white supremacy."[82]

Land and Labor

Given the agrarian foundation of the Black Belt economy and society, the history of land and labor between Reconstruction and the middle of the twentieth century provides a context for the civil rights movement that swept through the region 100 years after emancipation. From demands for the expropriation of elite planters' property to simply wanting fair prices for their crops or their labor, African Americans asserted their newly gained rights in the largely rural Black Belt, at least for a time.[83]

Post-bellum Agriculture in the Black Belt

The farms and fields of the Black Belt represented both a past many African Americans wanted to leave behind as well as a future for those who saw owning and farming the land as a means of economic self-determination. As such, many African Americans left the countryside for cities throughout the nation, seeking the growing opportunities and communities there. Others stayed close to what they knew as home. Instead of "40 Acres and A Mule" however, those who remained soon found themselves ensnared in a new labor system that often perpetuated the repressive tendencies and white supremacist logic of the former plantation economy. Throughout the South "whites moved quickly to reestablish the exploitative labor arrangements that undergirded slavery."[84]

Cotton farming resulted in sustained prosperity for many landowners following the Civil War and its production remained at the core of "Southern social, political, and economic life: the ownership and use of land, obtaining and controlling labor, the rise and fall of individual fortunes as measured by pocketbooks and place in society, and how far the South would distance itself from its antebellum



Figure 11. "Sharecropper plowing. Montgomery County, Alabama" (Source: Rothstein, Arthur, photographer. *Sharecropper* plowing. Montgomery County, Alabama. Alabama, Montgomery County. United States, 1937. Apr. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2017775907/).

roots and the destruction of war and defeat."[85] As Karlyn Forner writes, cotton's "white, fleecy bolls ran the local economy, and cotton's annual cycle forged an inseparable relationship between the wider county and the city."[86] In order to maintain "King Cotton" and the profits that went with it, Southern white landowners instituted a new agricultural system based on tenancy and sharecropping that restricted African Americans' opportunities for economic advancement and kept them laboring for next-to-nothing. A period Selma newspaper sums up this sentiment by stating matter-of-factly, the farmland of the Black Belt "would be worth nothing if the Negros were moved off of them."[87]

Throughout the agricultural Black Belt, a patchwork of labor arrangements was present, including tenant farming, sharecropping, and wage labor. Tenant farmers rented a piece of land, often along with a house, from a landowner in order to grow crops for market. The tenant then paid rent to the landowner upon selling their crop. Though not owning the land, tenant farmers often owned their own means of production, such as animals and

82. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 29.
83. Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877*, 290.
84. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 10.
85. William J. Cooper Jr., Thomas E. Terrill, and Christopher Childers, *The American South: A History*, Fifth Edition, vol. II (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017), 456.
86. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 11.
87. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 19.

plows, which allowed tenants to better negotiate prices with the landowner. Because of this relative autonomy, tenant farmers often preferred this arrangement to sharecropping.

Sharecropping left smaller farmers in a more precarious position, as in exchange for their use of the land, the landowner received some portion of the crop (Figure 11). This portion was typically half, but it could vary depending on the availability of labor and regional labor conditions.[88] If crop yields were low, or through violence and intimidation the sharecropper agreed to an unfair deal, the sharecropper often found himself or herself owing the landowner money. As such, sharecropping "sharply curtailed African American autonomy by snaring black workers in a vicious cycle of recurring debt."[89] The debt led to widespread poverty, which in turn led to poor diets and poor health; afflictions of hookworm, pellagra, and tuberculosis became common.[90]

Another form of labor arrangement was wage work. Some favored sharecropping to being paid in cash, as they "believed it allowed them a place in the decision making on the farm and hence greater personal freedom," but this was often a case of choosing the lesser of two evils.[91] As south Georgia sharecropper John Lundy explained, with sharecropping "you wouldn't make more money but you'd have more pleasure."[92] Lundy continued, "Yeah, see wages, you'd farm every day. And a sharecropper, along this time of year, we'd be gathered up and we didn't have anything to do but fish and hunt. . .On them rainy days and cold days, we'd be in the house. But wages—you've got to be there, you know, you're straight time."[93] On the other hand, the money made through wage work could provide the means with which to purchase one's own farm.

No matter the type of labor arrangement, the social, political, and economic power overwhelmingly remained with white landowners, who exerted control over farm laborers through various legal and extralegal means.[94] For this reason, some recently freed African Americans opted to not participate in this new system at all, purchasing land and establishing self-sufficient farmsteads. While exceptions to the rule existed—such as the high rates of African American landownership in the Mississippi Delta during Reconstruction—by the turn of the 1800s, "African Americans remained landless and handcuffed by debt to white financiers."[95] There were others however that remained working within the system but actively resisted against unfair treatment.

Organized Labor

A stirring example of resistance that foreshadowed the mass organizing of the coming civil rights movement was the brief presence of the Sharecroppers Union (SCU, sometimes Alabama Sharecroppers Union, ASU) in Alabama during the Great Depression of the 1930s.[96] The SCU was founded in nearby Tallapoosa County with the assistance of the national Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA). The CPUSA "was largely in charge of the administration of the union, but numerous autonomous branches, called locals, existed throughout the region."[97] Hoping to improve their lot, sharecroppers throughout the Black Belt joined this union. The CPUSA—which was active throughout the country at this time—saw the area as perfect for labor organizing due to the unjust working conditions in the area coupled with its "underground tradition of resistance."[98] Membership was open to both African Americans and Whites, but only African Americans joined. Part of the reason was that while both groups might want better wages and working conditions, African Americans were "organizing primarily for their own survival."[99]

88. Cooper Jr., Terrill, and Childers, *The American South: A History*, 2017, II:459.
89. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 22.
90. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 20.
91. Cooper Jr., Terrill, and Childers, *The American South: A History*, 2017, II:459.
92. John Lundy, interview by Ed Bearss, December 18, 1985, JICA Archives.
93. Lundy, interview.
94. Cooper Jr., Terrill, and Childers, *The American South: A History*, 2017, II:456–59.
95. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 25.
96. This report does not go into depth about this history, but those wishing to explore more about the period please see both *Bloody Lowndes* and *Hammer and Hoe*.
97. Michael Kief Law, "Alabama Sharecroppers Union," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed February 19, 2020, www.encyclopediaofalabama.org.
98. Robin D.G. Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 44.
99. Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression*, 53.

Organizers of the SCU emphasized being clandestine. SCU meetings were often held under the guise of church meetings, and "some secretaries recorded the minutes by underlining pertinent words or phrases in the Bible."[100] According to historian Robin D.G. Kelly:

> No meetings were to be held in empty houses; SCU members were not to walk in large crowds; and they were not to engage in armed action without notifying [SCU secretary Al] Murphy, unless, of course, it could not be avoided. Everything from their actions to their demeanor drew on subterranean forms of everyday resistance. Ned Cobb, a small landowner from Tallapoosa County who joined the SCU in 1932, was told "to act humble, be straight; his teachin, to not go at a thing too rapid and forcible. Be quiet, whatever we do, let it work in a way of virtue." Yet, Murphy's instructions to "act humble" did not mean abandoning armed self-defense. Members such as Lemon Johnson, former secretary of the Hope Hull local, believed armed self-defense distinguished the SCU from other organizations. His own experience informed him that "the only thing going to stop them from killing you, you got to go shooting."

Given that the SCU was "an openly communist organization," the group "drew strong opposition from both white supremacists and anti-communists on the left and right."[101] However, this did not slow enrollment. By June 1933, the union "reported a membership of nearly 2,000 organized in 73 locals, 80 women's auxiliaries, and 20 youth groups."[102] By early 1934, the SCU "claimed 6,000 members and established locals in the black belt counties of Lowndes, Macon, Montgomery, and Dallas." By October, membership grew to 8,000.[103] The surge in membership "prompted Murphy to move the underground headquarters from Birmingham to Montgomery."[104] The leaders of the National Communist Party considered the SCU as the "finest contemporary example of black revolutionary traditions."[105] More broadly, the CPUSA saw the struggles in the Black Belt as a means to further communist politics in the South. The CPUSA presidential ticket included James W. Ford, an African American CPUSA organizer from outside Birmingham, as Vice President. (Figure 12).

As Robin D.G. Kelly writes, the explosion in membership was "directly linked to mass evictions and landlord abuses stemming from the [Agricultural Adjustment Act]."[106] When the Great Depression came, it hit African Americans in the Black Belt hard. "Over half the nation's blacks lived in the rural South in 1930, and 80 percent of them were sharecroppers, tenant farmers, or day laborers. The collapse of farm prices, evictions, and the lack of adequate relief uprooted approximately two million black farmers during the decade."[107] New Deal programs did little to alleviate their hardships, even as they did improve the financial conditions of working-class whites. The Agricultural Adjustment Act was one of several agriculture-based programs that were supposed to give relief to farmers. However, the program was administered at the county-level, which "allowed white landowners to discriminate against African Americans" seeking access to available grants or lines of credit.[108] Tenants were kicked off the land and the prices for commodities raised on their farms were cut. As the abuses piled up across the Black Belt, African Americans families turn to collective organizing.

Through the SCU, farmers fought for their fair share, but to mixed results. While the SCU was able to secure relief from county administrators in some cases and won the fight for better prices on cotton in others, most attempts at labor strikes were violently put down and membership itself was risky. Intimidation of SCU members was commonplace. On one occasion, a person

100. Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression*, 45.
101. Law, "Alabama Sharecroppers Union."which existed from 1931 to 1936, was organized by laborers in the state to both raise prices and wages that were suppressed by larger planters in the region and reduce inequities in New Deal agricultural programs. The Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA
102. Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression*, 52.
103. Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression*, 54.
104. Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression*, 54.
105. Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression*, 53.
106. Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression*, 54.
107. Roder Biles, *The South and the New Deal* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2006), 104.
108. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 26.



Figure 12. Political poster promoting the Communist Party USA's presidential ticket, featuring Alabama-native James W. Ford. The poster also highlights the CPUSA party platform of political and economic self-determination for African Americans in the Black Belt. The idea was controversial, sparking debates on whether reforming United States politics to fully include African Americans or outright separatism was the more effective approach. (Source: People's World, https://www.peoplesworld.org/article/sidney-finkelstein-an-appreciation-of-the-great-marxist-cultural-critic/).

posted a placard on SCU members' homes stating "WARNING. TAKE NOTICE. If you want to do well and have a healthy life you better leave the Share Croppers' Union."[109] In July 1932, five members of the Tallapoosa chapter were murdered.[110] Others were also shot at, kidnapped, and arrested for strike activities and SCU participation.

Then in August 1935, sharecroppers in Lowndes County joined a SCU strike by performing a work stoppage. Such an action directly undermined both the profits of the landowners and the white supremacist system. Thirty-five white landowners, headed by the county sheriff, subsequently went on a violent rampage and by its end they had "murdered at least six people, beaten scores more, and forced dozens to flee the county forever, and made everyone else return to the fields under pre-strike terms."[111] This event signaled the beginning of SCU's end in the area. The national Communist's Party decision to work more closely with Southern politicians and their subsequent abandonment of the SCU led the organization to merge Farmers' Union of Alabama and later with Alabama Agricultural Workers' Union. According to Kelley and others, "the events of 1935 comprised a part of the collective memory of Lowndes County blacks in 1965," shaping the movement for civil rights thirty years later.[112]

African American Land Ownership

Du Bois saw cooperative agriculture as a concrete way to achieve lasting community stability. As Monica M. White explains, Du Bois "called for the development of cooperatives and collectives as an economic strategy against extreme poverty" and put forward that "farming can become a complex strategy of resistance, one that in some ways confronts structures of oppression while in other cases supports community self-determination."[113] Booker T. Washington agreed with this approach and implemented aspects of it in Lowndes County with the Calhoun School.[114]

The Calhoun School (which will be discussed in more depth below) was an African American school initiated through a coalition between northern benevolent societies, Booker T. Washington, and the local community. "Its most radical innovation was a cooperative land buying plan initiated in 1894, which allowed residents to own new homes built on plots of land ranging from ten to sixty acres, thus freeing them from the share-cropping system."[115] Washington—the first President of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute—studied the conditions of the Black Belt and saw that the "communities he visited suffered

109. Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression*, 55.
110. Law, "Alabama Sharecroppers Union."which existed from 1931 to 1936, was organized by laborers in the state to both raise prices and wages that were suppressed by larger planters in the region and reduce inequities in New Deal agricultural programs. The Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA
111. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 27.
112. Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression*, 55; Kenneth Mullinax, "Sharecroppers' Union Set Stage for Civil Rights Movement," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, February 8, 2008.
113. Monica M. White, *Freedom Farmers: Agricultural Resistance and The Black Freedom Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 19.
114. White, *Freedom Farmers: Agricultural Resistance and The Black Freedom Movement*, 34.
115. Farland, "DuBois," 1025.

from poverty, peonage, soil depletion, substandard living conditions, and poor agricultural methods."[116] Further, he noted that while many area farmers knew how to grow cash crops, they had limited experience growing subsistence crops, which resulted in poor diets and health.[117] The land program aimed to remedy this situation.

Logistically, the land program provided access to mortgages without having to deal with "predatory financiers."[118] As Rose Ellis explains,

> The core of the land offered for sale to tenants had earlier been secured reputedly for experimentation by Tuskegee's famous scientist, Dr. George Washington Carver. When that experiment did not materialize, plans were made to utilize the property for individual farms, and in 1894 a land company was organized. Eventually, the land bank contained over 4,081 acres. This property was then sold in forty- to sixty-acre tracts, with some ten-acre plots sold to women. Northern friends of the school financed the purchases at 8 percent interest. In addition to improved farming methods, blacks learned to raise food crops first (to prevent indebtedness to merchants) and a money crop such as cotton second (to be used for land payment). In three years one could buy a thirty-acre tract, as land sold for five to ten dollars an acre. The cost was equivalent to renting a farm for $100 a year.
>
> In the first thirteen years $36,100 was paid on notes, with ninety-two deeds issued to eighty-five persons. These new landowners built for themselves houses of three to eight rooms, distinct improvements over the customary one-room sharecropper cabins. Even more important than the physical improvements in houses and land was the improved quality of the people's lives.[119]

116. White, *Freedom Farmers: Agricultural Resistance and The Black Freedom Movement*, 31.
117. White, *Freedom Farmers: Agricultural Resistance and The Black Freedom Movement*, 32.
118. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 24.
119. Rose Herlong Ellis, "The Calhoun School, Miss Charlotte Thorn's 'Lighthouse on the Hill' in Lowndes County, Alabama," *Alabama Review* 37, no. 3 (1984): 183–201.

The shifting of the agricultural economy caused by the cotton boll weevil, World War I, and the Great Depression soon made the program unsustainable, but it nevertheless allowed for a number of local African American families to maintain a thriving community in the area.

While the Agricultural Adjustment Act and other New Deal programs primarily benefited whites, in some cases African Americans were able to take advantage of such programs. One example was the land ownership program that was part of the Resettlement Administration. As part of the program, the federal government purchased a large piece of farmland in White Hall and extended mortgages to two hundred and fifty African American families, so long as the families worked and lived under the paternalistic rules laid out by the Administration.[120] In 1937, the Farm Security Administration replaced the Resettlement Administration. While still managing resettlement, the FSA focused on "the improvement of existing family farms, not the relocation of farmers to better land. In its principal activity, the agency proffered loans and grants so that otherwise insolvent tenants could buy the land they worked, repay their debts, or pay for improvements."[121] The majority of loans went to the South and some did promote African American landownership. One key example of this related to the Selma to Montgomery March is that of David Hall's farm.

In 1940, David Hall, owner of what would become known as Campsite #1, purchased his farm through the FSA at the tail end of the program. Deed records show that the 80-acre property located on County Road 67, roughly a mile south of Highway 80 and about 8 miles from Selma, was acquired by the FSA from William and Myrtle Ward, who then conveyed the deed to David Hall for $1800 cash (Illustration 2.1). David Hall and his family farmed the land as many self-sufficient African American farmers did. His daughter, Mary Hall McGuire, described the farm as growing cotton, corn, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, and fruit and nut trees, including peaches, apples, pears, figs, pecans, and black walnut. The family also raised cattle and hogs. David Hall did not sell any of the food crops, instead he "would feed the community off of his farm." This sharing the bounty of the land

120. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 24.
121. Biles, *The South and the New Deal*, 49.

with his family and neighbors reflects the bonds of solidarity African Americans in the Black Belt upheld during the segregation era.

In addition to working the farm, David Hall worked at George Washington Carver Homes as a custodian and maintenance worker. This meant that the whole family had to pitch in to keep the farm running. In addition to his immediate family, David Hall's sisters' kids periodically lived and worked at the farm.

His descendants recount that white people would come by the property trying to either buy the farm or intimidate him off of it, but David Hall would scare them off with a shotgun. He implored his children not to sell the land after his passing, as he knew that landownership provided a means of security that a shotgun could not. Other African Americans in the area shared this belief and purchased land in order to secure their prosperity. Rosie Steele was such a person.

Rosie Steele purchased her property along Highway 80 in 1948. Though not part of any New Deal program, her acquisition of 80 acres north of the highway and 1 acre south allowed the same sense of self-determination as the Hall family experienced. By the time of the march, Steele had amassed 240 acres.[122] In addition to the land, on the 1-acre parcel, Rosie Steele and her family operated a filling station, grocery store, and a tavern (Illustration 2.2).[123] Farther east along Highway 80, another African American owned farm also factored into the march in 1965.

The Gardner family owned a 140-acre farm on the south side of Highway 80 in the eastern portion of Lowndes County. The Gardner farm similarly supported the family and provided for their daily sustenance (Illustration 2.3). The family purchased the farm in 1949. Like the Halls, the Gardners had other jobs away from the farm, where they worked for wages. They used the farm for food, security, and a sense of place. Contrary to what histories of the Selma to Montgomery March often contend, Birmingham-based millionaire A.G. Gaston did not own the farm outright himself nor did he manage it, but rather, Gaston was part owner through his marriage to Minnie Gardner. But they were just two of the several members of the family who owned the farm. Robert Gardner managed the place.

Robert Gardner and his family grew a diverse mix of crops, some of which they sold at market. Crops included cotton, corn, sugar cane, peanuts, potatoes, vegetables (greens, squash, beans, peas), fruits, and pecans. Animals on the farm included cows, chickens, turkeys, hogs, mules, and horses. According to the family, "cotton, peanuts, cows, and to some extent pecans were sold for market, otherwise the farm was self-sufficient."[124]

Like the Hall and Steele families, Robert Gardner and his family worked off the farm too. Robert worked at a local factory making axles for the Dana Corporation and his wife Mary Gardner was an elementary school teacher at Russell Elementary School in Hayneville. The Gardners were members of Mt. Olive Missionary Baptist Church. Billy Gardner was a deacon, chair of the deacon board and treasurer. Robert Gardner was also a deacon. Mary Gardner was superintendent of Sunday School and a member of the choir. These ties to both community and the land provided the infrastructure needed for the coming civil rights movement in the Black Belt to succeed.

On the eve of the modern civil rights movement, W.E.B. Du Bois delivered one of his final speeches to the Southern Youth Legislature in Columbia South Carolina. Entitled "Behold the Land," the speech called on young African Americans to stay in the South and to resist the urge to move to New York or Chicago. He implored them to "re-build this South":

> There are enormous opportunities here for a new nation, a new economy, a new culture in a South really new and not a mere renewal of an old South of slavery, monopoly and race hate. There is a chance for a new cooperative agriculture on renewed land owned by the state with capital furnished by the state, mechanized and coordinated with city life. There is chance for strong, virile trade unions without race

122. "Ask U.S. To Protect Farmers Whose Land Used As Campsites," *Jet*, April 8, 1965, 46.
123. Danielle Purifoy, "What's Changed in Lowndes County, Alabama—and What Hasn't," Scalawag, January 9, 2017, https://www.scalawagmagazine.org/2017/01/whats-changed-in-lowndes-county-alabama-and-what-hasnt/; "Ask U.S. To Protect Farmers Whose Land Used As Campsites," 46.
124. Interview notes, Gardner Family.

> discrimination, with high wage, closed shop and decent conditions of work, to beat back and hold in check the swarm of landlords, monopolists and profiteers who are today sucking the blood out of this land. There is chance for cooperative industry, built the cheap power of T.V.A. and its future extensions. There is chance opportunity to organize and mechanize domestic service with decent and high wage and dignified training.[125]

Here, Du Bois sees the prospect of cooperative economic self-determination made possible by a federal government wholly invested in social programs rooted in the agrarian landscape of the South. While this dream was never fully realized, the examples of success in the Black Belt of Alabama, reflected in the lives of the Hall, Steele, and Gardner families, served as a foundation for the mid-century civil rights movement.

City and Convict Labor

Life for African Americans laborers in the city was just as fraught with challenges as it was for those in the countryside. According to Wilson, when "Alabama underwent industrialization… the political and social system remained under the domination of the former slaveholding class who could preserve its class position."[126] As industrial production ballooned after the Civil War, the same exploitative systems that shackled the freedoms of tenants and sharecroppers were applied to the factories. Writing while slavery was still legal before the Civil War, John T. Milner—chief engineer of the North Alabama Railroad, which connected Selma to Birmingham—stated that "cheap black labor would be a key contributor to Alabama's competitiveness in manufacturing."[127] Though slavery was now abolished, Milner's statement still held true for the burgeoning manufacturing industry in the state. As factories, foundries, mills, and mines were established, the owners of these industries sought to exploit the existing racial and class hierarchy in order to increase the profitability of their operations.

Company executives segregated their workforces from the outset, contending that African Americans were "better suited" for dangerous and difficult working conditions; elites had made similar arguments to justify the use of enslaved labor on agricultural plantations.[128] This is not to say that African American laborers were not skilled at these jobs—they were. But this kind of logic highlights the thought processes and practices that whites used to justify and maintain hierarchical labor relations based on race. While racism was surely a factor, another motivation for segregating the workplace was to also control low-wage white laborers.

Industrialists had created a "racialized working class" where whites were forced to look at their labor through the lens of race as opposed to class.[129] While some whites performed dangerous work for little pay, African American laborers overwhelmingly worked the more difficult and more dangerous positions in the industrial South. As Connorly observes, "By relying on black workers to do the most unpleasant, physically demanding jobs…industrialists believed they also made their white workers more manageable."[130] Thus, workplace segregation was also a means to discourage solidarity between the lower-class African Americans. Those in positions of power did not want the two groups to organize or unionize.[131] On occasion, white and African American workers organized around "common interests." Despite a few noteworthy examples of class solidarity, "any cross-racial movement was doomed to fail because of racial polarization and 'red-baiting.'"[132] Most of these industrial workers were men, as women "had few employment choices beyond the home or farm: substantial numbers of black women worked as domestics, or maids, in white homes."[133] White women faced

125. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Behold the Land," 1946, https://credo.library.umass.edu/view/pageturn/mums312-b227-i074/#page/7/mode/1up.
126. Bobby M. Wilson, "America's Johannesburg and the Struggle for Civil Rights: A Critical Geography," *Southeastern Geographer* 42, no. 1 (2002): 84.
127. Charles E. Connorly, *"The Most Segregated City in America": City Planning and Civil Rights in Birmingham, 1920-1980* (University of Virginia Press, 2005), 13.
128. Connorly, *"The Most Segregated City in America": City Planning and Civil Rights in Birmingham, 1920-1980*, 13.
129. Bobby M. Wilson, "America's Johannesburg and the Struggle for Civil Rights: A Critical Geography," *Southeastern Geographer* 42, no. 1 (2002): 83.
130. Connorly, *"The Most Segregated City in America": City Planning and Civil Rights in Birmingham, 1920-1980*, 15.
131. Connorly, *"The Most Segregated City in America": City Planning and Civil Rights in Birmingham, 1920-1980*, 17.
132. Brian Kelly, "Organized Labor in Alabama," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed April 8, 2019, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1835; Wilson, "America's Johannesburg and the Struggle for Civil Rights," 87.
133. Kelly, "Organized Labor in Alabama."



Figure 13. "Convention of Freedmen Discussing Their Political Rights" by John T. Trowbridge. The date of publication of this image is 1866, which illuminates how quickly African Americans mobilized to discuss and exercise their political rights. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History).

similar prospects. Though an increasing number of women found work in local textile mills, the majority remained household workers—both in their own homes and those of the middle and upper classes.[134]

Industrialists also turned to the convict-lease system to avoid paying wages at all. Conceived of by Milner, who had "originally leased slave labor to lay railroad tracks from Montgomery to Decatur," after emancipation, Milner turned to Alabama's prisons as a source of laborers in a similar arrangement.[135] The convict lease system allowed state and local governments to lease out convicts to work in private mines, farms, railroad companies, and factories. After emancipation, states and municipalities passed "an array of interlocking laws essentially intended to criminalize black life."[136] These laws and ordinances—referred to as Jim Crow laws—resulted in the arrest and conviction of thousands of African Americans, creating a labor pool from which industrialists could draw from and exploit. "The vast majority of Alabama convicts worked for private enterprises and generated substantial amounts of revenue to the state and counties."[137] While males often worked in mines and industrial facilities, "[m]any of the state's female convicts performed forced labor on state-run prison farms" under abhorrent conditions.[138] Beyond being an economic-oriented system, the convict-lease system also functioned as a means of social policing through the control of African American life and labor.[139] These unjust conditions were well known, but despite repeated calls for the end of the convict-lease system in Alabama, the state maintained the system until 1928.[140] It was the last state in the country to end the practice.

Voting Rights and Electoral Politics

A central demand of African Americans following emancipation was the "acquisition and exercising of suffrage rights."[141] Reconstruction presented an opportunity to secure these rights, and what transpired during that time was a brief but transformative period of African American representation in local, state, and federal government. Across the South, African American men exercised their right to vote and hold office. According to Eric Foner, the "hothouse atmosphere of political mobilization made possible a vast expansion of the black political leadership" in the early years of Reconstruction, especially in the rural Black Belt (Figure 13).[142] And while "elective office and the vote remained male preserves, black women shared in the political mobilization. They took part of rally's and parades, and to the consternation of some male participants, voted on resolutions at mass meetings."[143]

From the start, "African Americans threw their support behind the Republican Party" as it was "the party that delivered emancipation."[144] As a result, in Alabama and elsewhere, "Republicans, including black party members, were repeatedly elected to a wide variety of public offices in the

134. Kelly, "Organized Labor in Alabama."
135. Danielle Jones, "The Unknown Legacy of the 13th Amendment," *The Gettysburg Compiler*, 2016, https://gettysburgcompiler.org/2016/12/12/the-unknown-legacy-of-the-13th-amendment/.
136. Douglas A. Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black People in America from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Doubleday, 2008), 53.
137. Mary Ellen Curtin, "Convict-Lease System," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed April 8, 2019, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1346.
138. Curtin, "Convict-Lease System."
139. Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black People in America from the Civil War to World War II*, 52.
140. Curtin, "Convict-Lease System."
141. National Park Service, "Selma to Montgomery National Trail Study" (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, April 1993), 6.
142. Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877*, 287.
143. Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877*, 290.
144. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 14.

post-war years."[145] But white Republicans did not go out of their way to defend the advancement of recently enfranchised African Americans, so securing power— especially at the local level— remained difficult. African Americans, aided through the Reconstruction Act of 1867, were nevertheless able to gain a foothold in electoral politics, even if their agenda was stymied by their fellow party members. The greatest challenge to African American suffrage however was white Democrats who actively tried to remove African American politicians from office, either through bribery, false accusations, electoral theft, and outright violence.[146]

Ironically, African Americans also had to fight against those who could not even vote—women. By early 1900s, Alabama was home to a robust women's suffrage movement that petitioned for their right to vote. However, the "Southern white women who advocated giving women the right to vote did so at the expense of African American women. They believed that by gaining the vote for white women, they would offset any ballots cast by black men. In no way was the woman suffrage movement in the South designed to give African American women the right to vote."[147] African Americans turned to organizations of their own to fight back.

One of the principal groups mobilizing African Americans to vote was the Union League. Founded prior the Civil War, this Republican booster organization ramped up activities during the Reconstruction Era. The Alabama Union League worked to get newly emancipated African Americans active in the political process and explained how to navigate voting procedures at the local level.[148] The regular local meeting was also a place where African Americans could openly express their disdain for the new labor arrangements and racist laws that restricted their freedom. These efforts met violent resistance from the Ku Klux Klan and others who between 1868 and 1871 killed 15 league activists in Alabama alone, including state representative Richard Burke.[149] The group was "formally abolished in Alabama in 1869."[150]

Even in the rural Black Belt, African Americans mounted spirited actions to gain the right to vote and hold office. In 1868, "a group of armed black men assembled in front of the county courthouse [in Lowndes County] and demanded Democrats vacate local offices in accordance with the provisions of the Reconstruction Acts. White officeholders refused to surrender their seats that day, but many did vacate eventually, and African Americans voted out those who refused to step down voluntarily."[151]

Such victories were rare and fleeting however, and Democrats regained control of the Alabama state congress in 1874, effectively ending the Radical Republican agenda. "By the late 1890s, blacks had lost virtually all civil liberties accorded by the Constitution and other laws."[152] Still, African Americans in the region continued to go to the polls to vote. A moment of hope transpired with the rise of the Populist Party in the 1890s, which united poor whites and African Americans against the wealthy elites. The prospect of such multi-racial class solidarity undermined the central strategy of white supremacy, and the Democratic party fought back. As Karlyn Forner explains,

> Southern Democrats, beginning in Mississippi in 1890, responded to this threat by calling constitutional conventions where they used stricter qualifications to purge undesirable elements from the voter rolls. A litany of restrictions—poll taxes, property requirements, grandfather clauses, and good-character tests—barred thousands of black and poor white citizens from southern ballot boxes. The state-sponsored racial segregation of the Jim Crow era grew from these legislative gatherings. The turn of the century marked a new era of repression for black southerners.[153]

145. "Democratic Party in Alabama," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed March 3, 2020, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1561.
146. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma,* 8.
147. "Alabama Equal Suffrage Association," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed March 3, 2020, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1150.
148. "Union League of Alabama," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed March 3, 2020, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1151.
149. "Union League of Alabama."
150. "Union League of Alabama."
151. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 14.
152. National Park Service, "Selma to Montgomery National Trail Study," 6.
153. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*.



Figure 14. 1964 photograph of Amelia Boynton in her Selma home. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Elizabeth Boone Aiken, Birmingham News).

In 1901, Alabama passed a new state constitution. Similar to other states, Alabama's required voters to pay a tax (or back taxes), prove long-term residency, and pass literacy tests in order to cast a ballot.[154] "The impact of the constitutional disenfranchisement was immediate and shocking. In 1900, Lowndes County had more than five thousand registered black voters. A half dozen years after, the county had only fifty-seven."[155] Similar purges of the voter rolls occurred across the South. The new constitution "successfully overturned any expansion of voting rights for freedpeople and returned the state to the planters' preferred focus on low taxes and minimal government regulation. This period is known as 'Redemption,' so called because the white Democrats who regained political power believed that the South had been 'crucified' by federal tyranny and black rule and would now rise again to its former glory."[156] Due to widespread domestic terrorism, African Americans had little opportunity to publicly advocate for the restoration of their voting rights. A concerted effort to regain the right to vote in the Black Belt did not occur until after World War II, with a notable exception being the activities of the Dallas County Voters League.

154. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 9.
155. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 17.
156. "Reconstruction in Alabama," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed March 3, 2020, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1631.

In the mid-1920s, after serving as president of Selma's NAACP chapter, C.J. Adams founded the Dallas County Voters League (DCVL).[157] Adam's goal was to help register African Americans to vote in the county. Unfortunately, his efforts were mostly unsuccessful, and Adams—after repeated police harassment—moved to Detroit in 1948. The organization remained intact however, and in Adam's place, Dallas County extension agent Sam Boynton "took over as DCVL president and NAACP leader for Selma."[158] Sam was joined by his wife Amelia Boynton in co-founding the new iteration of the organization (Figure 14). Howard Zinn later would describe Amelia as "a rock to whom the new freedom movement is anchored."[159] Amelia Boynton descended from a long line of African American leaders, including Robert Smalls of South Carolina. She channeled that leadership into her work in Selma, becoming one of the few African Americans who could vote in the county in the 1930s. This activist foundation positioned the Boyntons to become pillars of the burgeoning civil rights movement.

Education

Access to education was another primary demand of African Americans following emancipation and "[o]nce pursuing political power became too dangerous, they redirected much of their energy toward securing quality education."[160] Often denied the opportunity to learn to read and write, the formerly enslaved quickly mobilized to receive an education (Figure 15). While local governments sometimes provided access to education, African American communities themselves were often more instrumental in securing quality education for its residents. For example, the Sandy Ridge community "formed their own school board and taxed themselves to start a school and pay a black teacher twenty-five dollars a month, twice what the county paid black educators."[161] In Orrville, the local community raised funds for a Rosenwald school. If a new building for a school could not

157. Holly Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums" (Florida State University, 2012).
158. Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums."
159. Howard Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2017), 148.
160. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 19.
161. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 20.



Figure 15. Circa 1903 photograph of the Calhoun schoolroom. (Source: Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Transfer from the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts, Social Museum Collection).

be constructed, local churches often served in this capacity. Communities knew that education provided a means for social and economic advancement in a white society that was actively resisting such progress, but these communities had to be cautious, for even trying to receive an education was a dangerous activity. "In this climate of wariness, industrial education—emphasizing practical, trade-based skills—found fertile ground."[162] This type of education was more in line with what white supremacists in the Black Belt wanted—one that created a capable and efficient labor pool. Nevertheless, this education often provided the skills African Americans needed to fight back against the dominant political, social, and economic system.[163]

A variety of outside individuals, groups, and agencies, such as the Freedmen's Bureau, assisted local communities in the effort. One of the tasks of the Freedmen's Bureau was to establish educational facilities for African Americans. However, by middle of 1868, the agency "stopped paying teachers, and schools declined until the total number of students in 1870 was 2,100, as compared with 10,000 students during the 1866-1867 school year."[164] As a result, "the bureau accepted assistance from northern benevolent societies, which contributed resources to pay teachers and purchase books and members to instruct the freedmen. In northern Alabama, for instance, the Pittsburgh Freedmen's Aid Society supported nearly a dozen schools in Huntsville and Athens, and a similar society provided assistance to schools in Montgomery and Mobile."[165]

Some notable examples of Reconstruction Era schools in the region include two universities that are still in operation today. In 1867, a group of nine previously enslaved men, along with the Freedmen's Bureau and the American Missionary Association, organized a campaign that resulted in the formation of the Lincoln Normal School in Marion. As the school grew in size and recognition, the state allocated funds and reorganized the Lincoln School as the State Normal School. Then in 1887, the "state legislature authorized the establishment of the Alabama Colored People's University and allotted $10,000 for the purchase

162. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 46.
163. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 47.
164. "Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed March 3, 2020, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1447.
165. "Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama."



Figure 16. Circa 1903 photograph of the Calhoun school campus. (Source: Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Transfer from the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts, Social Museum Collection).

of land and the construction of building" in Montgomery.[166] The university went through several more name changes and reorganizations before becoming Alabama State University.

In nearby Selma, four institutions provided higher education to African Americans, one of which was the Alabama Baptist Normal and Theological School, founded in 1878.[167] The historically Black college trained both teachers and ministers and also served the community with an elementary and high school program.[168] This university—known as Selma University since 1905—is still operating today.

In Lowndes County, the previously mentioned Calhoun School is another example of the institutions created to expand educational opportunities for African Americans in the area (Figure 16). Aided by Booker T. Washington's negotiation with white officials in the area, the community secured a 10-acre parcel and establish a school that "exceeded public school standards in every way, from facilities and classroom resources to pupil-teacher ratio and length of school term."[169] At its peak, the campus "boasted seventeen buildings, twenty-six employees, a farm manager, a community worker, and a resident physician, making it a sizeable settlement and an impressive Utopian experiment."[170] The core curriculum integrated "manual and academic training," breaking "new ground in rural civic education."[171] A Calhoun student "recalled how both her father and grandfather bought land from the school. Consequently, as a member of a concerned family she was sent to Calhoun from kindergarten through high school, where she learned cooking and sewing in addition to the basic academic skills. Her family filled their summers with gardening and canning, all as a part of the total program that bound school and community together."[172]

166. "Alabama State University (ASU)," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed March 4, 2020, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1612.
167. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 27.
168. "Selma University," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed March 4, 2020, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1579.
169. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 21.
170. Farland, "DuBois," 1025.
171. Farland, "DuBois," 1025.
172. Ellis, "The Calhoun School, Miss Charlotte Thorn's 'Lighthouse on the Hill' in Lowndes County, Alabama."

These educational opportunities provided a means for social and economic advancement for many African Americans in the Black Belt. However, the quality of instruction, especially in primary schools, was not equal to that offered in white communities. Many historians mark the beginning of the modern civil rights era with the legal victory *Brown v. Board of Education*, which attempted to address this inequality in educational opportunities. In 1952, the NAACP brought the suit on behalf of Linda Brown who was barred from integrating an all-white elementary school in Topeka, Kansas.[173] The NAACP, with Thurgood Marshall serving as chief attorney, contended that "separate but equal" policies legalized by *Plessy v. Ferguson* were unconstitutional. After two years of deliberations, in 1954 the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Brown and the NAACP, overturning *Plessy v. Ferguson*.[174] The ruling sent shockwaves throughout the country.

Landscape Summary (1865-1954)

The cultural landscape of the project area underwent various changes during this period. Two main themes drove the changes—agricultural diversification and urbanization trends. The area remained predominantly rural and featured extensive agricultural operations. During this period, the labor systems of sharecropping and tenant farming were initiated. The result was a reduction in the number of large plantations and an increased subdivision of property into smaller farms. During this period, more farmers turned to raising cattle, often pasturing their herds on worn out, former cotton fields. Dwellings formerly used to house enslaved workers were converted into use for tenants or were removed from the landscape. Fencing likely became more prolific in the landscape due to the increase in cattle production.

In the cities, electricity changed the feeling of the streetscape, with lighting added along city streets. Montgomery, and to a lesser extent Selma and Marion, expanded their physical footprint at this time, resulting in the construction of new buildings reflecting architectural styles of the period. Jim Crow resulted in the segregation of the built environment, with separate facilities, neighborhoods, and commercial areas for African American and white residents. Red-lining after the Great Depression furthered the divide between these communities.

US Highway 80 was officially established in 1925, having been constructed as the coast-to-coast Dixie Overland Highway, which used sections of the Old Federal Road. Most in-town roadway networks were established at this time. Some roadways were paved during this period, such as Highway 80. However, even by the mid-20th century, not all roads in the cities were paved.

173. "NAACP | NAACP Legal History," accessed April 9, 2019, https://www.naacp.org/naacp-legal-team/naacp-legal-history/.
174. Cooper Jr., Terrill, and Childers, *The American South: A History*, 2017, II:790.



KEY

1. Residence and Outbuilding Cluster
2. Small Pond
3. Agricultural Fields
4. Barn

NOTES

1. The cultural landscape of Hall Farm during the period of significance was typical of small-scale subsistence farms of the area. While typical in that it featured many of the same types of buildings, field crops, and spatial organization as others, these farms were exceptional in their ability to feed those living on the farm as well as surrounding community.
2. In terms of vegetation, note the pecan trees lining the drive into the farmstead core and the other shade trees surrounding the house. These stand in contrast to the relative lack of trees across the remainder of the property.
3. Marchers camped in the field between the barn and the small pond (#4 and #2).

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. Aerial Photography Field Office, US Department of Agriculture, 1965 aerial image.

North

Illustration 2.1
1965 Conditions
Hall Farm

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021



KEY

1. Pasture / Campground
2. Steele Grocery and Tavern buildings
3. Highway 80
4. Successional Forest

NOTES

1. This aerial photo shows a portion of the march route that is representative of the rural character of Lowndes County along Highway 80. Note the spatial organization of the landscape formed by the highway, fence lines, circulation features, and irregular patches of forest.
2. March participants made use of the large open field on the north side of the highway, across from the Steele Service Station, for camping.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. Aerial Photography Field Office, US Department of Agriculture, 1965 aerial image.

Illustration 2.2
1965 Conditions
Highway 80 / Campsite #2

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Campground #3 location
2. Highway 80 (shift to four-lane)
3. Farm Pond
4. Tributaries and Drainages

NOTES

1. This aerial photo shows another common landscape type along Highway 80--open pasture lands. Note the tree are contained to field edges, water drainages, and along roadways, with large area of pasture dominating the scene.
2. This area, just to the north of the Gardner Family Farm / Campsite #3 is where Highway 80 returned to its four-lane width, which it maintained into Montgomery.
3. Note also the meandering water drainages bisecting the fields. These drainages are common in the march route landscape, influencing the spatial arrangement of features.
4. Farm ponds were present throughout the corridor at this time, varying in size.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. Aerial Photography Field Office, US Department of Agriculture, 1965 aerial image.

Illustration 2.3

1965 Conditions

Highway 80 / Campsite #3

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North

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

New Organizations and New Strategies

Following the *Brown* ruling, civil rights activity began to take a different approach—one that was decidedly more confrontational and radical than the methods taken by activists in the previous decades. Civil rights activists switched from working inside the court system to using a combination of well-publicized direct actions and ground-level organizing. The diner sit-in protests in Greensboro, the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Freedom Summer in Mississippi, and the Freedom Riders' travels though the Deep South reflected this change. Hoping to leverage press coverage to highlight the abhorrent behavior of Southern segregationists, these individuals and organizations put their bodies on the line to show the world the plight of African Americans throughout the South.

The *Brown* ruling sent state and local governments scrambling for ways to maintain segregation. Though segregationists abhorred the idea of integrated schools, it was not simply because parents did not want their children studying alongside African Americans. In fact, it may have had more to do with their stance on mixed-race relationships. Many white Southerners saw integration as a threat to the functioning of Southern society. Others also believed mixed-race relationships contradicted Christian theology, at least according to their interpretation of scripture.[175] From the days of slavery through the Jim Crow era, segregationists routinely sought to limit the chances for African Americans and whites to meet and develop intimate relationships. As Jane Daley notes, "sexual control was central to both the ideology and the practice of white supremacy."[176]

To continue the enforcement of segregation, they employed both legal and extralegal tactics. One tactic to slow desegregation was to bring multiple challenges to *Brown* to local courts, knowing they would lose in state and federal courts.[177] The other tactic employed by segregationists was outright intimidation and terrorism. Following *Brown*, the Ku Klux Klan experienced a resurgence and new organizations such as the White Citizens' Council cultivated widespread support.[178] In doing so, segregationists drew from a legacy of racial terror that had existed for centuries (Figure 17).



Figure 17. 1963 photograph of white students protesting the integration of Woodlawn High School in Birmingham, Alabama. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Ed Jones).

On the other side, a variety of activist organizations developed or expanded at this time. The NAACP was one of the most active and well-known civil rights groups in the nation, having long fought for the rights and liberties of African Americans.[179]

175. Jane Dailey, "Sex, Segregation, and the Sacred after Brown," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 1 (2004): 121, https://doi.org/10.2307/3659617.
176. Dailey, "Sex, Segregation, and the Sacred after Brown," 127.
177. Andrew M. Manis, *Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 92.
178. Cooper Jr., Terrill, and Childers, *The American South: A History*, 2017, II:790.
179. Gilbert Jonas, *Freedom's Sword: The NAACP and the Struggle Against Racism in America, 1909-1969* (London: Routledge, 2005), 10.

The group focused on issues ranging from educational opportunities to lynching, employing a "litigation and lobbying" strategy by "working within the established [legal and political] system."[180] However, a growing dissatisfaction with the NAACP's gradualist approach resulted in the establishment of a number of new civil rights groups. These new groups did not shy away from confrontation, and advocates for change utilized various forms of demonstration and disobedience to accomplish their aims. From sit-ins at lunch counters, to business boycotts, to marches, these actions were both strategic and dangerous. The Southern Christian Leadership Committee (SCLC), the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Congress of Racial Equity (CORE) are just several of the new civil rights groups that utilized confrontational tactics.

These new organizations operated under the premise that only well-organized direct action and voter registration campaigns could secure the rights long denied to them. It was clear to them that the conservative approach of behind-closed-doors politicking of local officials and businesspeople for eventual desegregation was not going to deliver freedom with any great speed or even certainty. This realization was coupled with a general sense of frustration at the federal government's inaction since the end of World War II. As Walton observed, "The hypocrisy of the U.S. government, which sent African American soldiers to fight for democratic principles in Europe, and then denied them participation in the democratic process at home, spurred various grassroots voting projects."[181]

Participation in these new organizations was open to both African Americans and whites. While race relations between working class African Americans and whites had long been strained, the younger generation focused on building cross-racial solidarity between themselves whenever possible. In his "Behold the Land" speech over a decade before the birth of these groups, Du Bois called for such coalition building, stating:

> You must remember that despite all this, you have allies and allies even in the white South. First and greatest of these possible allies are the white working classes about you. The poor whites whom you have been taught to despise and who in turn have learned to fear and hate you. This must not deter you from efforts to make them understand, because in the past in their ignorance and suffering they have been led foolishly to look upon you as the cause of most of their distress. You must remember that this attitude is hereditary from slavery and that it has been deliberately cultivated ever since emancipation.[182]

In truth, there was a tradition of multi-racial solidarity to be found in the South.[183] Various Southern institutions and organization spoke out against segregation, including the Highlander Folk School and the *Southern Patriot* newspaper; both became key fixtures of the movement for their integrationist positions.

In terms of the gender makeup within the organizations, though male leaders of the civil rights movement have received the bulk of recognition due to their national campaigning and charismatic personalities, it should be noted that "[m]any African American women leaders operated at the local level, establishing the links and connections with grassroots organizations that provided the mass support for civil rights goals and objectives."[184] Many women were instrumental to the inner workings of the national organizations as well, and the success of two of the most esteemed civil rights organizations can be attributed to Ella Baker.

In 1957, following the success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott (discussed below), Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, and other Alabama-based African American ministers founded The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The organization differed from the NAACP in its adherence to confrontational direct action against segregation, albeit as long as such action was nonviolent

180. Martin N. Marger, "Social Movement Organizations and Response to Environmental Change: The NAACP, 1960-1973," *Social Problems* 32, no. 1 (1984): 18, https://doi.org/10.2307/800259.
181. Cynthia Walton, "Edmund Pettus Bridge." (National Historic Landmark Nomination Form. National Park Service, 2012), 8.
182. Du Bois, "Behold the Land."
183. Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists*, 169.
184. Bettye Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin, "Introduction: In the Whip of the Whirlwind," in *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*, ed. Bettye Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3–4.

and rooted in Christian theology.[185] Further, "rather than seek individual members, [the SCLC] coordinated with the activities of local organizations," operating as an "umbrella organization of affiliates."[186] King, with his youth, intellect, and oratory prowess, served as the figurehead for the organization, which generally operated in a top-down manner. Behind the scenes, Ella Baker—an accomplished activist and organizer who had years of experience working with the NAACP—accepted the job of running the SCLC's main headquarters in Atlanta as the organization's Executive Secretary. She organized the organizers, and the rapid growth and success of the SCLC is a result of her work.

Several years later in 1960, Baker, inspired by the energy shown by the growing youth protest movement, envisioned a youth-led civil rights organization that was more horizontal in its leadership apparatus. She recognized the important role students could play in advancing the movement for civil rights, stating that the "[r]ecent lunch counter Sit-ins and other nonviolent protests by students of the South are tremendously significant developments in the drive for Freedom and Human dignity in America."[187] Additionally, though working for the SCLC, Baker did not agree with the organizing strategies of the group or the reliance on charismatic leaders to advance the cause. She contended that "any viable social change organization had to be built from the bottom up. 'Authentic' leadership could not come from the outside or above; rather, the people who were most oppressed had to take direct action to change their circumstances. At best, national organizations could offer activists the resources that they lacked."[188]

With this in mind, in the Spring of 1960, Baker put out a call to fifty-six schools and fifty-eight Southern communities to send delegates to a "Youth Leadership Meeting" at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. One hundred and twenty-six students from around the South attended the conference, which sought to develop the national organization Baker envisioned. Over the course of the conference, attendees agreed that a central tenet of the new organization would be an adherence to nonviolence, like the SCLC. Using this "creed," attendees named the new organization the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and operated under the abbreviation SNCC (pronounced "snick").[189]

At SNCC's October conference, Amzie Moore, an early SNCC mentor and Mississippi NAACP president, put forward the idea that SNCC should focus its activities on voter registration in the South, with an initial emphasis on Mississippi. Baker and Moore helped the young organization facilitate a debate about the issue, which pitted those in favor of direct action such as sit-ins and pickets against those who wanted to register African Americans to vote. Those in favor of direct-action protests "worried that their Movement would be co-opted by the federal government if activists worked within the political system." They believed that by working alongside an untrustworthy federal government, SNCC risked an "attempt [by the government] to co-opt the Movement and blunt its militant edge."[190] Those on the other side contended that "most Black Mississippians were too poor to benefit from the desegregation of a lunch counter. They knew southern Black leadership saw organizing for the vote as an opportunity for Black people to control mechanisms of power in their communities. And they knew that working for voter registration was *direct action*."[191]

185. Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988), 140.
186. The Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute, "Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)," Stanford University, The Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute, July 7, 2017, https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/southern-christian-leadership-conference-sclc.
187. SCLC, "Youth Leadership Meeting, Shaw University, Raleigh, N.C. - April 15-17, 1960," No Date, SNCC Digital Gateway, https://snccdigital.org/events/founding-of-sncc/.
188. Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 171.
189. "Recommendations of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee," April 17, 1960, Civil Rights Movement Veterans, http://www.crmvet.org/docs/6004_sncc_call.pdf.
190. "SNCC Debates Direct Action & Voter Registration at Highlander," *SNCC Digital Gateway* (blog), accessed February 14, 2020, https://snccdigital.org/events/sncc-debates-direct-action-voter-registration-at-highlander/.
191. "Amzie Moore Puts Voter Registration on Table at SNCC Atlanta Conference," *SNCC Digital Gateway* (blog), accessed February 14, 2020, https://snccdigital.org/events/amzie-moore-puts-voter-registration-on-table/.; emphasis in the original.

The debate was contentious and nearly crippled SNCC. To save the organization from collapse, Baker "stepped into this argument–a rare intervention into SNCC debate. She suggested that SNCC create two wings, one for direct action and the other for voter registration. Diane Nash would head direct action, while Charles Jones would lead voter registration."[192] The two camps agreed and once in action the overlap between the two tactics proved they were mutually supportive. Later that year, SNCC field secretary Bob Moses established SNCC's first voter registration project in McComb, Mississippi.[193] This two-pronged approach—nonviolent direct action and voter rights campaigning rooted in local community organizing—became the basis for SNCC's work in the Alabama Black Belt.

The threat of violence always shadowed the work of these groups. Indeed, just a month after the vote drive was launched in McComb, Herbert Lee, a SNCC worker from Liberty, 20 miles to the east, was murdered. Lee was the first, but not the last, SNCC worker to be killed for their participation in the movement. The threat of violence accompanied all civil rights work in the South, with Alabama being particularly notorious for the bloodshed that took place throughout the movement.

Alabama

Alabama was arguably the epicenter of the mid-century civil rights movement.[194] From the major cities of Birmingham and Montgomery to the rural counties of Lowndes and Perry, major civil rights activity materialized throughout the state. Organized in the living rooms and churches of these communities, the activities spilled out into the state's streets, sidewalks, diners, and courthouses. Key events included the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Freedom Rides, and the Project C campaign in Birmingham. Many of the most well-known civil rights activists of the era called Alabama home, including Rosa Parks and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and undoubtedly, their association with the state is one of the reasons Alabama became synonymous with the civil rights movement.

It was not just for the leaders and events of the movement that Alabama became forever linked to this period of history. Violence against African Americans and their white allies left an indelible mark across the state. As the civil rights movement progressed, acts of terrorism by individuals and private organizations such as the KKK continued unabated. Yet, while in the early twentieth century unchecked mob violence was used to intimidate African American communities, "as the second half of the twentieth century commenced, police violence emerged as the dominant form of racial terrorism."[195] In Alabama, such police violence was on full display, carried out by figures like Jim Clark and Bull Conner. The quickly growing civil rights movement directly threatened the white supremacist system that the police had long enforced at the behest of those in power. Now, with a growing movement demanding change, Southern elites and politicians dug in their heels for a fight. In the decade leading up to the Selma to Montgomery March, civil rights activities in all four counties in the study area laid the groundwork for the events to come.

Montgomery County

From the activities of the Sharecroppers Union to the mass meetings at its African American churches, Montgomery had long been a hot spot for civil rights organizing. However, much of this work took place behind closed doors. Resistance organizing finally took a public face with the events of December 1955 and the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Several years later, the brutality that accompanied the Freedom Rides alerted the nation to the perils of African American life in the segregated South.

Montgomery Bus Boycott

Though often portrayed as a mild-mannered seamstress, Rosa Parks was no stranger to local organizing and pushing back against white supremacy. She was a registered voter and worked with the Montgomery Voters' League to help other African Americans register. She was also the Montgomery NAACP secretary, which placed her in the middle of local civil rights activity. When

192. "SNCC Debates Direct Action & Voter Registration at Highlander."

193. "Bob Moses Goes to McComb," *SNCC Digital Gateway* (blog), accessed February 14, 2020, https://snccdigital.org/events/bob-moses-goes-to-mccomb/.

194. This report does not provide a synopsis of the pivotal events that took place in the state prior to the Selma to Montgomery March. Numerous resources are available to fill this gap in the narrative.

195. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 34.

she refused to give up her seat on a city bus to make room for a white rider in December of 1957, Parks was arrested and taken to jail. While she was not the first African American arrested for such an offence, her case galvanized Montgomery's African American community. Overnight, leaders envisioned a two-pronged strategy. First, Rosa Parks would challenge her arrest in the courts with the aid of former NAACP chapter president E.D. Nixon. Second, under the organizing leadership of the Women's Political Council, the African American community would call for a boycott of the city bus service. A group of African American elders quickly elected Martin Luther King, Jr. the president of the new boycott organization, which they named the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA).

Through the quick actions of the Women's Political Council, word got out to Montgomery's African American communities about the boycott. It was an immediate success and turned the city's buses into a "ghost fleet" on the first morning.[196] Soon thereafter the MIA issued its demands, which were not entirely radical, but simply asked for a fairer application of the city's existing segregation law.[197] The city resisted however, resulting in a 381-day standoff. The city even ordered the arrest of King and others involved under an old anti-boycott law. Their jailing only brought more attention to the cause. So did the wave of bombings and attacks against Montgomery's African American churches and civil rights leaders' homes throughout 1957 and 1958. In December 1958, the boycott ended due to the Supreme Court ruling that the segregation of busses was unconstitutional. Public displays of protest and organizing such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott presaged the events of the coming decade and inspired a new generation to fight back.

Freedom Rides

While the Supreme Court had declared segregated bussing unconstitutional, Southern states were not enforcing the rule. In response, CORE—a Chicago-based civil rights organization—organized a rolling protest of sorts, that would feature an integrated bus ride from Washington, D.C. to the Deep South. The so-called Freedom Ride was inspired by a similar, less-publicized, event carried out by the organization in 1947. Given the entrenched white supremacy in the South and the violence that accompanied it, organizers knew the ride would be extremely dangerous. This prediction proved correct. Over the course of May 1961, the first in a series of bus rides took a multi-racial group of demonstrators through the heart of the South and into conflict with furious white mobs aided and abetted by local police forces.[198]

The travel through the first several states did not produce any major conflict, but in Rock Hill, South Carolina, John Lewis of SNCC was beaten. In Alabama however, the violence reached a new level of brutality, and the riders were met with extreme mob violence. In Anniston, a white mob fifty-people strong led by a local KKK leader met the riders when they reached the city's bus station. There the mob slashed the bus's tires, beat the bus with pipes and chains, and broke out its windows. The Greyhound tried to get away, lurching down the road, until it came to a stop just outside the city limits. There the mob attacked yet again, taunting the riders and rocking the bus trying to tip it over. The mob continued these taunts for twenty minutes. Historian Raymond Arsenault notes that by this point the mob consisted of everyone from Klan members to children dressed in their Sunday best.[199] The attack quickly escalated to a matter of life-or-death when two members of the mob threw a firebomb into the bus with the riders inside. When the passengers managed to escape the bus, some were beaten by the mob. Throughout, the police on the scene allowed the violence to transpire, though two undercover police investigators who were secretly on the bus with the riders helped the riders survive the attack.[200] Subsequent bus rides into Birmingham produced similar episodes.[201]

John Lewis, by this time widely recognized for his courage, did not want the mission to end in defeat. In consultation with Diane Nash and the Nashville

196. Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*, 137.
197. Frye Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 22.
198. Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America*, 77.
199. "Get On the Bus: The Freedom Riders of 1961," NPR.org, accessed January 22, 2021, https://www.npr.org/2006/01/12/5149667/get-on-the-bus-the-freedom-riders-of-1961.
200. "Get On the Bus."
201. Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America*, 82.

Student Movement they arranged a second Freedom Ride, this time under the direction of both SNCC and CORE.[202] The bus made it to Birmingham, where they were jailed by Bull Conner. That night, they were transported back across the state line and dumped in a small town in Tennessee. But a second group of demonstrators made their way to Birmingham and were ready to take the journey to Montgomery. This time, the federal government was in consultation with the state government, trying to figure out a way to get the riders safely to Montgomery. After some back-and-forth, the governor agreed to protect the riders headed to the city.

When they got to Montgomery's city line however, the protection ended, and the riders were on their own. Awaiting them at the bus station was another mob who descended on the riders with fury. Again, the ride ended in bloodshed, and if it were not for Floyd Mann—the Director of Public Safety for the State of Alabama who protected the riders—many of them might have been killed. Floyd, who did not fully trust the assurance of safety by the police chief of Montgomery, kept a close watch on the bus. When the violence broke out, Mann called in his guards and personally pulled his gun on the mob and threated to kill those who continued. That bought the riders time to get away to safe keeping at allies' homes—or the hospital.

Over the next year, over sixty additional rides took place across the South, which resulted in hundreds of arrests.[203] Despite the violence the riders had "done exactly what they set out to do. They served to alert the nation that there was no place too dangerous for the movement to go—no place any longer for white supremacy to hide."[204] This proved true for the other counties of the Black Belt.

Dallas County

As the events in Montgomery and elsewhere transpired, organizers in Dallas County were brainstorming on how to get its African American community registered to vote. The previously mentioned Dallas County Voters League maintained a low profile through the 1950s, focusing on local issues pertaining to the economic enfranchisement of Dallas County's African American community. The group kept a "small, but loyal membership of about a dozen people, including dental hygienist Marie Foster and teachers James Gildersleeve and F. D. Reese."[205] After the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and 1960, the organization hoped for increased access to the voting booth. However, "enforcement of both laws depended on the cooperation of federal judges, many of whom were segregationists."[206] Knowing they would have to out-maneuver local officials, the Boyntons and DCVL began to look outward for support from regional and national civil rights groups. Before long, one of these groups—SNCC—came to Selma.

While SNCC had launched campaigns in Mississippi, southwest Georgia, and elsewhere, the organization had considered Selma too dangerous to do any work there.[207] However, a twenty-two-year-old leader of the Nashville Student Movement, Bernard Lafayette, wanted to take it on as a project. The organization agreed and in November 1962, Lafayette traveled to Selma to meet with the Boyntons to discuss strategy. Confident that the project could succeed, Bernard and his wife Colia Liddell Lafayette—who was "a formidable organizer" herself—moved to the city.[208]

The campaign was part of SNCC's Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. It started slowly through the winter of 1962 and 1963, partly due to known dangers and partly due to some local community members objecting to the campaign.[209] It was not until a chance meeting with two local Hudson High School students, Cleophus Hobbs and Charles Bonner, that the campaign took root. These two students were excited by what the Lafayettes were in town to do and immediately began organizing their peers. By early April, they had established Selma Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee.[210] In addition to

202. "Nashville Students and SNCC Pick up Freedom Rides," *SNCC Digital Gateway* (blog), accessed March 26, 2020, https://snccdigital.org/events/freedom-rides/.
203. "Nashville Students and SNCC Pick up Freedom Rides."
204. Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America*, 101.
205. Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums," 50.
206. Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums," 50.
207. "Bernard & Colia Lafayette Begin Selma Project," *SNCC Digital Gateway* (blog), accessed February 17, 2020, https://snccdigital.org/events/bernard-colia-lafayette-begin-selma-project/.
208. "Bernard & Colia Lafayette Begin Selma Project."
209. Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums," 51.
210. "Bernard & Colia Lafayette Begin Selma Project."

teaching the students about the nuts and bolts of nonviolence and local organizing, Bonner recalled that Lafayette taught them "various freedom songs such as 'Ain't Going to Let Nobody Turn Me Around,' 'Oh Freedom,' and other songs that he had written, 'Dogs, Dogs, Dogs', he and James Bevel had written. Bettie [Mae Fikes] then became one of the major leaders in the songs, because she was always the star singer in our high school."[211] These songs served a key role in maintaining the emotional and spiritual fortitude of movement participants.

By spring, the efforts of SNCC and Selma's organized youth were paying off, in large part due to the work of Selma's organized and energized youth.[212] Jansen observed how SNCC increased its membership during this period, "Before the drive began, applications averaged three per month, but by May 1963 had jumped to thirty-one."[213] That month, however, Sam Boynton died. The Lafayettes sought to channel the local grief into their campaign. Boynton's memorial service was thus cross billed as a voter registration event. Over three hundred people filled Tabernacle Baptist Church. The event "cracked some of the fear in Selma."[214] Afterward, Selma's African American churches were more open to holding mass meetings, despite the threat of violence from white mobs. In fact, "on the night that Medgar Evers was murdered in Mississippi–June 12, 1963– Bernard Lafayette was severely beaten in Selma."[215] The beating, while traumatic, reinforced the resolve of Lafayette and the new participants in the movement.

The violence was both permitted and propagated by Dallas County Sheriff James (Jim) Gardner Clark, who was well-known for his violent handling of any agitators.[216] In addition to the officers under his charge, Clark commanded a posse of deputized civilians he used for both intimidation and violence towards those who challenged the system. The ratcheting up of mass meetings over the summer led to the increase in police harassment by Sheriff Clark. The rising intensity worried some members of the African American community, a group of which subsequently formed the Dallas County Improvement Association (DCIA).[217] The DCIA attempted to negotiate with city officials, striking a moderate approach to the situation. After their petition to local officials went unheard, however, the DCIA joined ranks with SNCC and DCVL.

Following the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, activity slowed, and the Lafayettes left Selma. SNCC soon "reestablished its presence in the Alabama Black Belt in the fall of 1964 when Silas Norman, Jr., became the organization's state project director and took up residence in Selma."[218] SNCC would maintain this presence through the remainder of the year and into 1965, running a local literacy program and positioning itself to be part of the most influential civil rights organizations in the region.[219]

Freedom Day

The civil rights movement peaked in intensity in late summer of 1963. In August, joyous participants attending the March on Washington filled the nation's capital. The following month, the pendulum swung back when terrorists bombed the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, killing four young girls. The bombing devastated participants of the movement and horrified the public at large. Many of the national civil rights leaders temporarily paused their planned activities and headed to Birmingham "to stand with the bereaved community."[220] However, many others chose to vent their grief on the streets. People staged protests across the country, including in Selma.

With the elder SNCC workers away, the youth of Selma took it on themselves to hold solidarity

211. "Charles Bonner & Bettie Mae Fikes (2005 Interview)," accessed February 17, 2020, https://www.crmvet.org/nars/chuckbet.htm.
212. Wally G. Vaughn and Mattie Campbell Davis, *The Selma Campaign, 1963-1965: The Decisive Battle of the Civil Rights Movement* (Dover, MA: Majority Press, 2006), 3–5.
213. Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums."
214. "Bernard & Colia Lafayette Begin Selma Project."
215. "Bernard Lafayette," *SNCC Digital Gateway* (blog), accessed February 17, 2020, https://snccdigital.org/people/bernard-lafayette/.
216. Charles Fager, *Selma 1965: The March That Changed the South*, 50th Anniversary Edition (Durham, NC: Kimo Press, 2015), 5.
217. Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums," 52.
218. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 55.
219. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 150.
220. "Civil Rights Movement History & Timeline, 1963 (July-December)," accessed February 17, 2020, https://www.crmvet.org/tim/tim63b.htm#1963fdselma.

demonstrations.[221] A group of youths decided to hold a sit-in at Carter's Drug Store in downtown Selma. 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.[222] Immediately after, more students went to the drug store and were also arrested. Over the following days, with SNCC staff back in Selma, over 300 students were jailed, along with SNCC Chairman John Lewis.

SNCC's emphasis on grassroots mobilization and youth involvement was key to the movement's success in the county. As Rev. F.D. Reese recalled:

> SNCC rallied the Black teenagers of Selma and Dallas County and got the students involved. Nonviolent training sessions were held to teach the teens how to act and respond, as well as how not to act and respond when they were attacked or struck by whites. Teenagers who marched were arrested and went to jail with the adults. I was arrested and charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors. ... After arrested teens were released, they would come to the designated church to the evening mass meeting. Parents, upon learning, their child or children had been arrested, would come to the church to get the family member or members. When they came into the church, the parents of the teens who had been arrested would hear old Black men and women testifying about how they were more determined than ever to press forward and secure their rights. Upon hearing these powerful testimonies, the visiting parents would become inspired and join The Movement.[223]

While galvanizing, the constant arrests and intimidation was a heavy burden on the community and the young participants; and women faced the brunt of it. As Holly Jansen explains, the "county jails were filled with adults, so juveniles were incarcerated at state prison camps. The deplorable facilities were normally used as temporary housing for convict road crews and were especially inadequate for females. Once in court, juveniles were afforded even fewer rights than the adults."[224] Nevertheless, the movement continued, and by early October, the stage was set for Freedom Day.

Freedom Day was envisioned as a day of action for voting rights, where hundreds of people would line up to apply to register to vote (at this time Alabamians had to *apply* to register by filling out a twenty-one-question form).[225] In the days leading up to the event, "mass meetings were held every night, and the churches were packed."[226] At the meeting on October 5th national celebrity Dick Gregory fired up the crowd with a scathing two-hour speech that openly mocked the white supremacist attitudes of whites living in Selma; congregants had yet to see a African American man be so open in public about racism, and they were enthralled by the speech.

At 9:00 on the morning of October 8th, Freedom Day began (Figure 18).[227] Participants formed a line stretching from the courthouse door down an adjacent alley. The numbers of participants started at around 100 but soon grew to over 450 people. "Never before in the history of Selma" had so many African Americans attempted to register to vote.[228] The whole procession was watched by club and cattle prod wielding deputy sheriffs and members of Sheriff Clark's posse.[229] As the number of registrants grew, Clark's patience ran thin. As the heat of the day set in, organizers worried about getting food and water to those waiting in line, but Clark told them that "anyone who tries to do so will be arrested for 'molesting' the voter applicants. So too, will anyone who simply tries to talk to them."[230] Soon, several violent arrests were made of those who stood out of line, in clear sight of newspaper photographer's cameras. As

221. "Civil Rights Movement History & Timeline, 1963 (July-December)."
222. "Civil Rights Movement History & Timeline, 1963 (July-December)."
223. "Civil Rights Movement History & Timeline, 1963 (July-December)."
224. Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums," 53.
225. Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists*, 153.; As Howard Zinn describes, after applying, "three weeks later there would be a postcard: passed or failed." Additionally, in Dallas County, "applications were accepted only on the first and third Mondays of each month. Registering at a rate of thirty a day, even if all were passed, it would take ten years" to process.
226. Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists*, 150.
227. Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists*, 152.; SNCC field worker Howard Zinn documented the event in minute by minute detail in his book, providing a valuable window into the day's events.
228. Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists*, 154.
229. Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists*, 153.
230. "Civil Rights Movement History & Timeline, 1963 (July-December)."



Figure 18. February 5, 1965 photograph showing Sheriff Jim Clark speaking to "Freedom Day" marchers at the Dallas County Courthouse in Selma, Alabama, during a voting rights demonstration. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Ed Jones, Birmingham News).

the day dragged on, the demonstrators held the line along the sidewalk, finally disbanding at 4:30 when the courthouse closed. That night, a mass meeting was held. Speakers praised the resolution of the demonstrators, most of whom had never performed such an act of public resistance. It would not be the last.

Perry County

While organizing in Selma and Montgomery was ongoing, civil rights activities were also ramping up in nearby Perry County and the small town of Marion. Organizers such as Albert Turner worked hard to motivate others to action. Turner, the son of a landowning farmer, "was one of the very rare black men that went to college and graduated during the early 60's."[231] In 1962, newly-graduated Turner attempted to register to vote at the Perry County courthouse, but "failed" the test, which was administered by a white man with a 5th grade education.[232] Outraged, Turner joined the NAACP and began the work of organizing African Americans in the county to demand the right to vote. As part of this work, Turner helped to establish the Perry County Civic League (PCCL), a local-focused voting rights organization.

His efforts did not go unnoticed, and in late 1964 both SCLC and SNCC came to the area to work with Turner. James Orange and Dorothy Cotton represented SCLC and James Best represented SNCC. At this point their activities were "beginning to receive media coverage and increased momentum."[233] A large part of the increase in activity is attributed to Orange, who was a veteran of several SCLC campaigns, including the Children's Campaign in Birmingham. Orange extolled the virtues of nonviolence and goodwill. "Orange was able to relate to people on all levels, whether they were top-paid officials or low-paid laborers, whether they were tribal chiefs or kitchen chefs, whether they were government leaders or gang leaders."[234] Soon, the arrest of Orange and the events that transpired afterward would place Marion in the national spotlight.

231. Helen L. Bevel, *The Nonviolent Right To Vote Movement Almanac*, 4th ed. (The Peace Fellowship, 2019), 337.
232. Bevel, *The Nonviolent Right To Vote Movement Almanac*, 337.
233. National Park Service, "Selma to Montgomery National Trail Study," 13.
234. Bernard LaFayette Jr. and Kathryn Lee Johnson, *In Peace and Freedom: My Journey in Selma* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2013), 119.

Lowndes County

The struggles of African Americans in the country were no different than those in the cities, as the conditions in Lowndes County can attest to. While rural Lowndes County was no stranger to organized resistance—having taken part in the labor strikes during the Great Depression—by mid-century civil rights work had quieted as communities turned inwards to take care of their own in the face of violently enforced white supremacy. "But as the Selma movement gained momentum, a handful of Lowndes County residents started talking about a voting rights campaign in their own county."[235] As Holly Jansen explains,

> In January 1965, the Daylight Savings Club, a benevolent society, began planning a voter registration attempt. The group's leader and only registered voter, John Hulett, instructed the group on the voter registration process. Hulett was a Lowndes County native who registered in Birmingham when he moved there after graduating high school. By late February, they decided the time was right and scheduled the attempt for the next registration day, March 1.
>
> The white community also caught wind of the registration plan. On Sunday, February 28, dozens of armed whites stormed Mt. Carmel Baptist Church in Gordonsville during the deacon board meeting. They accused Rev. Lorenzo Harrison, who had participated in the Selma demonstrations, of organizing the registration attempt, and told him to get out of town or he would be killed. The deacons rushed him off to Selma that night, but it did not stop the registration attempt. At eight o'clock Monday morning, thirty nine blacks showed up at the Lowndes County Courthouse. The registrars told the group that they were not taking applications that day, but to submit their names and come back when the office was open again in two weeks. Despite the risk of retaliation, most of the protesters signed their name.[236]

Though not as active in the public movement for civil rights prior to 1965, Lowndes County residents nevertheless maintained their ties to organized resistance After the Selma to Montgomery March, SNCC organizers in Lowndes County inflamed the embers of this resistance, which eventually grew into a new phase of African American activism known as Black Power.

Landscape Summary 1954-1965

The cultural landscape of this period largely reflected that of the previous period. The project area still contained the three primary towns of Marion, Selma, and Montgomery. Various industries surrounded the urban core of these cities and residential and commercial districts remained segregated along racial lines. Between these towns stretched vast acres of cattle pastureland, which had largely replaced cotton agriculture in the immediate vicinity of Highway 80. As such, aerial images show extensive fencing demarcating individual properties and fields. An increase in subdivided properties for housing development is also apparent on aerial photographs.

January and February 1965

By the beginning of 1965, the civil rights movement—dovetailing with a broader countercultural movement—had become a worldwide phenomenon. Revolution was in the air from Selma to Paris, from San Francisco to Santiago. In the United States, the start of the 1960s saw the assassination of a president, the passage of landmark civil rights legislation, and increasing opposition to the war in Vietnam. Yet in the Black Belt, people were still living and working as they had in the previous century; poverty was entrenched, white supremacy was still the law of the land, and the right to vote was not secured for African Americans.

Also by 1965, the internal and external splintering of major civil rights organizations had started.[237] Within SNCC, the division between proponents of nonviolent direct action and political processes reemerged following the defeat of the Mississippi Freedom Party at the Democratic State Convention. After this point, many SNCC organizers "came to see that the social and economic interests of rural working-class African Americans diverged at several critical points

235. Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums," 102.
236. Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums," 102.
237. Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America*, 227.

from those of the Democratic Party leadership at the national as well as the state and local levels. It became clear to many that appealing to the political interests of white northerners was as futile as appealing to the conscience of white southerners."[238] In addition, many of these organizers had also come to realize that they could not achieve goals by appealing to Southern whites' moral consciences. The circumstances demanded direct action. This process of radicalization created strains on the working relationship between SNCC and SCLC, which played out during the Selma Campaign.

January 1965

The Selma Campaign

Amelia Boynton and the DCVL had written to Dr. King in the fall of 1964, asking him to bring his star power and the organizing apparatus of the SCLC to the city to kickstart a Selma Campaign for voting rights.[239] He was also approached by Diane Nash and her husband James Bevel, both of whom worked as field officers for SCLC. They contended that the time was right for such a campaign to build upon the groundwork laid by the DCVL and SNCC. Further, as Rev. F.D. Reese recalled, "we knew that it would take financial resources as well as personal sacrifice and commitment to be successful in obtaining this right, and that was foremost in our minds. And knowing that SCLC, Dr. King, had waged successful campaigns in other towns and cities, we felt that SCLC was the most appropriate organization to approach, to have them come in and continue with the work that SNCC had begun here with us in the community."[240]

Not all those in SNCC approved of the invitation, who "saw a contrast between their own careful work and the headline-grabbing approach of Dr. King."[241] However, the two groups shared leaders, with John Lewis of SNCC serving on the SCLC board and Nash and Bevel of SCLC being co-founders of SNCC. At the urging of LaFayette and other SNCC veterans, the Selma Campaign would be co-managed by the two groups, but this union would only further expose and deepen existing frictions.[242]

On January 2, 1965, Martin Luther King, Jr. drove from Atlanta to Selma. Over seven hundred people attended the King-led mass meeting, defying a local court injunction that banned gatherings of more than three people.[243] The rejuvenated movement went straight to work, assigning block captains, making canvassing maps, training scores of locals, and tending to the emotional weight of the work.[244] Over the next couple weeks, the groups held several more mass meetings to prepare for the first demonstration. The center of this activity was the George Washington Carver Homes apartment complex on unpaved Sylvan Street just a few blocks northeast from downtown Selma. Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church was located in the heart of the complex.

On January 18, a group of three hundred people met at Brown Chapel. The plan was to march to the courthouse and register to vote, again in defiance of the court injunction. Additionally, they would test the ban on segregated public accommodations. Wilson Baker, the city's newly appointed police chief, took a different approach to crowd control than Jim Clark, who "never really relinquished his role as the highest law-enforcement official in Selma."[245] Baker allowed the march to progress as long as the participants arranged themselves in small groups, but when the marchers arrived at the courthouse, Clark and his posse were waiting.[246] The sheriff proceeded to line up the demonstrators and force them into a back alley, preventing them from entering the courthouse. Elsewhere, demonstrators successfully integrated seven of the eight targeted restaurants, and King and his entourage were able to secure a room at the Hotel Albert. Before retiring to their room, however, a member of the States Rights Party attacked King,

238. Hasan Kwame Jeffries, "SNCC, Black Power, and Independent Political Party Organizing in Alabama, 1964-1966," *The Journal of African American History* 91, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 171.
239. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 151.
240. "Veterans of the Civil Rights Movement -- Rev. Frederick Reese," accessed April 16, 2020, https://www.crmvet.org/nars/reesef.htm.
241. Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America*, 227–28.
242. Taylor Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years 1963-1965* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998), 559.
243. Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America*, 228.
244. Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years 1963-1965*, 559.
245. Juan Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954-1965*, 4th ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 2013), 255.
246. Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years 1963-1965*, 560–61.

punching and kicking him in the lobby.[247] The attacker was arrested.

Two days later, a smaller group of demonstrators returned to the Dallas County courthouse to register to vote. This time, they were not forced into an alley and were instead arrested. Those arrested included including SCLC's Hosea Williams and SNCC's John Lewis. Clark also roughed up Amelia Boynton in front of a crew of photographers, fearing no reprisal for his use of force. By now, Selma's jails were filling up. It was clear that a new wave of demonstrators would need to step up. This call to action was answered by the county's schoolteachers.

On January 22, a group of over one hundred African American teachers marched to the courthouse to register to vote. "Some were inspired by the example of Margert Moore or the pep talks of their elected leader, Rev. F.D. Reese. Others were ashamed to teach civics when they could not vote themselves, or could no longer bear to scold absentee pupils who braved jail and taunted them as slaves."[248] The teachers were met yet again by Sheriff Clark who repeatedly pushed them off the courthouse steps, telling them to leave the premises. As Clark's actions grew more and more forceful, the teachers ended the day's demonstrations, marching back down Alabama Avenue towards safety. The crowd returned to raucous applause by over three hundred of Selma's youth, and all burst into song and many into tears.[249] Never before had teachers mobilized in such a manner and their bravery served as inspiration to others who had sat on the sidelines as the Selma Campaign began.[250]

February 1965

February marked the turning point of the Selma Campaign. On the morning of February 1, King addressed a large gathering at Brown Chapel, saying that "nearly seven hundred people were leaving another church to launch the first Freedom Day in Perry County, thereby expanding the movement to a neighboring courthouse."[251] This broadening of the movement was in coordination with James Orange and the other organizers there. King then led a group of over two hundred and fifty people in a march from Brown Chapel, this time walking down the middle of the street with the intent to be arrested. A group of over three hundred youth had instructions to begin a second march following the assumed arrests of the first group. These arrests occurred as planned. Soon the jail was full, and Sheriff Clark sent many youths to the state prison farm.[252] By the week's end, over three thousand people were arrested. In Marion, solidarity protests resulted in the arrests of over five hundred schoolkids. The momentum of the movement showed no signs of slowing down.

The activity in Selma was making national headlines. It also caught the attention of Malcom X, who had seen King get attacked in the lobby of the Albert Hotel on TV. The attack infuriated Malcom. His opinion on the nonviolent protest movement was evolving. Whereas he had criticized the strategy in the past, he was beginning to see its purpose and potential effectiveness. Around this time, SNCC contacted Malcom X, asking him if he wanted to speak at both Tuskegee University and at Brown Chapel. Malcom X accepted the offer and on February 4, while King was still in jail, he traveled to the Black Belt. His arrival in Selma caused panic among SCLC leadership out of fear he would try to convince people that nonviolence was a failing approach to countering African American oppression.[253] But the speech at Brown Chapel was a peace offering of sorts, and he did not openly criticize King or nonviolence. Coretta recalled Malcom X telling her that "I didn't come to Selma to make [Martin's] job more difficult, but I thought that if the white people understood what the alternative was that they would be more inclined to listen to your husband. And so that's why I came."[254] Less than three weeks later, on February 21, Malcom X was assassinated. In an interview, Coretta Scott King stated, "I think if he

247. Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years 1963-1965*, 560–61.
248. Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years 1963-1965*, 564.
249. Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years 1963-1965*, 564.
250. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 153.
251. Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years 1963-1965*, 575.
252. Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years 1963-1965*, 576.
253. Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years 1963-1965*, 579.
254. "Interview with Coretta Scott King" (Washington University in St. Louis), accessed March 30, 2020, http://digital.wustl.edu/e/eii/eiiweb/kin5427.0224.089corettascottking.html.

had lived…I am sure that at some point they would have come closer together and would have been a very strong force in the total struggle for liberation and self-determination of black people in our society."[255]

While King sat in jail, President Lyndon Johnson made a public declaration of support for the Selma Campaign and said that he intended to push Congress to pass voting rights legislation that year. Soon thereafter a federal judge ordered the registering of African American voters in the South. King soon posted bail and flew to Washington, D.C. to meet with President Johnson. Upon his return, King toured the Black Belt, drumming up support for a broader movement. He rallied the troops in Marion at a mass meeting, but in Montgomery, King was only able to muster around two hundred people to come out and register. Historians suggest this was due to "voter apathy" and a lack of on-ground organizing.[256] He also traveled to neighboring Wilcox County and joined a group of one hundred and fifty people attempting to register to vote at the courthouse. Though the numbers were perhaps not what King wanted, it was clear that the movement was gaining steam.

Marion

In addition to Turner and Orange, Jimmie Lee Jackson, a local pulpwood worker, became one of the key figures in the Perry County movement. He had tried, unsuccessfully, to register to vote five times at the Perry County Courthouse (Figure 19).[257] Back in 1962, at the start of the civil rights efforts in the county, Albert Turner organized a small group to go to the courthouse and register to vote. "[A]n elderly farmer named Cager Lee was one of the first in line at the courthouse. Standing with Lee was his daughter, Viola Lee Jackson, and her son Jimmie Lee Jackson. They were not permitted to register. When Jimmie Lee Jackson saw his frail 80-year-old grandfather rudely turned away from the registrar's office, he became angry. He knew that he must be a part of the movement for civil rights."[258]

255. "Interview with Coretta Scott King."
256. Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years 1963-1965*, 583.
257. Taylor Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 8.
258. "Jimmie Lee Jackson," Teaching Tolerance, March 10, 2016, https://www.tolerance.org/classroom-resources/texts/jimmie-lee-jackson.

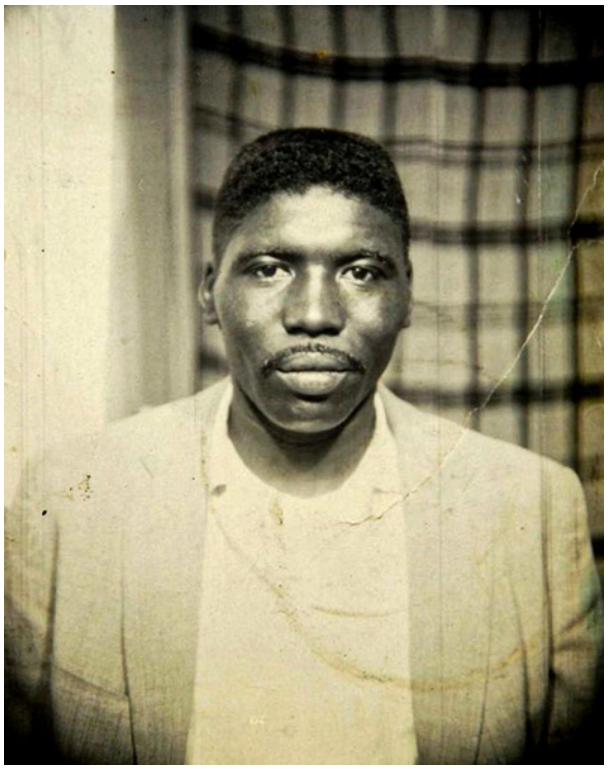

Figure 19. Undated photograph of Jimmie Lee Jackson. (Source: Encyclopedia of Alabama, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/m-5021).

Over the next several years, Jimmie Lee Jackson worked as an organizer in the county. Through his role as deacon at St. James Baptist Church, Jackson became well-connected to the community. When the Selma Campaign officially spread to Perry County in February, Jimmie Lee Jackson was ready, as were many others in the community. Zion Methodist Church, located on the town square in Marion, also served as a hub for community organizing (Illustration 2.4).

On the morning of February 18, James Orange was arrested for contributing to the delinquency of minors for organizing Marion's youth in the movement. Local leaders reached out to well-known SCLC leader C.T. Vivian to preach at a mass meeting that night at Zion Methodist that would conclude with a short march to the county jail to demand the release of Orange. The community feared for Orange's life, thinking he would be lynched before being able to be released. Night marches however had recently been banned by George Wallace, the governor of Alabama, and Wallace sent out state troopers to assist local police forces—including Marion's—to enforce the ban. It was a risk the movement was willing to take.

Vivian agreed to preach at the mass meeting that night. A large crowd filled the church. "At 9:30 p.m., Albert Turner and Rev. James Dobynes of Marion led four hundred people two abreast from Mount Zion."[259] Albert Turner describes how events unfolded in a 1979 interview:

> As we went out of the church that night, to begin the actual march, we got roughly about a half a block from the door and the sheriff of the county at that time, and, and several troopers halted us. Because I was leading the demonstration at that time, I was considered the local leader. And we were stopped and told that we was an unlawful assembly, and that we had to disband the demonstration and go back in — the church.
>
> At that time we had planned already to have a prayer at that point. And we had a Reverend Dobynes who stopped and prayed, or he got down to pray. And they came up and took Willie Bolden, who was the, a local...not local worker, but a fellow from out of town, SCLC worker, and they took Bolan across the street and had him to watch what they were going to do to us.
>
> And they asked if I was an outsider, and of course, I said no. And I had to identify myself. They wanted me to show identification. So I showed them identification. During the time I was trying to get a... to show identification, they had... they had started punching me in the side with their sticks. And of course, I insisted that they stop, in order for me to show any identification. They let me show the identification, and immediately after that they shove me back into the crowd, you know, there's a line of people behind me really, and they just kind of shoved us back, all of us in front.
>
> And they took Reverend Dobynes, who was on his knees, immediately behind me praying and they just started beating him right there on the ground. And I guess that was probably the visciousest thing I had ever seen. They beat him and they simply just beat him up off the ground and took him by his heels and drug him to the jail and continued to beat him. At that point they... they had state troopers all over the city to be honest with you that night. And they had plainclothes people, they not all were state troopers, but a lot of citizens really was in… involved and they beat black people wherever they found them to be frank with you.
>
> As we attempted to go back to the church after we had been forced around and, and of course they started whipping people at that point, so all of us tried to get back into the church. The line of demonstrators still was in the door of the church. The demonstration really never did get all the way out of the church.

By this point, state police, local officers, and/or posse members had "shot out streetlights, disabled news cameras for cover, and beat reporters into the hospital or distant retreat."[260] In the mayhem, cries of pain and panic echoed across the town square.

The crowd attempted to get back inside the church, but as the procession had never fully left the building, that way was blocked. Those who were stuck outside fled to the backside of the church building where a small café stood. Taylor Branch provides a description of what happened next:

> Fifty state troopers overtook many of them, including eighty-two-year-old Cager Lee, who stumbled bleeding into Mack's Café to find his daughter Viola and grandson Jimmy Lee. In utter chaos, some troopers chased two dozen marchers into the café while ten others pushed inside to chase them out. They expelled one crippled customer unharmed, overturned tabled, smashed lights, dishes, customers, and marchers. The café owner saw troopers attack Cager Lee again in the kitchen. For trying to pull them off, Viola Jackson was beaten to the floor. Her son Jimmy Lee Jackson lunged to protect her. One trooper threw him against a cigarette machine, another shot him twice in the stomach, and then they cudgeled him back outside toward the bus station, where he collapsed.[261]

While Jimmie Lee was the only person shot, ten other African Americans were also taken to the Good Samaritan Hospital in Selma with injuries. Others, including out-of-town civil rights workers, wound up in jail to nurse their wounds there. As

259. Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years 1963-1965*, 593.

260. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 8.

261. Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years 1963-1965*, 593.

news broke of the violence, there was widespread anger and commendation by the press and general public. Movement participants felt equal parts of shock and outrage. On January 26, Jimmie Lee succumbed to his wounds.

Landscape Summary (January and February 1965)

The cultural landscape summary for this period is combined with March 1965 and included in the Selma to Montgomery March period for succinctness.

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KEY

1. Perry County Courthouse
2. Zion United Methodist Church
3. Perry County Jail
4. Mack's Cafe

Marion to Selma Connecting Trail Route

NOTES

1. The cultural landscape of downtown Marion was typical for small towns. The area was organized around a town square, which featured a prominent county courthouse at its center.
2. At this time, the majority of vegetation in downtown Marion was concentrated at the courthouse.
3. Though the Perry County Jail (#3) and the location of Mack's Cafe (#4) are not located along the trail, these two locations are important parts of the civil rights history in the area.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. Aerial Photography Field Office, US Department of Agriculture, 1965 aerial image.

North

Illustration 2.4
1965 Conditions
Downtown Marion

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

March 1965

Jimmie Lee Jackson immediately became a martyr for the movement, but his death "at the hands of a man sworn to uphold the law put the followers of nonviolence to a tremendous test. In the past 18 months, they had seen five murders in Alabama and six in Mississippi."[262] Civil rights workers and participants alike wrestled with how to respond. Lucy Foster, one of Marion's longtime activists, was the first to propose a march that would take the body of Jimmie Lee from Marion to Montgomery.[263] Foster, who worked closely with Albert Turner, was widely respected in the movement. "Movement people who came to Marion usually stayed at her home, just as they stayed at Amelia Boynton's home in Selma."[264] The motivation for Foster's proposal was separate from gaining the right to vote. Therefore, though often thought of as a "voting rights" march, the initial impetus and principal motivator for the march was directly related to countering white supremacy and police violence. It "reflected a concern that was deeper than politics, a concern that a ballot could not conquer."[265]

On March 2nd and 3rd, mourners held two memorial services for Jackson. James Bevel officiated the first at Brown Chapel, whose facade bore a banner that read "Racism Killed Our Brother."[266] There, Bevel reiterated the call for a march to symbolically take the body of Jackson to Montgomery, but instead of from Marion, Selma was proposed for the starting point.[267] The actual body of Jimmie Lee Jackson was taken back to Marion in a two thousand-person procession. King delivered the funeral eulogy to an overflowing crowd at Mount Zion on the afternoon of the 3rd.

On the 5th, King went to back to Washington, D.C. to meet with President Johnson. He was there to discuss the progress of the voting rights bill and to tell him of the plans for the Selma to Montgomery March. This was not to be a jubilant march, as John Lewis recalled that this was "a very low moment for many of us, a very dark and lonely hour, because, in a real sense, we felt a great sense of responsibility."[268] That sense of responsibility was as much a motivating factor as the anger. As word got out about the march, Gov. Wallace issued a statement that the march would not be permitted to proceed. For the avowed segregationist governor stopping the march was not just to maintain the status quo in the state, but also to avoid being responsible for the inevitable violence that would occur.

The frictions between SNCC and SCLC came to a head over the march. Fay Bellamy of SNCC voiced the concerns of many in the group who "saw King's plan as an invitation to punishment on a grand scale."[269] The rank and file were displeased in King's status in the movement, which they denounced "hit-and-run celebrity" antics.[270] For several days SNCC debated within their organization on whether to participate. In the end, a compromise was struck, which allowed any SNCC member or worker to participate but the group would officially disapprove of the march.[271]

Back in Selma, a group of Alabama whites who had seen enough violence held a march and demonstration in front of the county courthouse. The group—made up of various "freethinking" individuals who dubbed themselves the Concerned White Citizens of Alabama—rallied in solidarity with the civil rights movement.[272] The leader, Rev. Joseph Ellwanger had started the group in order to show that not all white people in Alabama were violent racists, contrary to how it was depicted in media coverage. When they got to the courthouse an even larger group of segregationists and members of the States Rights Party met them there. The police quickly broke up the scene prior to mob violence.

262. "Jimmie Lee Jackson."
263. Steve Fiffer and Adar Cohen, *Jimmie Lee & James: Two Lives, Two Deaths, and the Movement That Changed America* (New York: Regan Arts, 2015), 57.
264. Fiffer and Cohen, *Jimmie Lee & James: Two Lives, Two Deaths, and the Movement That Changed America*, 57.
265. Vaughn and Davis, *The Selma Campaign, 1963-1965: The Decisive Battle of the Civil Rights Movement*, 14.
266. Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954-1965*, 267.
267. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 154.
268. Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954-1965*, 267.
269. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 26.
270. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 26.
271. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 42.
272. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 35.



Figure 20. March 7, 1965 photograph showing Hosea Williams and John Lewis leading marchers across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, on Bloody Sunday. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News).

Bloody Sunday

On the morning of Sunday, March 7, hundreds of people started congregating at Brown Chapel ready to take their fight to the capitol steps in Montgomery (Illustration 2.5 and 2.6). While the march was initially set for the next day, many in the movement were ready that morning, with Hosea Williams chief among them. After a flurry of phone calls to King in Atlanta, where he was serving as temporary preacher for his ill father, the march was officially approved to commence. None of the leaders thought they would actually be allowed to get far. They had been given notice of a massive police presence and that the police were armed with tear gas.

In the early afternoon, a group of around six hundred demonstrators marched along Selma's city streets toward the arching Edmund Pettus Bridge. Hosea Williams and John Lewis were positioned at the head of the pack, with Diane Nash and other officials in the rear (Figure 20). They all "could sense the violence in the air, and their mood was one of dogged determination rather than defiance or even exuberance as it often had been before."[273]

Waiting for them on the east side of the bridge outside of city limits was a wall of county police, state troopers, and possemen blocking all four lanes of Highway 80. Some of the officers were mounted on horses, other stood in front of a fleet of patrol cars. The marchers had been allowed to march through the streets of Selma unscathed because Sheriff Clark did not have jurisdiction within the city limits. But, as the marchers crossed the bridge, they left Selma and the protection it afforded. Williams and Lewis remarked to each other that neither of them could swim as they crested the bridge over the Alabama River.[274]

As the front of the line reached level ground, they came face to face with law enforcement. A mere 50 feet separated the front of the protest line and the troopers. White onlookers crowded the parking lot of the Chicken Treat restaurant, some waving Confederate flags.[275] Lynda Blackmon Lowery, who was fifteen at the time, and participated in the march described how the fear set in: "At first I tried to tell myself it would be okay because there

273. Fager, *Selma 1965: The March That Changed the South*, 98.

274. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 50.

275. Lynda Blackmon Lowery, *Turning 15 on the Road to Freedom: My Story of the 1965 Selma Voting Rights March* (New York: Dial Books, 2015), 54.



Figure 21. March 7, 1965 photograph showing Jim Clark and masked law enforcement officers marching towards the demonstrators on Bloody Sunday. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Tom Lankford, Birmingham News).

were so many of us. Then I saw the state troopers putting on gas masks and I got really scared… Sure, we'd been hit with a billy club or cattle prod, but we'd never really been beaten. Suddenly this seemed like something very different."[276]

As they stood facing each other in front of the Haistens's Mattress and Awning Factory, Major John Cloud ordered the crowd to turn back to Brown Chapel and gave them two minutes to do so (Figure 21). Before those two minutes were up, Cloud ordered his troops to advance upon the marchers. That is when the officers fired tear gas at the crowd and rushed them. Panic set in as the demonstrators' lungs filled with toxic gas and their eyes burned. They began to run, and the troopers followed in pursuit beating any and all that were in front of them. Amelia Boynton was "one of the first to fall, clubbed into unconsciousness (Figure 22). As she fell to the pavement a creased plastic rain hat that someone had given her slipped down over her face. A trooper came up and dropped a tear gas canister right in front of her, and as the piercing liquid and fumes sprayed out, only the wrinkled sheet of plastic kept it from drenching her eyes and going straight into her lungs."[277] In the haze of gas one could see the rising and falling of billy clubs hitting down on the marchers.

Again, Lowery describes her situation: "(t)he next thing I knew, I felt a man's hand grab me from behind, pulling me backward. I heard him say that hateful word. Then I bit that hand and that's when he hit me over my eye. He hit me twice—hard. I was still kneeling, struggling to get up when he pushed me forward and hit me again, this time on the back of my head."[278] Lowery then describes passing out and waking to find herself on a stretcher while the chaos raged on around her. She jumped off the stretcher and rejoined the crowd running over the bridge back to town. She found her sister Joanne who had also fainted, jostled her awake, and they ran to Brown Chapel. "The marchers did not use the route they had taken to get to the bridge to get back to the church; they used any street that would get them back safely."[279]

276. Lowery, *Turning 15 on the Road to Freedom: My Story of the 1965 Selma Voting Rights March*, 55.

277. Fager, *Selma 1965: The March That Changed the South*, 100.

278. Lowery, *Turning 15 on the Road to Freedom: My Story of the 1965 Selma Voting Rights March*, 57.

279. Richie Jean Sherrod Jackson, *The House by the Side of the Road: The Selma Civil Rights Movement* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2011), 109.



Figure 22. March 7, 1965 photograph showing Amelia Boynton lying unconscious on the ground after being attacked by police on Bloody Sunday. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Tom Lankford, Birmingham News.).

The troopers and Clark's men followed the crowd back to the Carver Homes, roaming "through the lines of boxy red-apartments for half an hour, chasing anyone they saw and throwing tear gas into one home where Clarke thought he saw something suspicious. Another squad of possemen rushed into the First Baptist Church, grabbed a black youth they found there, and threw him through a stained glass window depicting Jesus as The Good Shepherd."[280] The beatings continued in front of Brown Chapel until the police and posse had had enough and had driven everyone from the streets. The whole affair lasted thirty minutes.

In the wake of the violence, a wild scene consumed Brown Chapel. Anger and bewilderment were palpable, and the adherence to nonviolent resistance was quickly fading.[281] Rev. Reece recalled that there "were those who really wanted to take up whatever arms they had and retaliate with violence."[282] But attention focused on assessing the extent of injuries to the bloody and gassed marchers, including Lynda Blackmon Lowery. An adult surveyed her head and sent her to Good Samaritan Hospital where she received seven stitches over her eye and twenty-eight on the back of her head. Lowery was one of fifty-eight that were hospitalized at Good Samaritan and Burwell Infirmary. Another one hundred marchers were injured, with injuries ranging from broken bones to burnt lungs. John Lewis received a fractured skull.

News of the attack was broadcast throughout the country that night, provoking shock and disbelief. King watched the scenes from the television and fielded phone calls from leaders in Selma. That night he issued a call for a "renewed march from Selma to Montgomery" and "put out a call for help."[283]

280. Fager, *Selma 1965: The March That Changed the South*, 102.
281. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 53.
282. "Veterans of the Civil Rights Movement -- Rev. Frederick Reese."
283. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 57.



Figure 23. March 9, 1965 photograph showing Ralph Abernathy leading civil rights marchers in prayer on the south side of the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, on Turnaround Tuesday. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Haywood Paravicini, Birmingham News.)

Turnaround Tuesday

The day following the attack, movement participants took stock of the situation, as did local, state, and federal government officials. In the White House, President Johnson sought to make inroads with Governor Wallace in Alabama. Govenor Wallace ignored President Johnson's entreaties. Dr. King on the other hand was having great success in his call to action, and soon hundreds of people from across the country were on planes bound for Selma to take part in the next march.

By the morning of Tuesday, March 9, thousands had arrived in Selma to march over the Edmund Pettus Bridge. The plan hit a snag however when a federal judge ordered a temporary injunction against the march. King had not yet defied a federal order, as he appreciated the federal government's willingness to uphold their constitutional rights and did not want to jeopardize that momentum. A compromise was reached: marchers would proceed to the bridge, face the troopers, and then turn back around before any outbreak of violence. This time King would be at the front of the line. Only those in leadership knew the plan.

The marchers left Brown Chapel and headed to the bridge. There on the other side was a contingent of police and troopers that had doubled in number from Bloody Sunday. But the number of demonstrators had more than doubled and now they knew the extent of the violence the state was willing to unleash. King and the front line approached the wall of police. They were ordered to disperse. After a short amount of banter between Dr. King and Major Cloud, they were allowed a short prayer (Figure 23). Upon its completion, to the surprise of all, the troopers parted, opening up a path to Montgomery along Highway 80. "King stood stunned at the divide, with but an instant to decide whether this was a trap of a miraculous parting of the Red Sea."[284] He weighed the threat of violence ahead and the threat of defeat if he turned back. But King stood by the plan and ordered the turnaround. The demonstrators felt defeated, some felt betrayed, and many felt letdown.

284. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 77.

That night, three of the ministers from Boston left Walker's Café after dinner. They were ambushed by a small group of white men, who clubbed thirty-eight-year-old James Reeb in the head and beat his companions Clark Olsen and Orloff Miller. At the end of the melee, the three crashed back into the café where Diane Nash assessed their injuries. Though Reeb was not bleeding like his friends, the look in his eye worried Nash, who advised that he would need to be rushed to the hospital. At the hospital, his condition worsened, and the doctor advised he be taken to Birmingham for treatment. The ride took two times as long on account of a flat tire. By the time Reeb arrived he had slipped into a coma.

Next Steps

Following Turnaround Tuesday and the attack on the Unitarian ministers, SNCC leadership was fed up with the Selma Campaign. The group mostly decamped from Selma and headed for Montgomery where James Forman wanted to build a new more radical movement.[285] On Thursday, Forman and other SNCC officers rallied with Tuskegee University students in an effort to negotiate directly with Governor Wallace about voting rights. When their request went unanswered, roughly two hundred of the students held an impromptu sit-in in the middle of the street outside the capitol. The police closed in, but instead of attacking, they formed a circle around the demonstrators. "[A]s the hours crept by, the students quickly learned that if any of them left the group for any reason, the policemen would not let them return."[286] As a result, many had to relieve themselves in the middle of the circle, which earned the protest the name "the great pee-in."

Back in Selma, those who remained—including many of the white religious leaders who stayed in town—wanted to maintain momentum through public display. The police barred any such activity and set up barricades along Sylvan Street to bar passage. As SCLC and CORE worker Bruce Hartford recalls:

> cops blocked the march and stretched a rope across Sylvan Avenue that people called that the "Berlin Wall." And that starting 24-hour round-the-clock, people pressing up against that rope for days and days and days. Sometimes it was raining — remember this is early March, and the rain was cold — and we had these sheets of plastic that were really good at keeping the rain off you, except that at random moments it would dump a waterfall down your back as the water had pooled up on the plastic.
>
> But people really were there around the clock — 24 hours — just, any kind of weather, there was always a crowd pushing up against the cops, like a vigil but not silent. Singing, constantly singing, except when someone felt like making a speech at the cops. And that's the main activity that a lot of the folks flooding into Selma participated in after the Turn-Around Tuesday march.[287]

While the police faced inward toward the crowd, assailants positioned behind them threw projectiles and even fired into the crowd, injuring several.[288]

On March 11, James Reeb died at the hospital in Birmingham. In Washington, D.C., students from Howard University protested at the White House. "The death of a white man in Selma shocked the country and increased pressure on Johnson to act swiftly."[289] Upon notification of his death, President Johnson phoned Reeb's widow and arranged to fly Reeb's body back north on Air Force One. "The media provides extensive coverage of Reeb's death and his memorial services which are attended by dignitaries and thousands of mourners. All of this is in stark contrast to the public and official silence in response to the murder of Jimmie Lee Jackson — a Black man — just a few days earlier."[290] The disparity of the response was not lost on African Americans in Selma or elsewhere.

The next few days proved to be an emotional roller coaster. On the 13th, President Johnson met with Governor Wallace at the White House. President Johnson had hastily drafted a list of

285. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 86.
286. Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America*, 255.
287. "Selma & the March to Montgomery, A Discussion, November-June, 2004-2005," accessed April 3, 2020, https://www.crmvet.org/disc/selma.htm#ala65berlinwall.
288. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 90.
289. Ari Berman, *Give Us the Ballot: The Modern Struggle for Voting Rights in America* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2015), 25.
290. "Selma & the March to Montgomery, A Discussion, November-June, 2004-2005," accessed April 3, 2020, https://www.crmvet.org/disc/selma.htm#ala65reeb.



Figure 24. March 17, 1965 photograph showing civil rights demonstrators outside the Ben Moore Hotel on Jackson Street in Montgomery, Alabama, before marching to the Montgomery County courthouse. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Tom Self, Birmingham News).

demands he wished to negotiate with the governor. The demands centered on providing both the authorization to protest as well as protection for the protesters. No concrete assurances were made by Wallace, though it appeared to observers that Wallace was softening his stance a bit.[291]

On March 15, President Johnson presented the long-awaited voting rights bill to a joint session of congress. "In his speech, he used the words of the civil rights movement, stating 'we shall overcome' the heritage of racism and bigotry which haunts America."[292] Movement leaders tuned in around the country, and in Selma, where King watched the televised speech, many there became hopeful for legislative action. Many other—especially from SNCC—remained skeptical.

On March 16, outside the capitol in Montgomery, a SNCC and Alabama State University co-protest turned violent when state troopers and the horse-mounted county police force attacked demonstrators, scattering them throughout the city.[293] Images of bloody college students made national news. Stokely Carmichael—SNCC veteran of the Mississippi Campaign—had a nervous breakdown and had to be taken away and boarded on an airplane. The incessant campaigning and never-ending violence were taking its toll on civil rights workers, from King to Carmichael to the many unnamed.[294] And there was no sign that the violence was going to end.

On March 17, despite being at odds with the SNCC-led activities in Montgomery and its leader James Forman, King joined a two thousand-person demonstration in the capitol in "solidarity with the student protesters" (Figure 24).[295] Though the hatchet was not buried, "for the moment their common enemy was clear," and that enemy was the use of violence against the nonviolent protesters.[296] That night at a mass meeting in Brown Chapel, Forman delivered his now-famous line: "I said it

291. National Park Service, "Selma to Montgomery National Trail Study," 18.
292. National Park Service, "Selma to Montgomery National Trail Study," 18.
293. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 109.
294. Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America*, 256.
295. Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America*, 258.
296. Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America*, 258.

today, and I will say it again. If we can't sit at the table of democracy, we'll knock the fucking legs off."[297] The shock of his tone and language sent ripples throughout the crowd at the church, with some recoiling and others cheering loudly. It was becoming clear to King that SNCC's radicalism was gaining traction.

But behind the scenes, King knew the prospect of a march was still very much a reality and had been asked to submit a detailed plan to Federal District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson for approval. The day after Forman's proclamation, Judge Johnson ruled in favor in allowing the march to Montgomery to go ahead.[298] When King announced the decision, there was widespread joy and a sense of vindication. The effort to make the march a reality was paying off, now they just had to figure out the logistics of a 54 mile march along Highway 80.[299]

Landscape Summary (March 1965)

The cultural landscape summary for this period is combined with the January and February 1965 period and included in the Selma to Montgomery March period for succinctness.

297. Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America*, 258.
298. Marsha J. Tyson Darling, *Race, Voting, and Redistricting, and the Constitution: Sources and Explorations on the Fifteenth Amendment*, vol. 2 (New York: Routledge, 2001), 212.
299. Note that a detailed description of the march route's physical characteristics will be provided in the Analysis and Evaluation chapter to follow.



KEY

1. Sylvan Street (historic period name)
2. George Washington Carver Homes
3. Alabama Avenue
4. Water Street
5. Selma City Hall / Jail (historic period use)
6. Broad Street / Highway 80

March Route (Turnaround Tuesday)

March Route (Bloody Sunday/Main March)

March Route (shared)

NOTES

1. The three primary marches of the Selma Campaign occurred on four of Selma's city streets. Marchers used Broad and Sylvan streets for all three protests.
2. The character of downtown Selma was typical of small cities at this time, with a dense commercial core featuring multi-story buildings, surrounded by residential areas.
3. Note the scattered trees in the area, with an absence of discernible vegetation in the commercial core.
4. Water Street and Broad Street are the widest roadways in the character area.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. Aerial Photography Field Office, US Department of Agriculture, 1965 aerial image.

North

Illustration 2.5
1965 Conditions
Downtown Selma

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021



KEY

1. Edmund Pettus Bridge
2. Alabama River
3. Selmont Commercial Area
4. Forest
5. Railroad

NOTES

1. The Selmont area cultural landscape was typical of other commercial strips of the era, with businesses ranging from automotive repair and sales to restaurants. Its buildings did not feature any uniform design or character aside from their set backs off the road and one-story building heights.
2. The businesses were located along auxiliary roadways that ran parallel to Highway 80.
3. The events of Bloody Sunday and Turnaround Tuesday occurred several hundred feet from the south end of the Edmund Pettus Bridge.
4. Note the narrow band of vegetation along the river, backed by cleared fields.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. Aerial Photography Field Office, US Department of Agriculture, 1965 aerial image.

Illustration 2.6
1965 Conditions
Selmont

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North

The Selma to Montgomery March

Logistics and Divisions

The next day, a frustrated Govenor Wallace asked President Johnson for help protecting the marchers. Within a couple of days, President Johnson signed an executive order that federalized the "Dixie Division" of the Alabama National Guard. Their job was to make sure that no violence occurred along the route. 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 Highway 80 transitioned to a tight two lanes. Because of the danger presented to the marchers by these conditions, the federal government ordered that only three hundred participants could march through this section. Therefore, organizers had to decide who all would participate in the march, both on the ceremonial first day and for the entire march to Montgomery.

King put Hosea Williams in charge of organizing the logistics of the march. "Williams organized committees to plan for anticipated needs like meals, housing, sanitation, communication, and entertainment."[300] The task was no light undertaking. "Finding black landowners to volunteer their land for campsites, securing portable toilets, organizing transportation, coordinating food and water, and a thousand more tasks consumed organizers."[301] In addition, they needed tents, air mattresses, flashlights, rain ponchos, cook stoves, and first aid supplies for the "marchers' sore muscles and blistered feet."[302]

The crowd for the first day was expected to be massive, with people from all over the country coming into Selma. In order to whittle the expected eight thousand people down to three hundred, Williams and others decided to reserve two hundred and fifty spots for those who participated in the Bloody Sunday march. The remaining fifty would be made up of dignitaries, notable white participants, movement veterans, and others. As Linda Blackmon Lowery recalled, she wanted to march in order to show Wallace in person what she suffered through to secure voting rights for her community. And though her stitches were by then removed, the "back of [her] head was still all shaved and bandaged and there was a small bandage over [her] eye. It was enough for him to see."[303]

Various organizations would also have a presence in the march. But, even with the federal approval and protection along the route, many in SNCC were done with the Selma Campaign and working with King and the SCLC. King knew the value of SNCC however and would not publicly denounce their more militant leanings. For SNCC's part, "after more than four years of struggle across the South, Forman and many SNCC staffers no longer put their hope in the federal government. When the Selma to Montgomery march finally took place, "'some SNCC people served as marshals,' Forman explained, 'but we had generally washed our hands of the affair.'"[304] John Lewis was one of the marshals, and many SNCC members did in fact march and help with the daily logistics of seeing the march succeed. Despite the official organizational stance, Forman himself nevertheless participated in the march, and importantly, so did Stokely Carmichael.

Day One, March 21

At 1:15 p.m. on Sunday, March 21, roughly 8,000 marchers set out from Brown Chapel and the surrounding neighborhood (**Figure 25**). March organizers "arranged the crowd in columns, six abreast—women and children in the middle" and started down Sylvan Street.[305] The marchers proceeded through downtown Selma, and as they crossed over the Edmund Pettus Bridge they came to the spot where less than two weeks prior members of their ranks had been beaten back (Figure 26). While a number of jeering whites lined Highway 80 on the way out of Selma, they did not commit any egregious acts of violence, as was threatened. This time there would be no attack, nor would there be a turnaround. With King, Coretta

300. National Park Service, "Selma to Montgomery National Trail Study," 18.
301. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 155.
302. Robert A. Pratt, *Selma's Bloody Sunday: Protest, Voting Rights, and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 86.
303. Lowery, *Turning 15 on the Road to Freedom: My Story of the 1965 Selma Voting Rights March*, 70.
304. "Bloody Sunday," *SNCC Digital Gateway* (blog), accessed October 15, 2019, https://snccdigital.org/events/bloody-sunday/.
305. Renata Adler, "The Selma March," April 3, 1965, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1965/04/10/letter-from-selma.



Figure 25. March 21, 1965 photograph showing marchers in front of Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma, Alabama, before the start of the Selma to Montgomery March. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by William McCormick, Huntsville Times).



Figure 26. March 21, 1965 photograph showing walking through Selmont and the site of Bloody Sunday on the first day of the Selma to Montgomery March. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by William McCormick, Huntsville Times).

Scott King, Forman, Lewis, and Hosea at the front of the line, the way was clear to Montgomery. This does not mean additional precautions were not taken however, as SNCC field worker, Ivanhoe Donaldson "posted a moving shield of volunteer marshals slightly ahead of King on both flanks, without his permission, to minimize direct sight lines" from potential shooters.[306]

Behind the dignitaries was a sea of diversity representing a cross section of the American populace. A New Yorker piece describes the range of marchers:

> They were a varied lot: local Negroes, Northern clergymen, members of labor unions, delegates from state and city governments, entertainers, mothers pushing baby carriages, members of civil-rights groups more or less at odds with one another, isolated, shaggy marchers with an air of simple vagrancy, doctors, lawyers, teachers, children, college students, and a preponderance of what one marcher described as "ordinary, garden- variety civilians from just about everywhere."[307]

A number of religious figures from various faiths and denominations were also present in keeping with the spiritual foundations of the movement. Importantly, Cager Lee, Jimmie Lee Jackson's grandfather, was a noted marcher that day.

The marchers were soon jubilant. The crowd broke out in song, with various songs being sung simultaneously. As two helicopters flew overhead, the marchers crossed through Selmont and its commercial district. The marchers passed Craig Field Air Force Base and nearby residential areas. Soon thereafter, the marchers entered into the area that began the transition to a rural landscape, even though the highway was still four-lane at this point. The highway was flanked by simple post and wire fencing that surrounded the pastures along the march route.

As the march continued, the number of stragglers increased. This was an obvious security and safety concern. Support vehicles drove these marchers back to Selma. Near the end of the first day, the march had covered seven miles. Those who had been selected to march the entire route made their way to David Hall's farm, located about a mile south of Highway 80. The others returned to Selma or elsewhere. As there was not an efficient way to do this by automobile, organizers—with the help of federal authorities—hastily arranged for a special train to carry marchers from the community of Tyler back to Selma.

306. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 142.
307. Adler, "The Selma March," April 3, 1965.



Figure 27. March 21, 1965 image of the David Hall farm showing marchers and tents, as well as the farm's barn, outbuildings, and house. Also note the post and wire fencing and sparse tree coverage. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News.).

Shortly before sundown a little over four hundred people arrived at the Hall family farm (Illustration 2.1).[308] As previously mentioned, David Hall worked as a custodian at George Washington Carver Homes. His family recounts that he was not directly involved in the civil rights movement, but due to his proximity to the geographical and spiritual heart of Selma's civil rights activity, it is likely he overheard that there was a need for a campsite location. His daughter Mary Hall McGuire notes that helping people was just "who he was."[309] Along with being a helpful member of the community, he was also 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 away to stay with other family members who lived out of town.

When marchers arrived, they "found advance workers bustling to raise four large field tents, including one for women donated by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union" (Figure 27).[310] That night, hungry marchers ate a camp-style meal prepared in Selma. The manner of its preparation speaks to the countless unsung individuals who made personal and uncelebrated contributions to the movement, without which the movement would not have been possible. "Cooked by Black women laboring 16 hours a day in the kitchen at Green Street Baptist Church, the spaghetti, pork & beans, and coffee [were] ladled out to the marchers from new-purchased, galvanized steel garbage cans, while squares of corn bread [were] cut from large baking pans."[311]

Organizers decided to scrap the speeches planned for the evening, given the emotional and physical toll of the day. The National Guard spread out around the property and began their patrol. A few local African American men also kept guard. The following description is from Renata Adler's report for the New Yorker:

> [The farm] soon became very cold and damp. By nine o'clock, most of the marchers had retired to the tents, but within an hour they had to be roused and sorted out. One tent was for men, another for women, the third for the marchers' own night security patrol, and the fourth for the press. When everyone had been assigned to

308. A detailed description of the farm in 1965 is provided in the next chapter, *Analysis and Evaluation*.
309. Mary Hall McGuire and Davine Hall, Interview with Mary Hall McGuire and Davine Hall, February 3, 2020.
310. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 144.
311. "Civil Rights Movement History & Timeline (Selma & the March to Montgomery)," accessed March 10, 2020, https://www.crmvet.org/tim/timhis65.htm.



Figure 28. March 22, 1965 photograph showing walking through rural Dallas County along Highway 80 on the second day of the march. The marchers are passing a billboard depicting "Martin Luther King at Communist Training School." (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News).



Figure 29. 1966 aerial photograph showing the construction zone and transition between four-lane and two-lane Highway 80. (Source: USDA).

> his or her proper tent, it developed that there was a shortage of blankets, winter clothes, and sleeping bags. A shivering group huddled around an incinerator, the campsite's only source of heat. A few marchers made their way to the loft of a barn beside the Hall farmhouse, to profit from the heat given off by the animals in the stalls below. Five guinea hens perched in a tree outside the barn. The march's security patrol wandered about with walkie-talkies; they had labeled their outposts Abel, Baker, Charlie, and Dog, using the Army's old system, to set them apart from Alpha, Bravo, Charlie, and Delta, the outposts of the National Guard along the perimeter of the field. The night grew colder, damper, and darker, and the group around the incinerator fire grew uneasy. [312]

The wood for the fires was provided by "thirteen fence posts, two shovel handles, and an outhouse belonging to a neighboring church."[313]

Day Two, March 22

The next day, marchers woke before dawn to a cold and frosty morning. The marchers ate oatmeal prepared by the same restaurant staff who prepared their dinners. 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.

> At a press conference held by Jack Rosenthal, the young Director of Public Information of the Justice Department, the rumors about snakes, bombs, and mines were checked out, and it was learned that none of them were true. A reporter waved several racist leaflets that had been dropped from an airplane and asked whether anything was being done to prevent such planes from dropping bombs. "What do you want us to do?" Rosenthal replied. "Use anti-aircraft guns?"

Departing the camp, the march maintained its four hundred-person size, though the number of guards increased. Soon it was time to whittle the marchers down to three hundred, which Andrew Young and Ivanhoe Donaldson oversaw. They selected marchers by county, with one hundred and fifty-seven from Dallas County, eighty-nine from Perry County, twenty-one from Wilcox County, and fifteen from Marengo County.[314] No one from Lowndes County was present. Organizers felt that white representation in the group was important and allotted a nearly two dozen spaces for them, despite protests by local youth, as well as a few special guests. The final number, according to FBI observers, was three hundred and eight.

For a portion of the march through Dallas County after the Hall Farm the landscape remained rural, but the highway was still four lanes wide. A noted landscape feature in this section of highway included White Citizens Council billboards that featured a photo of Martin Luther King, Jr. at the Highlander Folk School, which the billboards called a "Communist Training School" (Figure 28).

Soon however, the marchers passed by the start of the construction staging zone for the widening of the highway, which had been planned but had not started at this time (Figure 29). As the road narrowed and the trees closed in around them, the marchers hurried their pace through the darkness of Big Swamp (Illustration 2.7). Despite the fears and a few threats, the marchers did not encounter any danger from the swamp. The openness of the subsequent farmland of Lowndes County proved far more dangerous, as around "250 of the marchers needed medical treatment by nightfall for sunburn and heatstroke."[315]

With the marchers was Stokely Carmichael. Despite his officially stated position of not being a participant of the march, he was nevertheless a part of the procession. His role, however, did not focus on public protest but rather on organizing the citizens of Lowndes County to use the political process to fight for their freedom rights. In an interview Carmichael noted,

> I marched along with the marchers, but I wasn't considering myself part of the march. And what I did was, when it entered Lowndes County, I would seek out all the people from Lowndes

312. Renata Adler, "The Selma March," The New Yorker, accessed January 21, 2020, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1965/04/10/letter-from-selma.
313. Adler, "The Selma March."
314. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 146.
315. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 146.



Figure 30. Photograph of Rosie Steele across the highway from the campsite. This image is from a copy of *Jet Magazine* that covered the Selma to Montgomery March. (Source: Jet Magazine, permission pending - see appendix B).

> County who came to the march. I would get them, write down their names, record it, their addresses, and tell them, you know, listen, we're going to stay in Lowndes County, we're not just going to pass through, and they would be excited to hear that.[316]

The Lowndes County residents who spoke with Carmichael came out in droves to see the march, and for many, to see Dr. King. As the march progressed, some residents such as Frank Haralson joined in the march. There was a real sense among the observers that change was on the horizon. Carmichael and SNCC would soon help to make sure that change would come.

After the grueling 16-mile day, the tired marchers arrived at the farm of Rosie Steele (Figure 30 and Illustration 2.2). As stated earlier, Steele acquired her property shortly after World War II. She owned and operated a country store, Steele's Service Station, on the south side of Highway 80.

316. Interview with Stokely Carmichael, conducted by Blackside, Inc. on May 5, 1986, for Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1954-1965), May 5, 1986, Washington University Libraries, Film and Media Archive, Henry Hampton Collection.



Figure 31. Marchers leaving the Rosie Steele farm in Lowndes County. Note the family store in the background left of the image. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News).

In the flurry of planning for the march, her property had been identified as a potential campground:

> She recalled "telling my daughter the other day" that to her, President Johnson had been "just another white Southerner when I heard him talking about Vietnam," but then came the speech about Selma, "saying we had the right to vote, to march clear to Montgomery if we wanted to," and she decided she could not refuse King's scouts. "If the president can take a stand," said Steele, "I guess I can, too."[317]

Ruby Rudolph, the great granddaughter of Rosie Steele, was young when the march came to the family property, but she still remembered the scene, recalling that "Martin Luther King helicoptered down, I'll never forget it. Brought into the center of the field right there and let him out there that night."[318]

The evening meal was not delivered as planned. Ruby Rudolph remembers that "A lot of people was hungry. We fed 'em. We fed 'em from each store, until our stores was empty."[319] In *The Selma Campaign, 1963-1965: The Decisive Battle of the Civil Rights Movement*, Wally G. Vaughn and Mattie Campbell Davis note that the reason for this mix-up is that the KKK had blockaded the road from Selma and interrupted the food delivery. So African

317. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 149.
318. Purifoy, "What's Changed in Lowndes County, Alabama—and What Hasn't."
319. Purifoy, "What's Changed in Lowndes County, Alabama—and What Hasn't."



Figure 32. Photograph of Robert Gardner standing next to his home. This image is from a copy of *Jet Magazine* that covered the Selma to Montgomery March. (Source: Jet Magazine, permission pending - see appendix B).

Americans from Lowndes County, including Mrs. Luberta Baine Shufford Hall, "either sent their cooked dishes up to Highway 80 or delivered the goods themselves. These rural dwellers whose culinary skills were embedded as part of the community's pride provided collard greens, baked chicken, homemade pound cakes, homemade sweet potato pies, and other vegetables and deserts from their country gardens."[320] Despite the home cooked meal, marchers found the farm "infested with swarms of red ants" that made it hard to go to sleep.[321]

That night, a group of locals held an impromptu party at the Steele Service Station. "Some of them were dancing to music from a jukebox, and a few of the more energetic marchers, white and black, joined them. 'This is getting to be too much like a holiday,' said a veteran of one if the earlier marches. 'It doesn't tell the truth of what happened.'"[322]

Day Three, March 23

The third day of the march was also within Lowndes County (Figure 31). By mid-Tuesday morning, a steady rain started to fall and did not let up for most of the day. Records do not provide much details on events from the day's march, as the participants mostly just soldiered on singing songs to lift their spirits through the "broad expanse of the four-lane highway, past cattle herds grazing on the distant hillsides, and clusters of black people cheering them on."[323] That night marchers camped at Robert Gardner's farm on the eastern edge of Lowndes County (Illustration 2.3). Though most accounts of the march note the farm was owned by A.G. Gaston, a wealthy African American businessperson in Birmingham who played a role in the 1963 Birmingham's Project C campaign, this was not exactly true. Gaston was married to Minnie Gardner, who was one of the heir-owners of the family's property. The farm upon which the marchers slept that night was owned and operated by Robert Gardner and his family (Figure 32). However, as Mary Gardner—Robert's wife—notes in her account of the events, Gaston did direct march organizers to the farm.

> A.G. Gaston told the men when they leave Dallas County and enter Lowndes County, to inquire where Robert Gardner lived, who was his brother-in-law. The family owned property along Highway 80 and ask if they (the marchers) could camp there on the last phase of the march before reaching St. Jude.
>
> When the men got to Lowndes County, they stopped at the Canaan Hill Primitive Baptist Church where the members were having a meeting and asked direction to Robert Gardner's home.
>
> Mr. and Mrs. Mingo Bracy came by the house when the meeting was over and told Robert that two men were looking for him. A.G. Gaston had told them to do so.
>
> The following Monday, the two men came to the house and told Robert who they were and why they had come. They wanted to get permission for the marchers to camp on the property the last phase of the march. Robert told them to let him think about it, and to come back. We talked about it, and decided that we would let them camp. The men returned a few days later, and we told them we would give them permission to camp. They told us that we would be protected by the troops.
>
> When the news got out about the marchers camping on the property, three white men came one night and told Robert they would give him

320. Vaughn and Davis, *The Selma Campaign, 1963-1965: The Decisive Battle of the Civil Rights Movement*, 16.
321. "Civil Rights Movement History & Timeline (Selma & the March to Montgomery)."
322. Adler, "The Selma March."
323. Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America*, 262.

> any amount of money to change his mind and not let the marchers camp. Robert told them they were going to camp, no amount of money would change his mind. He also told the men no one could tell him what and what not to allow on his property. The men left.[324]

Unfortunately, when they did arrive at the farm, "the ground was so wet that the marchers could walk through the clay-like mud only by moving their feet as though they were skating."[325] The Gardners, Ben Lausane, and Willie Crawford supplied hay to lay over the mud, but it was little help. Many of the marchers were nearing the end of their stamina and despite being on Montgomery County's doorstep, spirits were low.[326] Linda Blackmon Lowery—who had just turned fifteen years old—describes sinking into the mud as she slept.[327] She was not the only one suffering under these conditions. "In the early evening, a clergyman became violently ill, and doctors blamed the marchers' water supply. The marchers had all along complained that the water tasted of kerosene, and upon investigation, it turned out that the water was in fact polluted, having come from a truck that was ordinarily used for draining septic tanks."[328] To further dampen the mood, Robert Gardner "had received several intimidating phone calls during the day, and as a consequence they barred their house to marchers," though they nevertheless "held a party in their little front garden to watch the goings on."[329]

Regardless of the heavy day, the marchers knew the next day would take them into Montgomery. After a dinner of BBQ chicken, hash, peas, and carrots provided by Tuskegee Students, marchers settled in for the night.[330] The signs that the march was nearing its end were becoming clear, as well-known musicians Odetta and Pete Seeger joined the scene.

Day Four, March 24

The tired and muddy marchers woke up on Wednesday and prepared to continue onto the City of St. Jude, which was not a "city" but rather a Catholic church and educational campus located on the southwest side of Montgomery (Illustration 2.8). The location checked many of the boxes for march organizers: a religious affiliation, hospital on site, large open spaces, and just outside of Montgomery. The institution "was the first Catholic institution in the state of Alabama dedicated exclusively to ministering to African Americans."[331] Further, it was the first hospital to be desegregated in the Southeast.[332] It was a perfect staging area.

The day's journey would cover 16 miles. Thankfully, the weather began much better than the previous day and the "marchers set out in good spirits."[333] As the crowd crossed the county line, the three hundred-person limit for the march ended, and the number of participants quickly grew as busloads of people joined. Included in this group of newcomers were a number of religious figures from around the country, local civil rights workers, and around two hundred students that had come "straight from Kilbey State Prison and nearby jails, released on bond a week after James Forman's Montgomery demonstrations."[334] Even with a spring shower that sent marchers scrambling for their ponchos, spirits remained high.

By time the march reached the City of St. Jude, it totaled around five thousand people.[335] "The four tents were pitched by the time they arrived, and they marched onto the grounds singing 'We Have Overcome.'"[336] While they were jubilant in arriving at St. Jude, the last several days had taken its toll on a number of marchers. Besides blistered feet and sunburns, "doctors on the march had treated several cases of strep throat, two of pneumonia,

324. Mary J. Gardner, "The Selma to Montgomery March: 'The Civil Rights Movement As I Recall,'" March 23, 1965.
325. Adler, "The Selma March."
326. Fager, *Selma 1965: The March That Changed the South*, 180.
327. Lowery, *Turning 15 on the Road to Freedom: My Story of the 1965 Selma Voting Rights March*, 93.
328. Adler, "The Selma March."
329. Adler, "The Selma March."
330. "Civil Rights Movement History & Timeline (Selma & the March to Montgomery)."
331. "City of St. Jude," Encyclopedia of Alabama, accessed April 28, 2020, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1829.
332. Pratt, *Selma's Bloody Sunday: Protest, Voting Rights, and the Struggle for Racial Equality*, 91.
333. Adler, "The Selma March."
334. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 154.
335. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 154.
336. Adler, "The Selma March."



Figure 33. March 25, 1965 photograph showing marchers gathering at the City of St. Jude in Montgomery, Alabama, on the final day of the Selma to Montgomery March. Note the orange vest signifying those people who participated for the duration of the march. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History).

one of advanced pulmonary tuberculosis, and one of epilepsy."[337]

By the time the planned evening concert began, the crowd numbered in the tens of thousands. People sprawled out over the recreational fields and open spaces between the campus buildings. Workers quickly built a stage in the middle one of the recreational fields, which consisted of a platform laid "atop coffins loaned by Black funeral homes."[338] That night, a slate of performers, including Nina Simone, Harry Belafonte, Joan Baez, Sammy Davis Jr., Tony Bennett, and Peter, Paul and Mary, took the stage during the "Stars for Freedom" rally. The evening's performances had been organized by Harry Belafonte, who was a close confidant of the Kings and other civil rights leaders.[339] Coretta Scott King read a Langston Hughes poem and recognized the "contingent of marchers from her native Perry County. As the concert got underway, the crowd of people surrounding the stage became increasing compacted, causing a number of attendees to collapse of "illness, exhaustion, or injury."[340] By 2 am, "the entertainment and speeches were over, and the performers left for a Montgomery hotel, which was surrounded for the remainder of the night by shouting segregationists. Most of the crowd drifted off the field and headed for Montgomery, and the tents were left at last to the marchers."[341]

Day Five, March 25

On the final day of the march, there was a flurry of activity around the St. Jude campus as people prepared for the last leg of the journey. The crowd was enormous, and it "seemed that the whole nation was marching to Montgomery. Signs from every conceivable place and representing every conceivable religious denomination, philosophical viewpoint, labor union, and walk of life assembled at St. Jude's and lined up in orderly fashion."[342]

337. Adler, "The Selma March."
338. "Civil Rights Movement History & Timeline (Selma & the March to Montgomery)."
339. "Interview with Ivanhoe Donaldson" (Washington University in St. Louis), accessed April 6, 2020, http://digital.wustl.edu/e/eop/eopweb/don0015.0470.029prudencearndt.html.
340. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 157.
341. Adler, "The Selma March."
342. Adler, "The Selma March."



Figure 34. March 25, 1965 photograph showing marchers leaving the City of St. Jude campus on the final day of the Selma to Montgomery March. Note Martin Luther King, Jr., Coretta Scott King, and Ralph Abernathy in the front row. (Source:Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Tom Self, Birmingham News).

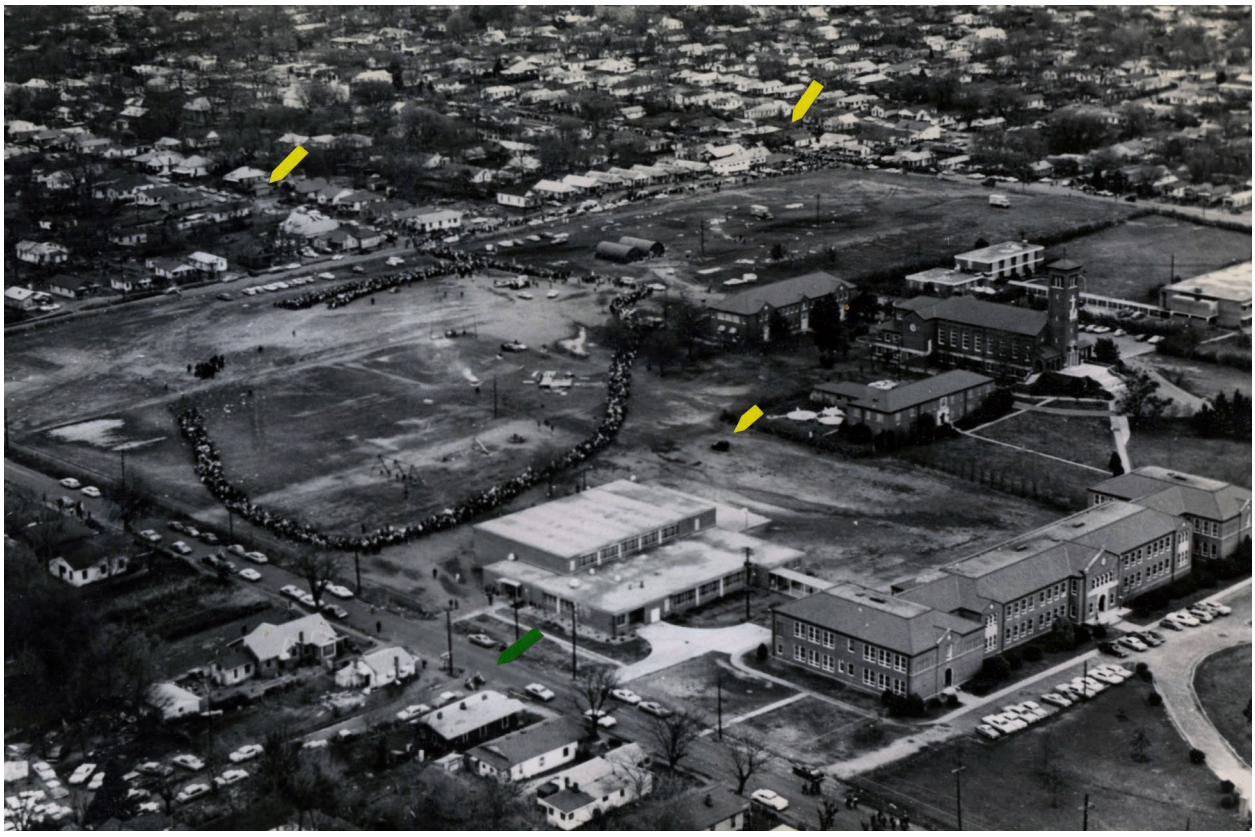


Figure 35. March 25, 1965 birds-eye photograph taken by the US military showing the end of the line of marchers filing out of the St. Jude campus and north along Oak Street. The yellow arrows indicate the positions of the Military Police, green arrows denote civil police. (Source: National Archives, Series: Aerial Photographs Relating to the Selma to Montgomery Civil Rights March, 3/24/1965 - 3/25/1965, Record Group 338: Records of U.S. Army Operational, Tactical, and Support Organizations (World War II and Thereafter), 1917 - 1999).



Figure 36. March 25, 1965 photograph showing marchers headed east along Montgomery Street with Five Points Hill in the background under a prominent billboard (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News).

Prior to marching to the capitol building, organizers passed out orange safety jackets to the original three hundred marchers (Figure 33). During the march, only the marshals wore them, but here at the end, a large amount had been delivered from Atlanta for the rank-and-file marchers who completed the entire route. "[T]he orange jacket had become a singular status symbol," which led to "some dispute about who was entitled to wear one."[343] There was also disagreement about the order of marchers in the procession. A number of the religious figures, civil rights elders, and other dignitaries wanted to be up at the front of the lines, preferably joined by Dr. King. They also did not want to be marching behind the movement's "kids."[344] Eventually, these "elites" were dissuaded, and the marshals shouted "Make way for the originals!" to kick off the final march.[345]

The dignitaries still held visible spots in the crowd, as "behind the three hundred came Martin Luther King, Ralph Bunche, A. Philip Randolph, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, the Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Charles G. Gomillion, the Reverend F. D. Reese, and other civil-rights leaders; behind them came the grandfather of Jimmie Lee Jackson, the Negro boy who had been shot in nearby Perry County, and the Reverend Orloff Miller, a friend of the Reverend James Reeb's, who had been beaten with Reeb on the night of Reeb's murder; and behind them came a crowd of what turned out to be more than thirty thousand people" (Figure 34 and Figure 35).[346]

The marchers passed through the segregated neighborhoods of Montgomery to much fanfare. The crowd passed over Five Point Hill, which overlooked the west side of downtown (Illustration 2.9 and Figure 36). Here a confluence of marchers converged and progressed en masse down Montgomery Street toward Dexter Avenue (Illustration 2.10). There on axis and at the end of Dexter Avenue was the looming capitol building, bathed in white and flying a Confederate flag from its dome. The marchers made their way up Dexter Avenue and filled the intersection in front of the capitol's flight of stairs. There, in front of

343. Adler, "The Selma March."
344. Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*, 160.
345. Adler, "The Selma March."
346. Adler, "The Selma March."



Figure 37. March 25, 1965 photograph showing the scene at the end of the march on Dexter Avenue with the state capitol building in the background. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History).

the staircase, was a flatbed truck carrying a small lectern with an array of microphones to deliver the speeches and songs to follow.

Despite its size, the crowd was reportedly quiet, probably because of the sheer excitement of the preceding days' events and an awareness that the march was coming to an end (Figure 37). Others were simply tired and "some fell asleep in their places on Dexter Avenue."[347] A collection of speakers spoke at the rally, but it was not until the last several speakers when the crowd started to get animated. A progression of presenters from Amelia Boynton, Rosa Parks, and Martin Luther King, Jr. lifted the spirits and energy of the crowd. King's "How Long, Not Long" speech was widely considered one of the finest he had given to that point.

After the events ended, there was one last agenda item—to deliver a petition to Governor Wallace demanding he "remove all barriers to voting." Amelia Boynton was to hand deliver the request in the capitol building, but Wallace never left his office. Instead, an assistant came out to receive the petition.[348] Despite the anticlimactic finish, in the end, the march on Montgomery "managed to draw a larger crowd than the leader of the Confederacy a hundred years before."[349] But despite the jubilation from the day, with all of its camaraderie and sense of accomplishment, by nightfall, the movement would again be shocked by another murder.

Viola Liuzzo

After the conclusion of the rally in Montgomery, its thousands of participants dispersed. Some went straight to the bus station or airport, while many others traveled by car back to through the Black Belt countryside along the same stretch of road that bore the marchers. SCLC, which had set up a transportation service for the march, was overwhelmed by the sheer number of people needing rides. Viola Liuzzo volunteered to help. Liuzzo, a white thirty-nine-year-old mother of five, had driven down 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. While

347. Adler, "The Selma March."

348. Combs, *From Selma to Montgomery: The Long March to Freedom*, 48.

349. Adler, "The Selma March."

she was familiar with the overall movement, she had not taken part of the Selma Campaign. On this day, she offered to use her car to shuttle people back and forth between Montgomery and Selma.

After the march, Liuzzo began her shift. She was accompanied by Leroy Martin, an African American Dallas County resident. "After transporting one group to Selma, Moton and Liuzzo began the return trip to Montgomery to pick up another. At some point in Lowndes County, a car filled with four Ku Klux Klan members from Birmingham began to chase Liuzzo and Moton."[350] The two cars raced down the two lanes of Highway 80. Outside of Lowndesboro the Klan members pulled up beside Liuzzo and Moton and fired a gun into their car, killing Liuzzo instantly. Moton managed to pull the car into the ditch on the side of the road and played dead when the Klan members stopped to check on the victims. One of those members was a paid FBI informant who reported back to the agencies on civil rights and Klan activities. After the Klan left the scene, Moton flagged down a ride back to Selma.

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. As such, he had his operatives dig up "dirt" on the Liuzzo family and fabricated a story about Liuzzo having an affair away from home. He then "instructed FBI staff to leak his speculations to Klan informants, who then leaked them to the press."[351] The disinformation campaign worked, and instead of being turned into a martyr like Jim Reeb, the public largely concluded that her killing was her fault because she should not have left her home in the first place. These accusations were in keeping with the disinformation campaign waged against female civil rights participants for years, as accusations of sexual "misconduct" such as extramarital affairs, interracial couples, and even group sex, were common accusations parroted by both media and counter protestors. As news on her murder subsided, the public was left with a horrible and false story of a woman who brought her death upon herself.

350. National Park Service, "Selma to Montgomery National Trail Study," 20.
351. Mary Stanton, *From Selma to Sorrow: The Life and Death of Viola Liuzzo* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000), 54.

Landscape Summary (1965)

The cultural landscape of the project area in 1965 served as the stage for one of the most momentous civil rights movements in United States history. The principal landscape features present in previous periods carried over into 1965, but images of the march and related demonstrations provide greater clarity about the character of the landscape.

Images reveal both change and continuity in the landscape. In general, the urban areas of the project area remained consistent with earlier periods—a downtown commercial/governmental core surrounded by residential development and limited industry. Roadways remained a mix of paved and unpaved city streets and regional arteries. Commercial areas or properties outside this downtown core featured marquees, billboards, and other advertisement signs. Limited cultural vegetation is evident in period photographs, though urban areas contained some street trees and foundation shrubs around buildings. The large-scale natural features of the project area, principally the Alabama River and gently rolling terrain, also remained intact.

Examples of change from previous periods relate to the release of farmland to successional processes along Highway 80. Images show numerous areas of pioneering plant species such as broomsedge and pine occupying old fields. Also evident is a lack of housing within the Highway 80 corridor, which reflects the transition from a rural to urban population. Lastly, photographs show that some of the initial construction on the widening of Highway 80 through Lowndes County began around this time, though no lanes were added in 1965.

The cultural landscape of 1965 also included the temporary features associated with the Selma to Montgomery March and related activity, as well as the use of common landscape features for demonstration. Such temporary features include police barricade lines (sawhorses, fencing, ropes, patrol cars). The use of sidewalks for protests, Highway 80 for marching, churches for large civil rights speeches, all mark novel uses for preexisting landscape features.



KEY

1. Big Swamp Bottomland Forest
2. Bridge
3. Bridge
4. Field and fragmented forest

NOTES

1. This aerial photo shows where Highway 80 cuts through the west side of Big Swamp. Note the density of the swamp bottomland forest, contrasted to the cleared areas to the west.
2. The image shows two of the bridges that span the landscape. Images from the period show the water rose at least high enough to cover the grassy right-of-way and the bridge supports.
3. During the historic period. Big Swamp featured large swaths of unbroken forest, though some fragmentation on the edges was present.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. Aerial Photography Field Office, US Department of Agriculture, 1965 aerial image.

Illustration 2.7

1965 Conditions

Highway 80 / Big Swamp

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Campsite #4 / Concert Location
2. City of St. Jude Campus
3. Oak Street

March Route (Official)

March Route (Unofficial)

March Route (Shared)

NOTES

1. This aerial photo shows the City of St. Jude campus and surrounding residential context. Note the difference in character between the two landscape types.
2. Marchers camped and were entertained in the large open recreational area in the northwest corner of the property.
3. While the official march route progresses along West Fairview Avenue and then turns onto Oak Street, photos from the last day of the march show demonstrators exiting the site from the north informal entrance along Stephens Street and then proceeding north on Oak Street.
4. Note the density of the surrounding predominately working class and African American residential areas, which feature both shotgun and small cottage housing types.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. Aerial Photography Field Office, US Department of Agriculture, 1965 aerial image.

Illustration 2.8

1965 Conditions

St. Jude / Campsite #4 / Oak Street

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Mobile Street
2. Five Points Hill
3. Montgomery Street
4. Court Square and Fountain

March Route (Official)

NOTES

1. This aerial image shows the transition along the march route from residential and mixed use development to an urban setting, with Five Points Hill marking the transition point.
2. Note the differences in vegetation between the two zones, with the more residential areas featuring a significantly higher number of trees.
3. Five Points Hill is located at one of the highest elevations in the city.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. Aerial Photography Field Office, US Department of Agriculture, 1965 aerial image.

Illustration 2.9

1965 Conditions

Five Points Hill / Montgomery

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Court Square and Fountain
2. Dexter Avenue
3. Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
4. Alabama State Capitol

March Route (Official)

NOTES

1. This aerial image shows the final section of the Selma-to-Montgomery March, which paraded up Dexter Avenue.
2. Note the relative absence of vegetation in the western part of the image as compared to that seen in the eastern portion. The State Capitol itself featured a naturalistic planting design by the firm of Frederick Law Olmsted.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. Aerial Photography Field Office, US Department of Agriculture, 1965 aerial image.

North

Illustration 2.10

1965 Conditions

Dexter Avenue / Montgomery

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

Post-March Civil Rights Activity (1965-1966)

National television and radio stations had live broadcasted King's speech in Montgomery. As he often did, King drew the eyes of the nation towards the injustices African Americans suffered in the South. Based on this metric alone, the march was hugely successful. For nearly a week, the nation's newspapers and television outlets presented images of demonstrators marching through cold rain and hot sun to secure a right enjoyed by the majority of white Americans. Racial and labor solidarity was on public display, and it was impossible for the country to ignore. The civil rights movement was firmly embedded in the nation's consciousness.

Though many different factors influenced the passing of the Voting Rights Act on August 3, 1965, the Selma Campaign was undoubtedly instrumental in it being signed into law. "With the help of this law and Federal voting registrars, thousands of African Americans were added to voting rolls in the South. The Voting Rights Act also provided the impetus for increases in the number of black political candidates."[352] This was a great victory for the movement, but to many in the Selma Campaign, the right to vote was just an extension of a greater demand—freedom from all forms of oppression stemming from white supremacy. While agitating for the right to vote was historically a part of that broader goal, it soon became the primary focus of African American political activism. As Kwame Jeffries notes, "the leaders of the movement made electoral politics, rather than freedom rights, their singular focus. This fateful decision profoundly affected the freedom struggle, and its consequences are still being felt today."[353]

From Montgomery to Perry County, local political activity among African Americans increased after the Selma Campaign and the Voting Rights Act . In Dallas County, African Americans registered to vote in mass, with over ten thousand registered by the 1966 election.[354] Additionally, citizens in the region organized anti-poverty drives and formed an independent political party—the Dallas County Independent Free Voters Organization. In

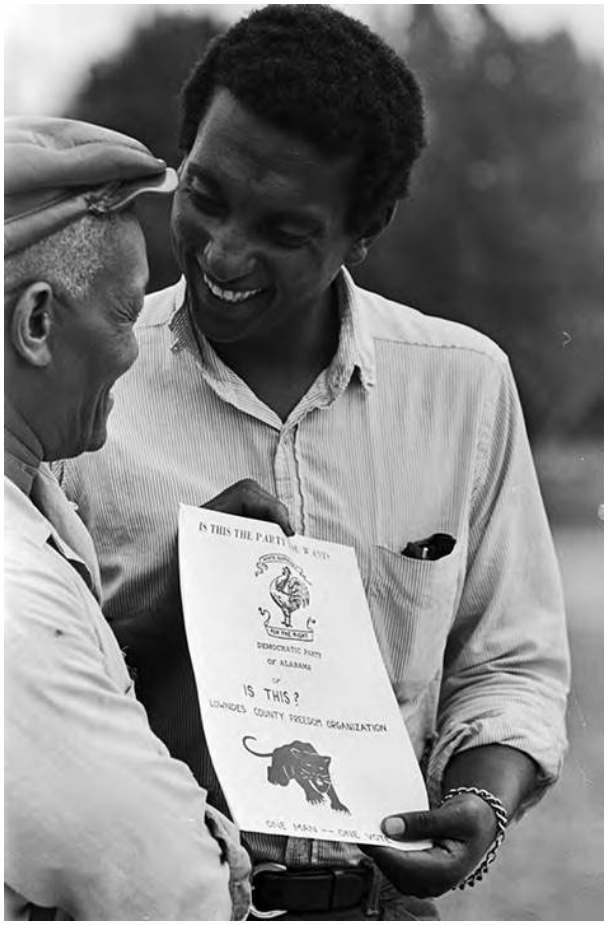


Figure 38. April 1966 photograph showing Stokely Carmichael of SNCC talking with a man during a voter registration drive in Lowndes County, Alabama. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Tom Lankford, Birmingham News).

the first election after the Selma to Montgomery March, sheriff Jim Clark was ousted from office and replaced by Wilson Baker. However, Lowndes County provides perhaps the clearest example of the transition from the civil rights movement to electoral politics. Because this activity is directly related to the present site of the Lowndes County Interpretive Center, which the NPS owns, special attention to its history is provided.

SNCC and Lowndes County

Stokely Carmichael and SNCC's efforts during the Selma to Montgomery March were not to be wasted. Excited about the recent establishment of the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights (LCCMHR), which locals had established in the weeks between Bloody Sunday and the march to Montgomery, SNCC field workers compiled a list of people to contact (Figure 38). "Their immediate goal was simple. They wanted to get to know local people, and they

352. National Park Service, "Selma to Montgomery National Trail Study," 21.
353. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 2.
354. Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough For Selma*, 166.

wanted local people to get to know them."[355] By this point, SNCC's method of horizonal, group-up organizing was well established, and listening was as much a part of their methodology as was marching.

Immediately following the march, "SNCC workers met with John Hulett—the one Black registered voter—and LCCMHR members, who were, at first, skeptical of these outsiders who promised to bring the Movement to Lowndes."[356] But after a week of negotiations and conversations, the LCCMHR agreed to work with SNCC. At the kickoff mass meeting on April 2nd, the two groups did not know how many people to expect but were thrilled when over five hundred came to Mt. Gillard Church.[357] The excitement was palpable.

Part of how SNCC built that excitement was by establishing connections with the Lowndes County's youth. Just days after the march to Montgomery, a team of SNCC workers began distributing organizing leaflets at the local African American high school. A galvanizing moment in this early stage of organizing was when a school official called the police on Carmichael and other SNCC workers. When the police arrived, the activists refused to be intimidated and challenged the police to arrest them. "Scores of students watched the confrontation in disbelief. Never before had they seen someone stand up to the police and escape without being beaten or at least arrested. . .A local legend was born that afternoon."[358]

Workers also flagged down school buses in order to make announcements. One of the bus drivers was sixteen-year-old John Jackson, who was interested in hearing their message. After being convinced of the movement's aims, John returned home to talk to his parents about it. Emma and Mathew Jackson, Sr., were no stranger to the movement. They had tried to register to vote. They were also landowners, having acquired land through the Resettlement Administration. John tried to convince his parents to provide shelter to the SNCC workers, given the dangers that they faced. At the risk of their own lives, the Jacksons agreed to allow SNCC workers to use an unoccupied house on their property near White Hall. Two days after a kickoff mass meeting on April 2nd, SCNN workers moved into the house—the so-called Freedom House—where they maintained a headquarters for eighteen months (Figure 39).[359] "The Jacksons provided a safe place for the SNCC workers during their long days of canvassing. They also offered meals, connections to the community, and protection from the violent reprisals of the county's white population. The Jacksons took in the SNCC organizers and aided them as if they were their own children, schooling them in the ways of Lowndes County."[360] Being embedded in the community made the task of organizing much easier for SNCC and positioned them to respond quickly to moments of crisis.

Retaliation and Tent City

As the murder of Viola Liuzzo demonstrated, the march to Montgomery was not going to overturn overnight the Black Belt's entrenched systematic oppression and racial violence. Immediately following the march, whites retaliated against those agitating for change with intimidation, economic reprisals, and violence. Each of the three African American families that accommodated marchers faced reprisals of some form, as did a number of tenant farming families across Lowndes County.

In terms of the campsite landowners, they all dealt with different types of intimidation. For David Hall, retaliation took the form of the People's Bank in Selma closing his bank account. At home, whites would ride by the farm and threaten 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 an arson attack. As descendant, Ruby Rudolph describes, suppliers refused to restock her shelves. She recalled that all the distributors "stopped coming but the milkman. My granddaddy would have to go either to Montgomery or Selma

355. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 61.
356. "SNCC Makes Contact in Lowndes County," *SNCC Digital Gateway* (blog), accessed April 20, 2020, https://snccdigital.org/events/sncc-makes-contact-in-lowndes-county/.
357. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 63.
358. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 62–63.
359. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 64.
360. "Jackson Family," *SNCC Digital Gateway* (blog), accessed April 20, 2020, https://snccdigital.org/people/jackson-family/.



Figure 39. Circa 1966 photo of the SNCC/LCFO "Freedom House" on the Jackson Farm in Lowndes County. (Source: photographer unknown, crvet.org).

to pick up supplies for the store. He did that for a couple months, until finally [the merchants] started coming back when they found out that we wasn't just gonna roll over and die."[361] After the boycott, "someone broke into Rosie Steele's store—where she also lived—and set fire to the curtains. She lost everything and could not get a bank to loan her money to build a new house."[362] The community rallied to help and built her a brick home across the highway from the store. 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. Lastly, the City of St. Jude experienced economic reprisals for its participation. St. Jude faced a downturn in donations because of its role in assisting the marchers. It became so detrimental that "the director contemplated closing the entire operation."[363]

The Jacksons also faced retaliation for their involvement in the movement. Some was economic as when a white shopkeeper "demanded they pay him the $10 they owed him and refused to extend any more credit."[364] Not long thereafter, a group of whites fired upon on the Jackson home, forcing Mathew Jackson, Sr. to return fire and scatter the would-be murderers. It was clear that when economic sanctions proved ineffective, white supremacists in Lowndes County would resort to violence.

In August, just two weeks after the signing of the Voting Rights Act, Jonathan Daniels, a twenty-six-year-old white SNCC field worker and Episcopal seminarian from New Hampshire, was shot dead outside a convenience store in Hayneville. Daniels, along with three other activists recently released from jail, went to the store to buy snacks and drinks but were stopped by a police volunteer with a shotgun. As Daniels tried to reason with the man—and positioning himself in front of his friends—the man fired directly at Daniels' chest. When fellow activist Father Richard Morrisroe turned to run, Morrisroe was shot in the back. Morrisroe survived, but the event shocked SNCC workers in Lowndes County. After a period of intense grief, the organizers channeled their grief into anger and then into action.[365]

361. Purifoy, "What's Changed in Lowndes County, Alabama—and What Hasn't."
362. Purifoy, "What's Changed in Lowndes County, Alabama—and What Hasn't."
363. "City of St. Jude."
364. "Jackson Family."
365. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 82.



Figure 40. April 1966 photograph of Tent City. Note the sparse vegetation, tight clustering of tents, and few amenities. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Tom Lankford, Birmingham News).

Tent City[366]

Following the death of Jonathan Daniels—and the subsequent acquittal of his murderer—emboldened "whites ratcheted up the effort to maintain white supremacy."[367] In addition to outright violence, whites continued to go after those affiliated with the civil rights movement. A notorious example of this was the eviction of tenant farming families from their homes in the winter of 1965, which led to the creation of Tent City (Illustration 2.11 and 4.12, and Figure 40 and Figure 41).

At the conclusion of the cotton season, various white landowners evicted over twenty African American families for registering to vote or otherwise participating in the civil rights movement. Most of the landowners gave bogus reasons, but it was clear to most that the evictions were targeted against participants in the movement. While some families were able to move in with nearby friends and family, others "had no choice but to leave the county. Although the wave of evictions was demoralizing, the exodus was devastating because evictees ranked among the movement's most stalwart supporters."[368] Others had nowhere to go, creating a crisis of homelessness in the county.

In response, SNCC and LCCMHR proposed building a "tent city" to temporarily shelter the evicted families. The plan was approved, and they build the facility on a six-acre property purchased from Viola Smith, at the corner of Highway 80 and White Hall Road.[369] On December 30, 1965, Fay D. Bellamy, SNCC's "entire office staff," sent a message informing residents about Tent City. She wrote that Stokely Carmichael and others "plan to have all the tents up by 11:00" on December 31.[370]

366. A detailed description of the Tent City site is provided in the Analysis and Evaluation Chapter to follow.
367. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 84.
368. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 106.
369. Prentice and Simmons, "Archeological Overview and Assessment, Lowndes Interpretive Center, Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail," 58.
370. "Fay Bellamy (Powell)," *SNCC Digital Gateway* (blog), accessed October 16, 2019, https://snccdigital.org/people/fay-bellamy-powell/; Fay Bellamy, "Untitled Report," December 30, 1965, Civil Rights Movement Veterans, https://www.crmvet.org/lets/651230_sncc_lowndes_bellamy.pdf.



Figure 41. October 1966 aerial photograph that shows the Tent City site. (Source: USDA).

A press release dated December 29, 1965, reported the following:

> Tents are being used because some families are too large to move in with relatives or friends. The tents will provide more space. To date the SNCC has bought three 10 by 12 tents , ($59 @), six 16 by 16 tents (69 @), one 16 by 32 tent ($15 @), six cots ($ 4.95 @) and twelve stove heaters ($30 @). These are bare necessities and will only help house eight families. A SNCC spokesman said electric generators are needed and other supplies which will run into the thousands of dollars.[371]

The press release noted that "SNCC workers, Stokely Carmichael, Gloria Larry, Scotty B. Smith and Fay Belamy (*sic*) will stay in the tents with the evicted farmers."[372]

As the press release noted, Tent City could only address the bare necessities and left little room for additional comforts. At first, occupants, "shared a single outhouse and toted water for cooking and drinking from a well on a distant farm. On top of that, some of the tents had holes that freely admitted the wind and rain, and only two had wood floors to trap the feeble heat emanating from the inefficient stoves."[373] While the families did not have much in terms of material possessions or amenities, each tent was provided a gun, in case it were needed to fend off the "night riders [who] took aim at the tents as soon as they appeared."[374] Despite that it was known that children lived at Tent City, vigilantes fired shots at the compound several times a week. Working in Lowndes County during this time, many of the SNCC workers put their nonviolent pledges on hold in the face of white violence directed at them. At times, Tent City resembled a "shooting gallery."[375]

371. "SNCC News Release," December 29, 1965, Civil Rights Movement Veterans, https://www.crmvet.org/docs/651229_sncc_lowndes-tents.pdf.
372. "SNCC News Release."
373. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 107.
374. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 109.
375. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 109.

A branch of the LCCMHR in Detroit made of up former Lowndes County residents donated food and money to support the camp. SNCC also used committed funds to maintain the camp. Such relief was needed because the federal courts did nothing to stop or reverse the evictions, and white landowners continued to kick people off their properties into the fall of 1966.[376] Evicted families stayed at Tent City for eighteen months. While in the camp, local activists established adult education classes in various fields, including construction. Those who completed the course then went on to construct homes for Tent City residents on "one-acre plots that the evictees had purchased with the help of one-hundred-dollar grants from the LCCMHP."[377] Soon thereafter, all Tent City residents were resettled.

Economics and Community Solidarity

Tent City was a clear example of African American mutual aid efforts. From the adult education offerings, home building efforts, and tapping into support groups sympathetic to their plight, these were examples of African American's use of cooperative self-determination. While many African American residents in the Black Belt recognized the power of economic self-determination, it was not until late in the civil rights movement that leaders focused on economic inequities and the elements of the economic system that exploited communities of color. Economic issues, up to this point, were not a movement-wide concern. Dr. King did begin to advocate for equitable economics shortly before his assassination in 1968, saying famously that "the evils of capitalism are as real as the evils of militarism and evils of racism." As Carol Jenkins and Elizabeth Gardner Hines explain,

> Blacks now had the right to sit at lunch counters in towns and cities across the nation, the guaranteed right to vote—and much more. But on the issues of employment and, critically, money, few answers seemed forthcoming. In neglecting to ask and answer the question of what, economically, the black community would require to raise itself out of its chronic un- and underemployment, movement leaders had set the stage for a revolution that refused to ignore the importance of class in the name of racial solidarity.[378]

In Lowndes County, local activists, however, were very much paying attention to their economic situation and strategizing on how to ensure economic self-determination in a system that still treated African Americans unfairly.

In order to do so, activists leveraged federal grant opportunities, including a "$225,000 grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to teach basic educational subjects."[379] Local activists, led by Elzie McGill, established the Lowndes County Co-op and Credit Union, which was located on the former site of Tent City and is now the site of the Lowndes Interpretive Center (Illustration 2.13).[380] Locals purchased "shares in the co-op, in amounts ranging from $25 to $40," with the co-op supplying "everything they need[ed], from food to implements."[381] Local residents constructed two buildings on the site to accommodate the new venture.

While SNCC and Lowndes County activists recognized these programs as progress, they remained committed to their belief that political power was the ultimate goal. As an article in the *Southern Patriot* newspaper addressing the Lowndes County Co-Op and other community efforts noted at the time, "these programs only make unbearable conditions bearable. They don't change anything in the lives of the people. Only political power can do that."[382]

Electoral Politics, SNCC, and the Lowndes County Freedom Organization

SNCC participants and its leaders were already reaching the conclusion that racist attitudes among white Americans could not be changed through moral arguments. They began to look to Black Nationalism and Black Power to provide another framework for their work towards liberation from systemic racism. As Jeffries

376. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 110.
377. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 210.
378. Carol Jenkins and Elizabeth Gardner Hines, *Black Titan: A.G. Gaston and the Making of a Black American Millionaire* (New York: One World, 2005), 233.
379. Robert Analavage, "Lowndes County Revisted - Panther Is Three Years Old," *The Southern Patriot*, April 1968, Vol. 26, No. 4 edition.
380. Rev. Rob Grant, Rev. Rob Grant, February 4, 2020.
381. Analavage, "Lowndes County Revisted - Panther Is Three Years Old."
382. Analavage, "Lowndes County Revisted - Panther Is Three Years Old."

explains, "the appeal of Black Nationalism was not simply a reaction to white indifference and intransigence. SNCC organizers drew equal inspiration from the self-determining cultural practices of black southerners, which gave rise to the social and economic institutions that enabled black communities to survive. Black cultural values taught the young activists the importance of community self-reliance and solidarity."[383] In particular, SNCC organizers strategized on how locals in Lowndes County "could collectively use their political might to control local political institutions."[384] As Annie Avery explains, Black Power was about "lifting ourselves up," and was not about overt violence as it was portrayed in the media.[385] Charles Bonner explains further that Black Power, "helped to unify many African-Americans who hadn't thought about the collective power, either political or economic, that they wield by virtue of being organized. So it was a very positive concept in that it did help to organize Black folks and helped them to come to a kind of awareness of the power of organization."[386]

To make such a political revolution possible, SNCC "felt that there should be a projection and an organization of indigenous leadership… leadership from the community."[387] Carmichael had been promoting the idea of third-party politics for a few years, and as 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 their strategy. After over 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). The new party "nominated a full slate of black candidates to run against the Democratic Party's white candidates in the November 1966 general election."[388] Kwame Jeffries explains,



Figure 42. "Poster of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, also known as the Black Panther Party. It provided the foundation for the better-known Black Panther Party for Self-Defense subsequently founded in Oakland, California." (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History).

> A direct result of this effort, the emerging black electorate rejected the undemocratic traditions that defined American politics. Rather than promote the interests of the socio-economic elite, draw candidates exclusively from the ranks of the propertied and the privileged, or limit decision making to a select few individuals, they adopted a freedom rights platform, selected candidates from the poor and working class, and practiced democratic decision making.[389]

The LCFO adopted the black panther as its emblem. Alabama electoral ballots historically featured a political party's mascot to serve those who had difficulty reading (Figure 42). As such, the

383. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 56.
384. "Lowndes County Freedom Party (LCFP)," *SNCC Digital Gateway* (blog), accessed October 15, 2019, https://sncdigital.org/inside-sncc/alliances-relationships/lcfp/.
385. Annie Pearl Avery, Annie Pearl Avery oral history interview conducted by Joseph Mosnier in Selma, Alabama., 2011, U.S Civil Rights History Project, https://www.loc.gov/item/2015669118/.
386. "Charles Bonner & Bettie Mae Fikes (2005 Interview)."
387. Interview with James Forman, conducted by Blackside, Inc. on December 11, 1985, for Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1954-1965)., December 11, 1985, Washington University Film and Media Archive, Henry Hampton Collection.
388. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 134.
389. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 145.

LCFO was the nation's first "Black Panther Party," the idea of which was adopted by Black Power activists in California and elsewhere.

The 1966 election did not result in victory for the LCFO, however, with all of its candidates losing to white opponents. "The reasons for the LCFO's defeat are clear," because African Americans did not turn out to vote due to fear of reprisals.[390] Those that went to the polling places found armed whites milling about the polling locations. Some chose not to vote out of fear of being killed. Still, the hope was that through a powerful political organization, local African Americans count mount an effective resistance to the forces threatening their lives and their self-determination.

Though the Selma Campaign brought national attention to the dangers that African Americans faced living in the region, the violence continued unabated once the media spotlight moved on. Following the election, more African Americans were evicted from their homes, and in March 1967, the LCCMHR headquarters building was destroyed by arsonists. Arsonists set fire to Macedonia Baptist Church the following day. Activists were not deterred and continued campaigning in the county.

However, LCFO candidates failed to win any race in the 1968 election. Reasons include a combination of intimidation from white officials and landowners and the perception of an all-Black political party as being too radical.[391] Also, SNCC left Lowndes County after the 1966 election, which left the LCFO without experienced canvassers. SNCC's goal had always been to serve in a temporary capacity. They planned to stay only long enough to help develop an effective organizational structure led by working class locals. In this effort, SNCC was successful despite the inability of the LCFO's candidates to win in 1966 and 1968. Things changed in the 1970 election, when "for the first time since Reconstruction, African Americans won prominent government positions" in the county.[392]

Following the 1970 election, the third-party push began to collapse due to a variety of factors, including African American willingness to work within the Democratic Party apparatus and a lack of grassroots political education. While African American representation in local politics is a commendable achievement, and despite some very important reforms that resulted from African American's being elected, it did not translate into the fundamental societal transformation that African Americans in the Black Belt had long desired. As Kwame Jeffries explains,

> During the post-civil rights era, black elected officials squandered the chance to normalize freedom politics, which could have transformed local government and made life a bit more bearable for poor and working-class people. Their failure to take advantage of this opportunity, along with the existence of major structural impediments, allowed poorly performing schools, high unemployment, inadequate housing, and poverty to persist.

Nevertheless, the importance of the Selma Campaign and subsequent exercise of voting rights represents a monumental change in American history and its pursuit of equality and democracy. For this reason, the Selma Campaign has been subject to a variety of commemorative activities, including the establishment of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail.

Landscape Summary (1965-1966)

The cultural landscape during the year following the Selma Campaign differed little from the previous period. However, one development of importance was established on the site of what would later become the Lowndes Interpretive Center. During this period, Tent City was established on a piece of pasture along Highway 80, near the town of White Hall. The temporary camp featured several tents and not much else aside from some small-scale features related to heating or cooking. The settlement was eventually removed after housing was secured for tenants who had been kicked out of their own homes.

No physical changes immediately occurred on account of the marches—neighborhoods and commercial districts were still largely segregated along racial lines.

390. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 202.
391. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 217.
392. Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt*, 222.



KEY

1. Tent City
2. Highway 80 (two-lane)
3. White Hall Road
4. Drainage feature

NOTES

1. This aerial from October 1966 shows the Tent City site and Highway 80. The tents were concentrated on the parcel at the corner of White Hall Road and Highway 80. The tents are clustered together in the center of the parcel with scattered trees and other successional plants immediately to the west. Access into the site was from the east on an unpaved drive.
2. Note the field patterns and delineations formed by fencing and circulation features.
3. The image also shows the scattered residential settlement typical of rural Lowndes County.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. Aerial Photography Field Office, US Department of Agriculture, 1965 aerial image.

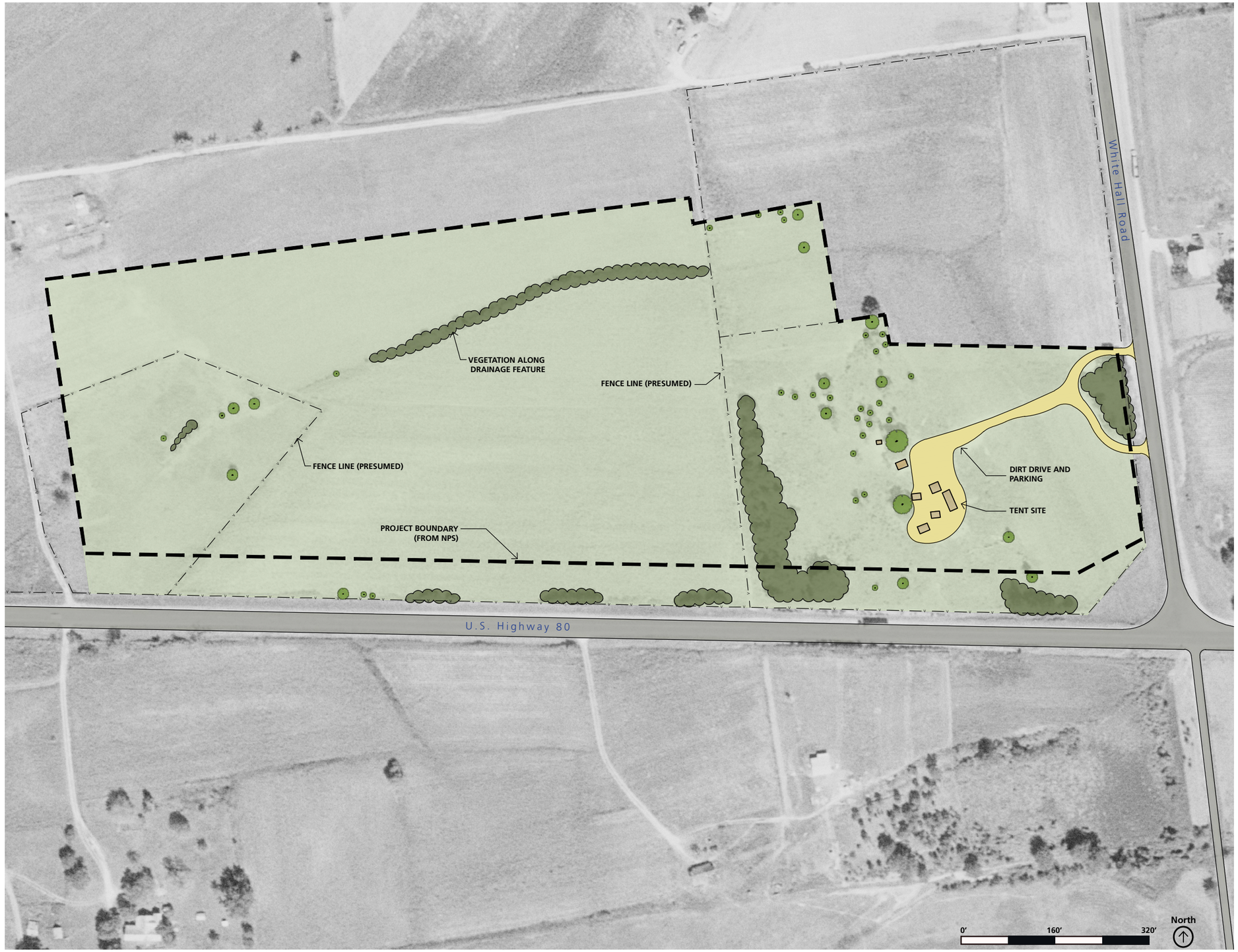
Illustration 2.11

1966 Conditions

Highway 80 / Tent City

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



NOTES

1. A 1965 aerial photo of what is now the Lowndes Interpretive Center site was not found during research for this report. Instead, a 1966 aerial, which shows the Tent City site, along with a collection of tents, was used for the purposes of site documentation.
2. Tent City occupied a small portion of the current Lowndes Interpretive Center site, with the remainder of the site unoccupied and primarily in pasture.
3. Note the scattered development in the vicinity, with several residences sitting off both Highway 80 and White Hall Road, both of which were two-lane in 1965.
4. Vegetation on site was a mixture of pasture grass and successional plants, including young pines and oaks.

Credits

The following sources were used to create the existing conditions illustrations:

1. Aerial Photography Field Office, US Department of Agriculture, 1965 aerial image.
2. National Park Service GIS Data

Illustration 2.12
(1966)
Lowndes County Interpretive Center

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail Cultural Landscape Report

June 2021



NOTES

1. This illustration shows the period in which the site was more extensively developed, along with the surrounding context.
2. The Lowdnes County Co-Op was located along Highway 80, and featured a large metal-sided building with at least two outbuildings.
3. Parking on site was informal, with parking and drives appearing to be unpaved.
4. The drive that served the building along White Hall Road appears to have used a portion of the drive that provided access to Tent City.
5. The western half of the site was more vegetated than in 1966, with a large swath of vegetation occupying the low-lying portion of the site along the water drainage feature.
6. By this time, Highway 80 had been expanded to its contemporary four-lane width.

Credits

The following sources were used to create the existing conditions illustrations:

1. Aerial Image: Google Earth
2. Parcel Information: National Park Service

Illustration 2.13
(1997)
Lowndes County Interpretive Center

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail Cultural Landscape Report

June 2021

Commemoration and the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (1966-2019)

The Selma to Montgomery March gained near instant status of one of the civil rights movement's crowning achievements. Over the coming decades, commemoration of the march would result in reenactments of the march, the installation of memorials, the establishment of museums, and the creation of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail.

Commemoration Efforts

The first documented instance of public commemoration of the march occurred in March 1972. John Lewis, Julian Bond, and F.D. Reese organized the event.[393] During the commemoration, veterans of the civil rights movement and hundreds of other participants crossed the Edmund Pettus Bridge in a peaceful reenactment of the events of March 1965. After the first commemoration, subsequent events occurred sporadically, but the most well-attended events happened on milestone anniversaries, such as every 10 years. An annual public commemoration of the march continues into the present under the branding of "Bridge Crossing Jubilee." It features a variety of events that include "a parade, a Miss Jubilee Pageant, a mock trial, and a commemorative march to the bridge. Every five years, celebrants continue all the way to Montgomery."[394]

A number of physical monuments and memorials exist along the march route stretching from Marion to Montgomery. One of the first is the *I Have a Dream* monument honoring Martin Luther King, Jr. and other martyrs of the civil rights movement. This was dedicated in 1979. In 1991, the SNCC Women Organization installed a memorial to Viola Liuzzo at an overlook along Highway 80 near the location of her murder. Vandals have periodically defaced the memorial, forcing the need to construct a fence around it. Between 2002 and 2005, several monuments were installed by Evelyn Gibson Lowery Heritage Tour and SCLC/W.O.M.E.N., Inc. These large black granite slabs include ones honoring movement veterans Hosea Williams, Jon Lewis, Amelia Boynton, and Marie Foster. They also include the "Civil Rights Freedom Wall" which list the names of movement participants. These monuments are located at Zion Church in Marion, Brown Chapel in Selma, and the Civil Rights Park in Selmont on the east end of the Edmund Pettus Bridge.

Several museums and interpretive centers are also in operation along the march route. Some are private enterprises and others are run by the National Park Service, which oversees the management of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail. The NPS currently operates the Lowndes Interpretive Center, the Selma Interpretive Center, and soon-to-be completed Montgomery Interpretive Center.

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail

By the 1980s, momentum was growing in terms of establishing some sort of historic park or site related to the march. The most applicable type within the Department of the Interior was a national historic or scenic trail. In 1990, with the urging and support from US Representative John Lewis, Congress authorized the Secretary of the Interior to produce a study assessing "the eligibility and, if eligible, the feasibility and desirability of authorizing a route as a national historic or scenic trail" that would follow the Selma to Montgomery March route.[395]

In 1993, the National Park Service (NPS) issued a National Trail Study that provided a history of the period, an existing conditions assessment, identification of historic resources, and alternatives for development of the trail. That year, John Lewis "introduced a bill in Congress to designate the Selma to Montgomery National Historical Trail in 1993, but little progress was made in getting it passed for the next couple years. In the meantime, Alabama Governor Fob James declared the stretch of Highway 80 between Selma and Montgomery a state scenic byway in 1995. In January 1996, the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) designated the historic route as an All American Road, giving the Alabama Department of

393. Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums," 71.
394. "Selma 50th Anniversary Jubilee," accessed April 23, 2020, https://www.selma50.com.
395. National Park Service, "Selma to Montgomery National Trail Study," 1.

Transportation (ALDOT) $1,500,000 to develop a management plan for the highway."[396]

Finally, in 1996, Congress authorized the establishment of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail, covering the 54-mile stretch of Highway 80 taken by marchers just over 30 years prior. The enabling legislation in H.R. 1129—which amended the National Trails System Act—outlined the purpose extent of the trail:

> 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… 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.

A number of planning documents and various official designations occurred following the designation. By 2010, "Recognizing the aesthetic and cultural values of the corridor, Federal and state agencies granted special planning status to this stretch of US Highway 80 through designations such as a state and National Scenic Byway, an All American Road, and a National Historic Trail. In addition, the Alabama Historical Commission, the Alabama Department of Transportation and the Federal Highway Administration have agreed to a Memorandum of Agreement on the route's treatment as a transportation corridor."[397]

Interpretive Centers

During planning for the new national historic trail, stakeholders led by the NPS held discussions concerning the need for interpretive centers and where they would be located. Several locations were proposed, including downtown Selma and the St. Jude campus. The planning process was complicated by the release of an ALDOT planning study for improvements to the Highway 80 corridor. In addition to highway widening and other modifications—which the State Historic Preservation Office took some issue with—it also recommended the construction of an interpretive center in Lowndes County.[398] The proposal, coupled with a fight over a proposed landfill in the vicinity, slowed down planning related to the historic trail for several years. In the meantime, boosters and federal officials fundraised for the development of the trail, including for the construction of visitor centers in Selma and Montgomery.

By 2003, the NPS resumed planning activities, and "[b]ased on comments from the public meetings and the Friends of the Trail groups, they decided to focus on the Lowndes Center first."[399] Focusing on Lowndes also made practical sense as the interpretive center in Selma was already taking shape through a public-private partnership arrangement by this time. ALDOT issued its final plans for the interpretive center site in 2003. Built on the former site of the Lowndes County Co-Op and Tent City, the 20-acre Lowndes Interpretive Center took three years to complete (Figure 43). Unfortunately, the "long awaited center did not receive positive reviews from most local residents. A group that toured the museum before the grand opening expressed disappointment that the Lowndes County story did not receive more attention."[400] The final site design included a large interpretive center building featuring architectural elements alluding to various landmarks along the trail, a large parking area, and a paved interpretive walking path across the Tent City site (Illustration 2.14). ALDOT transferred ownership of the site to the NPS in 2009.

After a period of several years at a temporary location, the Selma Interpretive Center opened to the public in 2011. The center occupies a rehabilitated historic building overlooking the Edmund Pettus Bridge at the corner of Water Avenue and Broad Street. The three-story center features video, audio, and visual exhibits, a small shop, and is staffed by NPS personnel. The NPS

396. Prentice and Simmons, "Archeological Overview and Assessment, Lowndes Interpretive Center, Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail," 60.
397. National Park Service, "Protection Plan for U.S. Highway 80," July 2010, 2.
398. Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums," 122.
399. Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums," 125.
400. Jansen, "From Selma to Montgomery: Remembering Alabama's Civil Rights Movement Through Museums," 129.



Figure 43. 2020 photo of the south side of the Lowndes Interpretive Center building located on Highway 80 in Lowndes County (Source: WLA Studio).

and the City of Selma operate the center through a partnership, with the city retaining ownership of the site.

The center in Montgomery has taken the longest to develop. After a long process of selecting the location for the city's center, the NPS finally chose Alabama State University (ASU). This decision occurred in 2011. Although located a mile from the official march route, ASU nevertheless served as an important organizing hub for the civil rights movement in the area. As of 2021, the interpretive center building has been constructed and the final exhibits are being installed.

Marion Connecting Trail

In 2015, a stretch of roadway between Marion and Selma was designated an official connecting trail, earning it special planning status. This section was proposed during the initial planning stages for the historic trail. This addition was included because of the role that the events in Marion played leading up to the Selma to Montgomery March. The route follows that used by civil rights movement participants in 1965. It starts at the Zion United Methodist Church in Marion, Alabama on Martin Luther King, Jr. Parkway, turning south on Washington Street and proceeding southerly onto old Perry County highway 45 (now known as Jimmie Lee Jackson-Albert Turner Sr. Memorial Highway), then crossing from Perry County into Dallas County and onto US Highway 80, then east to Broad Street (US-80-Business), then south to J.L. Chestnut Blvd., then east to Martin Luther King, Jr. Street, and south to Brown Chapel. Currently, limited roadway signage denotes its status.

Landscape Summary (1966-2020)

The cultural landscape of the project area underwent several major changes during this period. First, the planned Highway 80 widening project occurred, adding two additional lanes through Lowndes County and the western portion of Dallas. This greatly affected individual properties along the road, and resulted in the loss of houses, businesses, and farmland. Campsite #2 was greatly impacted by this project. The widening also resulted in a dramatic change in setting through portions of Lowndes County, in particular at Big Swamp where the sense of enclosure was reduced.

The second significant change was the commemoration of the march itself. Over the course of this period various commemorative elements were added to the landscape, from the Civil Rights Memorial Park outside of Selma to the Viola Liuzzo memorial along Highway 80. Small-scale features related to this commemoration include historical markers, tablets, statues, and interpretive signage. The Lowndes Interpretive Center was developed in relation to the commemoration and represents the only NPS-owned property along the route.

Other changes in the landscape pertain to the steady depopulation of the rural areas between city centers, and the near complete loss of cropland within the project area due to increased cattle production. Please see both Existing Conditions and Analysis and Evaluation chapters for more detail concerning changes from the historic period.



NOTES

1. By 2020, the Lowndes Interpretive Center site had undergone a major transition into a fully-developed tourism destination.
2. The site, completed in 2006, features extensive walkways, ornamental plantings, parking areas, and interpretive features.
3. See Existing Conditions Illustration 3.1 for vegetation notes and other site details.

Credits

The following sources were used to create the existing conditions illustrations:

1. Aerial Image: Google Earth
2. Parcel Information: National Park Service

Illustration 2.14

(2020)

Lowndes County Interpretive Center

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail Cultural Landscape Report

June 2021

Existing Conditions

Introduction

The focus of this study is the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail, the Marion Connecting Trail, in addition to other sites associated to the events of 1965. With the exception of the 20-acre Lowndes Interpretive Center site, the NPS does not possess any fee simple property along the route.

Spanning 54 miles, the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (SEMO NHT) begins at the Brown Chapel African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church in Selma, Alabama, and follows the two march routes taken in 1965 through the city. The route then continues eastward along US Highway 80 into the city of Montgomery and ends at the Alabama State Capitol. The route travels through the counties of Dallas, Lowndes, and Montgomery (Illustration 3.1).

In 2015, the NPS added a route to SEMO NHT from the city of Marion, Alabama, to Selma. The Marion to Selma Connecting Trail spans 28.3 miles and commemorates the role of people and events in Marion related to the voting rights movement. It follows the route taken by citizens of Marion and Perry County who participated in the voting rights marches. The Marion to Selma Connecting Trail begins at the Zion United Methodist Church in Marion on Martin Luther King, Jr. Parkway, turns south on Washington Street, proceeds onto Albert Turner, Sr. and then Jimmie Jackson Highway (Old Highway 45). The Connecting Trail then travels east onto US Highway 80 toward Selma, where it ends at Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. The Marion to Selma Connecting Trail travels through Perry and Dallas Counties.

This section of the Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) inventories the existing conditions of the site using a combination of contemporary photographs, plan view graphics, and narrative description. This inventory organizes site features by landscape characteristic, which are the "tangible and intangible aspects of an inventory unit which have either influenced the history of the development of the landscape, or are products of its development, respectively."[401] Further, "these aspects individually and collectively give a landscape its historic character and aid in the understanding of its cultural importance."[402] The NPS identifies thirteen landscape characteristics. These landscape characteristics are defined as follows:

- Natural Systems and Features: Natural aspects that often influence the development and resultant form of a landscape.
- Spatial Organization: Arrangement of elements creating the ground, vertical, and overhead planes that define and create spaces.
- Land Use: Organization, form, and shape of the landscape in response to land use.
- Cultural Traditions: Practices that influence land use, patterns of division, building forms, and the use of materials.
- Cluster Arrangement: The location of buildings and structures in the landscape.
- Circulation: Spaces, features, and materials that constitute systems of movement.
- Topography: Three-dimensional configuration of the landscape surface characterized by features and orientation.
- Vegetation: Indigenous or introduced trees, shrubs, vines, ground covers, and herbaceous materials.
- Buildings and Structures: Three-dimensional constructs such as houses, barns, garages, stables, bridges, and memorials.
- Views and Vistas: Features that create or allow a range of vision, which can be natural or designed and controlled.
- Constructed Water Features: The built features and elements that utilize water for aesthetic or utilitarian functions.

401. Robert R. Page, "National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory Professional Procedures Guide" (U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships, Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes Program, January 2009), 74.
402. Page, "National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory Professional Procedures Guide," 53.

- Small-Scale Features: Elements that provide detail and diversity combined with function and aesthetics.
- Archeological Sites: Sites containing surface and subsurface remnants related to historic or prehistoric land use.

While most sites contain at least several of the thirteen characteristics, "[n]ot all characteristics are always present in any one landscape."[403]

Methodology

Given the scale of the study area, this report divides it into three primary types: character areas, affiliated sites, and associated sites. Character areas are geographic locations that the NPS determined to receive the highest level of existing conditions documentation based on both historical significance to the events of February and March 1965 as well as the contractor's ability to assess existing conditions. Affiliated sites are locations that relate to the events of 1965; but because these sites are not owned by the NPS, they cannot be thoroughly surveyed. The project team documented existing conditions in a graduated level of detail. The highest level of documentation pertains to the Lowndes Interpretive Center (LIC) site, as the NPS owns this property. A second level of documentation was representative, which provides an overview level of documentation. The character areas and their geographic extent are as follows:

Selma March Route Character Area: extends from to Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church to the Edmund Pettus Bridge and includes the two routes used by marchers in 1965.

Highway 80 Character Area: extends from the Edmund Pettus Bridge along Highway 80, Highway 31, and West Fairview Street to the City of St. Jude.

Montgomery March Route Character Area: extends from City of St. Jude to the Alabama State Capital, following the principal march route.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section: extends from the Perry County Jail to the Jefferson Street / Old Highway 45 intersection. This character area extends beyond the official connecting trail route, which begins at the Zion United Methodist Church, to include the old county jail for its significance to the events of February 1965.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section: extends from the south side of downtown Marion to the Highway 80 / Old Highway 45 intersection.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section: extends from the Highway 80 / Old Highway 45 intersection to Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area: covers the 20-acre parcel owned by NPS along Highway 80 in Lowndes County.

Natural Systems and Features

Overall Description

The entirety of the project area lies in the East Gulf Coastal Plain Section of the Coastal Plain Physiographic Province of southern Alabama (Figure 44). The region's natural systems and features help to define its character, with rolling hills, intermittent patches of woodland, and meandering waterways present throughout (Figure 45). Within the East Gulf Coastal Plain Region, the project area is predominately located within the Black Prairie and Alluvial-deltaic Plain physiographic provinces. The Marion portion of the project area falls within the Fall Line Hills physiographic province. Additionally, the Environmental Protection Agency classifies the project area as within the Southeastern Plains ecoregion, which is further divided into Blackland Prairie, Flatwoods/Blackland Prairie Margins, and Southeastern Floodplains and Low Terraces subregions. These provinces and ecoregions will be addressed below. See Illustration 3.2 for a map of Land Cover types of the project area.

403. Page, "National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory Professional Procedures Guide," 53.

Physiographic Provinces

The Black Prairie physiological province gets its name from the occasionally dark, chalky soils in the region. The area is characterized by "an undulating, deeply weathered plain of low relief."[404] Historically, this region supported extensive areas of prairie, similar to that of the Midwest United States. However, "much of the land with these rich, dark soils has been converted to agriculture, and remaining prairie remnants are often found on marginal light gray soils where the chalk is close to the surface. Today, small remnants of these prairies may be found along roadsides, fencerows, gas, railways, and power line rights-of-way, and on marginal lands not suitable for agriculture. These prairie remnants support a diverse and distinct flora and fauna."[405]

The Alluvial-deltaic Plain physiological province "is a flat expanse characterized by sinuous stream courses, swamps, and poorly defined drainage divides. The district is separated into Quaternary-age alluvial deposits of sand, gravel, clay, and silt that make up the flood plains and river terraces along the major rivers in the Mobile River system and deltaic deposits that form the flood plains along the tidally influenced streams in the southernmost part of the basin."[406]

The Fall Line Hills physiographic province is a "dissected upland with a few broad, flat ridges separated by valleys ranging from 100 to 200 feet deep. The Fall Line Hills occupies a zone where streams descend from resistant sedimentary and crystalline rocks of the Piedmont, Valley and Ridge, and Cumberland Plateau Physiographic Provinces to the less resistant sand and clay of the Coastal Plain. Altitudes range from more than 700 feet above sea level in the northwestern part of the basin to about 250 feet above sea level along the northern edge of the Black Prairie Belt."[407]

Ecoregions

The Southeastern Plains ecoregion stretches across a large swath of southern and western Alabama. "These irregular plains with broad interstream areas have a mosaic of cropland, pasture, woodland, and forest. Natural vegetation is mostly oak-hickory-pine and Southern mixed forest. The Cretaceous or Tertiary-age sands, silts, and clays of the region contrast geologically with the Paleozoic limestone, shale and sandstone of [adjacent] ecoregions. . .or with the even older metamorphic and igneous rocks of the Piedmont. Elevations and relief are greater than in the Southern Coastal Plain, but generally less than in much of the Piedmont. Streams in this area are relatively low-gradient and sandy-bottomed."[408]

Three sub-ecoregions fall within the project area: Blackland Prairie, Flatwoods/Blackland Prairie Margins, and Southeastern Floodplains and Low Terraces.

The Blackland Prairie section "has distinctive Cretaceous-age chalk, marl, and calcareous clay. The clayey soils tend to shrink and crack when dry and swell when wet. Streams have a high variability in flow and affect some fish species distributions. The natural vegetation had dominant trees of sweetgum (*Liquidambar styraciflua*), post oak (*Quercus stellata*), and Eastern red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*), along with patches of bluestem prairie. Today, the area is mostly cropland and pasture, with small patches of mixed hardwoods."[409]

The Flatwoods/Blackland Prairie Margins section "combines two slightly different areas. The Flatwoods are comprised of a mostly forested lowland area of little relief, formed primarily on dark, massive marine clay. Soils are deep, clayey, somewhat-poorly to poorly drained, and acidic. The Blackland Prairie Margins are undulating,

404. "USGS WRIR 02-4162: Environmental Setting and Water-Quality Issues of the Mobile River Basin, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee," 7, accessed November 19, 2019, https://pubs.usgs.gov/wri/wri024162/.
405. JoVonn G. Hill and Richard L. Brown, "The Ant (Hymenoptera: Formicidae) Fauna of Black Belt Prairie Remnants in Alabama and Mississippi," *Southeastern Naturalist* 9, no. 1 (2010): 74, http://dx.doi.org/10.1656/058.009.0106.
406. "USGS WRIR 02-4162: Environmental Setting and Water-Quality Issues of the Mobile River Basin, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee," 7.
407. "USGS WRIR 02-4162: Environmental Setting and Water-Quality Issues of the Mobile River Basin, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee," 7.
408. G.E. Griffith et al., *Ecoregions of Alabama and Georgia (Color Poster with Map, Descriptive Text, Summary Tables, and Photographs),* 1:1,7000,000 (Reston, Virginia: U.S. Geological Survey, 2001).
409. Griffith et al., "Ecoregions of Alabama and Georgia (Color Poster with Map, Descriptive Text, Summary Tables, and Photographs)."

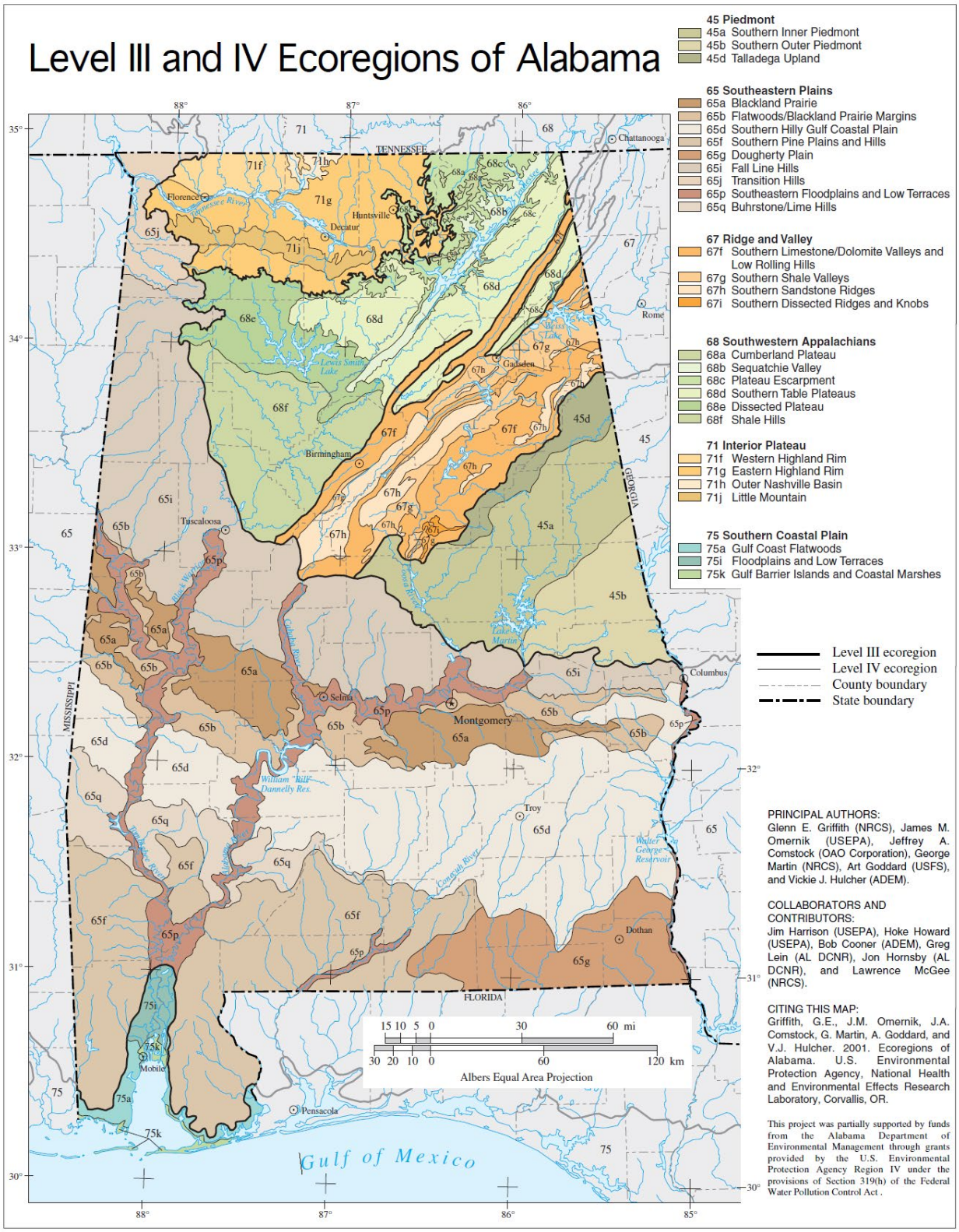


Figure 44. Level III and IV ecoregions of Alabama map. Note the distinct Black Belt region spanning the south-central portion of the state. (Source: Griffith, G.E., J.M. Omernik, J.A. Comstock, G. Martin, A. Goddard, and V.J. Hulcher. 2001. Ecoregions of Alabama. U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, National Health and Environmental Effects Research Laboratory, Corvallis, OR).

irregular plains, with slightly more relief than the Flatwoods, but also tend to have heavy clay soils that are sticky when wet, hard and cracked when dry, with generally poor drainage."[410]

Southeastern Floodplains and Low Terraces "comprise a riverine ecoregion of large sluggish rivers and backwaters with ponds, swamps, and oxbow lakes. River swamp forests of bald cypress and water tupelo and oak-dominated bottomland hardwood forests provide important wildlife corridors and habitat. In Alabama, cropland is typical on the higher, better-drained terraces, while hardwood forests cover the floodplains."[411]

The Fall Line Hills are "composed primarily of Cretaceous-age loamy and sandy sediments. It is mostly forested terrain of oak-hickory-pine on hills with 200-400 feet of relief."[412]

Selma March Route Character Area

As an urban area, the Selma March Route Character Area contains few natural systems and features. The most prominent feature is the Alabama River which flows under the Edmund Pettus Bridge on the eastern edge of the character area (Figure 46).

See Illustration 3.3 and 3.4 for large format aerial images of Selma.

Hydrology

The Alabama River runs southwest from just north of Montgomery towards Selma, where it then flows south to join the Tombigbee, roughly 45 miles north of the Mobile Bay. The river is a continuation of the Coosa River which originates in northwest Georgia. The Alabama is part of the Mobile River system, which has been dubbed "America's Amazon" for the rich biodiversity the hydrological system supports. The Alabama River is over 300 miles long. At Selma, the river flows through a steep canyon landscape.



Figure 45. General undeveloped character of the project area, which features gentle topography, patches of woodlands, and wide-open pastures. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 46. Looking north upstream along the Alabama River from the high bluff on the river's developed west bank. (Source: WLA Studio).

The Selma March Route Character Area is at risk of flooding during 500-year events and has flooded in the past. Given its developed character, stormwater is channeled towards storm drains along streets.

Ecological Communities

No distinct ecological communities exist with the Selma March Route Character Area except for riverine ecological communities associated with the Alabama River corridor.

This character area is part of the Southeastern Floodplains and Low Terraces eco sub-region. While such an environment does not now exist within the urbanized Selma March Route Character Area, the Alabama River and its surroundings reference this ecosystem type.

410. Griffith et al., "Ecoregions of Alabama and Georgia (Color Poster with Map, Descriptive Text, Summary Tables, and Photographs)."
411. Griffith et al., "Ecoregions of Alabama and Georgia (Color Poster with Map, Descriptive Text, Summary Tables, and Photographs)."
412. Griffith et al., "Ecoregions of Alabama and Georgia (Color Poster with Map, Descriptive Text, Summary Tables, and Photographs)."

Physiography

The Selma March Route Character Area falls within the Alluvial-deltaic Plain physiographic province, but as it is an urban environment, no obvious physiological features are readily visible in this character area.

Highway 80 Character Area

Natural systems and features of the Highway 80 Character Area include gently rolling terrain and various ecological communities, including swamps, creeks, pastures, and woodlands.

See Illustrations 3.5 through 3.12 for a representative sample of large format aerial images of the Highway 80 corridor.

Hydrology

Hydrological features within the Highway 80 Character Area include nine creeks: (from west to east) Soapstone, Old Town, Pilot, Big Swamp, Tallawassee, Rock, Pintala, Caney, and Catoma creeks. The area also contains the Alabama River, located at the western edge of the character area. Big Swamp is located in Lowndes County, straddling Highway 80 on its north and south sides. Farm ponds are present in different sections of the Highway 80 corridor.

Stormwater runoff along Highway 80 is intermittently channeled along swales at the edges of the roadway; some are paved swales. In other areas—especially in low-lying locations—no swale exists, and water falls away to existing natural drainages.

Ecological Communities

Primary ecological communities within the Highway 80 Character Area include areas of wetlands, pastureland, successional forest, and successional pasture.

Highway 80 passes in and out of three different sub-ecoregions: Blackland Prairie, Flatwoods/ Blackland Prairie Margins, and Southeastern Floodplains and Low Terraces subregions. While the flora, fauna, and geophysical processes are not continuously apparent within the corridor, at specific locations representative ecological communities are visible. Two clear examples of these area are at Big Creek Swamp and the other creek crossings along the route.



Figure 47. Big Swamp as seen from the roadside along Highway 80 at sundown. Note the presence of saw palmetto (*Serenoa repens*) among stands of green ash (*Fraxinus pennsylvanica*). This view is mostly obscured while driving. (Source: WLA Studio).

Big Swamp

Big Swamp is a large wetland located south and east of White Hall in Lowndes County (**Figure 47**). With Big Swamp Creek at its center, the swamp straddles the north and south sides of Highway 80. The area is part of the Lowndes Wildlife Management Area (WMA) and is managed for hunting. Fauna present in the swamp include fox squirrel, white tailed deer, fox, opossum, turkey, bobcat, coyote, rabbits, feral hogs, dove, and various species of waterfowl, all of which are permitted to be recreationally hunted. Vegetation communities within the swamp include stands of bottomland tupelo (*Nyssa sylvatica*) and pine plantations. Field observation recorded the presence of saw palmetto (*Serenoa repens*) among stands of green ash (*Fraxinus pennsylvanica*). The area regularly floods in the wet winter months, posing issues for local roadways, including Highway 80.

Creek Communities

The creek and surrounding creek corridors that fall within this character area serve as important ecological habitat for a wide range of species. In fragmented landscapes such as the Highway 80 corridor, creek corridors provide shelter, food, and passage through the environment. While this

report did not conduct a faunal survey of the creek corridor, the project team observed gar and other fish (unknown species) in Big Swamp Creek.

Pasture / Successional Pasture and Forest
Though not representative of a purely natural habitat, the numerous acres of pastures within the corridor provide an environment for various species of plants and animals (Figure 48). While an active agricultural region, areas of abandoned pasture exist throughout the Highway 80 corridor. These zones show varying stages of succession, with some in early stages and others in young forest stage. The reclamation of these areas by vegetation provide habitat for various species of flora and fauna that do not maintain a steady presence in an actively used pasture.

Physiography
The Highway 80 Character Area is located within both the Black Prairie and Alluvial-deltaic Plain physiological provinces. Characteristics of these provinces present within this character area include gently rolling hills, wide areas of flat topography, and numerous creeks and drainages.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
As an urban area, the Montgomery March Route Character Area contains few natural systems and features.

See Illustrations 3.13 through 3.18 for a representative sample of large format aerial images of the Highway 80 corridor.

Hydrology
No natural hydrological features exist within this character area. Surface runoff is channeled into storm drains and inlets that feed subsurface pipes.

Ecological Communities
This character area is part of the Flatwoods/ Blackland Prairie Margins ecoregion section. Due to its highly developed character, no natural ecological communities remain within the Montgomery March Route Character Area.

Physiography
The Montgomery March Route Character Area falls within the Alluvial-deltaic Plain physiographic province, but as it is an urban environment, no obvious physiological features are readily visible in this character area.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
As an urban area, the Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section contains few natural systems and features.

See Illustration 3.19 for a large format aerial image of downtown Marion.

Hydrology
The Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section does not contain any hydrological features. Surface runoff is channeled into storm drains along the edges of the roadways.

Ecological Communities
While this character area is part of the Fall Line Hills sub-ecoregion, no obvious ecological communities are present due to its developed character.

Physiography
While this character area is part of the Fall Line Hills physiographic province, no obvious biophysical features aside from its slightly elevated setting are present due to its developed character.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
National systems and features of the Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section include gently rolling terrain and various ecological communities, including creeks, pastures, and woodlands.

See Illustration 3.20 and 3.21 for large format representation aerial images of the Old Highway 45 corridor.



Figure 48. Typical pasture in the rural sections of the route. Unmown fence lines provide wildlife habitat, as do the fields, woodlots, and forest edges. (Source: WLA Studio).

Hydrology

Old Highway 45 crosses over several small creeks and drainages, the largest of which is an unnamed tributary of Rice Creek, which flows into the nearby Cahaba River, just south of the Vilula community. Farm ponds are also present in the viewshed.

In the more developed portions of the route close to Marion, surface runoff is channeled into storm drains. In the less developed sections of the roadway, stormwater is directed toward swales parallel to the road, which eventually drain into local creeks and drainage systems.

Ecological Communities

The northern portion of this character area is part of the Fall Line Hills sub-ecoregion, which is represented by the area's rolling topography. The topographical variation produces elevation profiles occupied by different flora and fauna. The drainage areas in the low elevations facilitate the movement of animals and provide conditions for the establishment of natural plant communities. In the more upland areas, oaks and native grasses have an opportunity to develop. These communities are part of a matrix that includes large pasture areas that support other plant and animal species. The southern portion of this character area falls within the Black Prairie sub-ecoregion, which is represented by the gentler topography and open pasture areas.

Physiography

This character area is located in the Fall Line Hills physiographic province. While this province generally features a hilly terrain, Old Highway 45 cuts through a relatively gentle topographic profile, which is the likely reason for its construction in this location. Though not as hilly as other portions of the province, the varied topography of this character area contrasts with that of other portions of the study area.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

Natural systems and features of the Old Highway 45 Character Area include areas of dense forest and both a river and various creeks, over which this portion of Highway 80 traverses.

See Illustration 3.21 for a representational aerial image of the Highway 80 section of the Connecting Trail.

Hydrology

This section of Highway 80 passes through a low-lying area that features numerous wetlands and waterways. The largest hydrological feature within the Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section is the Cahaba River.

This portion of Highway 80 also passes over several creeks and tributaries, including from west to east: Baker Creek, Milton Branch, Childers Creek, Jones Creek, Alf Branch, and Valley Creek. These creeks are surrounded by swampy areas that spread out over the flat topography. These areas are mostly obscured from view by continuous stands of young forest, but in some places they are visible from the roadway. Surface runoff is diverted to swales that line the north and south of the roadway, which then drains into the wetland areas. In some sections, the swales are channelized with concrete.

Ecological Communities

This character area begins within the Blackland Prairie sub-ecoregion, continues through the Southeastern Floodplains and Low Terraces



Figure 49. Photograph of a small depression and associated wetland area in the western portion of the LIC site that supports a natural plant community. (Source: WLA Studio).

sub-ecoregion, then through another portion of Blackland Prairie, ending in the Southeastern Floodplains and Low Terraces sub-ecoregion type in north Selma. The extensive areas of forested wetlands are characteristic of the Southeastern Floodplains and Low Terraces sub-ecoregion.

Physiography

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section falls mostly within the Alluvial-deltaic Plain physiographic province. Like its associated ecoregion, the wetlands that cover portions of the Highway 80 corridor are representative of this physiography.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

As an extensively developed site, the Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area contains few natural systems and features.

See Illustration 3.22 for an illustrative map of the site's existing conditions.

Hydrology

Two small areas of low-lying wetlands exist in the western edge of the site (Figure 49). Though it is unknown if the water source is from offsite stormwater runoff or fed by a spring, it appears to originate on the adjacent property and enters into the site from the west. The flow of the water into the site follows a slight depression towards a culvert under the exit drive. No other natural hydrological features exist on site.

Ecological Communities

This character area falls within the Flatwoods/ Blackland Prairie Margins sub-ecoregion. The surrounding area's undulating topography and clay soils are representative of this ecoregion type.

Natural ecological communities on site include two small areas of wetland. These areas provide conditions for aquatic-tolerant plant species, though wet soils appear to be impacting the health of certain trees in the area. Aquatic-tolerant plants include black willow (*Salix nigra*), bulrush (*Typha latifolia*), dog fennel (*Eupatorium capillifolium*), and various groundcovers.

The use of native species for planting design provides habitat and a food source for animals in the area, though the project team did not note the presence of animals on site during fieldwork.

Physiographic

The Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area is located within the Black Prairie physiographic province. The gently rolling hills that are bisected by creek drainages reflect this physiographic type.

Features

- Pastures
- Successional Forests
- Creeks and drainages
- Alabama River
- Wetlands
- Big Swamp

Vegetation

Selma March Route Character Area

The Selma March Route Character Area features vegetation typical of small urban areas in the Southeast. From Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church toward downtown, evenly spaced live oaks (*Quercus virginiana*) line both sides of Martin Luther King Street as it approaches the intersection with Selma Avenue (Figure 50). Approaching the intersection, the street trees become less formally arranged are become more diverse in type to include willow oaks (*Quercus phellos*), pecan (*Carya illinoinensis*), and sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*). As the march route continues out of the residential area and toward downtown, there are fewer street trees, though the diversity in species continues with the introduction of Southern magnolia (*Magnolia grandiflora*) and Southern catalpa (*Catalpa bignonioides*). A mown turf groundcover occupies the tree islands between the road and area buildings.

Along Alabama Avenue, urban development limits the presence of vegetation, though periodic street trees line the roadway in some locations. Pine trees (*Pinus* spp.), live oak, Southern red oak (*Quercus falcata*) are present in the stretch of Alabama Avenue as it approaches Broad Street/Highway 80.



Figure 50. Looking north along Martin Luther King, Jr. Street in Selma, which is flanked by live oak trees. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 51. Medium sized ornamental holly trees in downtown Selma. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 52. Unpruned crape myrtle on Water Avenue in downtown Selma. (Source: WLA Studio).

Additionally, small ornamental planting beds that feature hardy evergreen shrubs such as Chinese privet (*Ligustrum sinense*) and loropetalum (*Loropetalum chinense*) are present at some of the intersections. Approaching Broad Street and the downtown core, ornamental plantings of holly trees (*Ilex* spp.) are spaced out next to the wide sidewalks (Figure 51). These are limbed up to allow for pedestrian flow.

Along the Turnaround Tuesday march route—Martin Luther King Street to Water Avenue to Broad Street—street plantings of oak trees are present. Turning onto Water Avenue, no trees are present until reaching the Green Street intersection. From here plantings of holly are located along both sides of the sidewalk for one block. From the Franklin Street intersection west towards Broad Street, plantings of crape myrtle (*Lagerstroemia indica*) line both sides of the road as it approaches Broad Street (Figure 52).

Highway 80 Character Area

The Highway 80 Character Area features a variety of vegetation over its 50 miles through Dallas, Lowndes, and Montgomery counties. Given the length of the route, it was decided that the project team would conduct a representational survey of vegetation (and other landscape characteristics) for this report. The following section is organized by county from west to east. The vegetation along both east-bound and west-bound lanes will be described.

Dallas County

Selmont

After crossing the Edmund Pettus Bridge, forested bottomland that is associated with the Alabama River flanks Highway 80 (Figure 53). As the road passes through the Selmont area, most vegetation is set back behind buildings. Sporadic plantings of ornamental vegetation that includes crape myrtle and privet hedges are located at intersections and private businesses.

The island medians between east and west bound lanes in this section features mown turf, with occasional plantings of evergreen shrubs maintained to a short and spherical shape (Figure 54).



Figure 53. Forest environment along the east side of the Alabama River. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 54. Example of a cluster of manicured shrubs and turf in the Highway 80 median. Note natural vegetation in background. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 55. Crape myrtle, magnolia, and natural vegetation located in the vicinity of Craig Field. (Source: WLA Studio).

As the road passes through Selmont 0.65 miles southeast of the Edmund Pettus Bridge, ornamental plantings grow in the grassed road margin. Installed plantings include several Southern magnolia, bald cypress (*Taxodium distichum*), crape myrtle, and oak. Occasional plantings of miscanthus (*Miscanthus sinensis*) are also present. The plantings are typically grouped in small irregular bunches on both sides of the road (Figure 55). The plantings continue for nearly 4 miles to the intersection of Old Montgomery Highway and Highway 80.

Throughout this section, successional woodland on the margins of the road corridor frame views, occasionally encroaching close to the roadway. The majority of trees are young, with the tallest being pines and oaks. On the edge of the successional forest, young pines, oaks, and sweetgum (*Liquidambar styraciflua*) grow along with invasive nonnative flora such as Chinese privet and golden bamboo (*Phyllostachys aurea*). The low-lying areas where water can collect feature occasional stands of native cane (*Arundinaria gigantea*). In the areas not yet colonized by woody plants, there are grasses such as broomsedge (*Andropogon virginicus*).

In some areas—especially near residential or commercial properties—vegetation density is much less than in the successional forests. These managed areas feature well-spaced oaks and/or pines that were not likely planted but allowed to grow and had surrounding vegetation removed.

The next section of Highway 80 (from Old Montgomery Highway to the county line) begins to transition to a more rural landscape. Pastures and areas of woods become more common. The alternating open pasture to closed woods creates a vegetation pattern that is representative of the spatial organization for the remainder of the route. Throughout this section, successional forest, less dense stands of trees, pasture areas, crop fields, and ornamental plantings alternate.

Specific vegetation features of note include pecan orchards, with the first occurring about a mile beyond the Old Montgomery Road intersection on the north side of the highway (Figure 56). Some



Figure 56. Rural character of eastern Dallas County with open fields, successional woods, and the occasional orchard, seen here on the left side of the image. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 57. Cotton field along Highway 80. Note the lack of fencing, which denotes it is used for crops and not cattle. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 58. Wet-adapted vegetation growing in the vicinity of Old Town Creek along Highway 80. Note the herbaceous understory and maturing deciduous trees. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 59. Ornamental vegetation at the Lowndes Interpretive Center site along Highway 80. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 60. Character of vegetation within corridor east of Big Swamp. Note the wide mown median and successional woodland along the margins. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 61. Pasture with scattered trees and vegetated fence lines in eastern Lowndes County. (Source: WLA Studio).

residential properties also have young pecan orchards in their yards. Few trees in this section of the route appear to be older than fifty years in age, but there are several stands of older trees. Shortly after the County Road 43 intersection, a large pecan orchard is located on the south side of the highway. Another large pecan orchard is located on the north side of Highway 80 near the County Road 459 intersection.

Other vegetation features include the row crops—often cotton—that are seasonably grown in the area (Figure 57). These crop fields are not fenced, as opposed to the cattle pastures along the route. In this section, a large row crop operation straddles both sides of Highway 80 beginning near the County Road 7 intersection and extending towards Old Town Creek.

At the Lowndes County line at Old Town Creek dense forest vegetation covers both sides of the Highway 80 corridor. Approaching the bridge from the west, young pines encroach on the road shoulder, making this location one of a few instances of tall vegetation immediately adjacent to the roadway.

Lowndes County

The crossing at Old Town Creek features a vegetation community adapted to a creek bottom environment. Here, a wide floodplain contains stands of young deciduous trees with a grassy understory (Figure 58). Privet, pines, and oak trees continue to encroach along the road edge for several hundred feet, giving way to a large open field. The north side of Highway 80 features a mix of planted pines and successional deciduous tree species.

Eastward from the town of Benton, the large field extends for 1.5 miles on both sides of the highway until the elevation rises quickly on one of the terraces in this section of the county. As the land rises, large stands of planted pines mixed with young successional oaks and other deciduous trees become common. In this drier area, broomsedge, Eastern red cedar, and sweetgum edges the wooded zones. Spanish moss (*Tillandsia usneoides*) hangs from a few of the more mature oaks in this area. A large massing of Chinese privet is located at the intersection with County Road 9.

Between County Road 9 and 17, Highway 80 crosses over more elevated terrain. This section features larger oaks and pines that appear older than those in other sections of the route. After cutting through a short section of forest, the road passes through a large hay and sod farm. Beyond this section of open area, Highway 80 passes by the US Army Corp of Engineers regional office, which contains ornamental plantings semi-formally arranged in the landscape between the office building and the road. This character is replicated at the Lowndes County Interpretive Center, with ornamental plantings of crape myrtle, magnolia, and a juniper hedge lining the north side of the highway (Figure 59).

East from the Lowndes County Interpretive Center, the landscape transitions back to forest as the highway approaches Big Swamp. As described in the previous Natural Systems and Features section, Big Swamp is an ecologically significant natural area along the historic trail. Vegetation visible from the roadway includes young deciduous tree saplings, saw palmetto (*Serenoa repens*) within stands of green ash. Swaths of native cane is also present in the understory. Vines present in the area include poison ivy (*Toxicodendron radicans*), Virginia creeper (*Parthenocissus quinquefolia*), and smilax (*Smilax* spp.) (Figure 47).

As the elevation climbs east of Big Swamp, vegetation within the corridor returns to more upland successional type. Young oaks, pines, and Eastern red cedar are common tree types in this section. Occasionally the vegetation encroaches toward the roadway, but in general, the wide mown grass buffer that parallels the road continues through this section (Figure 60).

At the intersection of Highway 80 and Streety Road, a small topographical rise contains a stand of maturing oaks. From here towards the intersection with State Route 97 at Lowndesboro, large areas of pasture straddle both sides of the highway. On the south side of the highway, pines, oaks, and Eastern red cedars occasionally encroach towards the road where the grassy buffer is not as wide, obstructing views to the pastures behind the trees. These trees look to be associated with old field fence lines.

Approaching Lowndesboro from the west, Highway 80 passes through increasingly dense forest as it climbs in elevation. The woods are



Figure 62. Live oaks planted in a row in the area around the Montgomery Airport complex. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 63. Typical vegetation along Highway 31 showing larger trees set back behind buildings and limited ornamental vegetation in front of businesses. (Source: WLA Studio).

intermittently punctuated by open pasture. This vegetation character continues for 4 miles until the road passes again through a heavily pastured area as it reaches Campsite #3 (**Figure 61**). Through this section there are isolated woodlots, pine plantations, and hedgerows. As Highway 80 nears the county line—formed by Pintala Creek—vegetation once again becomes dense with mixed forest types. An increase in development in this last section of Lowndes County results in the presence of more ornamental vegetation on residential and commercial properties.

Montgomery County

After passing through the forested landscape associated with Pintala Creek, vegetation along Highway 80 shifts back to extensive development and pastureland. From here until the interchange with Highway 31, trees are most present along fencerows and in field edges. The south side of

the highway in this section has more trees growing along the roadway. Common fencerow and roadside trees include Eastern red cedar, young oaks, Chinese privet, and pines. As development increases, so does the ornamental use of trees and other plants on residential and commercial properties.

Beginning in the vicinity of the Montgomery Airport, a single row planting of young live oaks line both the north and south sides of the highway (Figure 62). These plantings run mostly unbroken for 2.5 miles until stopping at Baldwin Avenue.

At the Highway 80 / Highway 31 interchange, turfgrass covers a large swath of ground. From this interchange north toward the City of St. Jude, vegetation is typically associated with development located outside of large downtown, with scattered groupings of ornamental vegetation of varying age and condition on commercial properties. Isolated clusters of woods are present on abandoned or underdeveloped lots. The grassed median and road buffers present throughout this character area continue through this section. Highway 31 passes through a section of natural vegetation at Catoma Creek, with sycamores, oaks, maples, and privet visible from the right of way. For several hundred feet north of Catoma Creek, Highway 31 passes through a relatively forested section of the landscape. As Highway 31 approaches the Mobile Highway intersection and development increases again, vegetation shifts to being mostly behind the businesses along the roadway (Figure 63). From this interchange to the City of St. Jude, vegetation is typical of that of areas on the urban fringes, with sporadic plantings of ornamental vegetation (predominantly crape myrtle and evergreen shrubs) and pockets of trees left to grow on property edges.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

The Hill Street / West Fairview Avenue intersection marks the southwest corner of the City of St. Jude campus. Young street tree plantings line both sides of West Fairview Avenue from Hill Street to Oak Street, with oaks on the north side of the road and crape myrtle on the south (Figure 64). These trees are planted in association with two campuses opposite one another, with the City of St. Jude campus on the north and Montgomery County



Figure 64. Southeast corner of the City of St. Jude campus. Note the types of vegetation, including spaced street trees, mature trees within the campus, and scattered specimen plantings set within a grass lawn. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 65. Oak Street vegetation with a mixture of tree species of varying age. Tree plantings are lot-specific, with no street-wide planting plan. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 66. Oak Street vegetation with recent plantings of redbud on the east side of the roadway. (Source: WLA Studio).

High School on the south. Extensive grass turf area are located behind the street trees for both campuses.

The pattern of oaks on the St. Jude campus side and crape myrtle on its opposite continues along Oak Street for 150 feet on the east side of the street. The oak tree plantings continue 0.25 miles along the entire property boundary of the City of St. Jude campus.

Continuing north on Oak Street from the Stephens Street intersection, land use switches from commercial to residential. Through the neighborhood, most trees are located in the back or side of the yards, with fewer trees in front yards (Figure 65). Yard tree species include magnolia, pine, crape myrtle, pecan, Eastern red cedar, Southern catalpa, and flowering dogwood (*Cornus florida*). Ornamental evergreen shrubs are also present at a number of the neighborhood's residences, and include azaleas (*Rhododendron* spp.), Chinese privet, and low-growing junipers (*Juniperus* spp.). Recent plantings of redbud trees (*Cercis canadensis*) are located in the grass strip between the road and the sidewalk, primarily on the east side of the road (Figure 66). Several of the houses have potted plants in their yards, instead of in-ground ornamental plantings.

Beginning at the intersection with Leola Road, a succession of oaks line the grassy embankment on the east side of Oak Street that borders the Loveless Community Center campus. A row of redbud lines the west side of the oaks in this location. At the intersection with West Jeff Davis Avenue, a row of bald cypress continues towards the Loveless School building (Figure 67). Within the campus, a large solitary oak stands in an open recreational field. The street-side of the Loveless School has two Bradford pear (*Pyrus calleryana*) flanking the front door of the building (Figure 68). Vines and foundation shrubs grow on the facade.

Past the Loveless School, West Jeff Davis Avenue approaches the elevated interstate that cuts through this section of Montgomery. Recent plantings of cherry trees (*Prunus* sp.) line the roadway before the march route continues north onto South Holt Street. Vegetation in this section includes continued street tree plantings, also



Figure 67. Bald cypress plantings along the south side of West Jeff Davis Avenue. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 68. Vegetation in the vicinity of the Loveless School building and Community Center on along West Jeff Davis Avenue. (Source: WLA Studio).

containing tulip poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*). These plantings end at Mt. Zion A.M.E. Church (Figure 69).

From South Holt Street, the official route continues onto Day Street. Vegetation on Day Street includes a mixture of spontaneous and intentionally planted trees and shrubs. Some vegetation is associated with the location of houses that are no longer extant, with other vegetation left to grow along fences between properties.[413] The march route

413. However, one image—only released to the public within the last five years—shows what appears to be the head of the procession marching from Holt Street to Grady Street then to Mobile Street. It is possible that both streets were used, but it is certain that Grady Street was. Either way, both the segments of Grady and Day streets that were used for the march were short and connected to Mobile Street after a block.



Figure 69. Vegetation located at interstate at the intersection of West Jeff Davis Avenue and South Holt Street. Note the open turf area, vines covering the security fence, and the recent street tree planting. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 70. Vegetation along the southern portion of Mobile Street. Note the young trees lining the roadway and more mature vegetation set back off the road. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 71. Recent street tree planting along the northern portion of Mobile Street. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 72. Planting island in the middle of the Five Points Hill intersection. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 73. Vegetation character of the western portion of Montgomery Street showing a mixture of tree species. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 74. Limited street vegetation is present at the east end of Montgomery Street. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 75. Photograph showing both public vegetation along Dexter Avenue and vegetation present on private property off the roadway. (Source: WLA Studio).

continues onto Mobile Street. This section features more young street trees along the sidewalk on both sides of the road (Figure 70). The first portion of this street has a many vacant lots, with older vegetation marking the locations of former homes and businesses. Most of the older vegetation is set back off the road, helping to frame the Mobile Street march route as it approaches the former commercial hub at the intersection of Mobile and Mildred streets. From this intersection to Five Points Hill, land use switches back to active residential. This final section before Five Points Hill features more young street trees along the road and more dense and older vegetation associated with house sites (Figure 71). Yards in this section also feature more ornamental vegetation than the previous stretch of Mobile Street.

Vegetation is limited at Five Points Hill, due to its former commercial land use. A circular planting island is located in the middle of the intersection. The island features two rings of shrubs—abelia (*Abelia* × *grandiflora*) and nandina (*Nandina domestica*) —surrounding a commissioned public art piece at the center (Figure 72). Other than turf along the sidewalks and another island within the intersection, no other vegetation is present at Five Points Hill.

From Five Points Hill, the march route continues along Montgomery Street towards Commerce Street. Land use in this section switches from residential to dense commercial as it approaches the center of the city. A mixture of recently planted and older street trees lines the road from Five Points Hill. Trees include young crape myrtle, older hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*), and magnolia trees (Figure 73). Beginning from the intersection of Montgomery and Wilkinson streets, a row of recently planted Chinese elm (*Ulmus parviflora*) lines the north side of the march route. On the opposite side of the street, a row of bald cypress run from the Wilkinson/Montgomery intersection to Molton Street. These plantings appear to be associated with the Troy University campus. Landscaping for the campus includes the use of shade trees within parking lots and along pedestrian routes, ornamental shrubs as borders, and planting beds of annual flowers.

The section of the march route from Molton Street to Commerce Avenue contains limited vegetation, as it is within the urban core of the city. Vegetation is limited to trees along the north side of the road, beginning with well-spaced crape myrtle associated with the Rosa Parks Library and Museum. Near the intersection with Commerce Avenue, a short row of willow oaks line the street (Figure 74).

The Commerce and Dexter Avenues intersection features a wide roundabout surrounding an ornamental fountain. Young oaks line the edges of the intersection. Willow oaks of a similar age extend along both sides of Dexter Avenue to the intersection with Decatur Street (Figure 75). The street trees reinforce the axial relationship between the State Capitol and Dexter Avenue. Most of the willow oaks are spaced roughly 40 feet apart. Additional vegetation within this section is located on several properties that are set back off the road. These properties feature other deciduous trees, ornamental shrubs, mown yards, and flower beds, sometimes arranged in a formal, park-like manner.

The rows of willow oaks stop at the Decatur Street intersection, one block before the Capitol building steps. This section includes expansive lawns, ornamental planting beds, and specimen trees. The landscape design is oriented towards and references the Capitol Building, which also features ornamental planting beds, lawn, and specimen trees (Figure 76). In both locations, the dominant specimen tree is shortleaf pine (*Pinus echninata*). A large live oak is located on the south side of the Capitol building steps.



Figure 76. Naturalistic design of the Alabama State Capitol complex. Note the young street trees along the roadway. (Source: WLA Studio).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

The vegetation within the Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section is typical of small town squares in the South, with large shade trees, trimmed hedges, and ornamental shrubs arranged neatly in the landscape.

Vegetation is limited in the vicinity of the Old Perry County Jail, with the jail itself situated within a small grassed open space behind a tall chain link fence. Across from the jail is a small grass embankment with several crape myrtle.

Continuing south on Pickens Street, vegetation on the east side of the road is limited to small evergreen shrubs and small patches of mown grass. The Perry County Courthouse is located on the west side, and this site contains the most vegetation in the character area (Figure 77). The building is centrally located in a large turfed area. Evergreen shrubs line the building foundation. Two crape myrtles flank the entry walkway from the sidewalk on Pickens Street. Most prominently, a large caliper live oak tree is located at the southeast corner of the property. Zion United Methodist Church is located at the corner of Jefferson Street and Pickens Street. The church is set within a small grassed area. Foundation plantings of evergreen shrubs and crape myrtle line the south side of the building.

The block west from the Pickens and Jefferson streets intersection is mostly devoid of vegetation, except for the grass at the courthouse property and a few ornamental shrubs occupying a vacant space between buildings.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

The connecting trail route turns south onto Washington Street, which becomes old Perry County Highway 45 (now known as Jimmie Lee Jackson-Albert Turner Sr. Memorial Highway). The first section, measuring roughly 1.5 miles, extends between downtown Marion and the intersection with State Route 183. This portion features a medium density residential and commercial land use and includes educational and church facilities. These properties contain a mixture of ornamental vegetation that consists of mature shade trees, flowering shrubs, mown turf, and flower beds (Figure 78). An expansive open space with specimen oaks, Eastern red cedars, live oaks, and other trees is located at the Marion Military Institute. This section also includes areas of successional vegetation growth containing a mix



Figure 77. Specimen live oak tree on the Perry County Courthouse grounds. Note the foundation plantings along the building. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 78. Mix of vegetation types along Old Highway 45 south of downtown Marion. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 79. The vegetative character for sections of the Connecting Trail is diverse, here with both pecans and privet. (Source: WLA Studio).

of native and invasive species. Overall, this area features a variety of plant species (Figure 79).

From the intersection with State Route 183 to the intersection with Highway 35, vegetation within the Old Highway 45 corridor transitions to a largely agricultural and successional forest landscape, with more widely spaced industrial and residential properties. Extending for approximately 0.6 miles from this intersection a row of planted oaks lines the east side of the roadway. Residential properties also include rows of planted trees along the road or driveways. The remainder of this section passes through a mixed use—though less dense—area of development and successional forest. The areas of successional forest visible from the road have patches of privet and some areas contain kudzu (*Pueraria montana*).

From the intersection with Highway 35 to the intersection with State Route 6, vegetation along the route becomes gradually less dense, with more pasture visible behind vegetation growing in the right of way (Figure 80). Several properties in this section have pecan orchards as part of the residential yard landscape. Other properties feature pine plantations.

At the intersection with State Route 6 and extending to the intersection with Highway 80, the landscape visually opens up due to the presence of extensive pasture on both sides of the road. Vegetation still grows along the roadside, but it is thinner through this section, especially as the road approaches Highway 80. Most of the mature vegetation in this section is confined to the edges of properties and along fences or as specimen trees in pastures and yards. This section also includes extensive row crop fields, the majority of which are located south of the intersection with State Route 12 and straddle both sides of the road.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

Vegetation along the Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section can be grouped into three zones from west to east: a pastureland section, a forested wetland section, and a developed section that gradually grows more urban as it approaches Selma.



Figure 80. Photograph showing the open character of the vegetation in the southern portion of the Old Highway 45 character area. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 81. Highway 80 west of Selma features a similar vegetative character as the section of Highway 80 east of the city, with large swaths of turf edged by forest or pastures. In the western portion, the character is mostly rural and undeveloped. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 82. Wetland vegetation in the western portion of the Lowndes Interpretive Center site. (Source: WLA Studio).

The pastureland section runs for 1.6 miles from the intersection of Old Highway 45 to shortly before the Cahaba River. This zone generally continues the vegetative character of the southernmost portion of Old Highway 45, with expansive pastures and limited development on both sides of the roadway (Figure 81). As the route approaches the Cahaba River bridge, vegetation along the road margins grows denser, framing views along the roadway. Additionally, similar to sections on Highway 80 east of Selma, this route has a wide grass buffer between the road and the areas of trees that bound the corridor that measures between 20 feet and over 180 feet in width. The central grass median is also present along this section of Highway 80.

The forested wetland section of this character area begins on the west side of the Cahaba River and extends eastward for around 4 miles. Here, Highway 80 cuts through a flat woodland characteristic of the Southeastern Floodplains and Low Terraces sub-ecoregion. Most of the trees in this area are deciduous, though scattered pines are present, especially along the woodland edge. Additionally, some pine plantations are located within the area.

Beginning at the intersection with County Road 44, the landscape becomes more fragmented along the corridor. Residential properties increase along the roadway through this section, with areas of woodland less frequent. On the outskirts of Selma, industrial and commercial development becomes more common, though ornamental landscaping on these properties is limited. When landscaping is present, it usually consists of specimen shade trees, crape myrtle, and low evergreen shrubs. Entering Selma, development continues to increase. Vegetation in this section on Highway 80 continues the pattern of limited ornamental plantings on both residential and commercial properties. In general, plant diversity increases with the presence of ornamental vegetation. Prominent tree species include live oak, water oak, Southern magnolia, pine, and occasionally pecan. Plant diversity declines again as Highway 80 continues south into the core of Selma, with smaller ornamental trees such as crape myrtle common.

As the connecting trail route continues onto J.L. Chestnut Jr. Boulevard, the sparse vegetative character continues for a few blocks. Approaching

Martin Luther King Street however, residential properties increase along with the presence of larger deciduous trees and ornamental vegetation. The stretch from the J.L. Chestnut, Jr. Blvd. and Martin Luther King, Jr. Street contains mature and maturing deciduous street trees. Most prominent are the rows of live oaks stretching along both sides of the roadway as it approaches Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

The Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area features a designed landscape with a variety of plant material. The site also contains two areas on the edges of the site that contain naturally occurring plant communities. For ease of description, the site is described in five sections (from the west: a wetland, the parking area, the Lowndes Interpretive Center (building core), the interpretive trail, and a successional woodland).

Wetland Section

A small wetland runs along the eastern edge of the site from just north of the Highway 80 shoulder to the elevated maintenance building area (Figure 82). Bisected by a property fence, the wetland generally resembles an inverted "L" shape, measuring 325 feet in length and 120 feet in width on the north end. Vegetation in this section includes black willow (*Salix nigra*), bulrush (*Typha latifolia*), wax myrtle (*Morella cerifera*), maple (*Acer* spp.), sweetgum, dog fennel (*Eupatorium capillifolium*), vervain (*Verbena* spp.), and various groundcovers. Some of the early succession trees in the area show signs of decline, particularly the pines. The wetland is bordered by an area of mown turf that extends up slope to the parking area section.

Parking Area Section

The parking area section occupies a large portion of the site, comprising roughly 12 acres. This section includes the maintenance area in the northwest corner of the site and extends south and east to include all parking lots and adjacent or integrated planting islands.

The maintenance area is located on an elevated space north of the wetland area (Figure 83 and Figure 84). A small patch of wetland woods stands tall on the south side of this space. Installed plants in this area include six "Green Giant" magnolia



Figure 83. Woodland buffer between the wetland area and the maintenance area in the western portion of the Lowndes Interpretive Center site. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 84. Planted magnolia trees in the maintenance area in the western portion of the Lowndes Interpretive Center site. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 85. A ring of Chinese pistache trees surround a swale in the western portion of the LIC site. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 86. This image, looking east, shows the southern extent of the installed plantings in the western portion of the site, and includes crape myrtle, juniper hedges, and a screen of magnolia. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 87. Double row of overcup oak in a planting island within the LIC parking lot. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 88. Double row of river birch within a parking island in the LIC parking lot. (Source: WLA Studio).

(*Magnolia grandiflora* 'Green Giant'), located east of the maintenance building and associated parking lot, and seven Emily Bruner holly (*Ilex* × 'Emily Brunner') to the south. A large live oak grows just north of the maintenance building. The groundcover in this area is mown Bermuda grass (*Cynadon dactylom*).

A dense hedge of several large wax myrtles extends south from the southeast corner of the maintenance area. After a gap in vegetation, there is a large curving grouping of various plants in the southwest corner of the parking area section. The dominant plant material is a mass planting of loropetalum. Included in the mass planting are several crape myrtle and younger spontaneous saplings.

On the east side of the exit drive is a large park parking area divided into three sections by three planting islands. These planting islands are of irregular shape and each includes different vegetation. The first and largest of the three is an "L" shaped bed that at its longest measures 1,220 feet west to east and 920 feet north to south. The top part of the "L" measures around 320 feet in width. This northern portion contains a north-south oriented swale that is ringed by fifteen Chinese pistache trees (*Pistacia chinensis*) (Figure 85). The southern portion of the planting bed contains a long and linear mass of plantings featuring a variety of trees and shrubs. Installed plants include a long intermittent hedge of Pfitzer juniper (*Juniperus* × *pfitzeriana* 'Pfitzeriana Compacta') that is backed on the north by seven 'Green Giant' magnolias (Figure 86). An additional hedge of pfitzer juniper also grows between the magnolias. Five 'Tuscarora' crape myrtle are spaced out to the south of the continuous hedge of juniper. An additional grouping of five crape myrtle is located in the southwest corner of this section. The site development plan from 2004 notes plantings of daylilies (*Hemerocallis* cvs.) within this bed, but this could not be verified due to timing of fieldwork. Similarly, five more crape myrtle are grouped within a mass planting of loropetalum in the southeast corner of the bed, which is bordered by Pfitzer juniper hedges. Bermuda grass serves as the groundcover for the whole section.

The second large planting area is also in the shape of a "L," though this planting bed is flipped diagonally from the other L-shaped bed. Three

crape myrtles are clustered in the southeast corner of the bed. Another cluster of three crape myrtle are located roughly 100 feet to the west. Roughly 75 feet north, two parallel rows of overcup oak (*Quercus lyrata*) extend east to west as a continuation the rows from an adjacent planting island (Figure 87). In this section, three of the oaks line the north side of a walkway, with only one on the south. Another 100 feet north of the oaks is a planting of six 'Heritage' river birch (*Betula nigra* 'Heritage') arranged in two alternating rows oriented north-south (Figure 88). Another 100 feet north of this group of river birch is another group of six river birch. Finally, 300 feet west is another group of three river birch. Some of the trees in each group are multi-trunked.

The third planting island is located between the centrally located island and the Interpretive Center building. This oval-shaped island is much smaller than the other two, measuring 146 feet north to south and 100 feet east to west. Two planting areas are within the island. The first forms a semi-circle around the southern edge of the island and consists of three crape myrtles set within a mass of Pfitzer juniper. Immediately to the north of this planting, two parallel rows of three overcup oak trees are positioned on either side of a walkway that connects to the Interpretive Center landscape to the east. Like the other planting islands, Bermuda grass is the groundcover in the area.

The final vegetation area within the parking area section is the long area of grass that extends across the north edge of the site from the maintenance building to the interpretive trail area. In the eastern portion of this area, directly above the primary visitor parking lot, are six additional river birch in a single row.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Section

The Lowndes Interpretive Center (LIC) section covers the area immediately surrounding the LIC building.

On the south side of the LIC building, installed vegetation is arranged nearly symmetrically across the face of the plaza. Long, interwoven hedges of Indian hawthorn (*Rhaphiolepis indica*) and Japanese cleyera (*Ternstroemia gymnanthera*) extend outward from the center of the building.



Figure 89. Vegetation on the south side of the LIC building. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 90. Vegetation on the west side of the LIC building that includes green ash trees and a discontinuous cleyera hedge. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 91. Vegetation on the north side of the LIC building that includes green ash trees, cleyera hedge, and shaped holly shrubs. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 92. Vegetation on the east side of the LIC building in the interpretive trail area that includes green ash trees, bounding hedge, and scattered oak set within a large lawn. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 93. Vegetation on the east side of the LIC building in the interpretive trail area. This photo—looking north—shows one of the magnolia set within the juniper hedge and other vegetation in the background. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 94. Photograph looking northeast along the central diagonal walkway in the interpretive trail area of the LIC site. The green ash allee reinforces the axial view. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 95. Photo showing the vegetation surrounding the domed pavilion in the northeast corner of the interpretive trail area at the LIC site. (Source: WLA Studio).

Two groups of three crape myrtle are located on the north side of the hedges (Figure 89). Remnant plantings of variegated liriope (*Liriope muscari* 'Variegata') are scattered within pine mulch in the center of the planting area. Sixty feet south of this planting area is the park unit identification sign, which is surrounded by a circular mass of Pfitzer juniper. The sign and planting of juniper are located within a large turf area between the LIC building and Highway 80.

The cleyera hedge wraps around the southwest corner of the LIC building and extends north towards the primary parking area. In some parts, the hedge is fully formed, while in other parts the individual plants have yet to mass together (Figure 90). The hedge is interrupted by two wide walkways. Five green ash trees are located immediately to the west of the hedge. The hedge and ash trees then extend east to enclose a turf area on the north side of the LIC building. These two spaces are nearly symmetrical, with two Emily Bruner holly shrubs on either side of the walkway where it intersects with the plaza immediately north of the building (Figure 91). The primary difference in vegetation between the two areas is the use of plants to screen the utilities building in the eastern turf area. Five additional Emily Bruner holly shrubs screen the west and south sides of the building.

Interpretive Trail Section

The interpretive trail section of the site extends eastward from the east side of the LIC building. Roughly "D" shaped, the whole area is bordered by a mostly continuous hedge (Figure 92). The north, east, and south sides of the hedge consist of Pfitzer juniper, and the west side is made of cleyera. Periodic gaps in both hedges exist at walkways, tree planting areas, and areas where plants have died. Plantings within this section are concentrated in the northeast and southern portion of the area and along the central walkway running northeast to southwest through the section.



Figure 96. Area of successional and invasive plants in the southeast corner of the LIC site. (Source: WLA Studio).

The southern portion of the section contains five magnolia trees spaced about 80 feet apart within the juniper hedge (Figure 93). Five Shumard oak (*Quercus shumardii*) line the north side of the walkway that runs between the hedge and the interior of the section, alternating with the magnolia directly to their south.

The northeast portion of the interpretive trail section contains a dense planting area surrounding the domed pavilion—a focus point in the landscape design (Figure 94 and Figure 95). A series of stacked hedges form a semi-circle around the west and south sides of the structure. Plants used in the design include six magnolias, two 'Emily Bruner' holly, two hedges of Indian hawthorn, and a section of the juniper hedge. Approaching the pavilion along the central walkway, two masses of Indian hawthorn flank the walkway, with the holly positioned directly behind these hedges. The magnolias are arranged in two groups of three on either side of the pavilion, reinforcing the symmetry of the design.

Thirteen green ash trees line the north-south oriented walkway on the east side of the LIC building in a staggered arrangement. In addition to the central walkway, two sets of two Shumard oaks are positioned along other walkways, with one set located in the northwest corner of interpretive trail section and the other toward the southern end. All described plant material is located within an expansive turf area.



Figure 97. Eastern edge of the elevated plateau in Dallas County, near the Lowndes County line where the elevation is lower at the creek crossing. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 98. Looking east from a high point in Lowndes County along Highway 80. (Source: WLA Studio).

Successional Woodland Section

The successional woodland section is located in the southeast corner of the site (Figure 96). Measuring roughly 1.5 acres, the square-shaped area contains a mixture of native and nonnative plants typical of succession in the southeast. In particular, kudzu covers most of this section, climbing over both low growing shrubs and trees. To the north of this area is a large grass field.

Features

- Installed street trees (Selma, Selmont, Montgomery)
- Specimen trees at Capitol building grounds
- Spontaneously occurring trees
- Residential and commercial landscaping
- Successional forests
- Swamp forests
- Nonnative species



Figure 99. View looking east along Highway 80 at an area of flat topography in Lowndes County, near Benton. Note the ring of higher elevation in the background. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 100. View looking west toward the topographical highpoint containing the Viola Liuzzo memorial. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 101. View looking west along Montgomery Street toward Five Points Hill, seen in the background. (Source: WLA Studio).

- Pasture grasses
- Spanish moss
- Ornamental landscaping of Lowndes Interpretive Center (formal tree, shrub, grass plantings, planting beds, open turf area)
- Natural vegetation of Lowndes Interpretive Center (wetland-adapted species, successional woodland patch)

Topography

Selma March Route Character Area

The march route through the streets of Selma follows graded city streets that have little topographical variation. While not a natural topographic feature, the Edmund Pettus Bridge serves as the high point within the Selma March Route Character Area.

Highway 80 Character Area

In general, Highway 80 progresses through gently rolling terrain, with long stretches of mostly level topography. Three distinct areas of elevated topography exist within the Highway 80 corridor, one of which falls within Dallas County and two within Lowndes County. These elevated areas provide vantage points for scenic views across the landscape.

The highest elevations along Highway 80 in Dallas County relate to a stretch of plateau that begins near the intersection of Highway 80 and State Route 41. The plateau gradually rises as it extends eastward before stopping at the Dallas-Lowndes County line. Soapstone Creek bisects the plateau along the roadway. The eastern half of the plateau is slightly higher in elevation than the western portion. The highest elevations in the western portion are 239 feet above sea level and 243 feet above sea level in the eastern portion. The plateau abruptly ends at Old Town Creek, which serves as the Dallas-Lowndes County line (Figure 97). Highway 80 traverses the plateau for approximately 5 miles.

Upon entering Lowndes County from the west, the landscape levels out for roughly 2.5 miles. After this stretch of low elevation, a plateau rises and continues for nearly 5 miles before sloping back down for another 2.5-mile stretch. From here, the land rises yet again, producing the highest

elevations within the Highway 80 Character Area (Figure 98). Between Big Swamp Creek and Tallawassee Creek, a large plateau rises between the drainages, reaching 414 feet above sea level near the intersection with State Route 97. For comparison, elevations range between 150 feet and 240 feet above sea level for much of the route. Highway 80 runs atop this plateau for roughly 2.5 miles before descending back down to around 220 feet above sea level for the remainder of the county.

Each creek crossing along the roadway constitutes a low point along the route, of which there are nine within the Highway 80 Character Area. The elevations at the creek crossings range between 100 feet and 140 feet above sea level.

Large expanses of flat topography exist within the heavily-developed areas of the Highway 80 corridor—especially at the airports that bookend the character area and areas of cropland (Figure 99). Topographical features that fall outside the corridor, but within the viewshed, include distant elevated ridges that serve as a frame for the immediate viewshed area.

Topographical features that have cultural significance within this character area relate to the site of Viola Liuzzo's murder and the hilltop that contains a memorial to her. The site of the murder occurs around mile marker 110 in Lowndes County at a low point between topographical rises (Figure 100). To the east, atop the nearest rise adjacent to Wright Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church, a memorial commemorates Liuzzo's life and death. The hilltop setting for the memorial provides sweeping views of the scenic quality of this section of Highway 80 as well as views toward the murder site.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

The march route through Montgomery includes topographical variation that is not present within the Selma march route section. From the City of St. Jude campground, the march route follows relatively level, graded roadway. A slight rise occurs at the intersection of Oak Street and Mobile Road and again at Oak Street and West Jeff Davis Avenue. The route then progresses with little topographical variation until it reaches the intersection known as Five Points Hill.



Figure 102. View looking east along Dexter Avenue toward the State Capitol, seen in the background. (Source: WLA Studio).

Five Points Hill marks one of two high points along the march route within Montgomery (Figure 101). At an elevation of 263 feet above sea level, the hill rises above the surrounding landscape. From this point, topography quickly descends to the intersection of Montgomery Street and Dexter Avenue. From this point, Dexter Avenue then gradually ascends towards the Alabama State Capital (Figure 102). The capital sits at 280 feet above sea level in elevation, making this point the highest within the Montgomery March Route Character Area.

Five Points Hill, Dexter Avenue's gradual ascent, and the site of the state capital all serve as topographical features with cultural significance for their association with the march.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

Given its small size, little topographic variation occurs within the Downtown Marion Section. However, the variation that does occur is legible in the landscape, primarily by the position of the Perry County Courthouse elevated several feet above the surrounding town square. The elevation declines slightly from the Zion United Methodist Church north to the County Jail—the route taken by demonstrators in February 1965.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

The topography of the Old Highway 45 corridor is characteristic of its geophysical context, which transitions from hilly, elevated terrain to more



Figure 103. Turf-covered swale located between Highway 80 and the LIC site. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 104. View looking west in the northern portion of the LIC site. This image shows the elevated planting islands, roadway grading, and swale along the edge of the property. (Source: WLA Studio).

level topography. Old Highway 45 itself traverses a relatively gentle topographic profile, which is the likely reason for its construction in this location. The elevation of the route descends in as it progresses southward, with low points along the route occurring at the watercourses, where elevations fall to around 150 feet above sea level.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

The Highway 80 Section of the Marion Connecting Trail passes through mostly level topography as it progresses towards Selma. This low-lying character is typical for the character area's physiological province. No known topographical features with cultural significance exist within this character area.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

As a developed site, the topography of the Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area is thoroughly modified from natural conditions. Site development has resulted in the presence of berms, swales, elevated planting islands, and large graded areas.

A large portion of the site features almost flat topography graded to move surface runoff toward storm drains. A wide swale parallels the site along Highway 80, which is elevated higher than the site. The edge of the swale is higher and steeper on the roadside, and less sloped on the site side (Figure 103). The grass-surfaced swale features periodic drainage grates that allow water to collect in subsurface pipes. Similarly, on the northern edge of the site, a narrower swale collects surface runoff channeled from underground pipes.

Within the parking areas, several planting islands rise above the pavement. These elevated areas are generally 1 foot above the parking elevation.

The western edge of the site features low relief, allowing for the presence of small areas of wetland (Figure 49). The flow of water is channeled underneath the exit drive toward the swale along Highway 80.

A large north-south oriented swale sits at the middle of a bowl-shaped planting island between the truck parking area and the exit drive (Figure 85). The planting island is 158 feet wide and 314 feet long. The bottom of the swale is roughly 5 feet below grade.

A crescent-shaped berm is located in the northeast portion of the site, at the edge of the "construction limit" as indicated on the site development plans. A small depressed area is located immediately to the east of the berm.

The northern portion of the site features another swale, located adjacent to the chain link fence that runs along the property boundary (Figure 104).

No known topographical features with cultural significance exist on site, though the flat character of the site is in keeping with the surrounding context.



Figure 105. View looking north along Martin Luther King Street in Selma. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 108. View looking south along Alabama Street in downtown Selma. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 106. View looking east toward the Edmund Pettus Bridge from the Water Avenue/Broad Street intersection. The angle of this view, taken from the sidewalk along Broad, is similar to that experienced by marchers in 1965. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 109. View east along Highway 80 looking out across the site of Bloody Sunday. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 107. View looking south along Water Avenue toward the Broad Street intersection. The width of the roadway coupled with the low building heights creates an open urban view. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 110. View looking north toward the Edmund Pettus Bridge from the Bloody Sunday site. (Source: WLA Studio).

Features

- Flat topography of downtown Selma
- Rolling topography of Highway 80 Character Area
- Plateau high points of Highway 80 Character Area
- Creek crossing low points of Highway 80 Character Area
- Location of Viola Liuzzo's murder in Highway 80 Character Area
- Viola Liuzzo's Memorial Site in Highway 80 Character Area
- Elevated position of Perry County Courthouse
- Rolling hills of Old Highway 45
- Flat topography of Highway 80 Connecting Trail section
- Grading of Lowndes Interpretive Center Site
- Swales at Lowndes Interpretive Center Site
- Berm at Lowndes Interpretive Center Site
- Low elevation wetland area at Lowndes Interpretive Center Site

Views and Vistas

Views are an important component both the Selma to Montgomery NHT and the Marion to Selma Connecting Trail. Primary views are formed by the interplay between vegetation patterns and topography. Long, sweeping views are provided by the combination of high points and cleared farm fields. Short, tight views exist where vegetation encroaches close on the roadway or in dense urban spaces.

Selma March Route Character Area

The gridded street network and surrounding commercial density allow for framed views along the corridor in this character area. Principal views include (1) the views north and south along Martin Luther King Street (Figure 105), (2) the view south from Broad Street towards the Edmund Pettus Bridge (Figure 106), (3) the view west along Water Avenue toward the Broad Street intersection (Figure 107), (4) the view west along Alabama Street toward Broad Street (Figure 108), and (5) the view from the Edmund Pettus Bridge south towards Selmont and the Bloody Sunday site.



Figure 111. View looking west from a high point along Highway 80 demonstrating the scenic quality of the rural portions of the route. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 112. View looking northwest from the Viola Liuzzo memorial overlook along Highway 80. (Source: WLA Studio).

Highway 80 Character Area

The Highway 80 Character Area features a number of views that are a product of the regular succession open and closed spaces along the route.

In Dallas County, primary views include (1) the views in all directions at the Bloody Sunday site and (2) scenic views as the highway passes into the more rural portion of the county (Figure 109 through Figure 111). The limited hills and bends in the road allow for long and straight views along the highway in both directions. Views across pastures and crop fields are hemmed in by woodlands.

Lowndes County contains several key views, as it features more topographical variation than other counties in the project area. These views include the sweeping views across the flat farmland south of Benton (Figure 99). This view is best seen from the eastbound lanes of Highway 80, where



Figure 113. View looking south along Oak Street showing the long straight views present here. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 114. View looking east along Montgomery Street from Five Points Hill. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 115. View looking west down Dexter Avenue from the State Capitol steps. (Source: WLA Studio).

the view extends southeast for nearly two miles, the view from the adjacent high point out across these farm fields—this view is best seen from the westbound lanes of the highway (Figure 111), and the collection of elevated views from the Highway between Big Creek Swamp and Lowndesboro. A culturally significant view is located about two miles west of Lowndesboro at the Viola Liuzzo Memorial Overlook. This view extends from the memorial site out across the rolling hills of field and forest (Figure 112). Additionally, the view to the south and west from the westbound lanes of Highway 80, about 0.7 miles outside of Lowndesboro, provides one of the most picturesque scenes within the project area; the view located one mile to the east of Lowndesboro looking provides a scenic perspective of the highway corridor and adjacent agricultural fields.

The Montgomery County section does not feature any notable scenic views due to the amount of development present. Still, the vegetation along the highway directs views down the roadway. Open agricultural fields provide views across green pasture towards the woodland edges. Where Highway 80 passes by the west end of the Montgomery Airport, wide open views to the south are present. In this section, long, straight views along Highway 80 extend east and west. No views of note occur between here and the City of St. Jude campus.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

The Montgomery March Route Character Area features several primary views, as well as a few secondary views. Like the Selma March Route, all views along the route hold cultural significance, though some can be identified as primary based on historic association or scenic quality. Key features located on the march route are the long and straight views along Oak Street (Figure 113). The arrangement of houses and limited commercial development help frame the views, and the lack of topographical variation reinforces them. The second primary view is that from Five Points Hill out across the city to the northeast and down along the intersecting roadways (Figure 114). Included in this is the view east along Montgomery Street and the edge of the urban core. A wide view of Court Square and its historic fountain is present at the intersection of Montgomery and Commerce

streets. This scene hints at the grand view along Dexter Avenue. The view east along Dexter Avenue towards the State Capitol is the most significant of this character area for the realization of a design intent (road on axis with Capitol building) and historic significance (the culmination of the march). The view is framed by street trees and several blocks of commercial buildings. The Capitol building is located at the end of the view, up on a hill (Figure 102). The last view in this character area is the view west from where Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke from the Capitol steps to the crowd standing in the road below (Figure 115).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

The principal view in downtown Marion is that from Zion United Methodist Church north towards the Perry County Jail. This feature is associated with the events of February 1965. A secondary view is from the church across the street to the Perry County Courthouse.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

No culturally significant views are known to exist within this section of the Connecting Trail. However, this portion of the connecting route offers periodic scenic views. Several stretches of straight road framed by encroaching vegetation allow for long views down the route and areas of pasture and cropland provide sweeping views across the rural landscape.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

Views along the Highway 80 section of the Connecting Trail are long and broad as the roadway is wide and straight until it reaches the outskirts of Selma. No prominent vantage points exist within this section to allow for elevated views across the landscape. The development on the western edge of Selma limits the possibly for scenic views in the eastern portion of this section.



Figure 116. View looking south along a short walkway leading to the primary entrance into the LIC building. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 117. View looking south out across the interpretive trail area at the LIC site. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 118. Wide-open views in the parking lot area of the LIC site. (Source: WLA Studio).

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

As a designed landscape, the Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area features both vistas and informal views in certain portions of the site.

Two vistas exist within the LIC landscape. The most prominent feature is the vista that provides a visual connection from the southeast corner of the LIC building to the domed pavilion within the interpretive trail area (Figure 94). The vista follows a wide walkway that is lined by green ash trees. The second vista extends from the personal vehicle parking lot to the north side of the LIC building along the brick-paved walkway leading to the primary entrance (Figure 116).

Two views of note exist within the LIC landscape. The first are those that span across the interpretive area and its park-like setting (Figure 117). The second—though less scenic view—is the wide-open view across the truck parking area (Figure 118).

Features

- View south from Brown Chapel A.M.E. down Martin Luther King Street towards Water Avenue
- View south from Broad Street towards the Edmund Pettus Bridge
- View west along Water Avenue toward the Broad Street intersection
- View west along Alabama Street toward Broad Street
- View from the Edmund Pettus Bridge south towards Selmont and the Bloody Sunday site
- Views in all directions at the Bloody Sunday site
- Scenic views of rural landscape in Perry, Dallas, Lowndes, and Montgomery counties
- Sweeping views across the flat farmland south of Benton
- Elevated views between Big Creek Swamp and Lowndesboro
- Viola Liuzzo Memorial Overlook
- Open views in vicinity of Montgomery Airport
- Long and straight views along Oak Street
- Views from Five Points Hill out across the city to the northeast and down along the intersecting roadways
- View east along Montgomery Street
- Wide view of Court Square and its historic fountain from the intersection of Montgomery and Commerce streets
- Axial view east along Dexter Avenue towards the State Capitol
- View from Capitol steps to the roadway road below
- Vista from the southeast corner of the LIC building to the domed pavilion
- Vista from the personal vehicle parking lot to the north side of the LIC building along the brick-paved walkway
- Open views across parking areas at Lowndes Interpretive Center Site



Figure 119. Memorial to Dr. King and other civil rights figures outside Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma, indicating a commemorative land use in addition to a civic and religious use. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 120. Memorial Park on the east side of the Edmund Pettus Bridge, near the Bloody Sunday site. (Source: WLA Studio).

Land Use

Land use within the project area can be grouped into eight categories: transportation, agricultural, residential, commercial, civic, commemorative, interpretive, and recreational.[414]

Selma March Route Character Area

The Selma March Route Character Area features seven identified land uses: transportation, residential, commercial, civic, commemorative, interpretive, and recreational.

This character area begins at the Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church, which is set within a residential context. An educational facility is also located in the vicinity. The Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church property contains commemorative features, such as a bust of Martin Luther King, Jr. and a list of civil rights movement participants (**Figure 119**). Interpretive panels are located across the street from the church, representing recreational tourism and interpretive land uses. The route continues through a mixed-use context of commercial and residential properties before entering the commercial core of Selma. The Selma Interpretive Center is located at the corner of Water and Broad streets, which reinforces a recreational tourism land use. Lastly, the whole route from Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church through downtown to the Edmund Pettus Bridge features a commemorative land use for its association with the events of March 1965.

Highway 80 Character Area

The primary land use within the Highway 80 Character Area is transportation. The character area also includes agricultural, residential, commercial, civic, commemorative, interpretive, and recreational land uses.

This character area begins at the site of the Bloody Sunday confrontation. Here, a mixture of commemorative recreational, and commercial land uses intermix. A small memorial park is located on the north side of the highway and features a variety of plaques, monuments, and displays related to

414. "Civic" refers to governmental, religious, and educational land uses.



Figure 121. Memorial to Viola Liuzzo installed near the site of her murder along Highway 80 in Lowndes County. The inclusion of this feature in the landscape reinforces a commemorative land use. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 122. Commemorative land use is present at the site of the old Perry County Jail. (Source: WLA Studio).

both Bloody Sunday and the legacy of racism and violence in the area (Figure 120). An associated pedestrian trail leads from the memorial park through a woodland to the Alabama River.

Continuing east, Highway 80 passes through a mixture of commercial properties and small pine plantations. In Selmont, residential properties are more common. The route then progresses through areas of agricultural, commercial, residential, and civic land uses. The presence of two airfields within this section broadens the transportation land use to include aviation.

Signage marking the National Historic Trail as well as the Selma to Montgomery March campsite locations produces a commemorative land use. The Viola Liuzzo Memorial Overlook located adjacent to Wright Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church contains a granite tablet memorializing the life and death of Liuzzo. The memorial is surrounded by an ornamental fence (Figure 121).

Montgomery March Route Character Area

The Montgomery March Route Character Area includes a variety of land uses, with the majority being transportation, residential, and commercial as it passes through neighborhoods and business districts. Several churches and governmental building are along the route—especially Dexter Avenue Baptist and the Alabama State Capitol—that results in periodic civic land use activities. As this character area follows the historic route of the 1965 march, it includes a commemorative land use. Periodic wayside signage interprets the history of the march and the city of Montgomery during 1965.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

This character area features commemorative, interpretive, commercial, and civic land uses. Commemorative markers are located outside the fence that surrounds the Old Perry County Jail and Zion United Methodist Church (**Figure 122**). NPS interpretive waysides are also installed at these locations. A commemorative marker for Jimmy Lee Jackson is located in a parking lot north of the church.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

The Old Highway 45 section features transportation, residential, agricultural, and commemorative land uses. The road passes through a mostly rural landscape, with disperse residential properties and large fields for pasture and crops. Signage indicates the commemorative name for the route as the as Jimmie Lee Jackson-Albert Turner Sr. Memorial Highway.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

The Highway 80 section of the connecting trail features transportation, residential, commercial, and agricultural land uses. Agricultural land use pertains to the pastures and pine plantations that are located in the western portion of this section. Residential and commercial land uses are concentrated in the eastern portion of this section.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

Land use in this character area is focused on interpretation of the local civil rights events of 1965. To this end, the LIC building interprets these events through internal exhibits and film. Outside, a walkway system includes interpretive waysides to relay this information to the public. Recreational land use pertains to picnic tables and rest spaces located throughout the site. A secondary land use pertains to the use of the site by tractor trailers as a rest stop.

Features

- Commemorative/Interpretive/Recreational land use (entire project area)
- Residential land use (entire project area)
- Commercial land use (entire project area)
- Civic land use (entire project area)
- Transportation land use (entire project area)
- Agricultural land use (Highway 80, Old Highway 45)

Spatial Organization

The primary spatial organizational features of all character areas are the roadways that constitute the national historic and connecting trails. Buildings—especially within commercial areas—also help to define the corridor in some character areas. In other areas, the absence of development and presence of agricultural fields produces a more open sense of spatial organization. Vegetation—or the lack thereof—along roadways also helps to determine the overall feeling of space.

Selma March Route Character Area

The spatial organization of the Selma March Route Character Area is largely defined by road widths, building heights, building setbacks, and street vegetation. The combination of these elements produces a generally constrained sense of space and helps to reinforce the linear nature of the march routes. Water and Broad Streets are wider than other Selma city streets, and Broad Street features the tallest buildings. The mostly residential Martin Luther King Street features wide setbacks for its buildings, but large street trees constrain the sense of space along the roadway.



Figure 123. The sense of space along Highway 80 is largely determined by the presence of vegetation along the roadside and width of the median in any given location. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 124. Vacant lots along Mobile Street in Montgomery influence the spatial organization along the march route in the area. (Source: WLA Studio).

Highway 80 Character Area

Highway 80—including its wide median and side buffer areas—defines the spatial organization of this character area. The sense of spatial organization alternates between more-open and more-closed as the highway passes in and out of agricultural areas, development clusters, and areas of woodland (Figure 123).

Montgomery March Route Character Area

Similar to the spatial organization in Selma, the spatial organization of the Montgomery March Route Character Area is largely defined by road widths, building heights, building setbacks, and street vegetation. At the southern end of the character area, the low height and regular

arrangement of residential buildings and street trees define the spatial organization. As the march route approaches Five Points Hill, vacant building lots are present, which produces a more open sense of space (Figure 124). From Five Points Hill through downtown Montgomery, the sense of space is defined by the height of the buildings and how far off the road they are set. On Dexter Avenue, space is defined by the broad width of the road and its terminus at the State Capitol Building.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

The downtown Marion portion of the connecting trail is spatially defined by the "square" layout of its downtown. Straight, short sections of roadway intersect to form a square around a central space dominated by open space and the large courthouse building. The commercial and civic properties that line the road are low. This, along with the absence of street trees, produces an overall open feel within the square.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

The Old Highway 45 section of the connecting trail is similar to the Highway 80 as a whole in that it passes in and out of open spaces formed by agricultural land use. However, along Highway 45 the road is much narrower, and vegetation is much closer to the roadway, producing an enclosed feeling in wooded sections of the route. The constricted space is contrasted with the more open southern end of this character area.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

The section of Highway 80 west of Selma is similar in spatial organization to the section to the east of the city, with the wide highway passing in and out of agricultural areas, development clusters, and areas of woodland. In areas where vegetation is located further away from the road, the corridor becomes more expansive. In general, the western portion of this character area is more spatially open, whereas the eastern portion is located within the City of Selma and is more confined spatially. The middle portion of this section is characterized by extensive forest land, but again, it never encroaches close enough to the roadway to enclose the corridor.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

The Lowndes Interpretive Center has a three-part spatial organization. The three spaces differ in size and primary use, with a western section related to tractor trailer parking and site circulation, a middle section related to the LIC building and its access, and an eastern section related to interpretation and recreation.

Individual secondary spaces exist within these three areas. The northwest corner of the site contains the maintenance building and parking area; a row of visitor amenities is location within a planting island south of the bus parking area; and the domed pavilion is both part of the interpretive walkway area and stands as its own space.

Features

- Spatial organization by width of road corridor
- Spatial organization by building height and setbacks
- Spatial organization by vegetation
- Overall three-part spatial organization of Lowndes Interpretive Center site
- Spatial organization of individual spaces within LIC site formed by tree plantings and walkway placement

Cultural Traditions

The Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail and the Marion Connecting Trail landscapes are products of past and present cultural traditions. Many of the traditions that informed the development of these landscapes predate the events of 1965, while other traditions began after the march. Cultural traditions reflect particular values and philosophies of a group of people that are then passed along to subsequent generations. Note that while some of the cultural traditions described below may seem so common that their description as a "cultural tradition" seems unusual, they nevertheless reflect distinct ways of living in the landscape that originate with replicated cultural norms and values.

Additionally, some of the cultural traditions that pertain to the national historic trail are intangible, meaning that they do not leave physical evidence of their presence or directly influence the



Figure 125. Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trial "Historic Route" signs line the roadways of the project area. These roadways have long facilitated cultural traditions of travel and trade. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 126. The construction of the interstate in a majority African American neighborhood, displacing scores of residents and destroying multiple city blocks, reflects cultural traditions related to segregation and white supremacy. A recently installed City of Montgomery interpretive wayside explains this history to tourists. (Source: WLA Studio).

development of the landscape. The march route itself holds deep cultural significance regardless of the tangible means of commemoration, such as informational signs or interpretive exhibits. For example, the singing of freedom songs in African American churches or as part of demonstrations is an intangible cultural tradition, as it leaves no trace in the landscape. Similarly, the commemoration of the march by contemporary individuals and groups who walk the route does not shape the landscape itself but is nevertheless a tradition that is acted out within this cultural landscape and influences both public perception of the march and the management of the route by various agencies and stakeholders.

Detailed descriptions of features that reflect the cultural traditions of the project area are discussed in their respective Landscape Characteristic sections.

Selma March Route Character Area

The Selma March Route Character Area exhibits a mosaic of cultural traditions that resulted in its present-day character. These traditions include building construction techniques and architectural style choices, the regular organization of Selma's streets, the placement of the city by a navigable river, and the general separation of commercial and residential land uses. These cultural traditions have influenced the overall form of the city.

The primary cultural traditions that relate to the national historic trail include the establishment of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail, which is rooted in a tradition of historic preservation and government-sanctioned commemoration of American history. The establishment of the trail fostered the use of the route by tourists and commemorators and has resulted in the addition of associated features (streetscape improvements, signs, memorials, museums) that reinforce the tradition of commemoration of the civil rights activities of 1965.

Highway 80 Character Area

Broadly, the Highway 80 Character Area reflects cultural traditions that date back centuries—primarily agricultural-based settlement and long-distance travel. The pattern of land division into individual, arable parcels is a cultural tradition characteristic of European settler-colonial practices that are continued into the present. Further, the types of crops grown and animals raised reflect culturally specific dietary traditions in the southeastern United States. Highway 80 itself not only reflects the cultural traditions of trade and travel via automobile but also the valuation of these practices as necessary for the functioning of contemporary society.

The cultural tradition of commemoration of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail is represented within the landscape in several

ways (Figure 125). One example is the Memorial Park near the south end of the Edmund Pettus Bridge, which not only honors the participants of the events of March 1965 but also those who suffered through slavery, lynching, and racial discrimination. Additionally, the signage that orients travelers along the route (e.g. campsite and historic trail signs) and the management of the highway as a National Historic Trail reinforce the commemorative tradition. The march route's management as an NHT encourages the preservation of the historic setting and thus the commemorative value of the route.

Lastly, one example of an intangible cultural tradition for this character area is the use of the area by "pilgrims" who commemorate the march by walking the route from Selma to Montgomery.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

As an urban landscape, the Montgomery March Route Character Area reflects cultural traditions similar to the Selma March Route Character Area, including its location adjacent to a major river, its regular division of space, and patterns of commercial development. However, the route in Montgomery passes through areas that highlight cultural traditions of racial and economic discrimination—specifically "redlining" and urban renewal through interstate construction. Redlining was the mid-twentieth century practice by government agencies and the private sector to divide cities into sections considered worthy of real estate investment. The generated maps showed banks where they were allowed to offer loans to potential home buyers. Redlined areas were those deemed unworthy of investment based on their assessment of being on the decline or "hazardous". These areas—colored red on maps—were almost exclusively African American neighborhoods formed through legal segregation during the Jim Crow era. By not being able to secure a loan, African Americans could not invest in their neighborhoods, generating a cycle of disinvestment and poverty. The march route passes through such historically redlined areas—the effects of which are evident today. Additionally, the construction of the interstate and its interchanges in the city demolished large portions of African American neighborhoods, further fragmenting local communities (**Figure 126**). The march route passes through areas impacted by this development as well. These discriminatory activities are cultural traditions that shaped and continued to shape the cultural landscape of Montgomery.

Pertaining directly to the commemoration of the march route, the Montgomery's landscape reinforces the cultural tradition of commemoration through road signage, informational waysides developed by both the city and by the NPS, various monuments, plaques, and markers, and street beautification efforts. The city's improvement of sidewalks, tree plantings, and installation of new signage is in keeping with both the tradition of commemoration as well as that of heritage tourism (Figure 127). Additionally, as with the other sections of the study area, the intangible tradition of commemoration is present through people's retracing of the march route.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

The landscape of downtown Marion reflects the cultural tradition of municipal planning that employed a town square and a centrally located courthouse. This centering of a high style courthouse in small downtown areas represents the value town planners placed on civic administration. Further, just as with Selma and Montgomery, the architecture of the character area reflects cultural traditions related to aesthetics for buildings in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

The landscape contains several features that relate to the commemoration of the events of 1965. Behind Zion United Methodist Church, in the area in which Jimmy Lee Jackson was shot, a now-damaged plaque memorializes Jackson. An NPS interpretive wayside stands in front of the church, and a polished black granite monument honoring those who took part in the civil rights movement is also in the area.

North of the church, outside the old county jail, additional features support the cultural tradition of commemoration. These features include a black granite monument that honors the Reverend James Orange, a concrete block that is used to support memorial wreaths, and an NPS wayside (Figure 122).



Figure 127. Interpretive panels line the march route through Montgomery, from the City of St. Jude to the State Capitol. (Source: WLA Studio).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

The Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section is similar to the other character areas featuring long sections of linear roadway. Overarching cultural traditions present here pertain to agricultural-based settlement and production and transportation.

As a recently established connecting trail, the roadway does not feature the extent of commemoration as other character areas. However, the road is officially known as the Jimmie Lee Jackson-Albert Turner Sr. Memorial Highway, and signage along the route acknowledges this commemoration.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

Like Highway 80 east of Selma, the stretch of Highway 80 to its west reflects cultural traditions related to settlement, agricultural production, transportation, and trade. These traditions inform the development of the land and factor into decisions on how the corridor is managed and maintained.

At present, no commemorative features exist along the route until the trail reaches First Baptist Church in Selma where an NPS wayside is located on church property. The route then continues down to Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church to connect to the march route that holds deep commemorative connection.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

The primary cultural traditions that inform the landscape of the Lowndes Interpretive Center site is commemoration and interpretation of the civil rights events of the 1960s. To this end, an interpretive center and interpretive trail educate the public via exhibits and waysides. Further, the architecture of the building and adjacent structures reference important landmarks of the Selma to Montgomery March, including the State Capitol



Figure 128. Water Avenue is a wide roadway within downtown Selma. The road features sidewalks on both sides, portions of which are surfaced in red brick like other areas within the character area. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 129. Circulation features along and including Alabama Avenue in downtown Selma. Note the concrete sidewalks, designated parking spaces, and the principal roadway. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 130. View of Broad Street looking north. The photograph also shows the varying materials used for sidewalks in the downtown area, with two types of brick present here at the intersection of Broad Street and Water Avenue. (Source: WLA Studio).

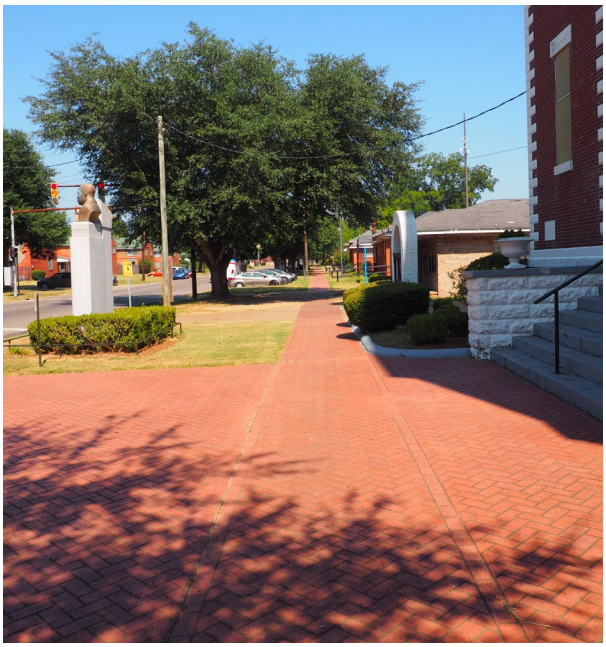


Figure 131. Brick sidewalks and gathering areas differentiate this area around the George Washington Carver Homes and Brown Chapel. (Source: WLA Studio).

and Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. The site is used by pilgrims who commemorate the march, as well as by participants of the larger organized events.

Secondarily, the presence of the tractor trailer parking area connects the site to the transportation traditions of the adjacent Highway 80 Character Area.

Features

- Commemoration traditions
- Interpretation traditions
- Agriculture traditions
- Settlement traditions
- Architectural traditions
- Transportation traditions



Figure 132. Edmund Pettus Bridge spans across the Alabama River. (Source: WLA Studio).

Circulation

Selma March Route Character Area

Circulation features within the Selma March Route Character Area include the streets and pedestrian sidewalks that connect the Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church with the Edmund Pettus Bridge.

Vehicular

The march route features several streets—Martin Luther King Street, Alabama Avenue, Water Avenue, and Broad Street. The streets are typical of small towns arranged by blocks, with east-west oriented streets bisected by north-south oriented streets, creating a gridded pattern. The march route thus makes several 90 degree turns as it progresses through downtown Selma.

The road widths along Water Avenue range from 75 feet to over 90 feet but narrow to around 55 feet at intersections. Broad Street measures similarly. Alabama Avenue and Martin Luther King Street are narrower, measuring around 37 feet in width. The widths of Water and Broad streets—along with their lack of mature street vegetation—visually distinguish these streets from the others in the character area (Figure 128).

Pedestrian

The roadways that comprise the march route are lined by pedestrian sidewalks (Figure 129). The sidewalks along Water Avenue between Broad and Franklin streets are surfaced in red brick pavers. The section between Franklin and Martin Luther King streets has dark brick paving on the south side of the road and a mixture of concrete and exposed aggregate paving on the north. These sidewalks are located adjacent to the commercial building facades. The alignment of the sidewalks along Water Avenue shifts to accommodate on-street parking.

Sidewalks along both sides of Broad Street feature red brick paving with narrow bands of concrete (Figure 130). This design creates a series of brick-paved squares along the sidewalk. A continuous band of concrete runs parallel to the street adjacent to the curb.

The sidewalks along both sides of Martin Luther King Street are paved in brick as well, though are much narrower than those within the downtown core (Figure 131). These sidewalks are also set back further off the road than those that run through the commercial center. The sidewalks along Alabama Street are constructed of concrete, with no ornamental embellishments.

Edmund Pettus Bridge

Perhaps the most iconic circulation feature along the entire National Historic Trail, the Edmund Pettus Bridge, spans the wide Alabama River at the east edge of the character area (Figure 132). The bridge, which measures 1248 feet, 6 inches length,



Figure 133. Six lanes of roadway lay across this section of Selmont—the two-lane auxiliary roads and the four-lanes Highway 80. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 136. Two bridges cross over Old Town Creek at the Dallas County-Lowndes County line. Note the difference in construction, with the bridge on the right (eastbound) being older. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 134. Paved cuts through the central median are a common circulation feature along Highway 80. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 137. One of the westbound lane bridges in the Big Swamp area. The westbound bridges are newer in construction than the those along the eastbound lanes. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 135. Modern guardwalls placed to the inside face of the older guardwalls on the eastbound lanes of Highway 80. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 138. One of the typical eastbound lane bridges in the Big Swamp area. The older materials and differences in design and materials stand in contrast to the bridges along the westbound lanes. (Source: WLA Studio).

"carries four lanes of traffic, two eastbound and two westbound, over the river. The total exterior width of the deck measures 56 feet, 4.8 inches. A raised concrete median strip dividing the east and west bound lanes of traffic, runs the length of the bridge. A sidewalk runs along the outer edge of both the east and west bound lanes."[415] *The architectural and structural character of the bridge is discussed in more detail in the Buildings and Structures section.*

Highway 80 Character Area

This portion of Highway 80 runs for 43.3 miles through Dallas, Lowndes, and Montgomery counties, alternating between two and four lanes. There are bridges located along the roadway at creeks and drainage crossings. No pedestrian circulation exists along the majority of Highway 80, though there are some sidewalks along the roadways as the route get closer to the City of St. Jude campus.

Dallas County

Beginning from the east end of the Edmund Pettus Bridge, the corridor contains three distinct roadways: the four-lane Highway 80 and two, two-lane auxiliary roads that service the adjacent businesses. The unnamed auxiliary roads run parallel to Highway 80 (Figure 133). The auxiliary road that borders the east bound lanes of Highway 80 runs nearly 1 mile. The road bordering the westbound lanes measures roughly 0.4 miles. This section of the corridor also contains paved entrance drives associated with the businesses in the area. These properties feature parking lots of varying sizes. The two auxiliary roads are separated from Highway 80 by raised grass medians with gaps to allow for turning vehicles. Similarly, Highway 80 also includes sections of raised grass medians separating the eastbound and westbound lanes. Where needed, both sides of Highway 80 feature turn or deceleration lanes. At certain points, the road shoulder features a rumble strip.

No pedestrian circulation features are present in this section of the character area aside from a pathway associated with the memorial park by the river and walkways associated with commercial properties.

Highway 80 features a set of bridges near milepost 87 in the Selmont section of the route. The 330-foot-long parallel bridges have guard walls constructed of concrete posts set into a wide concrete curb. The horizontal and vertical members are spaced to produce openings in the walls. The bridges are supported by a series of central pillars that span the width of the bridge at the top of the pillar.

The last notable circulation feature is the railroad crossing along Highway 80 in Selmont. This is an at-grade railroad crossing. This is one of two instances of railroad tracks crossing Highway 80 within this character area. The second is also within Dallas County, near the Craig Airfield.

After passing through Selmont, Highway 80 begins to enter a more scenic landscape. The grass median between lanes widens, as do the shoulders on either side of the road. The median is periodically broken by wide turn lanes that allow for U-turns and access to adjacent properties. These cuts into the median are characteristic for the entire route (Figure 134).

The route through Dallas County has four long sections of straight road, with several instances of gentle curves and small topographic rises that visual diversify the corridor. However, there is no indication that these deviations were intentionally created for visual interest.

Another set of bridges are located at Soapstone Creek at milepost 94.6. The bridge on the eastbound lane is the older of the two, with the westbound bridge presumably constructed when the new lanes were added to Highway 80. A modern concrete guardwall fronts the older guardrails on the eastbound bridge, obscuring the historic character of the bridge (Figure 135).

Lowndes County

A pair of bridges spans Old Town Creek at the Lowndes County line (Figure 136). Similar to the previous pair in Dallas County, the bridge that is part of the eastbound lanes is the older of the two, with a modern guardwall placed on the inside of the old guard rails. The old guardrails are visible from the westbound lanes of travel. The eastbound bridge measures about 590 feet long and the westbound bridge measures about 640 feet in length. The westbound bridge includes the modern

415. Cynthia Walton, "Edmund Pettus Bridge." (National Historic Landmark Nomination Form. National Park Service, 2012), 4–5.



Figure 139. Auxiliary road (left) runs parallel to Highway 80 (right) at the intersection with State Route 97 south of Lowndesboro. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 141. Intersections with traffic lights increase as the route passes into more-developed Montgomery. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 140. A pair of bridges crosses over Tallawassee Creek. The guardwalls feature open drain holes along the base. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 142. Looking north from the Highway 80 – Highway 31 interchange. The route continues north along Highway 31 for several miles as it enters the southwest of Montgomery. (Source: WLA Studio).

concrete guardwall. Metal guardrails line the edges of the roadway leading up to and extending after these bridges.

At Big Creek Swamp, Highway 80 passes over five pairs of bridges, with each pair serving a direction of travel (Figure 137 and Figure 138). The five bridges of the eastbound lanes are nearly identical except in length. From west to east, these bridges measure 586, 202, 202, 170, and 169 feet long and are of the same design as the bridge at the Lowndes-Dallas County line. The eastbound bridges are older than those of the westbound lanes, which have modern concrete guardwalls and measure 641, 255, 326, 221, and 257 feet in length. Spans of metal guard rail line the road before and after the bridges.



Figure 143. Photograph showing the Highway 31 – Mobile Highway intersection and the typical development along this section of the route. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 144. Typical concrete sidewalks run along the boundary of the City of St. Jude campus. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 145. Sidewalks run intermittently along Oak Street, though they are present on both sides of the road as it approaches West Jeff Davis Avenue to the north. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 146. Photograph of the Oak Street – West Jeff Davis Avenue intersection. Note the wide sidewalks, pained crosswalks, and elevated overpass in the background. (Source: WLA Studio).

In the least developed portions of the county, the width of the highway corridor expands to nearly 300 feet, with the median measuring between 120 and 140 feet wide. Where development is present, the corridor remains around 300 feet wide, but the medians narrow to around 50 feet wide to accommodate turning lanes or auxiliary roadways. One such axillary roadway runs parallel to the eastbound lanes of Highway 80 at the intersection with State Route 97 for 0.74 miles (Figure 139).[416]

A pair of bridges spans over Tallawassee Creek (Figure 140). Slightly offset, the two bridges differ in guardwall material, but both are of a newer concrete construction. The eastbound lanes bridge is 348 feet in length and the westbound lanes bridge is 164 feet in length.

A set of bridges is located at the Lowndes-Montgomery County line as it crosses over Pintlala Creek. Whereas for most of the route the eastbound lanes feature the older bridge, here the older bridge is part of the westbound lanes. A modern concrete face has been added to the older concrete guardrails. Both bridges measure roughly 600 feet in length.

Lastly, a narrow concrete sidewalk connects the parking area at Wright Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church with the Viola Liuzzo Memorial Overlook site (Figure 100).

Montgomery County

Highway 80's route through Montgomery County passes through more developed areas, which narrows the right of way to around 175 feet wide. Plantings of live oaks line Highway 80 in the vicinity of the airport. Throughout this section, the number of driveways, access drives, and other circulation features increase (Figure 141). While the land use changes affect the visual character of the corridor, the highway itself remains in keeping with the character of the roadway to the west.

The march route continues to the interchange to access Highway 31 (Figure 142). Approaching from the west, the route turns left onto Highway 31 North and passes under a set of bridges. For the

416. As will be discussed in the Analysis and Evaluation section, this roadway is a remnant from the historic period Highway 80 alignment.



Figure 147. The interstate runs atop South Holt Street as the march route progresses into the heart of the city. Note the recent streetscape improvements installed street trees and updated sidewalks. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 148. Holt Street dead-ends on the north at Day Street. Note that the designated march route follows east on Day Street, but a number of marchers also took Grady Street, seen here in the foreground-right of the image. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 149. Mobile Street looking south toward Grady Street. Note the varying sidewalk materials and conditions. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 150. Mobile Street looking north toward Five Points Hill along the sidewalk. (Source: WLA Studio).

first mile the character of Highway 31 is similar to Highway 80, with intermittent sections of grassy median flanked by four lanes of traffic.

A set of bridges spans Catoma Creek. Like other sets of bridges in this character area, the two bridges differ in age. In this instance, the northbound bridge is older and has the same concrete facing over the old concrete guard posts. The southbound bridge is newer and features standard concrete guardwalls. Highway 31 North then turns to the west and the march route continues onto Mobile Highway.

The stretch of the route along Mobile Highway north to West Fairview Avenue differs in character from Highways 80 and 31 (Figure 143). In this section, Mobile Highway passes through a heavily developed area, which limits the presence of a wide grassy right of way and central median. The road still has four traffic lanes and additional turn lanes where needed. An intermittent sidewalk extends along the west side of the road, with desire paths and driveways utilized where no sidewalks exist. This general character continues onto West Fairview Avenue toward The City of St. Jude, except that sidewalks run along both sides of the avenue.



Figure 151. Five Points Hill intersection looking north. Note the new cobblestone pavers and sidewalks surrounding the intersection. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 153. Montgomery Street headed east into the core of downtown Montgomery. Note the updates to the streetscape including new sidewalk surfacing and young tree plantings. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 152. Five Points Hill intersection looking east. Note the new cobblestone pavers and two traffic islands. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 154. Court Square roundabout in the heart of the city. Note the dark grey cobblestone pavers, identical to those at the Five Points Hill intersection and the sidewalk that rings the fountain fence. (Source: WLA Studio).

Montgomery March Route Character Area

From the south side of the City of St. Jude campus towards the intersection with Oak Street, West Fairview Avenue heads east. Sidewalks continue to line the road in this section, with additional improvements such as curb cuts for accessible ramps and newer paving present (Figure 144). As the march route continues onto Oak Street, the width of the corridor narrows to two lanes, with turn lanes in some locations. Sidewalks continue north on Oak Street (Figure 145).

The character of the route changes as it moves through the Stephens Street intersection. Here, the road width is in keeping with the feel of a residential area, with sidewalks present on both sides of the street. The sidewalk is located only on the west side of the road for the northern portion of the street. Other circulation features include the numerous drive aprons that line the road. With no topographical obstacles, Oak Street is oriented north-south, with minimal deviation. No traffic lights are present on Oak Street, and traffic is controlled via stop signs at most intersections.

West Jeff Davis Avenue has broad sidewalks on both sides of the street as it approaches the interstate underpass (Figure 146 and Figure 147). Recent improvements to the streetscape include new street plantings and resurfacing of the sidewalks. The roadway here is 36 feet wide. The route continues north onto South Holt Street, which features similar streetscape improvements and street width (Figure 148). The route then turns east onto Day Street, which is narrower at roughly 20 feet wide. A 6-foot-wide sidewalk lines the south side of the street.



Figure 155. Recent improvements to the Court Square. Note the different materials of the crosswalks, plaza, roadway, and intersection. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 156. Dexter Avenue looking east. The road features four travel lanes and diagonal on-street parking. Recently improved sidewalks flank the roadway. The brick paved median historically contained a track for a trolley. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 157. Commemorative crosswalk near the State Capitol on Dexter Avenue showing the silhouettes of footprints, signifying those who took part in the Selma to Montgomery March. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 158. Intersection of Jefferson and Pickens streets in downtown Marion. The street network in this character area forms a square around a centrally located courthouse. (Source: WLA Studio).

Day Street then intersects with the northeast-southwest oriented Mobile Street. Again, it appears the march actually used Grady Street. It is possible that both streets were used, but it is certain that Grady Street was. Either way, both the segments of Grady and Day streets that were used for the march were short and connected to Mobile Street after a block.

This road passes through residential and formerly commercial area as it moves toward Five Points Hill (Figure 149). Mobile Street has the same streetscape improvements present on other Montgomery streets, with recently paved sidewalks and street tree plantings (Figure 150). Mobile Street is about 30 feet wide. Additional circulation features within this section include driveways, small parking lots, and pedestrian walkways. The sidewalk along Mobile Street widens on the north side of the road as it nears Five Points Hill.

Five Points Hill is an irregular-shaped intersection featuring a central roundabout, as well as an adjacent raised rectangular island to its north (Figure 151 and Figure 152). Six roads feed into the intersection in a radial pattern. Mobile Street connects via the southwest. From north to south, the intersection measures roughly 230 feet and 140 feet from east to west. The sidewalks that surround the intersection appear recently improved. Traffic at the intersection is controlled via stop signs. The intersection is paved in gray cobblestones.

From Five Points Hill the march route continues downslope along Montgomery Street. The road varies between 50 and 70 feet wide depending on



Figure 159. Aerial image of downtown Marion, showing square layout and surrounding context. (Source: Google Earth).

the presence of on-street parking space. A mixture of mature and young street trees line most of the roadway (Figure 153). Montgomery Street is a two-lane road except for the block between Molton and Lee streets where it has four traffic lanes.

Montgomery Street intersects with Commerce Street at Court Square—a prominent circulation feature in the core of downtown (Figure 154). The irregular shaped "square" has a roundabout containing a large water feature, surrounded by a fence. A circular sidewalk surrounds the base of the fence. The paving of the square matches that of Five Points Hill, with grey cobble stones paving the intersection. Crosswalks are also paved in the same concrete cobble material but are arranged in uniform rows, as opposed to the mosaic arrangement of the square paving (Figure 155). The fountain is located on axis with Dexter Avenue and the State Capitol building to the east.

Dexter Avenue is a four-lane road that spans several city blocks as it approaches the Capitol building. The road is roughly 75 feet wide with the inclusion of on-street parking. The four lanes of traffic are separated by a low relief median paved in light grey concrete cobbles (Figure 156). Sidewalks line both sides of Dexter Avenue. Of the twelve sections of sidewalk along Dexter Avenue, seven are of the same design and materials, with a combination of brick and concrete paving and evenly spaced tree planters. Other sections of sidewalk parking along Dexter Avenue is angled. Traffic is controlled via stop lights. Crosswalks are typical painted stripes, except across Dexter Avenue at South Decatur Street, where a crosswalk containing the silhouettes of shoe footprints of varying sizes spans the road (Figure 157). Dexter Avenue ends at South Bainbridge Street across from the Alabama State Capitol. Across from this intersection, there is a flight of stairs with several landings that ascends to the Capitol building.



Figure 160. This photograph shows the character of Old Highway 45 as it begins to transition from the urban core. (Source: WLA Studio).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

The Downtown Marion character area is largely defined by the streets that bound the downtown core. The streets along the connecting trail—Jefferson and Pickens—are typical city thoroughfares (Figure 158). Both have angled on-street parking spaces and are around 60 feet wide. Sidewalks are located along both sides of each road, but they do not extend north past Green Street. Sidewalk materials and layout differ on the streets. Some are wider than others, and some are incorporated into the design of adjacent properties, such as at the Courthouse grounds (Figure 159).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

This section is technically composed of two different roadways—Washington Street and Old Highway 45, which is also known as Jimmie Lee Jackson-Albert Turner Sr. Memorial Highway. Washington Street runs through an area of development as it heads south. Intermittent sidewalks are present along both sides of the road for several blocks. Washington Street contains three lanes for most of its length, with northbound and southbound lanes separated by a middle turn lane. At the intersection with County Route 30, the road becomes two lanes. Shortly thereafter, Washington Street crosses over Highway 183 via a 141-foot-long bridge. The bridge has vertical concrete posts and horizontal metal rails.



Figure 161. Sections of two-lane Old Highway 45 are flanked by vegetation. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 162. Intersection of Old Highway 45 and Highway 80, which maintains a rural character in this section. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 163. Highway 80 west of Selma is similar in character to the rural portions of Lowndes County. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 164. As development increases as Highway 80 reaches the outskirts of Selma, new circulation features are present such as driveways, turn lanes, and sections of sidewalk. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 165. Looking south along Martin Luther King Street and the brick paved sidewalk that runs in front of First Baptist Church. (Source: WLA Studio).

Washington Street becomes Old Highway 45 at the city boundary near where the road intersects with Magnolia Street. At this point, pedestrian circulation along the roadway ends, and the corridor becomes typical of rural backroads, with a narrow grass buffer between the road and adjacent properties (Figure 160 and Figure 161). The road width throughout the corridor is roughly 26 feet. Standard aluminum guardrails line sections of the road. A short bridge crosses a creek at the Perry-Dallas County line. The bridge is about 32 feet long and features typical concrete guardwalls.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

Highway 80 west of Selma is similar to Highway 80 east of the city. The four-lane highway is divided by a wide grass median and wide grass buffers line the outside of the road on the north and south (Figure 162 and Figure 163). There are turn lanes located throughout the median. Rumble strips line shoulders of the road.

The beginning section of this character area includes a succession of seven sets of bridges crossing over a swampy landscape. The first set of bridges following the route to Selma occurs at the Cahaba River. The two bridges are nearly identical at the road surface but appear to have been constructed at different times as evidenced by the underlying structure. Both run just over 500 feet in length and have typical concrete guardwalls. After 550 feet of at-grade road, another set of bridges spans a low-lying area. These bridges appear identical to the previous set of bridges, with the same substructure and surface level details. Metal guardrails extend beyond the bridges. The remaining five sets of bridges are identical in construction.

Beginning in the outskirts of Selma, development increases, resulting in more driveway cuts along the highway (Figure 164). Beginning at the intersection of Highway 80 and State Route 14, the wide grass median ends and is replaced by a middle turn lane. This character continues along the remainder of the highway. Sidewalks are present on both sides of the road after the intersection with Lapsley Street. The route then turns south onto Broad Street (US-80 Business). The road character does not change, maintaining four travel lands and a middle turn lane. Sidewalks continue along both sides of the road. Shortly before continuing onto J.L. Chestnut Boulevard, the route passes over a railroad track that is at-grade with the roadbed. J.L. Chestnut Boulevard is narrower than Highway 80, as it does not contain a middle turn lane. It has four travel lanes. Sidewalks are intermittent along the road resulting in the presence of desire paths in some locations.

The route then continues east to Martin Luther King Street and south to Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. The two-lane road passes through a residential area. Brick paved sidewalks are set back 20 feet from both sides of the road, with a wide grass strip in between (Figure 165). Immediately prior to reaching the church, a stop light and crosswalk are present, with signage indicating pedestrian traffic associated with a school.



Figure 166. Looking east across the bus and RV parking area toward the regular visitor parking lot. The only differentiation comes from the paint striping designating spots for larger automobiles. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 169. Primary entrance into the LIC site along westbound lanes of Highway 80 (seen at left). Upon entering, the drive splits to serve different types of vehicles. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 167. Primary visitor parking lot located north of the LIC building. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 170. The primary entrance splits, and one fork directs larger vehicles and those with trailers toward the center parking lot on site. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 168. A small paved area serves as a parking lot for the maintenance area. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 171. Looking north along the exit drive for the site, which has areas for pulling over, turning right onto Highway 80, or crossing over the highway to access the eastbound lanes. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 172. Brick and concrete plaza and walkways present on the south side of the LIC building. The walkways connect to north-south oriented walkways on the sides of the building. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 173. Looking east at the bus loading / passenger drop-off lane adjacent to the entrance drive and wide concrete walkways on the west side of the LIC building. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 174. The plaza on the north side of the building is larger than that on the south, again, indicating its function as the primary entrance. (Source: WLA Studio).

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

The Lowndes Interpretive Center features a variety of circulation features related to both vehicular and pedestrian traffic. See Illustration 3.1 for site plan.

Vehicular

Automobile-oriented circulation pertains to the various parking lots and entrance and exit drives on site.

Parking Areas

There are four parking areas on the site: a personal automobile area, a bus parking area, a tractor trailer/RV parking area, and a parking area at the maintenance building (Figure 166 - Figure 168).

The automobile-only area is located directly north of the Interpretive Center. This lot contains four rows of 23 parking spaces over 207 linear feet. The spaces are 20 feet in depth. There are two groupings of spaces, separated by I-shaped islands. The two islands are 70 feet apart, which provides room for automobiles to enter and exit the lot. Additionally, one row of accessible parking with seventeen spaces is located south of the four rows of parking. Vehicular traffic enters the lot from the south and exits to the northeast.

The bus parking area is located immediately west of the personal automobile area. The area contains seven parking spaces delineated by painted strips. No curbs are present to separate this area from the surrounding drives or parking area.

The largest parking area on site is the lot with a dedicated tractor trailer and RV use. Located in the center of the site, the lot is approximately two acres in size. The lot contains twenty-eight angled spaces. RVs and trucks enter the parking area from the south and exit the lot to the north.

The maintenance building parking area surrounds the maintenance building on three sides. No parking spaces are individually designated.



Figure 175. Interpretive trail area, looking south. Note the short walkway segments that connect the path to various site amenities. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 176. Interpretive trail area, looking north. Note the short walkway segments that connect the path to various site amenities. (Source: WLA Studio).

Drives

A network of one-way drives facilitates vehicular traffic through the site. The entrance into the site is located on the southern edge of property, essentially on center (Figure 169). A dedicated turn lane along the eastbound lane, which cuts through the Highway 80 median provides access to the entrance drive from the eastbound direction. Upon entering, the drive forks, with a secondary drive turning west toward the tractor trailer parking area and the entrance drive continuing north toward the bus and automobile-only parking areas (Figure 170).

The exit drive begins at the north side of the site, extending west and then turning south toward the exit (Figure 171). After turning to the south, the exit drive becomes two-lane, providing opportunity for vehicles to exit onto the westbound lanes of Highway 80 or go straight to cross over the median to access the eastbound lanes of the highway. This section also contains a pull off area to the west of the exit drive.

Pedestrian

Pedestrian circulation is primarily located in the eastern half of the site, where two zones of walkways facilitate visitor movement through the site.

The first zone surrounds the Interpretive Center and its associated parking area. The Interpretive Center building is surrounded by concrete- and brick-paved pedestrian walkways and plazas. The brick-paved plazas extend out from the north and south entrances.

The plaza on the south side is five sided and forms a wide-trapezoid shape (Figure 172). The plaza is paved with orange-hued brick pavers and is edged by an accent border of red and dark brown bricks. Concrete-paved walkways extend east and west from the southern plaza, connecting to walkways along the east, west, and north sides of the building to form a continuous hardscape around the building.

Two short walkways extend west from the west walkway to facilitate visitor drop off on this side of the building (Figure 173). The northernmost of the two walkways aligns with an adjacent walkway that provides access to a collection of picnic tables and a pavilion located in the elevated planting areas previously detailed in the *Vegetation* section of this report. This walkway is separated into two sections: the western section measures around 86 feet in length and the eastern around 98 feet. Both walkways are 6 feet wide.

On the north side of the building, a wide north-south oriented walkway connects the personal vehicle parking area with the northern plaza (Figure 116). The walkway's alignment reinforces the north side of the building as the primary entrance. The shape of the northern plaza differs from that of the south, as it is larger and is elongated by the incorporation of the broad walkway. Sections of concrete walkway extend east and west from the plaza, connecting it to the other walkways in the vicinity, including the walkway that lines the edge of the accessible parking area (Figure

174). The walkway on the east side of the building provides secondary access into the building as well as to the curving multi-path interpretive walkway that extends east of the Interpretive Center.

The interpretive walkway is made up of four separate concrete-paved walks (Figure 175 and Figure 176). Three of the walks are similar in design, with gentle curves and picnic and wayside pads extending perpendicular from them. These walkways are 5 feet wide. One walkway bounds the entire area by forming a large loop. This walkway merges with the walkway that runs east-west across the south side of the building. On the north, it connects to a walkway that runs along the eastern edge of the personal vehicle parking area. Another walkway begins at the northeast corner of the personal vehicle parking area and meanders southward across open lawn and terminating at the loop walkway. The third of these walks is a short segment that connects the southeast corner of the parking lot to the curving north-south oriented walkway.

The fourth walk differs in that it is straighter and wider than the others. This walkway connects the Interpretive Building with the domed pavilion located in the northeast portion of the site (Figure 94). The pavilion itself is ringed by a walkway measuring 32 feet long. Additionally, this walk does not feature any picnic table pads and is lined with green ash trees. The walk measures 280 feet in length and 8 feet in width.

Features

- Martin Luther King Street (Selma)
- Alabama Avenue (Selma)
- Water Avenue (Selma)
- Broad Street (Selma)
- Selma city sidewalks (brick)
- Selma city sidewalks (concrete)
- Wayside pads (Selma)
- Edmund Pettus Bridge
- Edmund Pettus Bridge sidewalk
- Highway 80 (east of Selma)
- Auxiliary roads in Selmont
- Bridges along Highway 80
- Guardwalls at bridges
- Modern guardwalls at bridges
- Sidewalk at Viola Liuzzo Memorial
- Mobile Highway
- Highway 31 North
- Bridges along Highway 31
- West Fairview Avenue
- Sidewalks along West Fairview Avenue
- Oak Street
- Oak Street sidewalks
- Day Street
- Day Street sidewalks
- Grady Street
- Grady Street sidewalks
- Mobile Street
- Mobile Street sidewalks
- Five Points intersection
- Montgomery Street
- Montgomery Street sidewalks
- Court Square
- Dexter Avenue
- Dexter Avenue sidewalks
- Capitol Building staircase
- Jefferson Street (Marion)
- Pickens Street (Marion)
- Washington Street (Marion)
- Old Highway 45 / Jimmie Lee Jackson-Albert Turner Sr. Memorial Highway
- Bridges along Old Highway 45
- Highway 80 west of Selma
- Bridges along Highway 80
- Broad Street (connecting trail section)
- J.L. Chestnut Boulevard
- Parking lots at Lowndes Interpretive Center site
- Drives within Lowndes Interpretive Center site
- Plaza (north) at Lowndes Interpretive Center site
- Plaza (south) at Lowndes Interpretive Center site
- Walkways at Lowndes Interpretive Center site
- Interpretive walks at Lowndes Interpretive Center site



Figure 177. Aerial view of the George Washington Carver Homes complex. Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church is located in the center of the image (silver roof). (Source: Google Earth).

Buildings and Structures

This report does not document all buildings and structures within the study area. As such, the following section selectively addresses general building types, heavily developed areas, and notable examples, giving weight to those that are older and/or historically significant.

Selma March Route Character Area

The Selma March Route Character Area's buildings and structures represent a continuum of development, with construction dates spanning over one hundred years. As such, the area contains many buildings and structures, some of which are historically significant as related to the events of 1965.

George Washington Carver Homes and Martin Luther King Street

The character area begins at the George Washington Carver Homes development (Figure 177 and Figure 178). These two-story apartment units are of brick construction and are laid out in a grid pattern. Their design reflects their mid-twentieth century period of construction as well as public housing planning standards from this time. Over forty individual apartment buildings are arranged on both sides of Martin Luther King Street. The complex also includes a small brick building used for a Head Start educational program, located north of Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church.

A collection of buildings along Martin Luther King Street south of the Carver Homes complex serve as residences and businesses. These buildings represent varying period of construction and

style. Several older residences that likely pre-date 1965 are located at the intersection with Selma Avenue. A water tower is located adjacent to this intersection and is a notable feature in the viewshed.

Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church

Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church is set within the George Washington Carver Homes development (Figure 179). The building is described as a "two story, brick eclectic religious building [that] achieves its exoticism from derivative styles of the past. The towers are similar to Islamic minarets, the central block has a Baroque curvilinear parapet, and the three arched entrance echoes Romanesque facades."[417] The building is located on Martin Luther King Street, and it is an icon of the area's civil rights movement activities. The grounds of the church feature monuments to Martin Luther King, Jr. and other participants of the events of 1965.

Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building

The Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building is located on the south side of Alabama Avenue (Figure 180). The large Neoclassical building features a two-story high portico supported by four Tuscan columns and a roofline balustrade. The entry on the north facade has a large transom and broken pediment. White quoins at the corners offset the yellow brick of the building.

Downtown Selma

Downtown Selma has an eclectic mix of buildings that range from one to five stories. The existing buildings reflect various architectural styles, including Italianate, Romanesque Revival, and Renaissance Revival, Greek Revival, and Queen Anne (Figure 181 through Figure 187).[418] Other buildings are modern additions to downtown, such as auto repair shops and a post office. Notable downtown buildings include the Tepper's Building on Broad Street, the St. James Hotel building at the corner of Washington and Water Avenues, and the Selma Interpretive Center building at the corner of Water and Broad streets.

417. Linda B. Ford and Gene A. Ford, "Survey of African American Historic Resources in Selma, Alabama, Dallas County" (The Alabama Trust Fund Survey And Registration Grant Program and The City Of Selma, 2000), 13.
418. Susan A. Besser, "'Water Avenue Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet." (Alabama Historical Commission (State Historic Preservation Office), May 25, 2005).



Figure 178. Side view of one of the George Washington Carver Homes housing units. A historic marker notes its role in the civil rights movement. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 179. Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church exhibits an eclectic design of varying influences. The church played a key role in the civil rights movement. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 180. The Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building at the corner of Alabama and Franklin streets. (Source: WLA Studio).

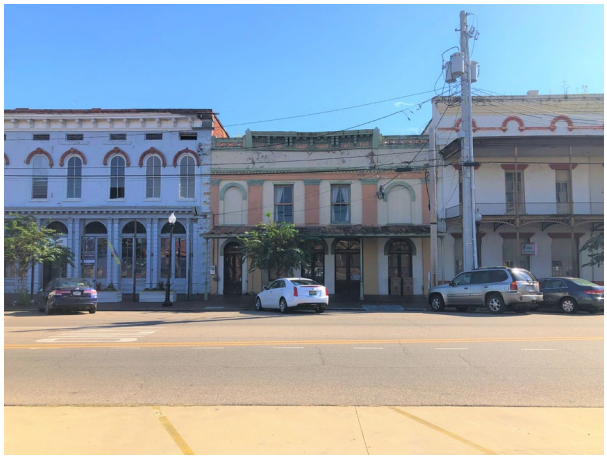


Figure 181. Typical building character in downtown Selma. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 184. This row of buildings along Broad Street in Selma is typical of Selma's downtown commercial district. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 182. Some rows of buildings are no longer intact due to demolitions. This building now sits by itself along Water Avenue. A mural has been painted on its exposed side, and a park installed where buildings once stood. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 185. The St. James Hotel is an impressive building along Water Avenue. It was undergoing renovations at the time of fieldwork. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 183. The "Old Depot Museum" stands at the corner of Martin Luther King, Jr. Street and Water Avenue. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 186. Some areas in downtown feature more recent infill, such as this building along Water Avenue. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 187. A number of buildings in downtown Selma are in poor condition. The one pictured here stands in contrast to the renovated Selma Interpretive Center (in background). (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 188. The Edmund Pettus Bridge is one of the most iconic landmarks from the civil rights era. (Source: WLA Studio).

Edmund Pettus Bridge

The Edmund Pettus Bridge is one of the most iconic structures of the civil rights era (Figure 188). The bridge is a symbol for African American protest and perseverance for its role in Bloody Sunday and the march to Montgomery. An architectural and structural description of the structure is provided by the 2012 National Historic Landmark nomination for the bridge, which states:

> Built in 1940, the four-lane Edmund Pettus Bridge crosses the river and is the main approach to Selma, Alabama, along US Route 80, the principle road between Selma and Montgomery. The bridge is a metal through and concrete open spandrel-arch bridge, 1248'-6" in length, and is composed of eleven spans (numbered 1-11 from west to east). Each span is composed of an arch that springs from concrete piers. The central span (span two) contains a through arch that has foundations below the road deck and ribs that pierce said road deck so that the crown is above it. This sole through arch is the bridge's most notable feature and is located roughly midway across the Alabama River. The other spans feature open-spandrel arches located completely below the road deck and attached by columns to the road deck. Selma sits on a bluff which makes the banks of the river uneven, the Selma (west)



Figure 189. The buildings in the commercial strip in Selmont display a variety of architectural characteristics. Some are detached, while others are part of a short row of several buildings. This photo shows the businesses on the east side of the corridor. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 190. The buildings in the Selmont commercial area line the two auxiliary roads that flank Highway 80, which sets them back off the highway even further than other development areas along the route. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 191. This view south along Highway 80 gives a sense of the setback of businesses off the Highway. The Selma Curb Market building is one of the largest in the area. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 192. Some buildings in Selmont commercial area are vacant, with their properties in a state of neglect. Several, including this one, have murals commemorating civil rights history. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 193. Across from the Civil Rights Memorial Park is a museum dedicated to interpreting Selma's civil rights history. (Source: WLA Studio).

side is at a higher elevation than the east side. Because of the differing heights between the two banks, the bridge is not evenly centered over the Alabama River. The approach from the east, going towards Selma, is longer than the reverse. Consequently, there are nine spans to the east of the through arch and only one span to the west. The spans increase in length as one approached the through arch, which is the longest span.

A sidewalk runs along the outer edge of both the east and west bound lanes. Railing along the outer edge of the sidewalk is composed of rectangular, evenly-spaced concrete posts (the posts extend below the road deck to become the columns, which connect the arches to the road deck) connected by a cast-iron frame. This frame supports ornamental plates and vertical iron bars of alternating heights. The ornamental plates flank the concrete posts and feature a geometric art deco design of two stacked kites and chevrons.

The bridge remains in good condition and is reflective of its 1965 appearance.

Highway 80 Character Area

The Highway 80 Character Area has a wide variety of buildings and structures from residences to warehouses. Due to the expansion of the highway after 1965 however, the character area is largely devoid of historic buildings and structures. Along the stretch of highway, various clusters of buildings are present.

Selmont

Selmont is a "census-designated place," located on the east side of the Alabama River from Selma. It was here that Bloody Sunday and Turnaround Tuesday occurred. Currently, over thirty buildings line Highway 80 in this location, several of which were present during the events of 1965 (Figure 189 through Figure 194). These buildings all house commercial businesses, including an auto dealership, a market, and a museum related to the civil rights movement. Given the road width and adjacent auxiliary streets, the buildings are set back roughly 100 feet from the highway centerline. Some buildings have murals depicting the march to Montgomery. Other buildings are vacant and in a state of neglect.



Figure 194. View looking north showing the approximate location of the Bloody Sunday attack and the row of buildings in the area with the Edmund Pettus Bridge in the distance. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 197. The photograph of a row of buildings is characteristic of the small developed areas along Highway 80's rural portions. The buildings include a manufactured home, a small brick workspace, and a typical gas station. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 195. Guardhouse at the entrance to Craig Field. The complex includes a number of historic period buildings, residential units, a church, and other buildings and structures. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 198. Two unused buildings—a barn and what appears to have been a diner— sit vacant along Highway 80 in the Trickem Community. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 196. The outskirts of Selmont features a number of small motel operations, some of which are still in use. Their styles reflect generic vernacular roadside motels, though some have a distinctive character. Note the spacing between buildings in this photo, which is indicative of many of the buildings along the route. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 199. Wright Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church—the owner of the Viola Liuzzo memorial site—has been serving the community for decades, most recently out of this prefabricated metal building with a masonry façade. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 200. Mt. Gillard Missionary Baptist Church was standing here during the Selma to Montgomery March. The simple brick building and associated annex building sit at an angle along Highway 80 near the Lowndes Interpretive Center site. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 201. Southside High School in eastern Dallas County. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 202. White Hall along Highway 80 is the location of two casinos. This one sits across the highway from the Lowndes Interpretive Center site. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 203. Along Mobile Highway and West Fairview are various buildings with different functions, such as this thrift store. (Source: WLA Studio).

Craig Airfield

Highway 80 passes by the Craig Airfield complex roughly 3.5 miles from the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Many of the associated buildings are visible from the roadway, including several dormitory and residential apartment units and a guard booth located at its entrance (Figure 195). The unit closest to the roadway is a six-story building clad in yellow brick. Other units appear to be of concrete block construction and are two stories high.

Highway 80 – General

Along Highway 80, no distinctive architectural character exists, with buildings ranging from ranch style residences to large warehouses and casinos. Very few within the immediate corridor appear historic. Where clustering is present, it is usually located at a major intersection. Figure 196 through Figure 202 provide an overview of buildings along Highway 80.

Highway 31 / Mobile Highway – General

Like Highway 80, Highway 31 / Mobile Highway / Fairview Avenue features different building types, including warehouses, manufacturing buildings, residences, motels, restaurants, and municipal offices. The majority of this portion of the route is developed, and as such, limited clustering is present. Figure 203 through Figure 206 provide a visual overview of buildings along this portion of the character area.

Bridges

While many of the buildings from the 1960s are no longer located along Highway 80 and Highway 31, several of the bridges that existed during the



Figure 204. Several municipal buildings are located along the Mobile Highway / West Fairview Avenue section of the character area, including this maintenance facility building and a regional library. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 205. This roadside motel features distinctive architectural features, meant to draw attention and business. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 206. The route in this character area is mostly devoid of chains and franchises, and instead it features many small independent operations such as this automotive shop. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 207. A silo stands on the north side of Highway 80. The design and materials of the silo indicate a pre-1965 construction. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 208. Typical utility transmission lines both run parallel to the corridor and cross over it at various points in relation to the amount of development present. (Source: WLA Studio).

march still exist. These include "relief" bridges east and west, Soapstone Creek Bridges 1 and 2, Old Town Creek Bridges east and west, Big Swamp Creek Bridges 1-5 east and west, Tallawassee Creek Bridges east and west, Pintlala Creek Bridges east and west, and Catoma Creek Bridge, north and south. Refer to the previous Circulation section for additional details and representational photographs of these structures.

Relief bridges East and West
Both the east and westbound bridges located at milepost 87.1 are identical in design and have open concrete railings typical of other older bridges in the study area. The bridges' piers and support systems are also constructed of concrete. Both bridges were constructed in 1940 and measure roughly 29.5 feet wide by 330 feet long. Note that the SEMO Cultural Resources Inventory used the "relief bridge" term for these bridges, though all bridges that cross over an "opening in an embankment on a floodplain to permit passage of bank overflow" is a relief bridge, which includes other bridges in this character area.

Soapstone Creek Bridges East and West
Two bridges cross over Soapstone Creek at milepost 94.6. The eastbound bridge is the older of the two and was constructed in 1957. The bridge measures 170 feet long by 31 feet wide and has concrete guardrails, piers, and supports. The Alabama DOT constructed a concrete guardwall in front of the older guardrails for vehicular safety. The westbound bridge also measures 170 feet in length, though is about 10 feet wider that the eastbound bridge. It was constructed at some point between 2006 and 2011, replacing one that was built in 1933. It has solid concrete guardwalls, like those that front the old rails on the eastbound bridge.

Old Town Creek Bridge East and West
The two bridges that cross Old Town Creek share a similar history as those at Soapstone Creek. Located at milepost 99.5, the eastbound bridge measures 590 feet in length and 41 feet in width. It was constructed in 1973. Modern solid concrete guardwalls front its older open concrete guardwalls. The westbound bridge is newer, having been constructed in the mid-2000s. It is about 640 feet in length. The westbound bridge includes the modern concrete guardwall.

Big Swamp Creek Bridge 1 East and West
Big Swamp Creek Bridge 1, east and west are the westernmost pair of five bridges that cross Big Swamp. The eastbound bridge, constructed in 1946, measures 586 feet long and does not have shoulders. The westbound bridge, constructed in 1976, is 641 feet long and has shoulders, making it slightly wider. The westbound bridge features a series of substantial concrete pillars for bracing. Each support set has six pillars. The eastbound bridge's supports include concrete and metal pillars.

Big Swamp Creek Bridge 2 East and West
Big Swamp Creek Bridge 2, east and west are shorter than Bridge 1, but otherwise share a similar developmental history. The eastbound bridge was also constructed in 1946, and it measures 202 feet long and does not have lane shoulders. It features the open concrete guardwalls as other mid-century bridges in the project area. The westbound lane was built in 1976, measures 255 feet long, and features solid concrete guardwalls. The bridge supports for the east and westbound bridges are the same as those at Bridge 1.

Big Swamp Creek Bridge 3 East and West
The third set of bridges resembles the previous two. The eastbound bridge measures around 200 feet long and also features the open concrete guardwalls. Its support system is also of metal-and-concrete design. The westbound measures 326 feet long, has solid concrete guard walls, and the same concrete pillar support system as the Big Swamp's other westbound bridges.

Big Swamp Creek Bridge 4 East and West
Bridge 4, east and west are shorter in length as this stretch of Highway 80 begins to leave Big Swamp. The eastbound bridge is 170 feet long and the westbound is 221 feet long. Otherwise, they mirror the other bridges in terms of guardwall and support system as the others in Big Swamp.

Big Swamp Creek Bridge 5 East and West
Big Swamp Creek Bridge 5, east and west are 170 and 257 feet in length, respectively. They share the same developmental history and design as the other bridges in this sequence.

Tallawassee Creek Bridge
The next set of bridges after Big Swamp crosses over Tallawassee Creek. Slightly offset, the two bridges differ in guardwall material, but both are of a newer concrete construction. The eastbound lanes bridge was built in 1976 and mirrors the design and materials of the other 1976 bridges on the highways. It is 348 feet in length. The westbound lanes bridge was constructed in 2015 and is 164 feet in length. It features a different type of concrete guardwall that is blockier, and features drain hole punchouts at the base in a regular pattern.

Pintlala Creek Bridge
An additional set of bridges is located at the Lowndes-Montgomery county line as it crosses over Pintlala Creek. The eastbound bridge was constructed in 1961, but structurally resembles those from 1976. However, a modern concrete face has been added to the older concrete guardrails. The westbound bridge was constructed around 2017 and features typical concrete guardwalls. Both bridges measure roughly 600 feet in length.

Catoma Creek Bridge North and South
As Highway 31 progresses through Montgomery, a pair of bridges crosses over Catoma Creek. Like other sets of bridges in this character area, the two bridges differ in age. The northbound bridge dates from 1955 and has concrete facing over the old concrete guard posts. It measures 780 feet long. The southbound bridge was constructed in 1986 and is around 790 feet long.

Silo
A concrete silo stands in a small area of mown turf east of the Pintlala Creek Bridge on private property (Figure 207). The silo appears constructed in the monolithic—and potentially "Polk"—style and features a chute that covers vertically-arranged holes.[419] The date of construction is unknown, but it predates the historic period.

Utilities
Above ground utility lines are the most visible utility within this character area. Through Selmont, above ground utility lines run along the south side of the highway, as well as within the median where lines are supported by streetlight poles (Figure 208). The number of lines and poles in any given location corresponds with a density of development or presence of industry. While mostly running parallel with the road, on occasion utility lines cross over the highway. Lines also converge at electric substations, such as the one to the west of Benton.

Two cell towers stand on the north and south sides of the highway along the topographical highpoint west of Lowndesboro. The tower on the south side of the road is closer to the roadway, and thus it is more visually conspicuous than the one located on the north side (Figure 209). An additional cell tower is located on the north side of the highway across from the Montgomery Airport.

Near mile marker 118, a large transmission tower directs utilities lines across the highway (Figure 210). A series of these towers extend north and south through a clearing.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
The march route through the City of Montgomery includes a mixture of residential, commercial, and civic buildings and structures. Often, these buildings and structures are clustered together in neighborhoods and commercial districts. Additionally, some individual buildings along the route possess historic significance for their association with the civil rights movement.

City of St. Jude
The City of St. Jude was the site of the final campground for marchers (Figure 211). The campus has a varied collection of buildings and structures. The property is listed in the National Register as a historic district. Many of the existing buildings reflect the Romanesque architectural style, with red brick serving as the primary construction material. The campus has a centrally located church surrounded by educational facilities, a large apartment complex, and several other support buildings and structures.

Washington Park Neighborhood
The march route follows Oak Street through the Washington Park neighborhood. The route is lined by dozens of single-family residences,

419. Universal Portland Cement Company, *Concrete Silos; a Booklet of Practical Information for the Farmer and the Rural Contractor, Prepared by the Information Bureau, Universal Portland Cement Co.*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Universal Portland Cement Co., 1911), 25.



Figure 209. A cell tower is located at one of the topographical high points in Lowndes County. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 210. Large transmission lines run across a rural stretch of Highway 80. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 211. One of the primary City of St. Jude buildings as seen from West Fairview Avenue. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 212. Two typical residential buildings along Oak Street. The size, orientation, and porches are standard for the types of houses on the street. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 213. Oak Street is mostly residential, but does feature some commercial buildings, including this appliance repair shop. Such shops were typical of segregated neighborhoods that functioned as self-contained cities in themselves. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 214. Oak Street contains only a few multi-family buildings, including this small apartment complex. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 215. These two residences on Day Street reflect the historic character of this once-thriving neighborhood. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 216. This abandoned mid-century auto shop is located in a mostly abandoned section of Mobile Street. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 217. The fire station located in Five Points Hill is one of a few of the buildings that surround the intersection. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 218. The eastern edge of Montgomery Street contains a mixture of buildings, including historic hotels, modern university buildings, and a historic theatre. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 219. Dexter Avenue contains a variety of building styles that reflect over a hundred years of historical development. Note the Kress building with its preserved historic façade with modern infill behind and above. Also note the absence of architectural details on some of the buildings, which have either been removed or covered. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 220. Dexter Avenue Baptist Church is located on a corner lot along Dexter Avenue. The church was an important place of worship and meeting space during Montgomery's civil rights period. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 221. The Alabama State Capitol sits atop "Goat Hill" in the heart of Montgomery. The central block of the building was completed in 1851. The north and south wings were added later. The building reflects the Greek Revival style. (Source: WLA Studio).

several duplexes, a few small apartment complexes, various commercial buildings, and a church (Figure 212 through Figure 214). House types include shotgun, bungalow, and craftsman. Most buildings are single story. West Jeff Davis Avenue and South Holt Street include predominately commercial and religious buildings, including the Mount Zion A.M.E. Zion Church and Loveless School. Day Street contains a few older houses (Figure 215).

Three Points Neighborhood

The Three Points Neighborhood is located along Mobile Street where it intersects with Mildred Street (Figure 216). The portion of the neighborhood along the trail corridor has a small collection of buildings and many vacant lots. Surviving buildings are commercial, though they are not currently occupied. Buildings include a row of four commercial spaces, a former auto repair shop, and single-story warehouse buildings.

Five Points Hill

Five Points Hill—the prominent intersection west of downtown—sits on the eastern edge of the Cottage Hill neighborhood. While Cottage Hill is mostly a residential neighborhood, a collection of commercial buildings surrounds a prominent vehicular intersection at Five Points Hill (Figure 217). All buildings are vacant, but there have been recent improvements to their facades. Notable buildings include the former fire station, which sits at the point formed by Clayton and Mobile streets, and the eight-story brick building at the corner of Montgomery and Goldthwaite streets, which was once an apartment complex (Figure 151).

Downtown Montgomery

The buildings from Montgomery Street through Dexter Avenue are typical of larger Southern cities, and include apartment buildings, theaters, office towers, commercial rows, churches, and municipal buildings. The buildings reflect various late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century architectural styles such as Italianate, Second Empire, Victorian, Neoclassical, Art Deco, and a mix of Revival styles (Figure 218 and Figure 219).[420] Material finishes include pressed metal and cast-iron. Several downtown buildings are individually listed in the National Register. National Register Historic Districts include Court Square and Dexter Avenue. Most buildings show some sign of alteration, typically present on the first floor of the buildings. Additionally, some buildings include modern infill, occasionally with the original facade preserved.

Dexter Avenue Memorial Baptist Church

Dexter Avenue Memorial Baptist Church is a late-nineteenth century religious building located on Dexter Avenue in downtown Montgomery (Figure 220). It was listed as a National Historic Landmark for its association with the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which was organized in the church, as well as for its association with Martin Luther King, Jr.

420. Tom Dolan, Ellen Mertins, and Marilyn Sullivan, "'Court Square-Dexter Avenue Historic District.' National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet." (Alabama Historical Commission, 1984).

who was the pastor of the church. Architecturally, the brick building reflects the Gothic Revival style, with Victorian elements.[421]

State Capitol Building

The Alabama State Capitol Building is located at a topographical highpoint immediately east of where Dexter Avenue intersects with South Bainbridge Street. The mid-nineteenth century building is a National Historic Landmark for its role as the first capitol of the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis was inaugurated as president of the Confederate States of America on its prominent marble steps—the same steps used by Martin Luther King, Jr. and others during the Selma to Montgomery March a century later. The Greek Revival building is three stories high and has a prominent portico on its west facade. The building is topped by a large dome (Figure 221).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

The Downtown Marion section of the Connecting Trail is set within the context of downtown Marion. The small downtown is organized around a traditional square, which is ringed by buildings of varying form and function. Below are descriptions of notable buildings in this area.

Old Perry County Jail

The Old Perry County Jail sits on the north side of downtown Marion (Figure 222). The two-story brick Colonial Revival building is currently vacant and is surrounded by a tall chain link fence topped in barbed wire. The building has a pedimented entry, hipped roof, large chimney, and awning windows.

Zion United Methodist Church

The Zion United Methodist Church occupies the corner of Pickens and Jefferson streets (Figure 223). The brick-faced church building reflects the Victorian style, and has Gothic arched pointed windows, gable roof, and vestibule that extends west towards the street.

421. "8. Sanctuary Details - Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church, 454 Dexter Avenue, Montgomery, Montgomery County, AL," image, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, accessed January 2, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/resource/hhh.al1325.sheet/?sp=8.



Figure 222. The Old Perry County Jail is located just to the north of the official Marion to Selma Connecting Trail boundary. Its role in the civil rights movement and the specific events that led to the Selma to Montgomery March warrants its inclusion in this character area. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 223. Zion United Methodist Church—the official starting point of the connecting trail—is a simple church building with some Gothic revival elements. The church was a fixture of the Perry County civil rights movement. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 224. The Perry County Courthouse is located in the middle of Marion's downtown square. This photograph is of the building's east facade. (Source: WLA Studio).

Perry County Courthouse

The Perry County Courthouse is in the center of the downtown square of Marion (Figure 224). The courthouse reflects the Greek Revival style, with prominent hexastyle porticos on the east and west facades of the building, supported by Ionic columns. The building is constructed of brick that is painted white.

Downtown Marion

The remainder of buildings along the Connecting Trail in downtown Marion have a variety of architectural styles ranging from Neoclassical to modern, though most have limited stylistic details. These buildings are part of the Marion Courthouse Square Historic District along with other downtown and downtown-adjacent properties.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

The Old Highway 45 section of the Connecting Trail features a variety of buildings and structures within the corridor. The densest development is on the south side of Marion, in the northern portion of the character area. Heading south from downtown, the route passes through a block of downtown commercial buildings lining both sides of the road. Outside this commercial core, the distance between buildings increases, as does the number of residences. Commercial enterprises in this area include banks, fast food restaurants, convenience stores, health clinics, and gas stations. Building types include manufactured homes, warehouses, modern strip malls, early-twentieth century houses, and a restored train depot. There is a blue municipal water tower in this area.

As Old Highway 45 passes into more rural landscape, the number of commercial buildings decreases while residences and agriculture-related buildings increase. Most buildings are set back off the road several hundred feet. Some of the residential buildings likely existed in 1965, with other likely dating to the late nineteenth or early-twentieth centuries.

There is a cluster of residences and other buildings located near the Highway 45 / Highway 4 intersection. Mixed within the modern ranch homes is a group of older vernacular buildings painted white and featuring tin roofs and wood siding. One of the buildings appears to have functioned as a shop of some kind.



Figure 225. First Baptist Church is located at the corner of J.L. Chestnut Boulevard and Martin Luther King, Jr. Street. The large and architecturally striking church has stood in this location since the late 1800s and was a key location for strategizing the local civil rights movement. (Source: WLA Studio).

Barns and other outbuildings are in varying conditions, with some overtaken by vegetation and others showing signs of upkeep and continued use. A saddlebag cottage, which may have served as a sharecropper's residence, is located in an agricultural area roughly halfway along the route. Building density is lower through this section and south toward Highway 80 than along the northern portion of the highway.

Other buildings and structures of note include a collection of metal sided buildings and structures used to store and sell feed products. These are located at the Marion Junction Farmers Co-Op, just to the north of the Highway 80 intersection. A gas station and country store are located to the south of the Co-Op.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

The western half of the Highway 80 section of the Connecting Trail contains an assortment of buildings and structures characteristic of its rural setting. Farm properties are visible along the roadway feature houses, barns, and other types of outbuildings. Most buildings in this portion of the route are set back off the road at least one hundred feet or more. Building density in this section is low.

Highway 80 passes through a swampy area mostly devoid of buildings. Here, a series of seven sets of bridges crosses over waterways and low-lying terrain. The first set of bridges following the route to Selma occurs at the Cahaba River. The two bridges are nearly identical at grade, but the underlying structures appear to have been constructed at different times. Both run just over 500 feet in length and have modern concrete guardwalls. The next set of bridges to the east appear identical, with the same substructure and surface level details. The remaining five sets of bridges are identical in construction, though they vary in length.

After passing through the swampy landscape on the route to Selma, the number of buildings and structures increases. An Alabama Department of Transportation facility is located on the eastern edge of the swampy area. The facility complex includes a variety of buildings and structures, including administrative offices, manufactured housing, and small sheds. After this property, the Highway 80 corridor includes mix of residences and commercial properties. Some of the residential properties are part of neighborhoods or small clusters of residences on subdivided land.

On the outskirts of Selma, Highway 80 passes through a commercial area. Businesses in this area include hotels, retail shops, medical offices, fast food restaurants, hardware supply, and convenience stores. Building types include metal warehouses, brick ranches, drive-up motels, and those typical for their use such as gas stations. Most buildings are one or two stories in height, with four-story hotel buildings. National business such as Pizza Hut, Taco Bell, Rite Aid, and Tractor Supply Company occupy their respective standardized building types. The ages of the buildings vary, but most appear to have been constructed after the 1970s, with development patterns typical of suburban strip development.

As the Connecting Trail continues into Selma, residential properties outnumber commercial properties. A mix of older and newer homes reflecting a variety of architectural types and styles line Broad Street. Here, high-style Neoclassical houses, small craftsman residences, and mid-century modern commercial buildings exist together. A variety of cottage types are also present along the road. The multi-block Concordia College campus is also located on Broad Street. The campus features a collection of Colonial Revival brick buildings.

Below are brief descriptions of several buildings of note within this section.

Tabernacle Baptist Church

The two-story Tabernacle Baptist Church is located on the west side of Broad Street, near the downtown core of Selma. The Neoclassical building features yellow-painted brick (on its east facade), a prominent pedimented portico, and stained-glass windows. The corners of the building have tower blocks set off from the core of the building. The church has a dome set on a cross-gabled roof.

St. Edmund's Memorial Chapel

St. Edmund's Memorial Chapel sits on the parcel directly south of Tabernacle Baptist Church. The small brick-veneered church reflects a Gothic Revival style in its architectural detailing, including its arched entryway and pointed arched window on center with the entry door. Two auxiliary buildings are located south of the chapel building. These buildings are connected through enclosed vestibules.

First Baptist Church

First Baptist Church is located at the corner of J.L Chestnut Jr. Boulevard and Martin Luther King Street (Figure 225). The large red brick building was constructed in 1894 and reflects the Gothic Revival style, with pointed arched windows, a cross-gabled roof system, and two towers that serve as entryways into the building.

Utilities

Utilities in this section of the project area mostly pertain include above ground utility lines that run roughly parallel with the highway. Occasionally, above ground utilities cross over the highway, providing service to areas of development.



Figure 226. The LIC building incorporates design elements from several of the region's civil rights landmarks. This photograph shows the south façade of the building at the two towers that represent Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 227. This photograph shows the northwest side of the LIC building. Note the curved metal roof backed by a secondary arch. The glass-sided arch emulates the Edmund Pettus Bridge. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 228. The domed pavilion in the interpretive trail area reflects the dome atop the Alabama State Capitol building. Its placement at the end of a long walkway in the area signifies the march to Montgomery. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 229. Some condition issues are evident on the domed pavilion, including this leeching from the upper portion of the structure. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 230. The small maintenance building is tucked into the northwest corner of the site and features a simple utilitarian design but with materials that tie it into the overall aesthetic of the site. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 231. This substantial utility screening structure is located between the visitor parking lot and the LIC building. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 232. This photograph shows the largest of the picnic shelters on site. The timber structure is in good condition. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 233. This photograph shows the smaller of the two shelters in the interpretive trail area. (Source: WLA Studio).

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

The Lowndes Interpretive Center site includes two buildings, three structures, and several site utilities.

Interpretive Center Building

The Lowndes Interpretive Center is the primary building on site. The twelve thousand-square-foot building was constructed in 2006 along Highway 80 in White Hall, near the Tent City site. The building does not reflect any distinct classical architectural style; instead, its architects incorporated symbology related to the events of 1965 into a standard highway rest stop design. The south facade of the building has two towers flanking an entry door into the building that reference those of Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma (Figure 226). Additionally, the curving roofline on the north side of the building—best seen from inside the building—represents the Edmund Pettus Bridge. The arched metal roof—taller on the east end of the building—references the utilitarian buildings of the surrounding area (Figure 227). The building



Figure 234. This photograph shows the picnic shelter located on one of the islands in the parking lot. It is the same size as the smaller shelter in the interpretive trail area. (Source: WLA Studio).

facade is faced with a light-yellow brick accented by darker brick edging. A large NPS arrowhead is centrally located on the pediment above the arched entryway into the north side of the building. Large blocks of glass are incorporated into the towers as well as the west side of the barrel-vaulted roof. The north facade of the building references the south facade with its use of a wide arched entryway and pediment. The two entrances align.

Pavilion

The domed pavilion structure is located in the northeast corner of the site (Figure 228). Its design also references locations associated with the civil rights movement. In this case, architecturally, the pavilion references the dome atop the Alabama State Capitol. On axis with the central treelined walkway, it is the focal point of the interpretive trail area. The pavilion measures roughly 30 feet across. The top of the dome is made of unpainted seamed metal, which rests atop a circular band of concrete with yellow brick veneer. The structure is supported by six metal poles painted a dusty ochre color. The poles are bolted to an elevated concrete platform that features concentric rings of alternating color bricks. Evidence of salt leeching and graffiti was evident (Figure 229).

Maintenance Building

The maintenance building was constructed at the same time as the Interpretive Center (Figure 230). The small utilitarian building sits in the northwest corner of the site. It has the same yellow brick veneer as the Interpretive Center as well as a standing seam metal roof. The building has an open-air porch area secured by chain link doors. A sloped ramp along the building's south side

provides access to an entry door and a metal rollup door. The roof is pyramidal in form and has wide eaves.

Utility Structure

A rectangular structure used to house utilities is located near the northeast corner of the Interpretive Center (Figure 231). The structure is essentially a large screening fence constructed of the same materials and in the same detailing as the Interpretive Center building. It has an open roof, three yellow brick walls with dark brick accents, and a set of two large swing doors on its north side.

Picnic Shelters

Three picnic shelters are located on site, with two located in the northwest portion of the interpretive trail area and the other located in the large grassy island adjacent to the tractor trailer parking area (Figure 232 through Figure 234). Two of the three shelters are identical in construction and measure 23 × 17 feet. The third is the same in overall form but is larger than the other two and measures 27 × 40 feet. The larger shelter sits next to one of the smaller ones in the interpretive trail area. All three shelters are timber frame construction (the timbers are painted brown) with metal roofs.

Utilities

The site has a variety of utilities, most of which are located underground. No overhead powerlines exist on site. Underground and drip irrigation is located throughout the site. A fire hydrant is located adjacent to the entrance into the site.

Features

- George Washington Carver Homes
- Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church
- Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building
- Downtown Selma
- Edmund Pettus Bridge
- Selmont
- Craig Airfield
- Relief bridges E and W
- Soapstone Creek Bridge 1 and 2
- Old Town Creek Bridge
- Big Swamp Creek bridges 1-5
- Tallawassee Creek Bridge
- Pintlala Creek Bridge
- Catoma Creek Bridge
- Silo



Figure 235. The Selma March Route character area contains a number of typical small-scale features within the streetscape. Common features include traffic signs, fire hydrants, fencing, and curbing. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 236. This view of the Water Avenue – Martin Luther King, Jr. Street intersection contains one of the older model traffic lights, as well as other typical small-scale features such as utility poles and newspaper boxes. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 237. Some fencing is present within this character area, including this one at a small park space maintained by the Rotary Club. A bench sits inside the fence. (Source: WLA Studio).

- Utilities
- City of St. Jude buildings and structures
- Washington Park Neighborhood buildings
- Three Points Neighborhood buildings
- Five Points Hill buildings
- Downtown Montgomery buildings
- Dexter Avenue Memorial Baptist Church
- State Capitol building
- Old Perry County Jail
- Zion United Methodist Church
- Perry County Courthouse
- Downtown Marion Commercial buildings
- Tabernacle Baptist Church
- St. Edmund's Memorial Chapel
- First Baptist Church
- Interpretive Center Building at Lowndes Interpretive Center site
- Pavilion at Lowndes Interpretive Center site
- Maintenance Building at Lowndes Interpretive Center site
- Utility Building at Lowndes Interpretive Center site
- Picnic Shelters at Lowndes Interpretive Center site

Small-Scale Features

Given the extent of the project area, this report used a representational approach for documenting small-scale features. Below, both the typical and noteworthy small-scale features of the project area are presented with additional detail included for the small-scale features at the Lowndes Interpretive Center.

Selma March Route Character Area

The Selma March Route character includes a variety of small-scale features, several of which pertain to the commemoration of the civil rights events of 1965. This section of the route also contains numerous small-scale features typical of urban and residential spaces.

Selma Streetscape Features

Many small-scale features in this character area relate to traffic control, such as traffic lights, stop signs, wayfinding signs, and curbs among others (Figure 235). The traffic lights in the project area vary in age (Figure 236). Additional small-scale features include various types of fencing, signs for businesses and churches, mailboxes, and trash cans



Figure 238. This view east toward the Edmund Pettus Bridge and Song of Selma Park contains a variety of typical small-scale features, including pedestrian street lighting, elevated traffic lighting, crosswalk signals, fencing, newspaper boxes, trash cans, and others. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 239. This is one of the newer streetlights that exist within the downtown core of Selma. They contain poles from which the city hangs banners (Source: WLA Studio).

(Figure 237). There are few benches in downtown Selma, including a blue metal bench located outside the Selma Interpretive Center.

Street Lighting

There are several types of lighting within the project area. One type of standard provides illumination for the road. This standard has a roadway light attached to a curved extension arm, which is connected to an unadorned metal utility pole (Figure 238). A variation of this type features has two arms attached to two luminaires. Both types are located along Broad Street in the core of downtown. A similar type is located on the periphery of downtown and has a metal luminaire attached to an arm, which is attached to wood utility poles. Cobra head light fixtures attached to wood utility poles are located throughout the project area as well. Additionally, some commercial spaces have their own light standards, using a variety of pole and light types.

There is a pedestrian-scale light standard used throughout the downtown area. This standard has an ornamental black-painted metal pole with an acorn light fixture (Figure 239). These lights are located along Water Avenue, in the commercial core of downtown, and along Martin Luther King Street.

Selma Commemorative Features

A set of commemorative monuments is located outside of Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. The first is a multi-tiered granite monument located just north of the entry walk to the church (Figure 119). The monument has two flush tapered columns slightly offset in depth, which differentiates the columns from one another. The two columns rest upon a two-block granite base, with the bottom block both wider and deeper. The northernmost column has a granite block top that is slightly larger than the column below. A black plaque edged in bronze contains the text "I HAVE A DREAM" in gold lettering. The column also has text that honors those who died as part of the civil rights struggle in the area in 1965, including James J. Reeb, Viola Gregg Liuzzo, and Jimmy Lee Jackson. Additional text relates to date of dedication and its organizers. The adjacent column is shorter and has an account of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s role in the civil rights movement. This column is topped by a small granite stone with a floral motif etched around its center. There is a bronze life-size bust of Dr. King mounted to the top of the block.

The second monument is an approximately 8-foot-tall polished black granite memorial that stands near the southwest corner of the church building. The rectangular monument features the text "THE CIVIL RIGHTS FREEDOM WALL" etched near the top. Below, additional text includes the "Roll Call of Freedom Fighters / 1950-2000," featuring dozens of local individuals and groups involved in the civil rights movement. The monument also contains text, noting the organizations involved in erecting the monument. The monument's text is painted gold. The "wall" is mounted on a low solid black granite block.

A memorial streetlight stands on the east side of the Green Street/Water Avenue intersection (Figure 240). The light has a large six-pane glass luminaire. A plaque attached to the black pole reads "Lighting the Way" and honors the participants of the 1965 civil rights events in Selma.



Figure 240. This is a commemorative streetlight located at along Water Avenue. (Source: WLA Studio).

The character area has also featured State of Alabama historical markers. Along the route, one stood at the corner of Water and Broad streets across from the Selma Interpretive Center, but was recently stolen after being knocked down by an automobile. This sign interpreted Bloody Sunday and the March to Montgomery. The remaining marker is located next to the St. James Hotel building and interprets the building's history.

NPS Wayside (Selma)

The character area also has an NPS wayside located across the street from the Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. The wayside—titled "Sanctuary to Stage"—is in poor condition due to extensive vandalism (Figure 241).

Highway 80 Character Area

Given the variety of land uses along Highway 80, a variety of small-scale features are included within this character area. Most small-scale features within the Highway 80 Character Area can be grouped into several categories—traffic, commemoration, and residential/commercial use.

Traffic Related Features

Traffic control features within the Highway 80 Character Area are typical of most highways and include mile markers, speed limit signs, commercial signs, road identification signs, traffic hazard signs, waterbody name signs, and various traffic regulation signs (Figure 242 and Figure 243). Of note, the overhead streetlights along Broad Street in downtown Selma continue though Selmont. Two types are present here and include the tall metal utility poles with cobra head lights and a variant attached to shorter wood utility poles. Lights in the center medial along Highway 80 include cobra head lights that extend over both east and westbound lanes (Figure 208). The railroad crossing has typical railroad crossing lights, signage, and control arms. Street lighting does not exist in more rural sections of the road, though there is some lighting near population clusters such as Lowndesboro and Montgomery.

Commemoration Related Features

Various commemoration-related small-scale features exist within this character area, ranging from signs to memorials.

Civil Rights Memorial Park

The memorial park adjacent to the south end of the Edmund Pettus Bridge contains a collection of commemorative features pertaining to both the Selma civil rights movement and the history of racism and violence in the area. Features in this park include the following:

Monuments

Four black granite monuments in the same style as those at Brown Chapel and in downtown Marion are arranged in a row within the park (Figure 244). Each features portraits of civil rights leaders in relief and accompanying text. From west to east the monuments honor (1) "builders of movements and monuments"; (2) the Reverend Hosea Williams, Sr.; (3) the Honorable John Lewis; and (4) Amelia Boynton Robinson and Marie Foster. All but the "builders" monument rest on a black granite base. The builders monument rests on a rough-cut grey granite base. Additionally, the three easternmost monuments are enclosed by concrete edging, whereas the builders monument stands outside the enclosure, indicating a later addition to the park. The monuments are illuminated with in-ground lighting.

Fountain

A large fountain constructed of several massive boulders stands in the middle of a shallow pool, surrounded by a low brick wall within a metal fence that the references the Edmund Pettus Bridge stylistically. Water flows down the face of the largest boulder, which contains the Bible passage Joshua 6:4, 21-22.

Memorial Plaza

A memorial plaza is in the eastern edge of the park (Figure 245). The base of the plaza is concrete block, edged by red brick. At its front corners stand two brick pillars topped with concrete with finials. On the back side of the plaza stands a two-tiered brick wall with a small arch in its center—perhaps a reference to the nearby bridge. The face of the wall has two framed panels. The bottom panel contains a mural of civil rights movement participants and events. The top framed panel contains text that was illegible at the time of inspection. Two concrete pillars flank the wall. The sides of the plaza are enclosed by a low balustrade-style railing.



Figure 241. This NPS interpretive wayside is located across the road from Brown Chapel A.M.E. church. Vandalism has made it difficult to read. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 242. Standard road signage is present throughout the character area. Signs include mile marker signs, "adopt a highway" signs (in background), stop signs, hazard signs, place identification signs, and speed limit signs, among others. This "prayer mile" sign was present next to several posts in this section of the highway. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 243. Other traffic signs mix with commercial signs and utility features to create a denser cluster of small-scale features. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 244. The Civil Rights Memorial Park in Selmont contains many small-scale features, such as these large marble tablet monuments and standard historic markers. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 245. This elaborate plaza and wall stands at the back edge of the park and features a mural with the likeness of various civil rights era figures. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 246. This mock burial is striking for its frankness in addressing the legacy of racial violence in the area. The trees behind the burials are full of items and trinkets, including a noose. The display has the quality of folk art. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 247. The Viola Liuzzo memorial is set behind a decorative fence and surrounded by a concrete pad. The memorial marker itself is in the form and material of a typical gravestone. (Source: WLA Studio).

Memorial "Gravesite"

A symbolic gravesite for the "Tomb of the Unknown Soldier" and the "Tomb of the Unknown Slave" is located on the north side of the park (Figure 246). Here, faded posters referencing African Americans who fought in the Civil War and those who died through enslavement lean against trees that contain a collection of artifacts, including a noose, glass bottles (an African American tradition), and chains. There are two grave-sized spaces outlined by small rocks and another collection of small artifacts and statuary located at the foot of the posters.

Markers

There are two markers in the park. One marker fashioned in the style of a state historic maker provides information about the history of lynching in Selma on one side and in America on the other. The Equal Justice Institute, a civil rights organization that has a prominent presence in Montgomery, installed this marker. The second marker, which is the smaller of the two, identifies the site as the Civil Rights Memorial Park.

Selma Welcome Sign

There is a brick and metal "welcome" sign that notifies travelers they are entering Selma at the southeast corner of Memorial Park. The sign has two brick pillars with a short brick planting bed at the base. The sign includes a metal depiction of three arches—a reference to the adjacent bridge. Affixed to the metalwork is a sign that state "Welcome to Historic Selma / Queen City of the Black Belt / EST 1820" and seven seals of local civic organizations. The sign is oriented towards the westbound lanes of Highway 80.

Viola Liuzzo Memorial

The Viola Liuzzo Memorial is located adjacent to Wright Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church on Highway 80 in Lowndes County (Figure 247). The memorial is positioned on a scenic highpoint not far from where she was murdered. The centerpiece of the memorial is a headstone-shaped monument that has a photograph of Liuzzo, an embossed rose surrounded by etched wreath, and text stating:

IN MEMORY OF OUR SISTER

VIOLA LIUZZO

WHO GAVE HER LIFE IN THE

STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT TO

VOTE. . .MARCH 25, 1965

Additional text notes that the SCLC Women organization presented the monument in 1991.



Figure 248. The Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail has several directly associated signs along Highway 80, including this one on the westbound on-ramp at the Highway 31 intersection. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 249. This park identification sign directs visitors exiting Highway 80 to proceed left (north) onto Highway 31 to continue on the trail. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 250. This is one of three campsite location signs, placed in the right-of-way adjacent to the campground site. This one marks the location of the Robert Gardner Farm campsite. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 251. The Hall Farm campsite is not located on Highway 80 and is actually about a mile from the corridor. This sign (with directional arrow) orients visitors to the farm off the highway. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 252. The Rosie Steele Farm campground sign is located on the site of campground #3. The sign is oriented parallel with the highway, making it difficult to notice during travel. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 253. This state historic marker commemorating Mount Gillard Baptist Church is one of many within the project area. (Source: WLA Studio).

The monument stands in the middle of a square of white pea gravel surrounded by a concrete slab, enclosed by an ornamental black metal fence.

NPS signs
NPS signs within this character area pertain to the identification of the National Historic Trail, the location of the march campsites, and the location of the Lowndes Interpretive Center. All signs are NPS-standard brown painted aluminum, mounted on metal poles. Two trail identification signs are located at the Highway 80 / 31 intersection in Montgomery (Figure 248 and Figure 249). The campsite signs are located on the campsite properties or the rights-of-way adjacent to the campsites, with the exception of campsite #1, which is located about a mile away from the actual property used by marchers (Figure 250 and Figure 252). The signs for the Lowndes Interpretive Center are located along both east and westbound travel lanes on Highway 80.

National Historic Trail Signs
Numerous Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail signs line both sides of Highway 80 (Figure 125). The small white signs feature the words "Historic Route" set in blue bars and a graphic logo for the trail depicting the silhouettes of marchers. This is the most common identification of the historic trail, though many traveling by car may not see the signs due to their size and the high speed limit assigned to the highway.

Historic Markers / Other Memorials
Other historic markers and memorials are also present in the Highway 80 corridor. One of note is the historic marker commemorating Mt. Gillard Baptist Church and its role in the civil rights movement and local African American community, which is located on the church grounds (Figure 253). The second is the Elmore Bolling memorial and marker located at the intersection of Highway 80 and Abraham Drive. This memorial honors the life and addresses the lynching of Elmore Bolling, who was murdered by a mob of white men in 1947 (Figure 254).

DeSoto Monument
Though not related to the commemoration of the march, a monument noting the history of Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto in the area is located near the Tyler Fire Department (Figure 255). The engraved stone monument is slightly elevated and edged by landscape timbers. Crape myrtle line the back of the boulder. The inscription notes that Hernando de Soto visited the village of Talisi in 1540 and that the stone was erected by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in 1936.

Residential / Commercial Use Related Features
Small-scale features associated with residential use include mailboxes, fencing, and gates (Figure 256). Most of these are common examples of their type.

Commercial use small-scale features include business signs, bollards, and various decorative elements such as planters, in addition to fencing and mailboxes (Figure 257 - Figure 259). As the march route approaches Montgomery, the number of small-scale features increases. Street lighting, some of which similar to that in Selma, is present in this area (Figure 260). Along Highway 31, commercial development results in the presence of numerous advertising signs, such a billboards and other elevated marquees, which are not as prevent along the western portion of Highway 80.

While not an exhaustive inventory, it is useful to highlight the fencing present along the route due to its prevalence and its presence during the historic period.

Fencing
A variety of fence types exist within this character area, each reflecting the land use of its location. For example, some of the non-agricultural residential properties have a simple chain-link fence type. Several of the businesses in the area also have chain-link fences, but in this case, they are generally taller and sometimes have barbed wire at the top.

Fencing associated with agricultural properties is more diverse than types found at residential or commercial properties (Figure 261 - Figure 262). The fences that enclose the pastures and croplands along the route vary in age and materials used. The most common fence type is the post-and-wire fence, which is constructed of wooden or metal posts with strings of barbed wire between the posts. The most common type of metal post is the "t-post." Other observed posts are constructed of concrete. In general, fences that have wood posts



Figure 254. This memorial to Elmore Bolling may be a community—not state-sanctioned—effort. The tablet is in the typical style for historic markers however, and the information provided by the marker and the information sheet (supplied by the mailbox) orients the visitor to the story of Mr. Bolling. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 257. Commercial signage along Highway 80 includes typical billboards such as this one in Selmont. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 255. This historic monument commemorates Spanish presence in area when it was controlled by local American Indians. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 258. This commercial sign for a gaming establishment in White Hall differs from most in the project area. It is large and features an illuminated screen for advertisements. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 256. This photograph shows a typical residential scene along Highway 80, with small-scale features that include a mailbox, privacy fence, and utility poles. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 259. The Montgomery Regional Airport features large signs at the four entrances into the site. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 260. This photograph along Highway 80 in Montgomery shows a number of streetlights, including a close-up of one pole base in the foreground. This design has a cobra-head style luminaire attached to a curved brace and metal pole, typical to the area. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 261. This photograph shows several materials used for fencing in the character area. This fence incorporated wooden posts, metal t-posts, large metal swing gate, and barbed wire. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 262. Detail of the most prevalent type of agricultural fencing along the route: a metal t-post and barbed wire. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 263. This photograph shows the intersection of W. Jeff Davis Avenue and Oak Street and some of the small-scale features typical of the area including stop signs, bench, commercial sign, and other traffic signs. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 264. This photograph shows a collection of small-scale features on Montgomery Street and includes a fire hydrant, various lighting fixtures parking meters, and bollard-and-chain fencing. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 265. Distinctive site lighting is present on commercial properties, including this auto shop on Oak Street. (Source: WLA Studio).

appear to be older than all-metal post-and-rail fence types.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

This character area contains small-scale features typical of its urban setting, including commercial signs, traffic signs, fencing, mailboxes, statuary, interpretive waysides, bollards, trash receptacles, light poles, benches, and historical monuments.

Streetscape Features (Neighborhoods)

Small-scale streetscape features within the residential neighborhoods along the march route include typical traffic signage, light poles, fencing, benches, bus stop shelters, and railings (Figure 263 - Figure 264). The most common fencing type is chain-link, though some picket and wood privacy fences exist in the project area. Street lighting include cobra head lights attached to utility poles, similar to those found in Selma and Selmont. The neighborhoods have a limited amount of commercial properties. Often these commercial properties include elevated business signs and lighting (Figure 265). Roads in the area have a combination of concrete and granite curbs. Of note, an old road name monument is located along West Jeff Davis Avenue near the Loveless School building (Figure 266). The neighborhood entry points often include short ornamental posts with sign panels featuring the neighborhood's name (Figure 267). Within the yards of the residences along the route, a variety of small-scale features exist, including potted plants, security signs, raised brick planters, and landscape edging. Vacant lots contain remnant site features such as retaining walls, parking spaces (often overgrown), and stairs (Figure 268).

Streetscape Features (Downtown)

The area from Five Points Hill to the State Capitol has a different range of small-scale features than those found in the neighborhoods. Features found in both locations include the streetlights attached to wood utility poles, but the downtown section also has a light standard unique to Montgomery (Figure 269). This light standard has a black cast iron pole with teardrop fixtures at two heights. The taller fixtures illuminate the roadway, and shorter fixtures illuminate the sidewalk. The light standards include banner arms for interchangeable/ seasonal banners. Additional features include black



Figure 266. The Jeff Davis Avenue street name monument is one of the last of its type in the project area. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 267. One of the neighborhood identifications signs in the residential sections on the march route. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 268. Some small-scale features are ruins of former buildings or structures that have been removed. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 269. The light fixtures in the downtown core of Montgomery are more ornamental than others in the project area. They are also used to post wayfinding information or banners. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 270. Klein's Clock stands in the court square area. Note the other small-scale features here, including bollards, a fire hydrant, tree planter box, and historic marker. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 271. This piece of public commemorative art shows the silhouettes of marchers and uses the motif of the Edmund Pettus Bridge. This piece on the City of St. Jude campus is related to the one at Five Points Hill. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 272. This piece of commemorative public art in the Five Points Hill intersection depicts marchers carrying flags and signs. Its related to the art at the City of St. Jude. (Source: WLA Studio).

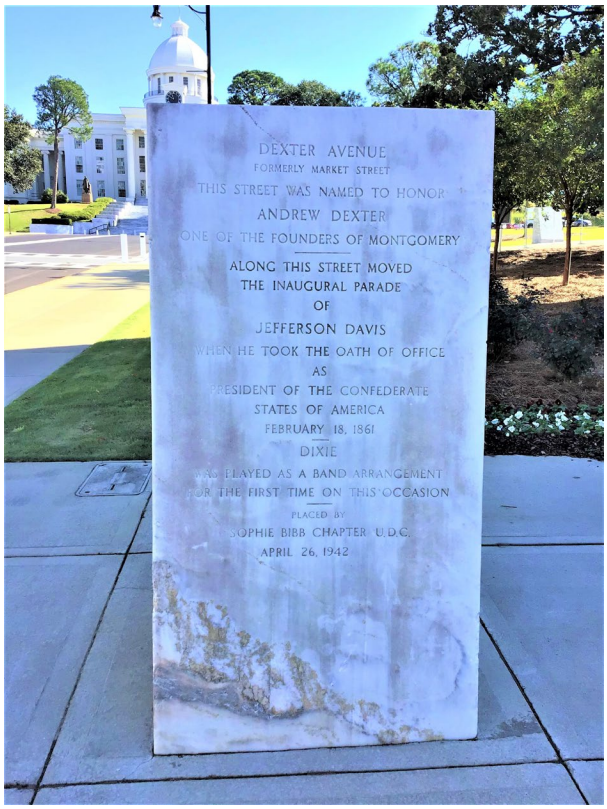


Figure 273. This marble monument contains a brief, Confederate-centric history of Dexter Avenue. It was present during the last day of the march, having been installed in 1942. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 274. This memorial monument to the Selma to Montgomery March is located along the same street and has the same orientation as the Dexter Avenue monument, but it is located on the opposite side of the road. (Source: WLA Studio).

bollards to control traffic, concrete tree planters, black metal benches, parking fee meters, and mail collection boxes. One of the more prominent small-scale features in the area is Klein's Clock, an ornate street clock that stands at Court Square (Figure 270). In December 2019, the City of Montgomery installed a life-size bronze statue of Rosa Parks at Court Square.

Commemorative Features

Multiple commemorative features line the march route through Montgomery. These are grouped by type below.

Artwork

Near the corner of Fairview and Oak streets, on the City of St. Jude property, there is a weathered steel sculpture depicting Selma to Montgomery marchers titled *Marching to Montgomery* (Figure 271). The die cut metal work is in the shape on an arch (a bridge reference), with the silhouettes of marchers holding signs and flags in the center cut out of the body of the piece. The sculpture is elevated several feet above the road grade and positioned at an angle facing the intersection. The piece is fronted by a two-tiered brick planter.

The near reverse of the St. Jude sculpture is located at the center of the Five Points Hill intersection (Figure 272). Whereas with the St. Jude piece the marchers are cut out of the center of the work, here the silhouettes of the marchers serve as the entire piece. The highly reflective work is made of polished stainless steel and was dedicated in 2015. The piece—entitled *Marching On,* according to an accompanying wayside—is supported on two rectangular posts mounted to square concrete blocks.

Stone Monuments

Two granite monuments flank Dexter Avenue as it approaches the State Capitol. The monument on the south side of the road is inscribed with information about the significance of Dexter Avenue (Figure 273). It notes that Montgomery founder Andrew Dexter is the road's namesake and includes information on how Dexter Avenue was used for the inaugural parade for Confederate President Jefferson Davis. The monument is credited to the Sophie Bibb Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

On the north side of the street, a similar monument commemorates the Selma to Montgomery Voting Rights March (Figure 274). The granite monument notes that the march ended here and that at its conclusion, Martin Luther King, Jr. addressed 25,000 people. The monument also features a quote from King. Both monuments are made of a large stone, angled so the inscribed side leans eastward. The back of each monument in flat and straight.

Street Name Signs

The street identification signs along the entire march route in Montgomery are brown as opposed to typical green, in keeping with the common use of this color to denote historic sites (Figure 275). The topmost road name sign features an arch to accommodate the text "Selma to Montgomery Historic Trail."

City of Montgomery Waysides

Eleven City of Montgomery interpretive waysides are positioned at various locations along the march route within the city. The first is located on Oak Street and the last is located near the State Capitol (Figure 276). The waysides resemble the standard type the NPS uses, but they include a City of Montgomery logo. Topics covered by the waysides include the role of churches in the civil rights movement, the displacement of African American communities due to interstate construction, and the local organizing efforts behind the march.

NPS Waysides

In addition to the City of Montgomery waysides, two NPS waysides exist within the character area and are located within the lawn area on the south side of the City of St. Jude campus. The waysides are titled "A Refuge" and "Heroes' Welcome."

Historical Markers

Numerous state historical markers are located throughout the city and character area. The topics range from the Civil War to the civil rights movement. The eighteen markers along the march route stretch from the City of St. Jude to the Capitol Building grounds.



Figure 275. The route contains both interpretive waysides and brown street name signs, denoting the location of the national historic trail. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 276. This is the first of the interpretive panels installed by the City of Montgomery and is located in the front yard of a residence along Oak Street. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 277. Other commemorative features in the march route corridor signal the presence of other heritage programs and activities. (Source: WLA Studio).

Other

Other small-scale commemorative features include plaques on building facades and independent markers not part of another marker program. A blue die cut metal sign noting the "Civil Heritage Trail / City of Montgomery" is located next to this crosswalk (Figure 277).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

Downtown Marion contains similar small-scale features to the other urban character areas. These include historical markers, commemorative monuments, and streetscape features.

Streetscape Features

Streetscape features in downtown Marion include post office collector boxes, handrails, newspaper boxes, planting beds, and traffic signage. Street lighting includes cobra head fixtures attached to wood utility poles. Pedestrian scale lighting includes coach lamp fixtures on top of decorative metal posts. The posts include brackets to mount flag poles.

Commemorative Features

The landscape contains several features that relate to the commemoration of the events of 1965.

Memorial Monuments

Behind Zion United Methodist Church, in the area in which Jimmy Lee Jackson was shot, a now-damaged plaque memorializes Jackson (Figure 278). The plaque shows a bronzed relief portrait of Jackson wearing a graduation cap, with accompanying text noting who he was and who erected the plaque. The plaque is attached to two rusting metal poles, and at the time of recordation, the memorial was leaning on a retaining wall.

There is polished black granite monument in front of Zion United Methodist Church, designed in the same style and materials as the black granite monuments in Selma. The monument is titled "The Civil Rights Freedom Wall of Perry County, Alabama," and includes a "Roll Call of Freedom Fighters / 1960 – 2000," honoring those who took part in the civil rights movement in the area (Figure 279).



Figure 278. Photograph showing the dislodged memorial plaque honoring Jimmie Lee Jackson in the location of where he was shot by a state trooper. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 279. Photograph of the Civil Rights Freedom Wall in Marion, which is the same as the one outside Brown Chapel A.M.E. in Selma. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 280. This photo shows the black marble monument to Rev. James Orange and associated commemorative features outside the Old Perry County Jail. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 281. Image of the NPS wayside located on the front yard space of Zion United Methodist Church. (Source: WLA Studio).

North of the church, outside the old county jail, there is a monument honoring the Reverend James Orange. The polished black granite monument is the same style as the portrait monuments in the Selma Civil Rights Memorial Park (Figure 280). Rev. Orange's portrait is in relief in the center of the monument, with text noting his incarceration for being a leader of the local movement in Perry County.

Waysides

Two NPS waysides are in the character area (Figure 281). One is in front of Zion United Methodist Church. The wayside—titled "A Seed is Planted"—displays information about the night march of February 18, 1965, and the death and legacy of Jimmy Lee Jackson.

A NPS wayside—titled "Protest and Prison" is next to the Rev. Orange Monument. It displays information about the civil rights movement activities in Marion that led to the confrontation on the night of February 18, 1965.

Historical Markers

A two-sided state historical marker is located on the southeast corner of the Perry County Courthouse grounds across the street from the Zion United Methodist Church. The side facing the church provides information about Jimmy Lee Jackson. The side facing the courthouse provides information on how Jackson's death led to the Bloody Sunday March.

Other

In between the Rev. Orange Monument and the NPS wayside outside the old jail, there is a concrete block used to support memorial wreaths that honor the civil rights leader. Wreaths are also located on the tall chain-link fence that surrounds the jail grounds.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

For most of this character area, no notable small-scale features exist. Most small-scale features pertain to traffic signage such as speed limit, hazard, and wayfinding signs. Additional small-scale features associated with commercial and residential properties within the character area include chain-link fences, mailboxes, business signs, and in the first section of this road,

streetlights. The streetlights are the same type as those located in downtown Marion. Fencing in this most southern portion of the route is similar in type and materials to that in other rural sections of the project area, with post-and-wire fencing being the most common.

As a recently established connecting trail, the roadway does not feature the extent of commemoration features as other character areas. However, the road is officially known as the Jimmie Lee Jackson-Albert Turner Sr. Memorial Highway, and signage along the route acknowledges this honorific name.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

In the western portion of the Highway 80 section of the connecting trail, most small-scale features pertain to traffic, with typical signage that includes speed limit, caution, and road identification signs. Fencing for businesses and residences is also present, with post-and-wire and chain-link fencing the most common types. Many mailboxes are also present along both sides of the highway.

In the eastern section of the character area, with the increased density of commercial properties, there are more small-scale features. This includes billboards, which increase in height with proximity to Selma. Commercial signage, security and parking lot lighting, and street lighting are also common in the developed portion of the highway. Cobra head fixtures attached to wood utility poles illuminate roads. Elevated church signs are a common feature along the route (Figure 282).

At the time of the study, limited commemorative features exist along the route. Along the entire route, the highway is marked by the National Historic Trail signs. An NPS wayside is located on the property of First Baptist Church in Selma. The two-panel upright wayside is located at the northeast corner of the lot on a brick pad (Figure 283). One panel—titled "A Grassroots Movement"—provides an overall history of the local organizing that provided the basis for the events of 1965. The other panel—titled "Turning Point"—describes how the movement picked up steam in 1964 and into 1965 and shows a large



Figure 282. Elevated church signs are a common feature in the project area. First Baptist's is located at the corner of J.L. Chestnut Boulevard and Martin Luther King Street. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 283. The tri-panel wayside on the grounds of First Baptist Church is accessed via a brick paved walkway. It is the only wayside of this type along the route aside for one at the Lowndes Interpretive Center site. (Source: WLA Studio).

photograph of state trooper, police, and volunteer mob blocking hundreds of demonstrators from marching. There are two historical markers in front of the Tabernacle Baptist Church along the route.

An ornamental fence flanks Martin Luther King Street on the northern edge of the George Washington Carver Homes complex. The sloping metal fence features the letters "GWC" on the east fence and "HOMES" on the west fence.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

The Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area has small-scale features that support its use as an interpretive site. These features include the following:

Benches

There are two wood benches with backs at the site. One bench is located under the covered entryway to the north side of the LIC building, and the other is located under an alcove on the north side (Figure 284). The two benches have wood slats and a curved back rest. They do not conform to other site furnishings.

Three backless benches are located under the west side of the domed pavilion (Figure 285). The benches are constructed of black marble and have a solid seat slab and two full width supports underneath. The benches show damage from salt leaching associated with the pavilion.

Picnic Tables

There are picnic tables located throughout the site (Figure 286). Twenty-nine picnic tables are located on site, with twenty-two in the interpretive area (eight under large shelter, two under small shelter, twelve open air). Five are located in the parking island area (two under small shelter and three in the open), and two tables are in the area north of automobile parking area (both open air). All picnic tables are identical and have concrete tabletops and bench seats and grey cast concrete support members.

Gates

The site features five gates: one at the entrance, one at the entrance into the truck parking area, one at the exit, and two at the western entrances into the interpretive area.



Figure 284. Wooden bench in the north alcove of the LIC building. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 285. The black slab stone benches are positioned inside the domed pavilion. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 286. The picnic tables on site feature cast concrete, with the bench seats and tabletops coated in a white water-resistant protectant. (Source: WLA Studio).

The entrance gate is both ornamental and utilitarian (Figure 287). The swing-style gate has a die cut metal depiction of the State Capitol building and Tent City, showing three trees, a clothesline, and a large tent. The art piece is placed between two long brown metal gate arms. A thin piece of metal arches from the bottom corners of the gate and above the upper gate arm. Vertical metal bars attach the arch to the gate arm, forming a depiction of the Edmund Pettus Bridge. The gate is attached to a brown metal support beam set beside a brick entrance pillar (Figure 288). An identical pillar is located on the opposite side of the entry drive.



Figure 287. The ornamental entrance gate features a die-cut metal representation of landmarks of the civil rights movement, such as the Alabama State Capitol building, Tent City, and the Edmund Pettus Bridge. (Source: WLA Studio).

The gate at the entrance into the truck parking area is an NPS style low profile, brown, metal gate. The gate has a post upon which its swivels to secure to a post on the other side of the drive. The gate at the exit of the site is identical to the one at the truck entry drive (Figure 289).

Two ornamental gates are located at the two entrances into the interpretive walking trail system. They are both brown, metal, pivot on a post, and have two panels with simple ornamental detailing (Figure 290).



Figure 288. The entrance gate is affixed to a long metal swing arm, which is mounted to a brick pillar. The alternating brick colors are repeated throughout the site. (Source: WLA Studio).

Drinking Fountains

Two types of drinking fountains exist on site. One is gray cast concrete and rectangular (Figure 291). Four such fountains are in the interpretive trail area, one is in the parking island rest area, and one is north of the personal automobile parking area.

There is one universally accessible fountain in the parking island rest area (Figure 292). The powder-coated, green metal fountain is rusting.



Figure 289. A standard metal swing gate regulates access to the tractor trailer parking area. (Source: WLA Studio).

Lighting

Several types of lighting exist on site. The first type is a bollard-sized ground light fixture. These surround the walkways that ring the LIC building (Figure 293). The lights—spaced at regular intervals depending on location—are metal and cylindrical with a clear encasement capped with a metal dome surrounding the light near the top.

Along the southern edge of the property, as well as across Highway 80, tall streetlights line the roadway (Figure 294). The standards are taller than those used in the urban portions of the project area. They include LED fixtures on tapered metal poles. At the time of recordation, one standard located near the



Figure 290. The mostly ornamental gates provide a visual threshold to the park-like interpretive trail area. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 291. Most water fountains on site are of this rectangular rough cast concrete type. (Source: WLA Studio).

exit had been knocked over. This same light type continues along the entry drives to surround the parking areas within the site (Figure 295).

Flood lights are located on the south side of the site, angled to illuminate the LIC building (Figure 226). The lights are not ornamental and have a plain black pole and a single square luminaire. On the north side of the building, there is another set of floodlights, however, this type has two lights and they are angled downward.

Fencing

Two fences exist on site. One is the tall chain-link fence that surrounds the maintenance area (Figure 296). The fence is topped by three strands of barbed wire. A two-panel swing gate—also chain-link and topped with barbed wire—provides access into the maintenance area.

Another chain-link fence runs along the north, east, and west sides of the property, generally marking the parcel boundary (Figure 297). The fence on the west side is oriented north-south and measures roughly 400 feet long. The fence on the north side includes a long east-west oriented span extending from the west for 1,090 feet. The northwest corner of the site is bounded by alternating sections of fencing that take the fence to the east side of the property. In total, these sections measure about 950 feet long. A 140-foot-section of fencing extends south toward the overgrown successional woodland path in the southeast corner of the site.



Figure 292. This is the one universally accessible water fountain on site. It is located within the elevated picnic area islands west of the LIC building. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 293. This cluster of lights outside the main entrance into the LIC building includes a metal bollard light type and a dual-luminaire flood light type. The ground lights are located along the walkways surrounding the LIC building. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 294. A number of tapered metal light poles line both sides of Highway 80 in this portion of the route. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 295. The light poles within the site's parking lots also feature the angled luminaire heads but are a dark grey as opposed to silver metal colored. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 296. A typical chain-link fence topped with barbed wire encloses the maintenance area in the northwest corner of the site. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 297. Another typical chain-link fence runs along the northern property boundary of the site. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 298. Directional signs within the site are of a typical rest stop or picnic area design and type. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 299. A sign directing traffic into the site from the eastbound lanes of Highway 80. (Source: WLA Studio).

Signs

A variety of signs are located through the site, with the majority being wayfinding or auto traffic related (Figure 298). Such signs include those indicating the direction of travel (exit, yield, one-way, etc.), location of visitor amenities, stop signs, loading zones, regulatory information (pets on leash, overnight parking prohibited, do-not-enter, etc.), and accessible parking locations. These signs are either blue with white text or white with black text. Along Highway 80, brown site identification signs orient visitors of the entrance into the LIC (Figure 299).

A site identification sign is in the open turf area between the highway and the LIC building (Figure 300). It is constructed of multi-colored brick shaped to resemble a pedimented building facade. Both the east and west faces have the same sign panel that identifies the site as the Lowndes Interpretive Center along the Selma to Montgomery Trail, as National Historic Trail, All-American Road, and Scenic Byway. An NPS arrowhead logo is located above the sign on both sides.

Traffic Features

Aside from signage, additional traffic related small-scale features include the concrete curbs that line the drives and parking areas and the elevated traffic islands described previously.

Trash Receptacles

Six-sided trash receptacles are located throughout the site, primarily along pedestrian walkways (Figure 301). Each trash receptacle's base is wider than the top, they are surfaced with a pea gravel aggregate.

Waysides

Five interpretive waysides are in the interpretive trail area (Figure 302). One is located roughly mid-way along the central diagonal walkway and the other four are spread out along the curved walkway on the outside edge of the area. The one along the central walkway is titled "You Gotta Move" and provides information about the establishment of Tent City due to forced evictions and how SNCC and LCCMHR aided the residents. The others are titled (counterclockwise along the trail) "Day Two," "Marchers, Supporters, Hecklers," "No Isolated Incident," and "A Price Paid." "Day Two"



Figure 300. The site identification sign is located in the open lawn between Highway 80 and the LIC building. It features the unified materials present in other site features, a NPS logo, and a sign noting its several managing agencies. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 301. Trash receptacles are located throughout the site, and this multi-sided, tapered design is the primary type used on site. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 302. This is one of a number of interpretive waysides highlighting the events of the civil rights movement, with a special emphasis on Tent City. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 303. A three paneled wayside containing information on the park and its history is covered by and affixed to a roofed shelter. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 304. An abandoned utility pole is located in the far eastern portion of the site. (Source: WLA Studio).

describes how the march passed by the LIC site on the second day. "Marchers, Supporters, Hecklers" describes the spectacle of the march and the variety of responses by locals who came to witness the event. "No Isolated Incident" describes how other families throughout the south were also evicted from their residences for their civil rights movement activities. A "Price Paid" describes the difficult conditions of living in Tent City.

A wayside structure containing three informational panels is located on the walkway that leads to the north entrance into the LIC building (Figure 303). The upright display is covered by a metal octagonal roof that is supported by three posts. Of the three panels, two are typical interpretive design with images and text. One panel includes mostly text and describes the establishment of the trail, the Black Panther Party, and the Lowndes Interpretive Center. The two interpretive panels—titled "It Started in Selma" and "After the March – Tent City"—provide information about the historic march and its aftermath.

Other

The site also contains other small-scale features of note.

A flagpole bearing the Unites States flag stands near the southeast corner of the LIC building. The tapered black pole has metallic ball at the top. A small solar panel is attached to the pole a few feet from its base.

One remnant utility pole stands in the open greenspace east of the interpretive trail area, but it does not support any service (Figure 304).



Figure 305. A road drain moves water to a culvert and then into a swale in the northern portion of the site. (Source: WLA Studio).

Culverts are located throughout the site. They do not exhibit any ornamental design and are of simple concrete construction (Figure 305).

A two-panel solar power collector is attached to a thin rectangular metal pole that is attached to the ornamental entry gate. The panel powers the adjacent security system attached to the brick pillar beside the gate. An electronic keypad is located immediately to the south of the entry gate to allow access into the site when the gate is closed.

Features

- Selma streetscape features
- Traffic-related features (Selma)
- Streetlights, several types (Selma)
- Martyr Monument at Brown Chapel
- Civil Rights Freedom Wall (Selma)
- Memorial Streetlight on Water Avenue
- Historical markers (Selma)
- NPS wayside (Selma)
- Traffic-related features (Highway 80)

- Streetlights (Selmont)
- Civil Rights Memorial Park monuments (4)
- Civil Rights Memorial Park fountain
- Civil Rights Memorial Park plaza
- Civil Rights Memorial Park "gravesite"
- Civil Rights Memorial Park historical markers
- Selma welcome sign
- Viola Liuzzo Memorial
- NPS signs (Highway 80)
- National Historic Trail signs
- De Soto Monument
- Residential small-scale features (all character areas)
- Chain-link fencing (all character areas)
- Post-and-wire fencing for agricultural properties
- Streetlights, several types (Montgomery)
- Streetscape features, residential (Montgomery)
- Streetscape features, downtown (Montgomery)
- *Marching to Montgomery* sculpture
- *Marching On* sculpture
- Dexter Avenue stone monuments
- Selma to Montgomery Voting Rights March stone monument
- City of Montgomery interpretive waysides
- NPS waysides at City of St. Jude
- Historical markers (Montgomery)
- Streetscape features (downtown Marion)
- Jimmy Lee Jackson memorial plaque
- The Civil Rights Freedom Wall of Perry County, Alabama monument
- Rev. James Orange monument
- NPS waysides (Marion)
- Historical markers (Marion)
- Memorial wreaths (Marion)
- Fencing (Old Highway 45)
- Residential and commercial small-scale features (entire connecting trail)
- NPS wayside at First Baptist Church
- Fence at Carver Homes
- Benches at Lowndes Interpretive Center
- Picnic tables at Lowndes Interpretive Center
- Gates at Lowndes Interpretive Center
- Drinking fountains at Lowndes Interpretive Center
- Lighting at Lowndes Interpretive Center
- Fencing at Lowndes Interpretive Center
- Signs at Lowndes Interpretive Center
- Traffic features at Lowndes Interpretive Center
- Waysides at Lowndes Interpretive Center
- Flagpole at Lowndes Interpretive Center
- Solar power collector at Lowndes Interpretive Center

Cluster Arrangement

Given the size of the project area, this report broadly categorizes cluster arrangement, focusing on the overall density patterns and clusters related to commemoration, with special attention paid to specific locations and the Lowndes Interpretive Center site.

Selma March Route Character Area

As an urban area, the Selma March Route Character Area features a dense cluster of buildings. In general, the beginning of the route has a cluster of multi-family residential buildings, which transition to a commercial section as the route approaches downtown. Interpretive elements described in other sections are clustered at the beginning of the route in the vicinity of Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church.

Highway 80 Character Area

The Highway 80 Character area alternates between areas of dense development and stretches of less-dense rural landscapes. The area of the route leaving Selma toward Montgomery includes dense development, with clusters of commercial buildings in Selmont, which transitions to the group of buildings and structures at Craig Airfield. From the intersection with County Road 145 eastward, the landscape transitions to a rural setting with limited development. This character remains the same until the area of development around the Lowndes Interpretive Center site, where there is the Corps of Engineers office complex, Mt. Gillard Missionary Baptist Church, an electrical substation, the LIC complex, two casinos, and several residences. Development gradually dissipates after this point as the route progresses through the Big Swamp area. A node of development is present at the intersection with Highway 97 at the Lowndesboro intersection. An additional node is located at the intersection with County Road 37.

As the route reaches Montgomery County, density increases again, where the Montgomery Airport and Alabama Air National Guard exist, along with auxiliary businesses such as gas stations and car rental companies. This clustering continues generally unabated for the duration of the character area, including along Highway 31.

Clusters of commemorative elements within the character area are located at the Civil Rights Memorial Park in Selmont and the Lowndes Interpretive Center site.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

The Montgomery March Route character area features high density throughout its stretch from the City of St. Jude to the State Capitol building. As described in the Land Use section, the route transitions from predominately residential to commercial land use as it progresses toward the State Capitol. The highest density of buildings is in downtown Montgomery, though the residential area is still dense due to small lot sizes. Commemorative features are not clustered in any one location and are dispersed across the route.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

Like Selma and Montgomery march routes, downtown Marion is a developed town environment featuring a ring of buildings that face a large central courthouse. Commemorative features are mostly clustered along the stretch of Pickens Street from Zion United Methodist Church to the Old Perry County Jail. The jail site features the densest area of commemorative features.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

The Old Highway 45 section of the Connecting Trail begins on the edge of downtown Marion. As such, density in this section is highest for the character area. After progressing south through scattered development, the density of buildings decreases. Commemorative features are not clustered together in this character area.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

The Highway 80 section of the Connecting Trail features several areas of development, though no distinct areas of clustering are present between Highway 45 and County Road 44. After County Road 44, periodic areas of density line both sides of Highway 80. This density is broken by areas of woodlands or swampy terrain. Density in this section is greatest as the trail passes into the north side of Selma. Commemorative features are not clustered together in this character area.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

The Lowndes Interpretive Center site does not contain many buildings and structures. However, some groups of landscape features form clusters on the site.

The most concentrated cluster of features is in the immediate area of the LIC building. Here, the LIC building is surrounded by light fixtures, an adjacent utility building, signs, and an interpretive and informational kiosk structure.

The other cluster of features is east of the LIC building cluster and pertains to the group of picnic tables, shade structures, domed pavilion, and interpretive panels that make up the interpretive trail area of the site. This area also contains the heaviest concentration of commemorative features.

Features

- Commemorative features cluster (Selma Character Area)
- Commemorative features clusters (Highway 80 Character Area)
- Commemorative features cluster (Downtown Marion Character Area)
- Commemorative features cluster (Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area)
- Building clusters (All Character Areas)

Constructed Water Features

Few constructed water features are present within the project area. Two types are present: farm ponds and ornamental fountains.

Selma March Route Character Area

The only constructed water feature in this character area is an ornamental fountain located at the corner of Water and Washington streets (Figure 306 - Figure 307). The fountain includes a large cast concrete pool centered on a concrete base. A pedestal in the center of the fountain includes the busts of four horses.



Figure 306. A fountain provides visual interest to the sidewalk outside the St. James Hotel on Water Avenue in Selma. (Source: WLA Studio).

Highway 80 Character Area

Several farm ponds are present within the visual corridor of the Highway 80 Character Area. Fieldwork conducted over multiple seasons found that not all ponds near the Highway 80 right-of-way are visible year-round. Some of the more visible farm ponds are in the following locations:

- On the south side of Highway 80 in Benton
- On the north side of Highway 80 near Hopewell Church
- On the south side of Highway 80 near mile post 113
- On the north side of Highway 80 near the Idlewild Drive intersection
- On the south side of Highway 80 near Burkville United Methodist Church

Additionally, at the Civil Rights Memorial Park outside of Selma, a large stone monument—described in the Small-Scale Features section—uses water as part of its display, with water emanating from a hole in the boulder, which then runs down the face of the stone into a shallow pool.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

The Montgomery March Route Character Area features one notable constructed water feature. The Court Square Fountain at Court Square stands on axis with the State Capitol building and Dexter Avenue (Figure 308 and Figure 309). The original fountain was constructed in the mid-1880s, but the cast iron fountain has been recently reconstructed due to prior damage. The large fountain has a shallow pool ringed by an ornamental fence. A multi-tiered fountain stands in the center of the pool, and contains herons, cherubs, and other human figures arranged above and below stacked pools.

the Lowndes Interpretive Center site, the Tent City



Figure 307. A large boulder-and-pool monument is a visual centerpiece of the Civil Rights Memorial Park in Selmont. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 308. The Court Square Fountain is on axis with the state capitol building, seen here in the distance. The fountain is a draw for tourists in the area. (Source: WLA Studio).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

No constructed water features are present in this character area.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

Several farm ponds are located within the Old Highway 45 Section of the Connecting Trail. Easily seen farm ponds are in the following locations:

- On the north side of Old Highway 45 near Faith Chapel
- On the north side of Old Highway 45 between County Roads 38 and 4
- On the east side of Old Highway 45 near the County Road 88 intersection

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

This character area also contains farm ponds, though most of them are not visible due to vegetation along the roadway. Easily seen farm ponds are in the following locations:

- On the north side of Highway 80 east of the Old Highway 45 intersection

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

No constructed water features are present in this character area.

Features

- Downtown Selma fountain
- Court Square fountain, Montgomery
- Farm ponds (Highway 80, Highway 45)

Archeological Sites

To date, there have not been any systematic archeological investigations of the entire project area. It is likely that ALDOT and other utility companies have used professional archeologists during construction work, though any findings were not available to the consultants during research.

Several archeological investigations have occurred within SEMO and include testing at the entrance to



Figure 309. The fountain features a shallow pool and ornate fence in addition to its multi-tiered water feature. (Source: WLA Studio).

site, as well as the locations of the radio broadcast towers located at "Trenholm Technical College and Canaan Hill Primitive Baptist Church, two of four locations of existing visitor information radio towers previously installed along SEMO through PMIS ID #98896."[422] Concerning the radio towers, in 2014, researchers from the Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) concluded:

> The locations of the towers all appear to be in previously disturbs contexts and it is unlikely that intact archeological deposits were adversely affected during the tower installations however the depth of impacts are currently unknown. These areas have not been surveyed and it is recommended that in the event that either tower is removed or replaced in such a way as to cause ground disturbance, that a qualified archeologist is present to monitor this activity.[423]

Related to the entrance to the LIC site, SEAC statement is as follows:

> Welcome Center/Rest Stop. Commercial parking, over occupancy, and vagrancy are carry-over issues from ALDOT ownership and have become a problem for the Park. To mitigate these issues, the Park proposes to install two

422. Timothy Roberts, "Memorandum: Section 106 Compliance Testing at Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site (TUIN) and Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site (TUAI) in Macon County, Alabama, and at Interpretive Sites along the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (SEMO) in Dallas, Lowndes, Montgomery Counties, Alabama. SEAC Acc. # 2694 and # 2695, September 8-12, 2014" (Southeast Archeological Center, January 15, 2015), 5.
423. Roberts, "Trip Report," 5.

entrance and two exit electronic card access security gates.

The archeologists investigated two proposed locations for four security gates to be installed at the entrance and exit to the interpretive center parking lot (Figure 4). These areas have been disturbed by road and parking lot construction. The installation of the gates will likely have No Adverse Effect on intact and significant archeological resources.[424]

SEAC conducted the Tent City site investigation in 2019. The following summarizes the purpose of the investigation:

From June 24-28 and July 15-23, 2019, SEAC archeologists conducted an archeological investigation of the grounds at the Lowndes Interpretive Center at SEMO. The project entailed conducting a geophysical survey, which consisted of ground penetrating radar (GPR) and magnetometry, followed by a systematic shovel test survey. The purpose of this project was to create baseline archeological data that will be used for the preparation of an Archeological Overview and Assessment report, as well as provide preliminary data for other aspects of cultural resource stewardship. After the completion of this project, the parks obligation to Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act will be considered complete, and will assist in any Section 106 compliance in the future. Also as part of this project, an intern from the National Council of Preservation Education (NCPE) will be hired to develop outreach materials based on the information gained from this investigation.[425]

The report's conclusions are as follows:

During this project, approximately 3.2 acres were surveyed with the GPR and magnetometer, in which no culturally associated anomalies were revealed.

In addition, 109 shovel tests were excavated, which covered the 20 acre site. A total of 43 cultural items were collected, weighing 224.14 g. The survey revealed that the majority of the property has been disturbed, most likely from the construction activities with the development of the interpretive center. Only a few outlying areas along the park boundary had intact soils, which extremely 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," although there is the potential that some archeological resources associated with the 1965-67 occupation of Tent City may remain preserved along the margins of the property.[426]

Affiliated Sites

This section provides a brief existing conditions statement with accompanying photographs for each Affiliated Site. These sites were not formally documented, per the project scope of work and discussions with project coordinators.

Campsite #1 (David Hall Farm)

Campsite #1, historically known as the David Hall Farm, is located roughly a mile south of Highway 80 and seven miles from Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. The property has recently been subdivided among heirs, and this description covers the 10-acre property owned by Mr. Hall's daughter, Mary Hall McGuire.

The property has many of the characteristics of a former agricultural homestead. Such features retained from the agricultural past include the original house built by David Hall, a tree-lined entry drive, successional forest, fence lines demarcated by vegetation, and foundation stones of a previously extant barn (Figure 310 - Figure 311). Post-historic additions to the property include a manufactured home and several outbuildings and sheds (Figure 312).

424. Roberts, "Trip Report," 4.

425. Rusty Simmons, "Trip Report: Baseline Cultural Resource Survey of Lowndes Interpretive Center, Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (SEMO), Lowndes County, Alabama, June 24-28 and July 15-23, 2019, SEAC Acc. 3083." (Southeast Archeological Center, October 22, 2019), 1.

426. Simmons, "Trip Report: Baseline Cultural Resource Survey of Lowndes Interpretive Center, Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (SEMO), Lowndes County, Alabama, June 24-28 and July 15-23, 2019, SEAC Acc. 3083.," 5.

The original house is a one-story clapboard-sided residence that, despite some damage, is in fair condition. The continued presence of the house is testament to Mr. Hall's craftsmanship. The house contains a small living room, kitchen, and three bedrooms. The side-gabled house is set on piers and has a front-gabled covered front porch.

Despite the successional vegetation that has overtaken previously cleared fields, old field patterns are legible both on the ground and in aerial photography.

An allée of mature pecan trees line the unpaved entrance drive into the site. This drive splits, with one remnant drive running toward the original house and another modern drive looping back toward the roadway providing access to the parking area for the modern house on the property. This modern drive segment is gravel paved.

A large NPS sign identifying the site as Campsite #1 is located at the southeast corner of the property. The brown metal sign displays the text: "CAMPSITE 1 / DAVID HALL FARM / MARCH 21, 1965." A black banner above the body of the sign reads: Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail and displays the logos of the National Historic Trail and America's Scenic Byways programs. The sign is framed in by unpainted 2×4 timbers and is elevated off the ground via two cobblestone-faced pillars. This is the largest of all NPS Campsite identification signs.

This property is private and not open to the public.

Campsite #2 (Rosie Steele Farm)

Campsite #2 has not been assessed for this report. As such, this description is based on aerial photography and what could be documented from the public right-of-way.

Campsite #2 is located on the north side of Highway 80, with no buffer between it and the road (Figure 313). The property contains several residences, which are part of a subdivision. In addition to the residences, the site has scattered vegetation, outbuildings, fences, two unpaved driveways, and large open spaces (Figure 314). The site is bounded on the west, north, and south by young pine trees and by Highway 80 on the south.

The residences include a post-historic brick house and a post-historic manufactured house. The brick residence has a hipped roof and a gabled ell projection. The house, located on the west side of the property, is oriented toward the roadway and is serviced by an unpaved drive. The manufactured house is white, side gabled, and is located on the east side of the property. An unpaved drive provides access to the manufactured house.

Vegetation on the site appears to be mostly successional, with planted pines surrounding the property and scattered pines located near the houses. Two magnolia trees and several crape myrtle trees stand in the vicinity of the brick house.

Small-scale features on the property include a wood privacy fence, utility poles, playground equipment, and mailboxes.

An NPS sign stands parallel with Highway 80 on the east side of the property. This sign is not as large as the one at Campsite #1. It is brown metal and contains the text: "Selma to Montgomery Trail / CAMPSITE 2 / Rosie Steele Farm / March 22, 1965."

This property is private and not open to the public.

Campsite #3 (Robert Gardner Farm)

Campsite # 3 is in the eastern part of Lowndes County at the intersection of Highway 80 and Fredrick Douglas Road. The property—managed by surviving heirs—has three residences. The two post-historic houses are currently occupied. The unoccupied home is the house that was present during the march (Figure 315).

The 140-acre property is primarily pasture, with a tight clustering of buildings, structures, and residential vegetation located along an unpaved driveway connected to Fredrick Douglas Road. This cluster—located on the high point of the landscape—constitutes the core of the property. A post-and-wire fence encloses this portion of the property. Both post-historic residences are white and side gabled, with shed additions on their west sides for parking. A front gabled barn exists south of the residences. Site vegetation includes mature oaks, privet, Eastern red cedar, and other vegetation along fence lines (Figure 316). The original house sits to the east of the modern houses



Figure 310. The original family home still stands on the property, though it is unoccupied. Note the allée of pecans along the short driveway on the left side of the image. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 313. A large portion of Campsite #2 was demolished during the expansion of Highway 80. However, this field was a portion of what was present in 1965. The housing and associated features on the site are modern additions. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 311. This photograph shows the foundation stones of one of the barns on the farm. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 314. A brick house stands in the western portion of the site. It is a post-historic addition to the landscape, as are the other site features. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 312. This photo, looking northeast from the rear of the property, looks out over the former location of a barn and toward the modern family house. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 315. This photograph shows a portion of the Gardner family house and mature vegetation that surrounds it. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 316. This photograph, looking east from the property edge, shows the type of fencing on site, as well as the post-historic residences and barn. (Source: WLA Studio).

and is surrounded by vegetation. In addition to the fence that surrounds the core building cluster, a perimeter fence encloses the entire property.

A sign identifying the property as Campsite #3 is located at the intersection of Highway 80 and Frederick Douglass Rd. It is styled in the same manner as the one at Campsite #2, with the text: "Selma to Montgomery Trail / CAMPSITE 3 / Robert Gardner Farm / March 22, 1965."

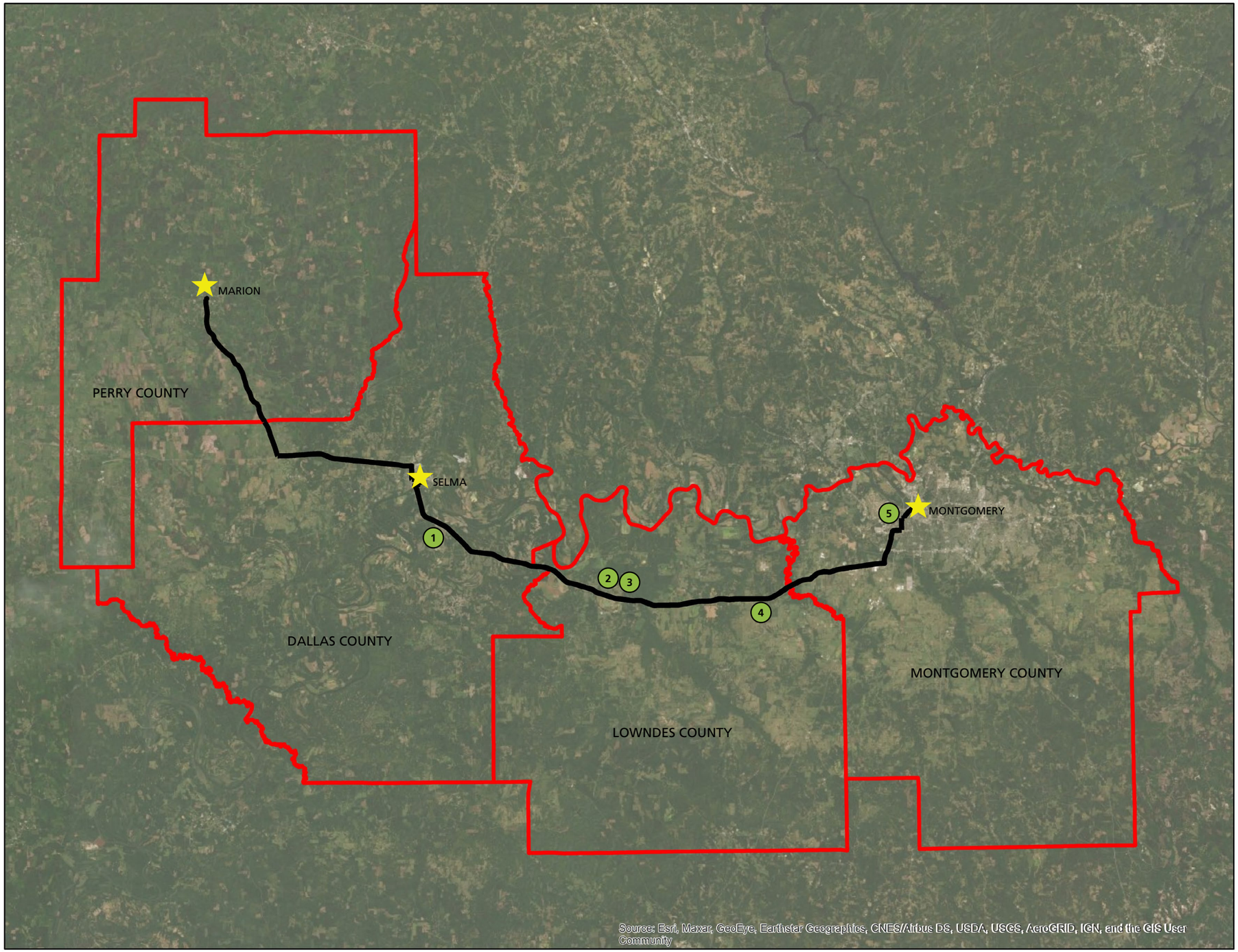
This property is private and not open to the public.

Campsite #4 (City of St. Jude)

Campsite #4 is located at the City of St. Jude, a 36-acre Catholic Ministry campus on the south side of Montgomery. The campus has a variety of buildings and structures related to its mission, most of which were constructed between the late 1930s and early 1950s. Buildings include a centrally located church, a large hospital, a social center, and a school. The design of the campus is formal, with tree-lined drives, symmetrical layout, and unified building style and materials.

Marchers assembled and camped in an open field on the north and northwest sides of the campus, which is still mostly open today. The field—along with the whole campus—is fenced in. On the field side, the fence is a typical chain-link type. The field features sections of bleachers, flood lights, and football uprights. The field is graded to be slightly elevated from the street level. Scattered pines surround the field. To the east of the field is a one-story brick building positioned next to two one-story barrel-vaulted warehouses and an associated parking lot.

There are several commemorative features on site. These include informational waysides, identification signage, and a sculpture, described in the *Small-Scale Features* section of this report.



KEY

1. Campsite #1
2. Lowndes Interpretive Center
3. Campsite #2
4. Campsite #3
5. Campsite #4

Principal City along Routes

National Historic + Connecting Trail Routes

NOTES

1. The project area spans four counties: Perry, Dallas, Lowndes, and Montgomery.
2. The National Historic Trail begins in Selma and ends in Montgomery, and is 54 miles long.
3. The Connecting Trail begins in Marion and ends in Selma, and is 28 miles long.
4. Aerial image is from 2020.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

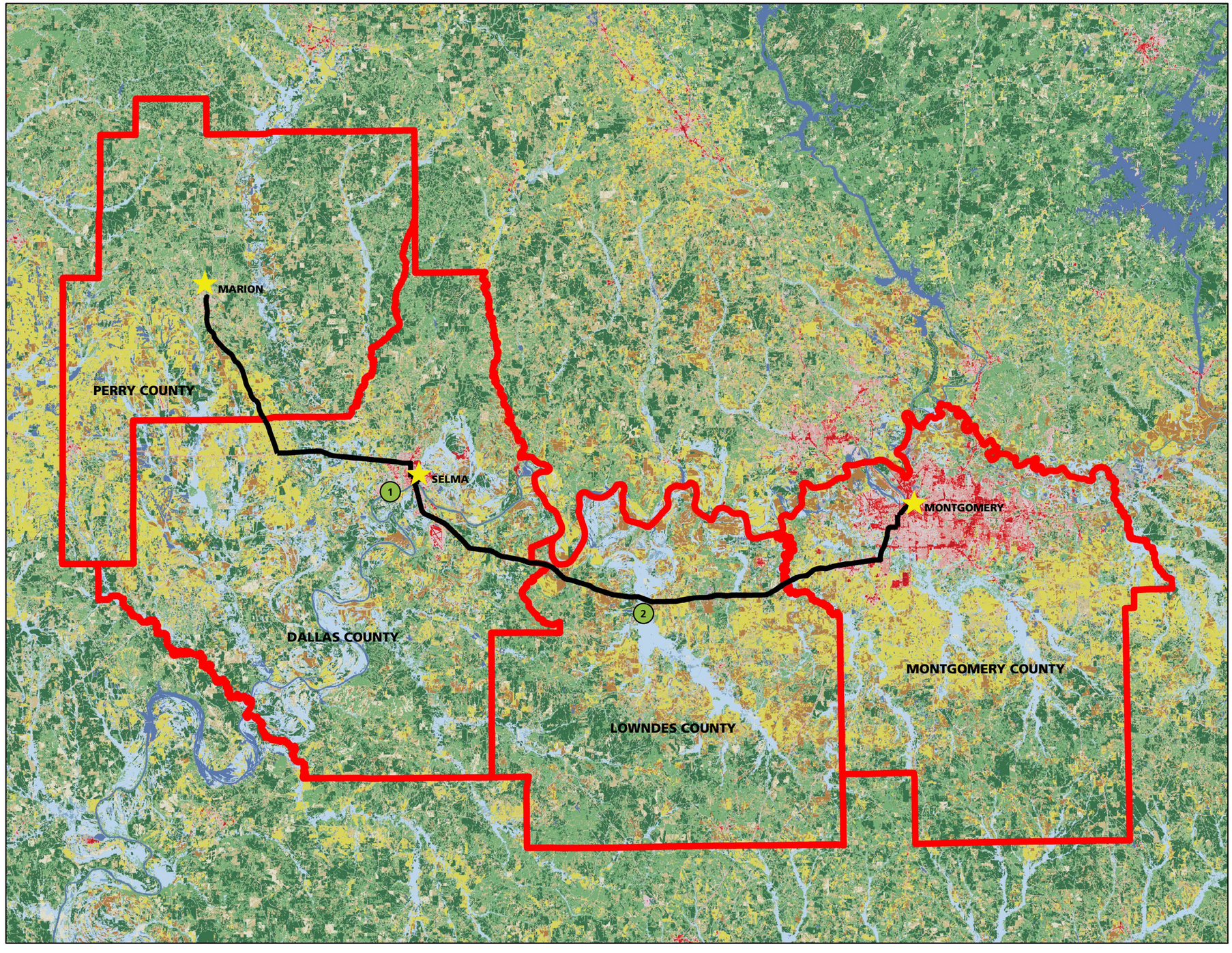
1. USGS
2. ESRI

North

Illustration 3.1

Project Area Extent

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021



KEY

- 1 — Alabama River
- 2 — Big Swamp
- Developed Land (Medium/High)
- Hay/Pasture
- Woody Wetlands
- Forest Lands
- Principal City along Routes
- National Historic + Connecting Trail Routes

NOTES

1. This Land Cover map shows the variety of land use types within the project area.
2. Note the areas of more intense development located in Selma and Montgomery.
3. The Alabama River and Big Swamp are two of the most prominent natural features within the project area.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. USGS
2. ESRI

North

Illustration 3.2

Land Cover

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021



KEY

1. Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church
2. George Washington Carver Homes
3. Martin Luther King, Jr. Street
4. Alabama Avenue
5. Water Avenue
6. Cecil C. Jackson, Jr. Public Safety building
7. Broad Street / Highway 80

- March Route (Turnaround Tuesday)
- March Route (Bloody Sunday/Main March)
- March Route (shared)

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

Illustration 3.3

Selma March Route Character Area, Downtown Selma, 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Highway 80
2. Edmund Pettus Bridge
3. Alabama River
4. Selma Interpretive Center

March Route (Turnaround Tuesday)

March Route (Bloody Sunday/Main March)

March Route (shared)

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:
1. ESRI

Illustration 3.4

Hwy. 80 Character Area, Alabama River / Selma, 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Highway 80
2. Selmont Commercial Strip
3. Railroad
4. Alabama River
- March Route (Official)

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

Illustration 3.5

Hwy. 80 Character Area, Selmont, 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Highway 80
2. Mt. Gillard Missionary Baptist Church
3. Power Substation
4. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Station

March Route (Official)

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

Illustration 3.6

Hwy. 80 Character Area, Lowndes County, 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Highway 80
2. White Hall Road
3. Lowndes Interpretive Center / Tent City
4. Casino Complex

March Route (Official)

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

Illustration 3.7

Hwy. 80 Character Area, Lowndes County, 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Highway 80
2. Campsite #2
3. Post-historic Residences
4. Planted Pines
- March Route (Official)

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

Illustration 3.8

Hwy. 80 Character Area, Lowndes Co. / Campsite #2 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Highway 80
2. Big Swamp Creek
3. Bridges
4. Planted Pines

March Route (Official)

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

Illustration 3.9

Hwy. 80 Character Area, Lowndes Co. / Big Swamp, 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Highway 80
2. Campsite #3
3. Gardner Family Farm
4. NPS Sign

March Route (Official)

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

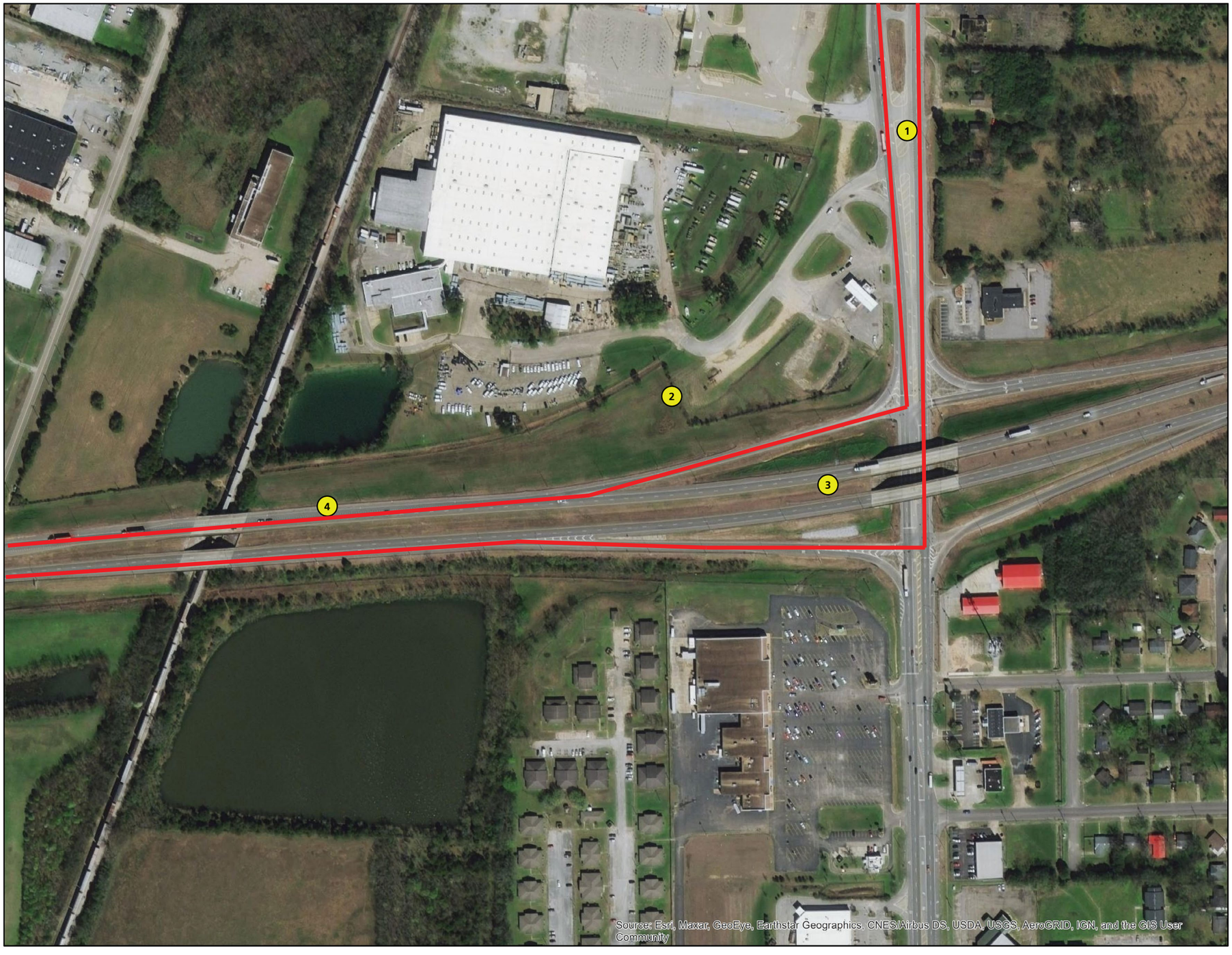
1. ESRI

Illustration 3.10

Hwy. 80 Character Area, Lowndes Co. / Campsite #3 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Highway 31
2. Remnant Highway 80 Segment
3. Modern Interchange
4. Highway 80

March Route (Official)

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

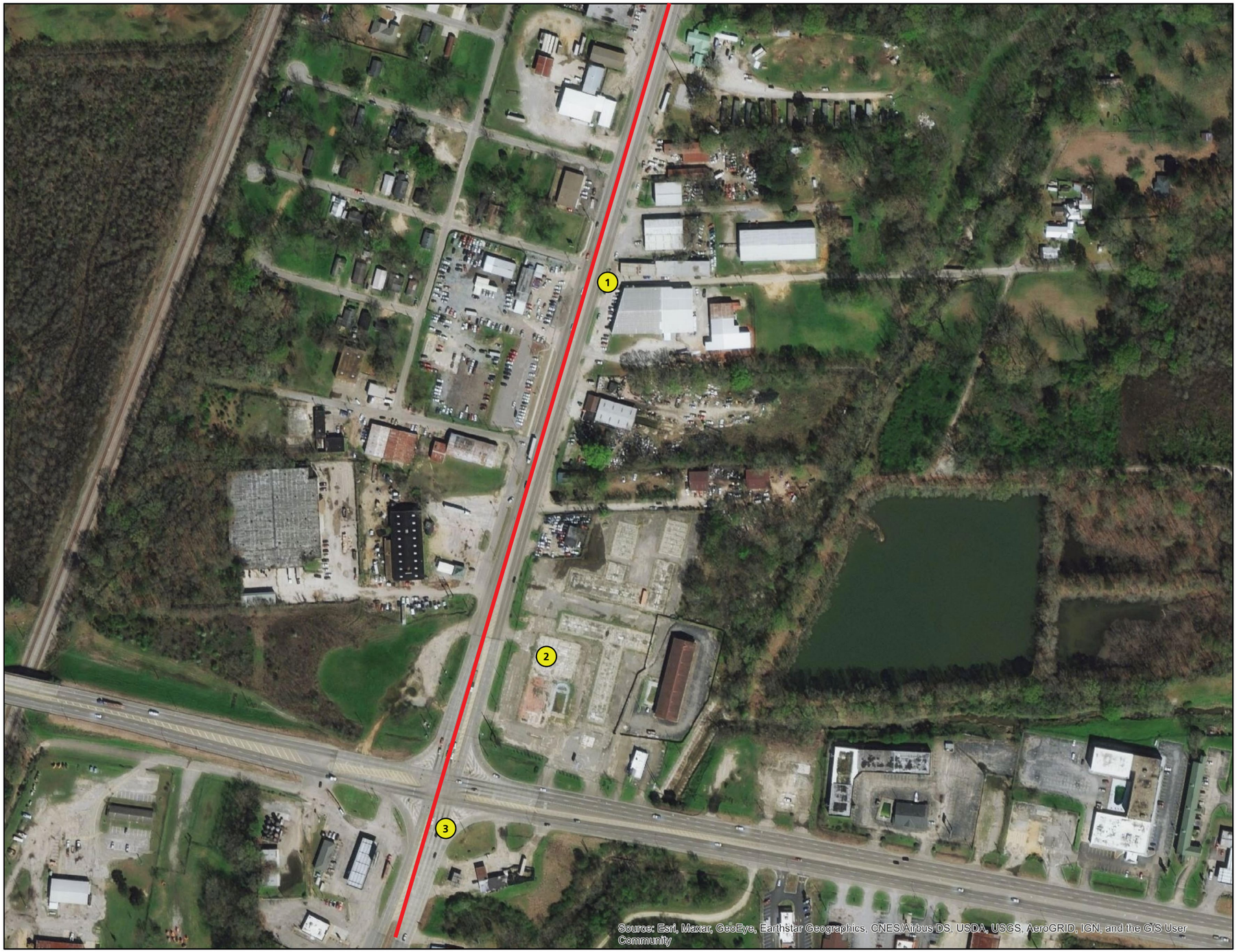
1. ESRI

Illustration 3.11

Hwy. 80 Character Area, Montgomery County 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Mobile Highway
2. Commercial / Industrial Development
3. Highway 31

March Route

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

Illustration 3.12

Hwy. 80 Character Area, Montgomery County 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Campsite #4 / Concert Location
2. City of St. Jude Campus
3. Oak Street
4. West Fairview Avenue

March Route (Official)

March Route (Unofficial)

March Route (Shared)

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:
1. ESRI

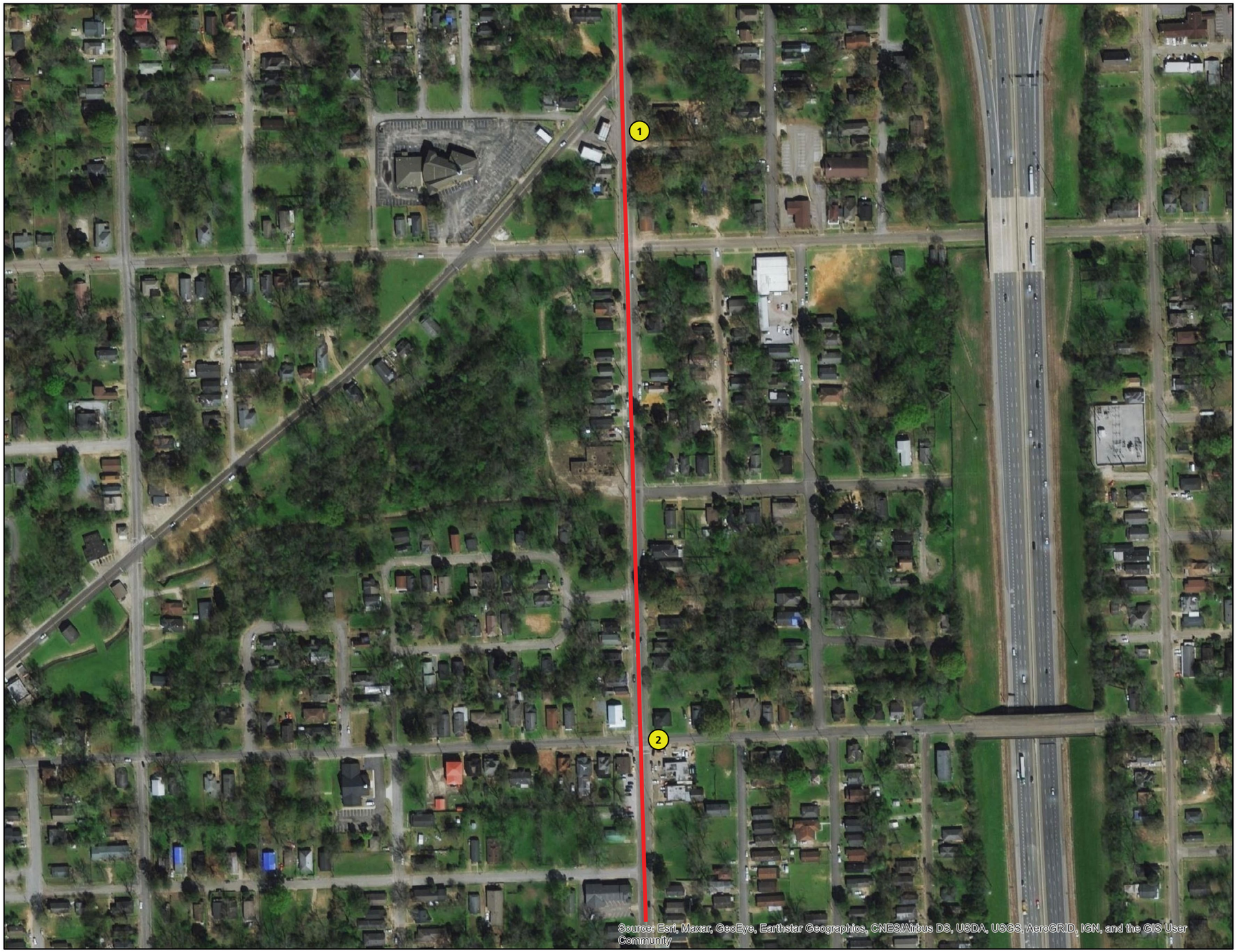
Illustration 3.13

Montgomery March Route Character Area

City of St. Jude / Oak St. 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1 Oak Street

2 Commercial Node

March Route

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

Illustration 3.14

Montgomery March Route Character Area

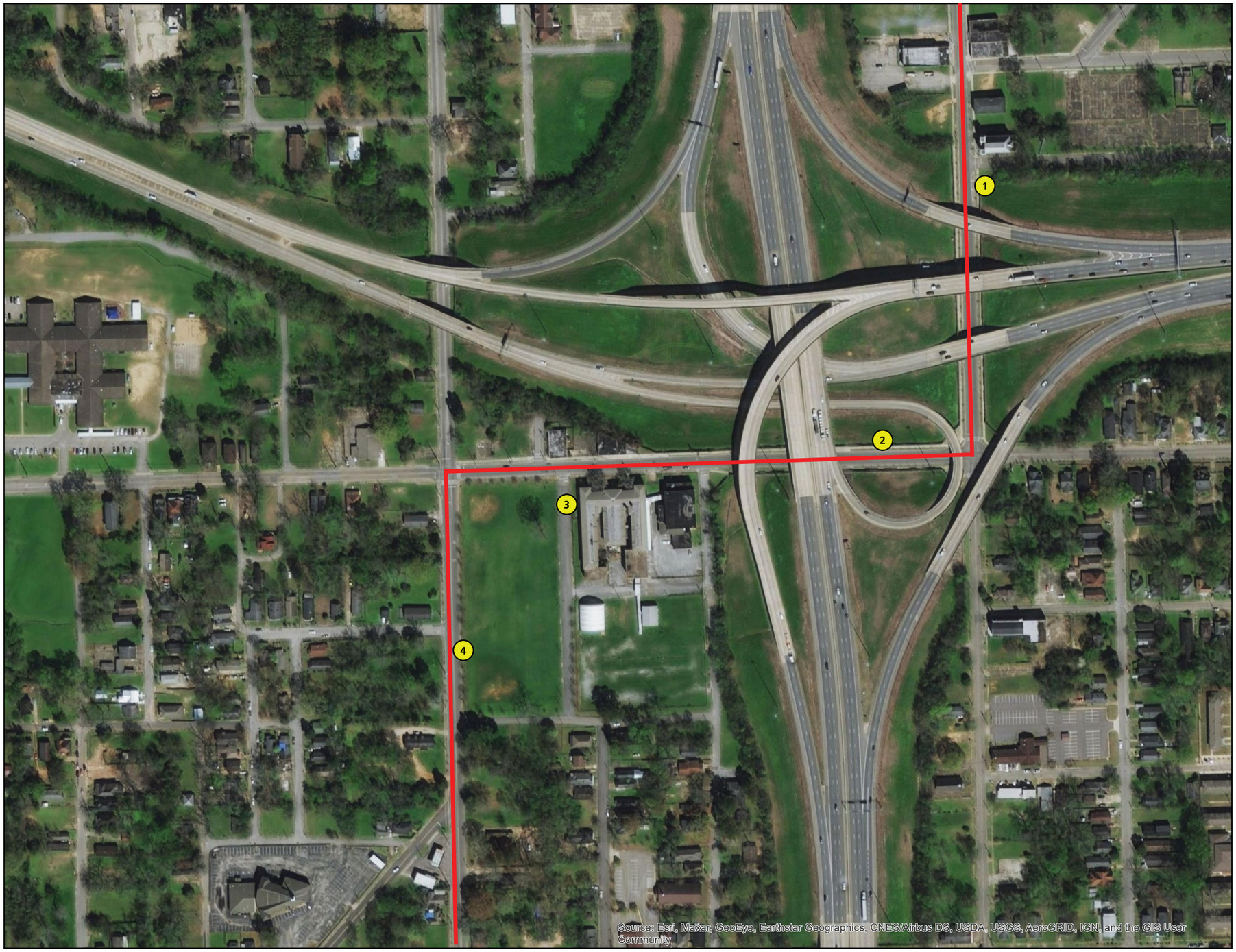
Oak Street, 2020

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail

Cultural Landscape Report

June 2021

North



KEY

1. South Holt Street
2. West Jeff Davis Avenue
3. Loveless School
4. Oak Street

March Route

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

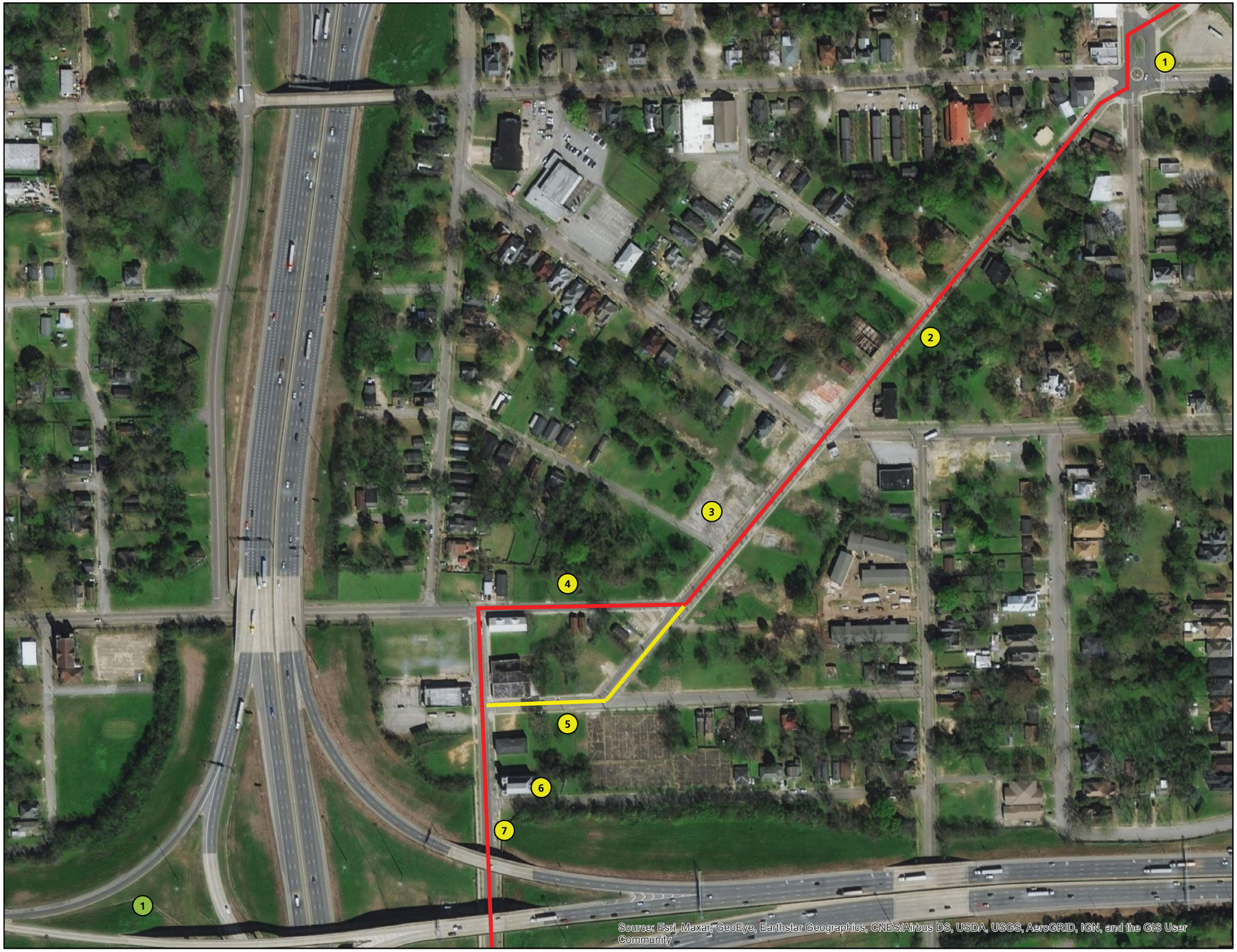
Illustration 3.15

Montgomery March Route Character Area

Oak St. / W. Jeff Davis Ave. / S. Holt St., 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Five Points Hill
2. Mobile Street
3. Vacant Properties
4. Day Street
5. Grady Street
6. Mount Zion Church (Historic)
7. South Holt Street

March Route (Official)

March Route (Unofficial)

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

Illustration 3.16

Montgomery March Route Character Area

S. Holt St. / Day St. / Grady St. / Mobile St.

2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Court Square Fountain
2. Montgomery Street
3. Five Points Hill
4. Mobile Street

March Route

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

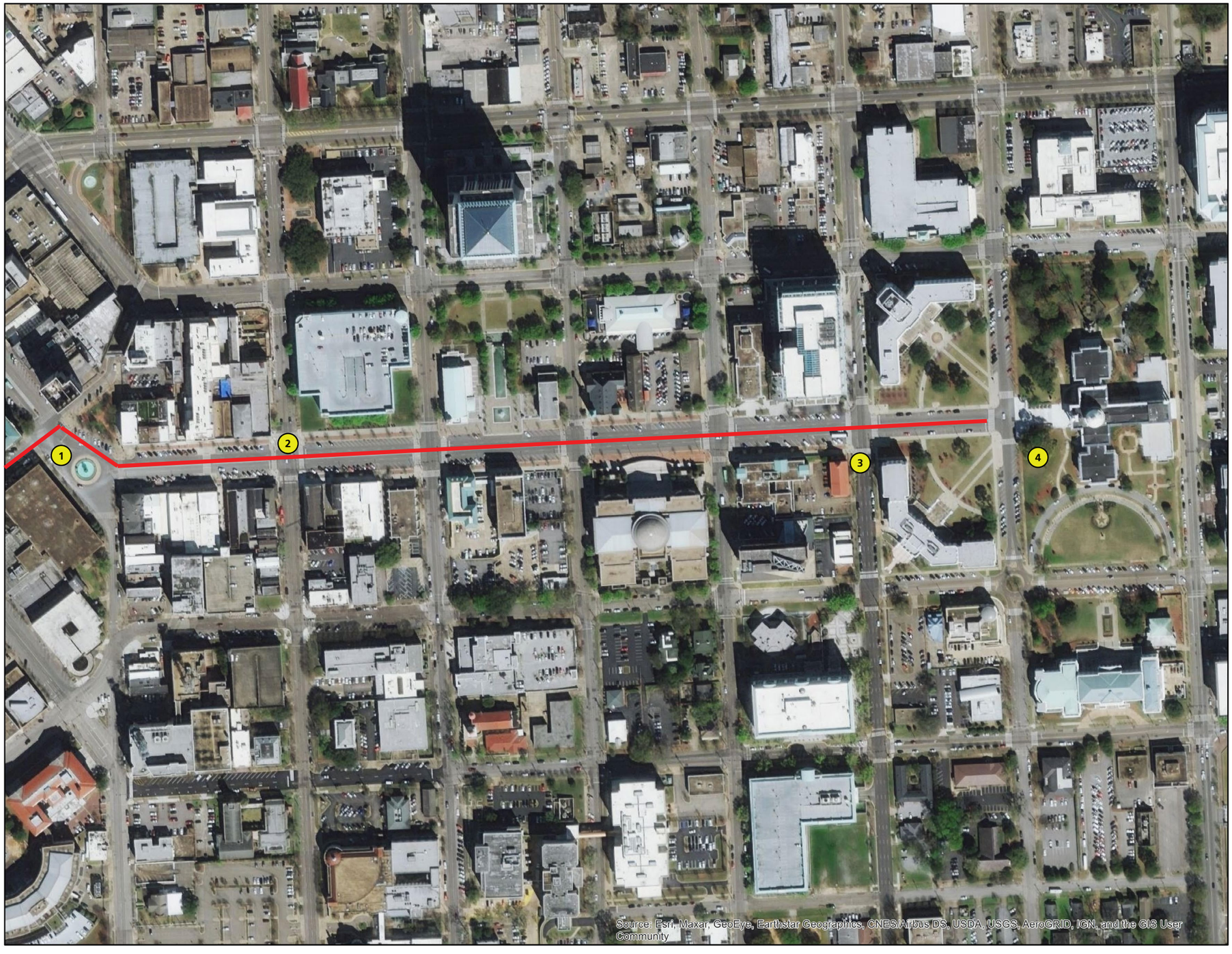
Illustration 3.17

Montgomery March Route Character Area

Mobile St. / Five Points / Montgomery St., 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Court Square and Fountain
2. Dexter Avenue
3. Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
4. Alabama State Capitol
- March Route

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

Illustration 3.18

Montgomery March Route Character Area

Dexter Avenue, 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Old Highway 45
2. Zion United Methodist Church
3. Old Perry County Jail
4. Perry County Courthouse

Connecting Trail Route

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

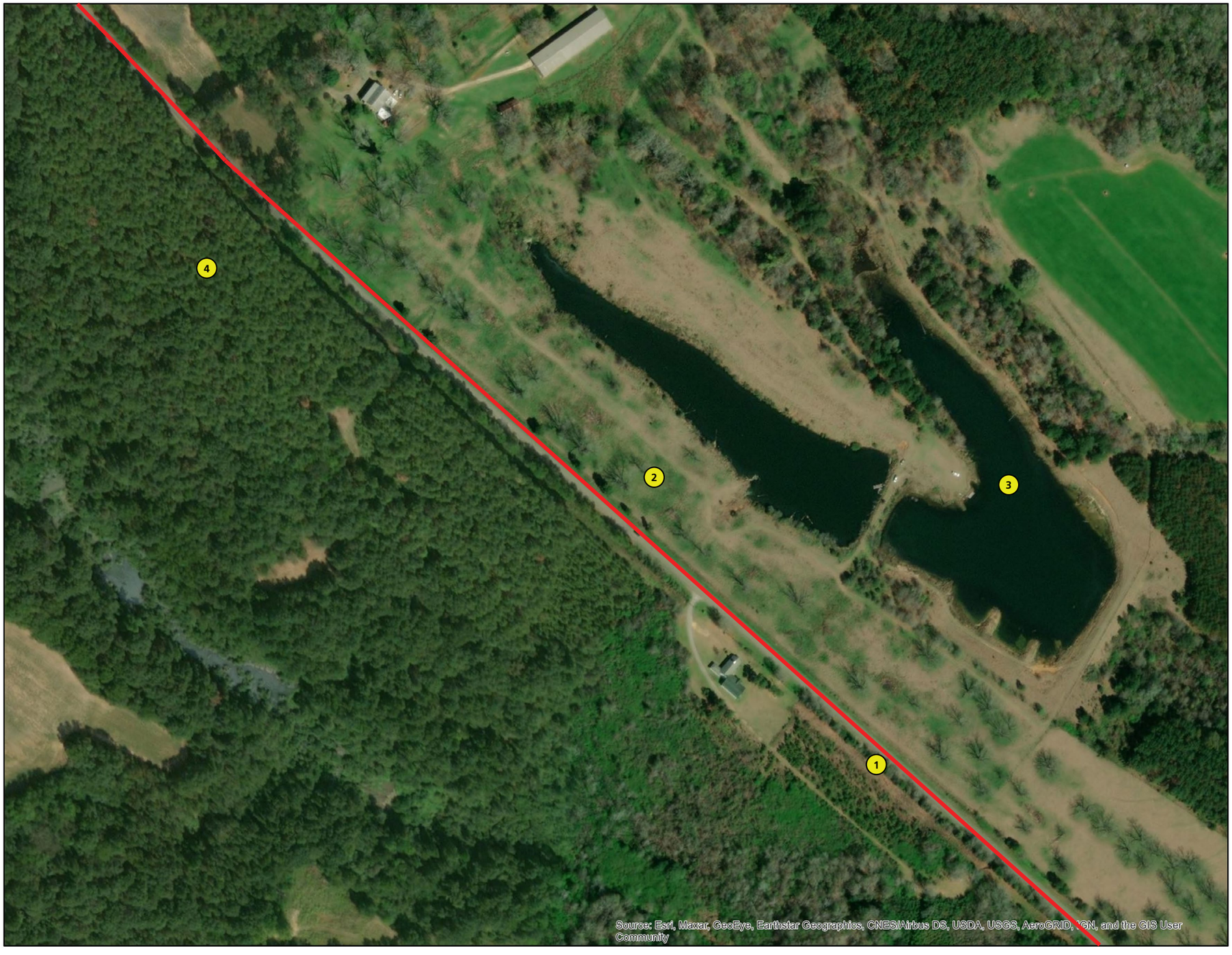
1. ESRI

Illustration 3.19

Marion Connecting Trail
Downtown Marion
Character Area, 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Old Highway 45
2. Orchard
3. Farm Pond
4. Planted Pines

Connecting Trail Route

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

Illustration 3.20

Marion Connecting Trail
Old Highway 45
Character Area, 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Highway 80
2. Highway 45
3. Rural Context
4. Railroad

Connecting Trail Route

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. ESRI

Illustration 3.21

Marion Connecting Trail
Old Highway 45 / Highway 80 Character Areas, 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



NOTES

1. The Lowndes Interpretive Center site is the only NPS-owned property within the study area.
2. The site contains features typical of a developed rest stop and tourist destination, including picnic areas, walking paths, interpretive panels, and extensive parking areas.
3. The most prominent feature on the site is the Lowndes Interpretive Center building, which was designed to reflect the civil rights history of the region through its architectural detailing and internal educational exhibits.
4. The site sits within a small developed node in an otherwise mostly rural setting.
5. The Tent City site is no longer evident in the landscape, as its location is now occupied by the interpretive walkway and picnic area in the eastern portion of the site.

Credits

The following sources were used to create the existing conditions illustrations:

1. Google Earth
2. National Park Service

Illustration 3.22

Lowndes Interpretive Center

Existing Conditions, 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
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Analysis and Evaluation

Introduction

For cultural landscapes such as the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail, documenting existing conditions and analyzing and evaluating natural and human-made historic resources is critical in the development of a strategy for their management and treatment. Cultural landscape analysis involves two primary activities: evaluating historic significance and assessing historic integrity. Both use criteria determined by the National Register of Historic Places, which has developed nationally recognized methods for evaluating the significance and integrity of historic buildings and landscapes. The evaluation of historic significance identifies the important historical associations of the property, as well as its architectural, archeological, and social value. The property's significance is tied to a discrete period of time (period of significance) in which its important contributions were made and the broader historic contexts (historic context themes) within which the activities that occurred on the property may be placed.

The analysis and evaluation section considers the site's history within recognized historic contexts to determine its contribution to the broad patterns of American history. It is important to note that historic resources, particularly cultural landscapes, change over time. As a result, a cultural landscape may have several areas of historical significance and multiple periods of significance. In order to determine whether a landscape feature contributes to the historic significance of the landscape, this chapter compares the existing conditions of landscape features to its understood historic state. The objective of this analysis is to identify the specific features associated with the historic periods and assess to what degree they continue to convey their historic significance. It must be noted that this analysis differs from the typical CLR process due to the varying depths of both existing and historic conditions documentation. As a full survey of the project area was not conducted, an accurate tally of all contributing or not contributing features cannot be generated.

The process to identify landscape elements follows a National Park Service methodology that categorizes all landscape elements as one of thirteen landscape characteristics:

- Archeological Sites
- Buildings and Structures
- Circulation
- Arrangement of Buildings
- Constructed Water Features
- Cultural Traditions
- Land Use
- Natural Systems and Features
- Small-Scale Features
- Spatial Organization
- Topography
- Vegetation
- Views and Vistas

Landscape characteristics are the "tangible and intangible aspects of an inventory unit which have either influenced the history of the development of the landscape, or are products of its development, respectively."[427] Further, "these aspects individually and collectively give a landscape its historic character and aid in the understanding of its cultural importance."[428] Based on this understanding of the landscape, National Register of Historic Places methodology aids in establishing a site's significance.

National Register Status

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 authorized the creation of the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) as the official list of the Nation's historic places worthy of preservation. The National Park Service is responsible for maintaining the list and coordinating with public and private entities to identify, evaluate, and protect

427. Robert R. Page, Cathy A. Gilbert, and Susan A. Dolan, "A Guide To Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques" (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships, Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes Program, 1998), 74.
428. Page, Gilbert, and Dolan, "A Guide To Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques," 53.

America's historic and archeological resources. The National Park Service has developed criteria for evaluating historic resources to determine their eligibility for listing on the National Register. The National Register Criteria for Evaluation examine a property's age, integrity, and significance. To be considered historic, a property typically needs to be at least fifty years old. To possess integrity, a historic landscape needs to look and feel to some degree how it did in the past. The categories of integrity used to evaluate a property include location, design, setting, material, workmanship, feeling, and association. The property must also be associated with historical events, activities, or developments that were important in the past. The National Register identifies the type of significance of a property based on the following criteria:

- Criterion A: Association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- Criterion B: Association with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- Criterion C: Embodiment of the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- Criterion D: Yielding or potential to yield information in history or prehistory.

A site may be significant in any or all of these four criteria. Based on these criteria, a statement of significance can be drafted for a site.

Current Status

The Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail is not currently listed in the National Register of Historic Places. However, in 2000, in conjunction with the NPS, the Alabama Historical Commission determined the section of the march route from the west side of the Edmund Pettus Bridge to the Montgomery Airport eligible under Criteria A for its association with the civil rights events of 1965.

Additionally, while a number of adjacent buildings and districts are listed in the register, most were not considered eligible due to civil rights history or ethnic heritage but are rather currently listed for architectural or another area of significance. Exceptions to this include Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church, which received National Historic Landmark (NHL) status in 1982, the Edmund Pettus Bridge, which received NHL status in 2013, and the 2013 Civil Rights Movement in Selma, Alabama, 1865-1972 multiple property nomination.[429]

Statement of Significance

While no comprehensive National Register Nomination form exists for SEMO, various park documents and National Register documentation for sites associated with the Trail provide guidance for establishing a statement of significance. The most recent SEMO park document—2015's Foundation Document—lists the following "significance statements" for Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail:

- Media coverage of the violent confrontation between law enforcement officers and members of the civil rights movement on March 7, 1965, now known as "Bloody Sunday," followed by the minister's march on March 9, also called "Turnaround Tuesday," and the final Selma to Montgomery voting rights march on March 21–25, 1965, brought the issue of voting rights to the forefront of national consciousness and through nonviolent protest won broad support for the cause of civil rights in America.
- Undaunted by the events of "Bloody Sunday" and protected by a federal court order issued on March 17, 1965, as well as the US Army and members of the National Guard, courageous citizens, local leaders, and civil rights groups participated in the final Selma to Montgomery voting rights march affirming the constitutional rights to peacefully protest afforded to all Americans.
- The results of the Selma voting rights movement and Selma to Montgomery voting rights marches were an important catalyst in the passage of the Voting Rights Act on August 6, 1965, which reinforced and protected the legal right to vote for

429. The Alabama State Capitol is also listed as a NHL, but related to it serving as the capitol of the Confederacy, not for civil rights movement activities.

qualified Americans, changing political life in the United States and throughout the South, especially in Alabama's Black Belt.
- Covering 54 miles through Dallas, Lowndes, and Montgomery Counties in Alabama, the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail works through partnerships to protect the many places and landscapes that provide opportunities for reflecting on and connecting to the events of the Selma voting rights movement.
- Although the civil rights movement was nonviolent, many suffered from the violent opposition to change and some were even murdered as a result of the struggle to affirm the right to vote. These deaths galvanized broad support before, during, and after the marches of the Selma voting rights movement in Alabama and are commemorated along the Trail today.
- Following the passage of the Voting Rights Act, exercising the hard-fought right to cast a ballot often had consequences and hardships for African Americans. In Lowndes County many tenant farmers were evicted for exercising their right to vote leading to the creation of a tent city—temporary housing, where families lived and struggled together for more than two years.
- As one of the most pivotal civil rights protests in American history, the Selma voting rights movement in Alabama that resulted in the Selma to Montgomery voting rights marches not only changed the nation but served as both a model and inspiration for other nonviolent movements throughout the world.

This Cultural Landscape Report adopts and amends these significance statements and the determination of eligibility to craft a comprehensive statement of significance for the National Historic Trail and a separate statement for the Marion Connecting Trail. No stand-alone statement of significance for the Lowndes Interpretive Center site is included here due to the absence of integrity—both above and below ground—for the location of Tent City.

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail

A future National Register Nomination Form for the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail will confirm the significant historic themes that apply. For purposes of this Cultural Landscape Report, the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail is understood to be significant under Criterion A in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Black, Politics/Government, and Social History. Differing from the determination of eligibility for the route, this report finds that the entire length of the Trail—from Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church to the State Capitol is significant under this criterion.

The 54-mile corridor of the National Historic Trail served as the landscape in which some of the most pivotal events of the modern civil rights movement occurred. These events are marked by both extreme violence against peaceful demonstrators and grand political and moral victories. Crucial events include the well-known Bloody Sunday, Turnaround Tuesday, and the Selma to Montgomery March, but also include many smaller protests, mass church meetings, and acts of civil disobedience that formed the bedrock of the Selma Campaign. Images of these actions were broadcast into the homes across the world and were instrumental in building public support for civil rights for African Americans.

The Selma Campaign was integral to the passage of the Voting Rights Act in August 1965. The act changed politics in the South and across the entire United States. After its passage, thousands of African Americans throughout the Black Belt and beyond could let their voices be heard through the electoral process for the first time—and 100 years after emancipation.

The significance of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail also includes the history of organizing and activism. Through the Selma Campaign, a referendum of sorts concerning the most effective strategies played out. Key public figures such as Stokely Carmichael, John Lewis, Amelia Boynton, and Martin Luther King, Jr. and their associated organizations of DCVL, SNCC, and SCLC vied for influence on how to run the campaign. This strategizing laid the foundation for the creation of the first Black Panther Party and the continued activist tradition of nonviolence,

both which continue to exert influence on social justice movements today. After the march, the establishment of and support for Tent City reflected the long standing African American practice of mutual aid and solidarity, as well as the bottom-up community organizing promoted by SNCC.

Marion Connecting Trail

The Marion Connecting Trail is significant under Criterion A in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Black, Politics/Government, and Social History.

Like neighboring Dallas County, Perry County and its county seat of Marion were hotbeds of civil rights activity. The area hosted both home-based activists and national organization field workers who worked there. The momentum of the movement increased rapidly after the death of Jimmie Lee Jackson, who was shot by a state trooper during a peaceful night march protest in downtown Marion. His death lead to the idea of a march to Montgomery to air locals' grievances to Governor Wallace.

The Marion Connecting Trail was the most common route taken by movement participants between Selma and Marion and Perry County and the town of Marion. Along this road, hundreds of Perry County residents traveled to Selma to take part in protests there. More than half of the Bloody Sunday protesters were from Perry County and many residents marched to Montgomery. For this key link between Marion and Selma, the route following Old Highway 45, now Jimmie Lee Jackson-Albert Turner Sr. Memorial Highway, is recognized as significant to the history of the Selma to Montgomery March.

Period of Significance

The determination of eligibility proposed a March 7-December 31, 1965 period of significance for the march route from Selma to Montgomery. This includes the time between Bloody Sunday and the establishment of Tent City. This Cultural Landscape Report broadens this period slightly and applies a period of significance of all of 1965 for SEMO. This period of significance corresponds to the events proceeding the Selma to Montgomery March, including the murder of Jimmie Lee Jackson and the civil rights campaigning in Marion, and events after the march, including the establishment of Tent City.

The proposed period of significance used in this report is tentative. A future National Register Nomination form will confirm an official period of significance. While the period of significance is limited to 1965 for this report, future studies and planning documents may find it necessary to expand this date to include the development of the antebellum plantation economy, the Civil War, labor struggles, and pre-march civil rights histories.

Methodology

A description of the methodology employed for this analysis and evaluation is warranted given the unique scope of this project. As noted in the existing conditions chapter, this report divides the study area into three primary types: character areas, affiliated sites, and associated sites. Character areas are geographic locations that the NPS determined to receive the highest level of existing conditions documentation based on both historical significance to the events of February and March 1965 as well as the contractor's ability to assess existing conditions. Affiliated sites are locations that relate to the events of 1965; but because these sites are not owned by the NPS, they cannot be thoroughly surveyed. A third type—associated sites—are included in an appendix at the end of this report. The project team documented existing conditions in a graduated level of detail. The highest level of documentation pertains to the Lowndes Interpretive Center (LIC) site, as the NPS owns this property. A second level of documentation was representative, which provides an overview level of documentation. The character areas and their geographic extent are as follows:

> Selma March Route Character Area: extends from to Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church to the Edmund Pettus Bridge and includes the two routes used by marchers in 1965.
>
> Highway 80 Character Area: extends from the Edmund Pettus Bridge along Highway 80 to the City of St. Jude.

Montgomery March Route Character Area: extends from City of St. Jude (Hill Street) to the Alabama State Capital, following the principal march route.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section: extends from the Highway 80 / Old Highway 45 intersection to Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section: extends from the south side of downtown Marion to the Highway 80 / Old Highway 45 intersection.

Downtown Marion Character Area: extends from the Perry County Jail to the Jefferson Street / Old Highway 45 intersection. This character area extends beyond the official connecting trail route, which begins at the Zion A.M.E. Church, to include the old county jail for its significance to the events of February 1965.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area: covers the 20-acre parcel owned by NPS along Highway 80 in Lowndes County.

The following comparison of historic and post-historic conditions is intended to provide a general contrast between 1965 and 2021. This approach differs from the in-depth comparison typical of site-specific CLRs. *See Existing Conditions section for detailed description of present-day cultural landscape*.

Lastly, Illustrations 2.1 through 2.14 provide large-scale aerial imagery of historic conditions with notes pertaining to the landscape of the period. Illustrations 3.1 through 3.22 provide large-scale aerial imagery of existing conditions for further reference.

Landscape Characteristics

Natural Systems and Features

Historic Condition

Overall

The region's natural systems and features helped to define its overall landscape character in 1965, with gently rolling hills, intermittent patches of woodland, pasturelands, and meandering waterways present throughout where the landscape was not urbanized. The unique geology of the project area helped to define its cultural traditions and historical development, as its soils were conducive to cotton agriculture. The climate of the region also made it suitable for both cotton and cattle agriculture.

Selma March Route Character Area

As an urban area, the Selma March Route Character Area contained few natural systems and features (Illustration 2.5). The most prominent feature is the Alabama River which flows under the Edmund Pettus Bridge on the eastern edge of the character area (Illustration 2.6).

Highway 80 Character Area

Natural systems and features of the Highway 80 Character Area included gently rolling terrain and various ecological communities including swamps, creeks, pastures, and woodlands (Illustrations 2.2, 2.3, 2.7, 2.11).

Hydrological features within the character area included nine creeks: (from west to east) Soapstone Creek, Old Town Creek, Pilot Creek, Big Swamp Creek, Tallawassee Creek, Rock Creek, Pintala Creek, Caney Creek, and Catoma Creek. The Alabama River, though influencing the presence of these creeks, mostly ran north of the Highway 80 corridor and never within sight of the roadway.

Ecological communities within the project area can be inferred from photographs, maps, and limited descriptions of the route from the time of the march. One of the most prominent—and frequently mentioned in narratives of the march—was the one-mile expanse of Big Swamp located in Lowndes County, which straddled Highway 80 (Figure 317). Historic aerials also show the presence of farm ponds in certain sections of the character area. These wetlands supported a variety of plant and animal species.



Figure 317. 1965 photograph of Big Swamp Creek, likely during a flood event. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News).

In addition to the wetlands, historic-period documents note the presence of woodlands, pastureland, successional forest, and successional pasture. Each of these environments, while not wholly "natural," nevertheless supported diverse natural communities of flora and fauna (Figure 318).

Montgomery March Route Character Area
As an urban area, the Montgomery March Route Character Area during the period of significance contained few natural systems and features.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
As an urban area, the Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section during the period of significance contained few natural systems and features.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
The natural systems and features of the Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section included gently rolling terrain and various ecological communities including creeks, pastures, and woodlands.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
In 1965, the natural systems and features of the Old Highway 45 Character Area included areas of dense forest and both rivers and creeks, over which this portion of Highway 80 traversed. The most prominent water feature present at this time was the Cahaba River in the western portion of the character area, which was oriented north-south and edged with vegetation (Figure 319). The road also passed through areas of open pasture, though much of the right-of-way was lined with trees.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
In 1965, the Lowndes Interpretive Center site was predominately in pasture, featuring limited vegetation (Illustration 2.11). Scattered small groupings of trees were present in the vicinity of Tent City. A narrow water drainage feature edged by vegetation ran northeast-southwest through the center of the site (Figure 320).



Figure 318. 1966 aerial image of the western edge of the Big Swamp area. Note the fragmentation of forest, presence of pasture, and the transitional edges that served as ecological niches for flora and fauna. (Source: USDA).



Figure 319. 1965 aerial image of Highway 80 showing the Cahaba River, adjacent pasturelands, successional vegetation, and a variety of circulation features. (Source: USDA).



Figure 320. 1966 aerial image of the Lowndes Interpretive Center landscape in 1966. Note the extent of pasture, scattered successional vegetation, drainage feature, fences, and Tent City. (Source: USDA).

Existing Condition

Overall

The project area continues to be located predominately within the Black Prairie and Alluvial-deltaic Plain physiographic provinces (Illustration 3.1). The Marion portion of the project area is within the Fall Line Hills physiographic province. Additionally, the Environmental Protection Agency classifies the project area as within the Southeastern Plains ecoregion, which is further divided into Blackland Prairie, Flatwoods/Blackland Prairie Margins, and Southeastern Floodplains and Low Terraces subregions.

Selma March Route Character Area

Just as in 1965, the Selma March Route Character Area contains few natural systems and features. The Alabama River is still located in the eastern portion of the character area, and periodically floods. As such, the Selma March Route Character Area is at risk of flooding during 500-year events. Given its developed character, stormwater is channeled towards storm drains along streets.

Highway 80 Character Area

In a reflection of the historic period, the natural systems and features of the Highway 80 Character Area still include gently rolling terrain and various ecological communities including swamps, creeks, pastures, and woodlands (Figure 321). While the composition of these communities has been altered through shifting agricultural use, successional processes, and development, overall, the natural systems and features of the Highway 80 Character Area are similar to historic conditions.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

As an urban area, the Montgomery March Route Character Area contains few natural systems and features. Surface runoff is channeled into storm drains that feed subsurface pipes.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

As an urban area, the Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section contains few natural systems and features.



Figure 321. Aerial image comparing 1965 and existing conditions in portion of Lowndes County. Note that the widening of the highway altered the landscape, the overall composition of the area remains reflective of 1965 conditions. (Source: USDA).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

The natural systems and features of the Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section still include gently rolling terrain and various ecological communities including creeks, pastures, and woodlands, though compositions of these communities have changed over the years (Figure 322). The more prominent waterways present during the period of significance are still present, as are several farm ponds in the viewshed. In the more developed portions of the route close to Marion surface runoff is channeled into storm drains. In the less developed sections of the roadway, stormwater is directed towards swales parallel to the road, which eventually drain into local creeks and depressions.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

Natural systems and features of the Old Highway 45 Character Area continues to include areas of dense forest and several waterways. The Cahaba River is still present, as are several named creeks. While the composition of the woodland-pasture matrix has changed over time, it is still generally reflective of historic conditions. Surface runoff is diverted to swales that line the north and south of the roadway, which then drains into the wetland areas. In some sections the swales are channelized with concrete. It is unknown when the concrete swales were constructed.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

As an extensively developed site, the Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area presently contains few natural systems and features aside from two small areas of low-lying wetlands in the western edge of the site.

Vegetation

Historic Condition

Overall

Vegetation along the route can be described in both individual/localized conditions as well as generalized groups of plant communities. The following does both depending on level of available historic documentation. These groups include streetscape plantings, residential plantings, natural areas, and agricultural/pasturelands.



Figure 322. Aerial image comparing 1965 and existing conditions along Old Highway 45. Note that the overall types of ecological areas are still present, though their composition has been altered. In this area, the landscape has become more forested in the last fifty years. (Source: USDA).

Most of the historic documentation of the march route occurred in February and March, meaning that deciduous trees, shrubs, and other plants had yet to leaf out, complicating identification. As such, some inference is relied upon for identification where backdating could not be accomplished.

Selma March Route Character Area

During the historic period, the Selma March Route Character Area featured vegetation typical of mid-century urban residential and city streetscapes of the Southeast. Within this character area, shade trees, both young and mature, lined portions of city streets (Figure 323). Several maturing shade trees that appear to be oak lined Sylvan Street. There were also young tree plantings along the roadway. Scattered mature trees were present along the east end of Alabama Avenue. Both Broad Street and Water Avenue did not contain any significant cultural or natural vegetation. Turf ground cover was present in the yards of the George Washington Carver Homes and other residences. Individual residences likely featured ornamental trees and shrubs, as well as container plantings and small ornamental garden beds.

Highway 80 Character Area

In 1965, the three-county stretch of the Highway 80 Character Area featured vegetation typical of its utilitarian, commercial, residential, natural, and agricultural land uses. In Dallas County, where the march moved through commercial, residential, and agricultural landscapes, vegetation was diverse. In Lowndes County, however, the landscape was slightly more uniform, with areas of forest punctuating agricultural clearings. In Montgomery County, vegetation resembled that of Dallas County, with a transition from rural areas with successional forest and pasturelands to more developed areas.

Within the highway right of way, vegetation was both maintained for ornamental and/or traffic safety. Some areas were in the process of undergoing vegetation succession. In historic images of the march, successional vegetation is visible adjacent to the road right of way and along the margins of pastures, primarily along fence lines. Successional vegetation included young pine trees (*Pinus* spp.), Eastern red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*), and broomsedge (*Andropogon virginicus*).



Figure 323. March 21, 1965 photograph of march participants, national guard, police, and media along Sylvan Street. Note the bare trees of various ages, with the most mature being those adjacent to Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in the background. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News).

While the edges of the Alabama River featured a narrow band of riverine forest, the predominant vegetation type was turf in the commercial area of Selmont just to the east of the river. Few trees appear in the historic images of this area, aside from scattered specimen trees and those set back behind commercial buildings and parking lots (Illustration 2.6).

The route through the residential section of Dallas County contained more trees, including those lining adjacent streets, including the residential area of Craig Field (Figure 324). There were also small sections of woods that occasionally encroached on the highway right of way. Near the county line, an extensive orchard, likely pecan (*Carya illinoinensis*) based on existing conditions, was at a private residence on the north side of Highway 80. Both aerial and ground photographs show vegetation growing along fences around property boundaries and fields. This demonstrates the role of birds depositing seeds and contributing to the vegetative character of the corridor's landscape. The aerial photographs also show vegetation growing along small drainages through pastures.

Lowndes County was predominately rural in character and featured a mixture of field and forest lands (Illustrations 2.2, 2.3, 2.7, 2.11). Occasional small orchards were located along the route. Within the accounts of the march, the most cited vegetation community within the county was Big Swamp. These accounts note that the location was feared as a hiding area for potential snipers or that the bridges over the swamp's waterways might contain bombs. These narratives mention the density and darkness of the swamp landscape and the Spanish moss (*Tillandsia usneoides*) that hung from the trees. Through this section of Lowndes County, the highway was two-lane, allowing the forest to encroach and at times envelop the corridor. Other sections of the route passed through wide-open agricultural lands, framed by woodlots in the distance.

At this time, several areas of presumed pecan orchard occupied the intersection at Lowndesboro. The largest of the orchards was located at the southeast corner of the intersection.

While during the significant months of February and March, the agricultural fields would not



Figure 324. 1965 photograph of Craig Field, including the residential section of the site. Note the "dots" of vegetation alongside the housing units in the center of the image, and how the developed character of the site differs from the surrounding context. (Source: USDA).

have featured any growing crops, but as the year progressed cotton and/or corn would have both been visible from the highway.

As the march route passed into Montgomery County the rural character of the vegetation continued with the similar pattern of agricultural fields punctuated by woodlots. As the route approached the outskirts of the city, development increased, which limited the prevalence of woodlots and increased the amount of turf.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
The march route from the City of St. Jude campus to the state capitol contained a variety of vegetation, most of which was ornamental and can be categorized by public/commercial vegetation and residential vegetation. Most vegetation in this route was on residential property, with limited street trees and public/commercial landscaping.

The route through this character area is bookended by two designed landscapes: the City of St. Jude and the Alabama State Capitol. The City of St. Jude campus design was relatively simple, featuring mostly border and edge plantings (Illustration 2.8). Allées of trees flanked the two semi-circular entrance drives along Fairview Avenue. Several sections of long straight hedges demarcated different areas of the campus and the overall property boundary.

Continuing up Oak Street, shade trees dotted residential lots (Figure 325). Most trees were set back behind residences resulting in a wider framing of the road corridor than if rows of trees lined the street. On Jeff Davis Avenue, two trees (likely the Bradford Pear (*Pyrus calleryana*) still present today) grew on the north side of the Loveless School building, flanking its front door.

The general character of large trees growing in the rear of residential lots continued until Five Points Hill, where the transition to a commercial and public landscape occurred. Continuing down Montgomery Street, street trees lined a short segment of roadway, with only sporadic street trees located along Dexter Avenue after that point. Many of the downtown buildings had foundation plantings of evergreen shrubs. The march route ended at the designed landscape of the Alabama State Capitol and adjacent municipal properties.



Figure 325. This photograph from the last day of the march appears to have been taken on Oak Street. Note the foundation plantings by the house and the tree along the unpaved sidewalk. (Source: Loy Williams, https://www.smu.edu/News/NewsSources/Civil-Rights-Pilgrimage/Loy-Williams-Photos-1965).

This cluster of designed landscapes at the end of the route reflected the elevated societal status of state government (Illustration 2.10). Flanking Dexter Avenue at the intersection with Bainbridge Avenue, two government properties featured symmetrical, though sparse, landscapes of turf and tree- and shrub-lined walkways. At the State Capitol, a more naturalistic landscape design served as the backdrop for the culmination of the march. Scattered trees—just beginning to leaf out in late March—dotted the lawn. Some evergreen trees and shrubs were mixed in with the deciduous vegetation. A border hedge lined the flight of stairs leading to the Capitol Building, with another border hedge serving as a foundation planting along the base of the building. Street trees lined Bainbridge Avenue.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

During the period of significance, downtown Marion featured vegetation typical of small-town squares. The most vegetated space was the courthouse grounds, which featured a number of large trees over a ground plane of turf. The block immediately to the north of the courthouse and across the street from the county jail also contained a high density of trees. The remainder of downtown did not feature any other observable trees at this time. It is probable that individual businesses had containers of ornamental plants outside their storefronts.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

The Old Highway 45 section of the connecting trail featured various vegetation types based on different land uses. These land uses transitioned from civic and commercial to residential and agricultural.

Aerial images show that few street trees lined the roadway as it headed south. Instead, the majority of mature trees were located within individual properties and not within the right-of-way (Figure 326). Again, it is likely many of the businesses and residences featured ornamental foundation plantings, garden beds, and other vegetation that is not visible in aerial photographs. Some residential yards were more vegetated than others, resulting in a diversity of vegetation types within this section.



Figure 326. This 1965 aerial photograph shows the character of Marion immediately south of downtown. Highway 45 is in the center of the image. Note the residential development, sidewalks, tree density, and small commercial strip on the east side of the road. (Source: USDA).

As the route progressed south, the amount of pastureland increased, limiting the instances of ornamental plantings. Instead, a more open landscape, with scattered specimen trees, small groves, and larger areas of woods, interrupted the expanse of pasture (Figure 327). Most of the residences in this agricultural section were surrounded by shade trees. Given the agricultural character, this section contained a few small orchards, likely pecan.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

In 1965, the Highway 80 section of the connecting trail featured a variety of vegetation types including agricultural, natural, commercial, residential, and public. The western portion of the route featured the majority of agricultural and natural landscapes, with the eastern section featuring more areas of development with its own vegetation type (Figure 328).

Large sections of woodland, associated with low-lying swampy areas, flanked the road in in the western part of the character area. As the highway progressed eastward, the forest gave way to more fields that contained more dispersed trees, and then to commercial and residential development.

As the highway approached Selma, the forested portions of the route existed at drainages; most of the trees in this section occupied residential yards. Though some neighborhoods adjacent to the route appear dense with tree cover, the corridor itself featured more widely spaced trees. Residential and commercial properties featured ornamental plantings, which would have included small trees, shrubs, and garden beds.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

During the period of significance, the Lowndes Interpretive Center site—at the time used as pasture and then as the location of Tent City—did not contain much diversity of vegetation. Aerial and ground photographs from the era show that the site was mostly a pasture, with a limited amount of vegetation growing along a drainage channel. There were also a few scattered oak and pine trees in the eastern portion of the site.



Figure 327. This 1965 aerial photograph shows Highway 45 as it passes through the rural section of the character area. Note the pecan grove, agricultural fields that show signs of terracing, the scattered house sites, and irregular patches of woods and successional vegetation (Source: USDA).



Figure 328. This 1965 aerial photograph shows Highway 80 west of Selma. Note the rural character and that during the historic period, the highway was two-lanes wide. Scattered successional vegetation dotted pasturelands or was in the process of filling in old fields. (Source: USDA).



Figure 329. Aerial photograph comparison of 1965 and existing conditions in Selmont. Note the change in vegetation density, while building density remained consistent. Many of the circulation features present in 1965 are still extant today (Source: USDA / ESRI).

Post-historic and Existing Condition

Overall

The overall vegetation character of the entire project area is generally reflective of 1965 conditions. The same land uses present in 1965 are present today, with commercial, residential, natural, civic, and agricultural properties stretching along the national trail and connecting trail corridor. Evident changes in specific locations include the reforestation of previously spatially open pasturelands and an increase of development.

Selma March Route Character Area

Today, the Selma March Route Character Area features vegetation typical of small urban areas in the Southeast. Evenly spaced live oaks (*Quercus virginiana*) line both sides of Martin Luther King, Jr. Street as it approaches the intersection with Selma Avenue. It is probable that the trees growing today are the same trees, though much younger, seen in photographs from the time of the march. The two march routes through downtown feature the same general vegetation pattern, with sporadic trees located in residential and commercial yards. The trees become less numerous as the routes approach the Edmund Pettus Bridge.

It is unconfirmed if the several hedge plantings and small ornamental beds located in the character area today were present in 1965. The new streetscape plantings within Selma's downtown were not present in 1965.

Highway 80 Character Area

While the overall vegetation types remain consistent with the historic period, sizable portions of the corridor in this character area have become more vegetated. In Selmont and Dallas County as a whole, a comparison of aerial and historic photographs reveals a significant increase in tree cover along the margins of the viewshed (Figure 329). The small area of forest located on the east side of the Alabama River in 1965 is now a broad swath that stretches along the river bank. Vegetation along the adjacent railroad right of way has now obscured that circulation feature from view. Recent beautification plantings also differ from the historic period.



Figure 330. Aerial photograph comparing 1965 and existing conditions of a property in rural Dallas County. Though not exactly matching 1965 conditions, note the continued presence of the orchard, similar field patterns, and overall extent of forest. (Source: USDA / ESRI).

Some aspects of the vegetation present during the historic period remain, including the grass strips in the central median and the small islands at entrances into commercial properties. Additionally, in various areas—primarily agricultural landscapes—vegetation patterns remain the same, with open fields bordered by linear vegetative growth along property and fence lines. In other areas, the pecan orchards present in 1965 remain intact (Figure 330).

Overall, the vegetation pattern in Lowndes County today is reminiscent of that during the time of the march, with similar agricultural field layout, general woodlot size, and dense areas of forested wetland. Despite the section of Highway 80 through Lowndes County being a narrow two lanes in 1965, even with the post-historic expansion of the road corridor, the corridor is more forested today than it was during the historic period. Also of note is the similarity in field patterns in the county between 1965 and existing conditions.

The route into Montgomery County passes through a rural area and then becomes increasingly developed. In the rural area, trees are mostly present along fencerows and around the margins of fields, reflecting historic conditions. As the route moves into areas with a majority commercial land use, while development has increased, so has the amount of land left to undergo successional processes. For instance, in the general vicinity of the Montgomery Airport, the corridor was less vegetated during the historic period than it is today.

Between the airport and the City of St. Jude campus, the march route passed through a moderately dense developed area. In general, even with the increase in new development over the last fifty-five years, the route is more vegetated with trees than during the period of significance. Ground level documentation of this section is lacking, but it is probable that many of the businesses featured ornamental shrubs and other plantings, which is the condition today.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
As shown on historic aerials, the general vegetative character of the Montgomery March Route character area is consistent with the historic

period, with most trees concentrated in residential areas. The State Capitol property has retained its naturalistic planting design. At the street level, recent tree plantings along the full extent of the route alter the vegetative character from its 1965 condition. The construction of the interstate in this location after the period of significance has also changed the character of the vegetation. Its construction necessitated the removal of dozens of houses and a large number of trees.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
Downtown Marion is less vegetated with trees than it was during the period of significance. Today, the majority of vegetation in this character area pertains to the hedges and foundation shrubs on commercial and civic properties. There are only a few trees standing in the area. In contrast, aerial photos from the historic period show the courthouse square and the block with the county jail containing a number of broad canopied trees. Several raised planting beds for annual vegetation are located outside a few businesses along the connecting trail. Most prominently, a large spreading live oak is located at the southeast corner of the property. Zion United Methodist Church is located at the corner of Jefferson and Pickens streets. The church is set within a small turf area. Foundation plantings of evergreen shrubs and crape myrtles (*Lagerstroemia indica*) line the south side of the building.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
The Old Highway 45 Section of the connecting trail features various land uses that reflect those of the historic period. Beginning with commercial and residential areas, the route passes through properties featuring a mixture of ornamental vegetation that consists of mature shade trees, flowering shrubs, mown lawns, and flower beds. This character is in keeping with historic conditions.

From the intersection with State Route 183 to the intersection with Highway 35, vegetation within the Old Highway 45 corridor transitions to a largely agricultural and forested landscape, with more widely spaced industrial and residential properties. These land uses are in keeping with historic conditions, but development and reforestation has altered the specific vegetative character in some areas of the corridor. While successional forest has emerged on former pasturelands, other specific vegetation features remain the same, such as vegetation growing along fence lines, pecan groves, and areas of field crops (Figure 331).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
Vegetation along the Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section can be grouped into three sections from west to east: a pastureland section, a forested wetland section, and a developed section that gradually grows more urban as it approaches Selma. Each of these sections were present in the historic period.

Like other character areas, in general the corridor has undergone reforestation of former pasture lands. This is especially the case in the low-lying wetland areas of the route. Where new residential development has occurred on the former agricultural properties, more trees are visible in recent aerial photos.

The vegetation along the route's path through Selma appears reflective of historic conditions. The stretch from the J.L. Chestnut Jr. Blvd. and Martin Luther King, Jr. Street contains a number of mature and maturing deciduous street trees, as was the case in 1965. Most prominent are the rows of live oaks stretching along both sides of the roadway as it approaches Brown Chapel AME Church.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
Out of all the character areas in this study, the Lowndes Interpretive Center site is furthest from reflecting historic conditions (Figure 332). In 1965, the site was mostly pasture, with just a few pine and oak trees located in the eastern portion of the site. Today, the site has a fully developed planting design, with a variety of species that have no antecedent in the landscape. Refer to the Existing Conditions chapter for an inventory of plant material at the site.

Summary
Overall, the four-county project area reflects the general vegetation character of 1965. Site specific vegetation changes have occurred in many locations, but the types of vegetation, their continuity with historic land uses, and the basic composition of these types in relation to one another is similar to historic conditions. Major



Figure 331. Aerial photograph comparing 1965 and existing conditions of a property along Old Highway 45. Note the similarity of vegetation and development between the two periods, with vegetation, circulation, and buildings features mostly reflecting historic conditions. (Source: USDA / ESRI).



Figure 332. Aerial photograph comparing 1966 and existing conditions of the Tent City/Lowndes Interpretive Center site. Note the numerous points of difference between the two periods, both within the site and the surrounding context. (Source: USDA / ESRI).

changes since the historic period include the large areas of reforestation of pasturelands and the removal of vegetation at the Perry County Courthouse and on the south side of Montgomery.

Topography

Historic Condition

Overall

During the historic period, the topography of the project area varied from low-lying swamps to rolling hills and elevated ridges. Given the scale of the project area, this analysis cannot make many site-specific comparisons between 1965 conditions and 2020 conditions. However, given the relatively short time since the historic period, existing topography can be assumed to be mostly reflective of historic conditions except for a few locations where significant development has occurred.

Selma March Route Character Area

During the historic period, the Selma March Route Character Area was mostly flat. No known modifications to topography occurred in 1965. The topographic character was a product of grading activities predating the period of significance, as well as natural topographical conditions.

Highway 80 Character Area

In 1965, the topographic character of the Highway 80 Character Area reflected its location within the Black Belt physiographic region. Photographs from the march show a variety of topographic conditions, including long stretches of mostly level terrain and a series of rolling hills, elevated plateaus, and shallow valleys.

Though outside the scope of research, it is likely that the placement and alignment of Highway 80 responded to the topographic conditions of the area. For example, the engineers of the road avoided large swampy areas where possible and built bridges to span wet areas when necessary. While these conditions were a product of natural processes, it is likely that some amount of modification to the natural topography occurred through antebellum era agricultural activity as well as through grading for the construction of the roadbed. For example, photographs of marchers in Lowndes County show highly sculpted swales on either side of the highway.

Topographic maps from the period show that from the Alabama River on the west to the City of St. Jude on the east, the route passed through a gently rolling landscape averaging around 200' in elevation. Deviations from level conditions occurred at river and creek crossings and through the succession of rolling hills and ridges in Dallas and Lowndes Counties. Overall, Lowndes County features the most significant topographic change, ranging from around 140' at Big Swamp Creek to over 300' feet on the rolling plateau east of the swamp (Figure 333).

Montgomery March Route Character Area

The march route through Montgomery in 1965 also contained topographic variation. The portion that passed through the residential areas north of the City of St. Jude was relatively level. As it approached Five Points Hill, however, the grade began to rise, culminating at a high point overlooking the west side of downtown Montgomery. Photographs from the march clearly show marchers walking down this hill (Figure 334). The march route then leveled off before another gentle climb up Dexter Avenue towards another highpoint at the State Capitol.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

During the period of significance, downtown Marion featured a mostly flat topography typical of town squares. The centrally located county courthouse was constructed atop a slight artificial mound.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

In 1965, Old Highway 45 mostly ran atop a north-south oriented elevated ridge. The overall topographic character was gentle and undulating. Elevations ranged from the around 150' at creek crossings to around 250' atop several hills.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

During the period of significance, the Highway 80 section of the connecting trail crossed mostly level terrain, with little topographic variation. The roadbed was elevated slightly above the surrounding landscape given the swampy conditions that flanked the corridor.



Figure 333. 1965 photograph of Highway 80 just east of the intersection with State Route 97, south of the town of Lowndesboro. Note the topographical rise in the background of the image, which is one of the highest points within the project area. The swales along the north side of the highway are deep through Lowndes County. Also note the cluster of buildings including a Sinclair Service Station and Whitman Grocery, and the pecan orchard in the back left corner of the image. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News.).



Figure 334. Photograph showing a long line of marchers proceeding down Montgomery Street from Five Points Hill on the last day of the march (March 25). The view from this high vantage provided one of the only such views on the west side of the city. Note the street trees lining this section of the roadway, the multi-story apartment building, and cobra head light fixtures on the utility poles. (Source: Loy Williams, https://www.smu.edu/News/NewsSources/Civil-Rights-Pilgrimage/Loy-Williams-Photos-1965).

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
During the period of significance, the Lowndes Interpretive Center site was undeveloped pastureland. Though a detailed contour map of the site does not exist for the period of significance, period aerial photograph shows a drainage feature running diagonally across the site. This indicates that the site sloped toward the southwest in 1965. No other topographical information is discernible from the image.

Post-historic and Existing Condition
Selma March Route Character Area
Changes to Selma's topography after the period of significance have been minimal. In 1965, some of the city streets were unpaved, but have been surfaced since that time. It is likely the roadbeds were graded as part of that work.

Highway 80 Character Area
The Highway 80 Character Area has experienced a significant amount of topographical change since the historic period. In 1965, the Alabama Department of Transportation was still construction sections of the highway as part of a highway widening project that turned the highway into a four-lane highway. This work concluded after the march. The construction of the additional lanes modified existing topography. The work required cutting and filling of slopes and leveling of irregular topography. The area at the Highway 80-Highway 31 interchange, for example, underwent significant topographical alteration during the project (Figure 335).

Despite these changes, outside the roadbed and right of way, the overall corridor reflects 1965 topographic conditions. The stretches of gently rolling hills, flat terrain, and elevated plateaus present during the period of significance remain today.

Two culturally significant topographic features within this section are the ditch along the roadside where Viola Liuzzo was murdered and the adjacent hill , where a memorial to Liuzzo was constructed several decades after her death.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
Based on a comparison of topographic maps and photographs, little to no topographic change occurred along the march route through



Figure 335. The construction of the Highway 80-Highway 31 interchange after the period of significance altered the topography of the area. (Source: WLA Studio).

Montgomery after the historic period. The one exception pertains to the construction of the interstate exchange at Jeff Davis Avenue. Here, construction resulted in the addition of large earthen berms typical of highway interchange design.

The elevated vantages of Five Point Hill and the State Capitol property still reflect historic period topographic conditions.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
No obvious changes to the topography of downtown Marion have occurred since the period of significance. The courthouse still occupies a minimal rise in the center of the square and the character area continues to feature a mostly level terrain.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
The Old Highway 45 section continues to reflect 1965 topographic conditions, passing through the landscape along a slightly elevated ridge. As no road projects have altered its course, the route follows the same alignment and terrain as it did during the period of significance.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
The Lowndes Interpretive Center site has undergone a significant amount of topographic change in the last fifty-five years. The construction of the buildings for the Lowndes County Co-Op likely modified the site to some degree, but the construction of the LIC building and associated

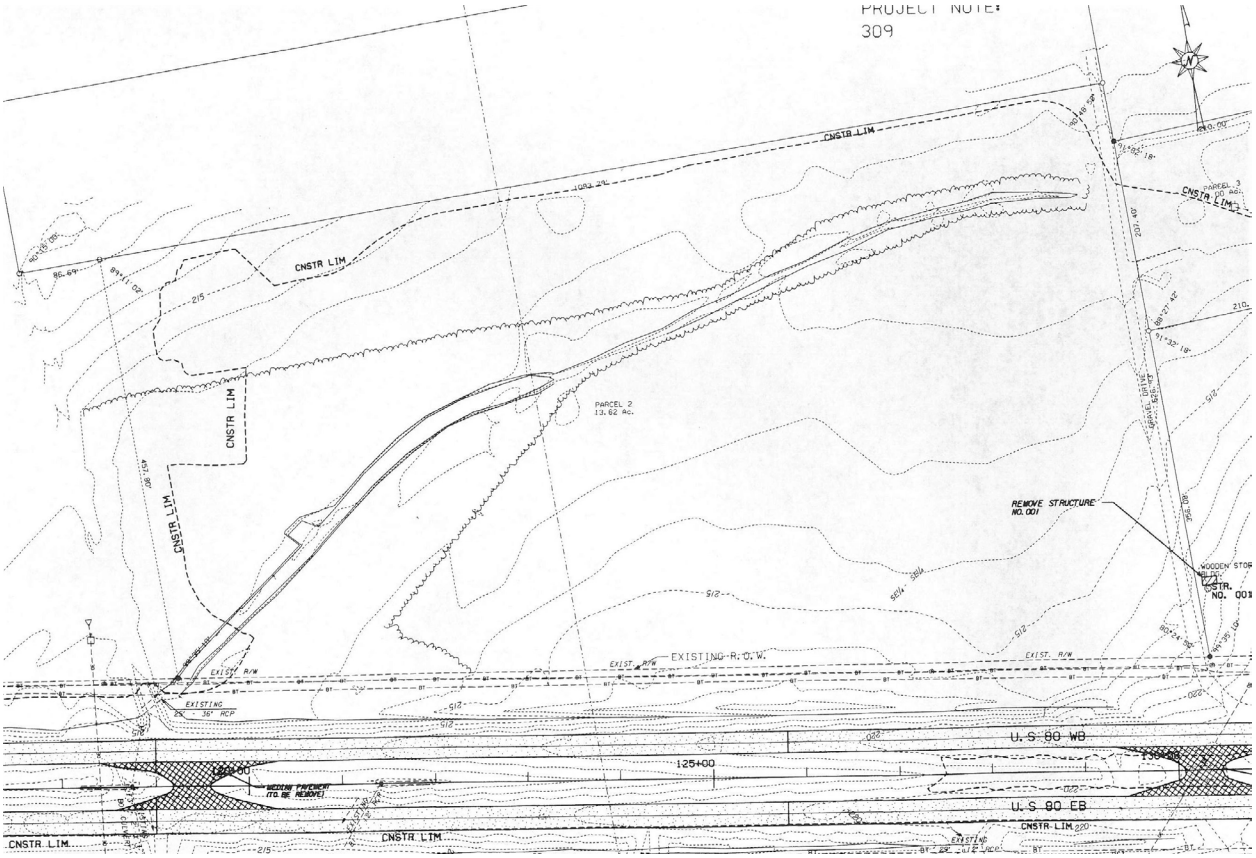

Figure 336. 2004 construction sheet showing the topographic condition of the Lowndes Interpretive Center site prior to construction. Note the drainage feature and associated swale cutting through the site. (Source: Alabama Department of Transportation / SEMO archives).

features required extensive site grading (Figure 336). Construction documents from this work show these modifications. In addition to leveling large areas of the site for the buildings and parking lots, contractors constructed several berms and swales to channel water within the site. See Existing Conditions for descriptions of these features.

Views and Vistas

Historic Condition

Overall

During the historic period, views within the project area were typical of urban and rural landscapes in the Black Belt. Though no views were *created* as part of the events of 1965, views were part of the overall scene and influenced the experiences of the marchers.

Selma March Route Character Area

In 1965, the gridded street network and surrounding commercial zone allowed for framed views along the march corridor through downtown Selma. This framing was broader on Water Street and Broad Street/Highway 80; the space between buildings flanking the road were narrower on Sylvan and Alabama Streets, resulting in a more constrained view down the roads. At the time of the march, trees in the area had yet to leaf out, resulting in a less obstructed viewshed than it would have had during the summer months.

Perhaps the most significant view from the historic period was that from the crest of the Edmund Pettus Bridge toward Selmont (Figure 337). This is the view marchers experienced on Bloody Sunday as they looked out at the assembled barricade of law enforcement. The view beyond the line of police was not overly scenic, but nevertheless was meaningful to the marchers as it represented the path forward on their literal and symbolic march towards justice.

Highway 80 Character Area

In 1965, Highway 80 extended east-west in a succession of mostly straight sections. At various points, a bend in the highway or a rise in topography obscured views ahead. At other



Figure 337. Selmont as seen from the Edmund Pettus Bridge in March 1965. Note the two parallel roadways to Highway 880, the row of bollards in the center medians, and number of utility poles lining the roadway. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News).

locations, surrounding forests crept close to the road, limiting outward views and reinforcing the long views along the road. Other locations along the route were wide open, with near 360-degree views of the landscape. These were most prevalent in areas of farmland in Lowndes County. Scenic views of the countryside were available to marchers on the several high points that existed along the route. Photographers following the march took advantage of these elevated locations to take photos of the marchers.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
During the period of significance, views in the Montgomery march route area existed in several locations. First, within the City of St. Jude campus, views across the recreational field provided participants and observers an opportunity to see the entire crowd, which was described as a "sea of humanity" (Figure 338).

Other significant views include the long and linear views along the residential streets of the south and west sides of the city. Additional views include the view from the top of Five Points Hill overlooking downtown Montgomery and the view east along Dexter Avenue toward the State Capitol (Figure 334). This view was significant as it revealed the endpoint of the march (Figure 339).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
During the period of significance this character area contained typical views of an urban area, with views down the town's streets and toward prominent buildings.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
The Old Highway 45 section did not feature any notable views during the period of significance. The overall viewshed ranged from constrained through forested sections to fairly open as it passed through farmland. Variations in topography and road alignment resulted in variations in view length.



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. (Source: Loy Williams, https://www.smu.edu/News/NewsSources/Civil-Rights-Pilgrimage/Loy-Williams-Photos-1965).



Figure 339. The view along Dexter Avenue towards the State Capitol on the last day of the Selma to Montgomery March, on March 25 (Source: Loy Williams, https://www.smu.edu/News/NewsSources/Civil-Rights-Pilgrimage/Loy-Williams-Photos-1965).



Figure 340. 1966 image of Tent City in Lowndes County. The views within 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. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

The majority of the Highway 80 section of the connecting trail did not feature any notable views during the period of significance. The overall viewshed ranged from constrained through forested sections to fairly open as it passed through farmland. Variations in topography and road alignment resulted in variation in view length. The most prominent view in the character area was at its eastern end, where the view was down Sylvan Street towards Brown Chapel.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

No distinct views existed within the Lowndes Interpretive Center site in 1965. However, its mostly open character provided clear sight lines both in and out of the Tent City site (Figure 340). This openness allowed participants to see the entire assembled crowd. It also provided clear views for those tasked with watching out for potential threats to the marchers; it also provided clear views of the camp to those potentially wanting to harm participants in the march.

Post-historic and Existing Condition

Overall

While some views became important during the period of significance—primarily the view from the Edmund Pettus Bridge and the view up to the State Capitol—other views within the project area have acquired meaningful associations after the march due to the significance of the events of 1965. In general, the views along the route of the march remain primary formed by the interplay between vegetation patterns and topography along the route of highway. Long, sweeping views are provided by the combination of high points and cleared farm fields. Short, tight views exist where vegetation encroaches close on the roadway or in dense urban spaces.

Despite changes within the corridor, most views in the project area retain a similar feel as they did in 1965. This is especially the case in the areas of Highway 80 that were four-lane at the time of the march and in the areas within the urban cores of Selma and Montgomery, which have experience few changes to their topography and road alignment.



Figure 341. The view from the Viola Liuzzo Memorial Overlook provides elevated views across the rolling terrain of Lowndes County. This view has taken on significance post-historic period due to its association with the commemoration of Viola Liuzzo. (Source: WLA Studio).

Selma March Route Character Area
Despite some alterations to the urban fabric of downtown, the primary views from the period of significance remain intact within the Selma March Route Character Area. These views include those down Martin Luther King, Jr. Street, Alabama Avenue, Water Avenue, Broad Street, and from atop the Edmund Pettus Bridge looking east towards and beyond Selmont.

Highway 80 Character Area
The Highway 80 Character Area contains views both significant to the events of 1965 and those that possess scenic value. The most historically significant views are the views in all directions at the Bloody Sunday site and the elevated view from the Viola Liuzzo memorial overlook (Figure 341). The long views through the farm and forests of Lowndes County possess both scenic value and are generally reflective of 1965 conditions despite the widening of the highway. Several elevated locations along the route provide scenic vantages across the rural landscape. Those in Lowndes County are most impactful from the westbound lanes of the highway.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
The Montgomery March Route Character Area retains some of the key views experienced by marchers in 1965. The view through the residential areas of Montgomery, the view from Five Points Hill, and the view up Dexter Avenue toward the Capitol Building are all extant. New buildings were added to the field within the City of St. Jude campus, resulting in the partial obstruction of open views in this space. The recent addition of street trees along the march route may one day impact the historic views in the corridor.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
Views within downtown Marion are similar to those in 1965. The views between Zion United Methodist Church and the Courthouse and between the church and the old county jail still exist. The primary change from the historic period is the absence of trees that framed views during the historic period.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
The specific views along the Old Highway 45 section of the connecting trail during the historic period are unknown. However, based on a comparison of aerial photographs, views today are likely similar to those in 1965 because the road alignment and topography appear unchanged from that time. Differences include areas where former pasture is now forestland. This change of condition altered the width of views along the roadway.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
Similar to the Old Highway 45 section, no known culturally significant views existed during the historic period. Overall, the views along Highway 80 today reflect historic conditions in terms of the long, straight views along the roadway.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
As a designed landscape, the Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area features both vistas and informal views. The vista looks along the tree-lined walkway in the interpretive trail area. Views are available across the site from various vantages. These views and vista are not in keeping with the historic condition of the site.

Land Use

Historic Condition

Overall
During the period of significance, land use in the project area ranged from undeveloped natural land to highly developed commercial centers. The primary land uses present in 1965 included transportation, commercial, residential, agricultural, and civic. Not all character areas featured all of these land uses, though some did. Refer to the illustration sheets for images of various land uses across the project area.

Selma March Route Character Area
In 1965, land use in the Selma March Route Character Area related to commercial, civic, transportation, and residential activities. Selma—the county seat of Dallas County—had long been an important regional city in the Black Belt. As such, it was a center for commerce and municipal matters. For this reason, important roadways converged at and passed through the city. This economic activity resulted in the development of more housing and civic institutions, such as African American churches, developing in the city. The epicenter of the Selma Campaign was along Sylvan Street, specifically the George Washington Carver Homes, First Baptist Church, and Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church.

Highway 80 Character Area
The Highway 80 Character Area featured a variety of land uses across its three-county stretch in 1965. The character area began along Highway 80 in the commercial strip of Selmont. Here various businesses included restaurants and a car dealership. The route then continued eastward, skirting areas of residential development, mostly on the south side of the highway. The march route then ran through a long section of agricultural land and forest. Aerial images show that the agricultural lands were used for both pasture and crops. Two airport facilities also existed within the corridor, with the Montgomery Airport being the most visible from the highway.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
During the period of significance, the Montgomery March Route Character Area featured transportation, civic, residential, and commercial land uses. Transportation in the area differed from the previous character areas as this section did not include a highway and any corresponding interstate traffic. Instead, the route wound through residential streets before reaching the western edge of downtown Montgomery, where most of the commercial activity was located. Civic land uses included the various churches and government buildings that were present along the march route. Residential land use was concentrated in the south and west portions of the character area and featured a mixture of single-family houses and multi-unit buildings, with commercial properties mixed in (Figure 342).



Figure 342. This image from March 25, 1965 shows a variety of land uses that existed within Montgomery's city limits. This aerial photograph shows various commercial properties alongside residential units. Note the large facility in the middle of the image and the small houses that fit snug against its footprint. (Source: National Archives).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

Downtown Marion featured civic, commercial, and transportation land uses during the historic period. Both the Zion United Methodist Church and the county courthouse reflected civic land use. The row of businesses lining the square reflected commercial land use.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

In 1965, the area along Old Highway 45 was typical of areas adjacent to small rural towns, with transportation, commercial, residential, and agricultural land uses present. The land uses became more characteristic of rural areas as it moved farther from town square. As such, these land uses radiated out from Marion: commercial gave way to residential, which then gave way to agricultural land use. Old Highway 45 served as an important roadway for travel to and from larger regional cities, such as Selma and Montgomery.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

The stretch of Highway 80 that connected Old Highway 45 with the north side of Selma featured similar land uses as other character areas. These include agricultural, residential, commercial, civic, and transportation. The majority of the agricultural land use within the corridor was clustered in the west. As the highway moved eastward, development, both residential and commercial, increased. The route then passed into the heart of Selma, passing by churches and both single family and multifamily dwellings, including the George Washington Carver Homes at the connecting trail's end.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

Two land uses were present on the Lowndes Interpretive Center site in 1965—agricultural and residential. In 1965, the site was pastureland for cattle. At the end of the year, Tent City was established, beginning a temporary residency land use in the eastern portion of the site.

Post-historic and Existing Condition

Overall

In the time since the march, overall, little has changed in terms of land uses within the project area. The area still features transportation, residential, commercial, civic, and other land uses present in 1965. Though a large number of individual properties have changed since historic period, in general the same land uses are represented across the study area.

Commemoration is a modern land use that can be ascribed to the entire project area. Since 1965, the Selma to Montgomery march route and the Marion connecting trail have taken on commemorative value. This has resulted in the presence of nonhistoric land use activities, specifically interpretation and recreational tourism. These new uses have altered the project area's landscape via street beautification projects, interpretive wayfinding, and the addition of commemorative features such as monuments and markers. The commemoration land use also results in the presence of intangible features within the project area that relate to specific commemoration events such as Jubilee and some individuals' "pilgrimage" along the route.

Selma March Route Character Area

The march routes through Selma feature the same land uses as they did in 1965. George Washington Carver Homes is still a place of residence for many people in Selma, and the commercial district is intact. The post-historic commemoration land use is present through the various streetscape improvements downtown, monuments at Brown Chapel, and the various signs and waysides that interpret the city's civil rights history. Tourists visit the city to learn about this history and are accommodated by several museums and educational centers.

Highway 80 Character Area

The Highway 80 Character Area reflects the land uses of the period of significance, with transportation, commercial, residential, agricultural, and civic land uses present. Again, the concentration and distribution of these land uses have changed across the three counties since 1965, but, in general, all land uses are consistent with the historic period. The transportation land use remains the primary land use for the corridor.

The commemoration and interpretation of the events of 1965, culminating in the designation of Highway 80 as part of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail, introduced commemorative and recreational tourism land uses to the character area. Activities related to these land uses are present in various locations, including the civil rights park and its associated monuments in Selmont, the signage marking the campground locations, the Lowndes Interpretive Center, the Viola Liuzzo memorial, and the regularly occurring events that commemorate the march.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

Overall, current land use in Montgomery reflects the historic period. Commercial, civic, residential, and transportation land uses are still present, though modified in some areas due to demolition of buildings and closure of businesses. The character area remains bookended by civil land uses represented by the City of St. Jude and the Alabama State Capitol. Since the period of significance, commemoration of the route has steadily increased. Recent streetscape improvements, including street tree plantings and interpretive signage, aim to attract recreational tourism to the city.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

This character area continues to feature interpretive, commercial, and civic land uses. The buildings of downtown Marion and their uses have changed little since 1965. Commemorative land use is visible though commemorative markers located outside the fence that surrounds the Old Perry County Jail and the Zion United Methodist Church. NPS interpretive waysides are also present at these locations. A commemorative marker for Jimmy Lee Jackson is in a parking lot north of the church.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

In keeping with historic period conditions, the Old Highway 45 section continues to feature transportation, residential, agricultural, and commemorative land uses. The road still passes through a mostly rural landscape, with spaced out residential properties and large fields for pasture and crops. A limited number of signs identifies the

route as the as Jimmie Lee Jackson-Albert Turner Sr. Memorial Highway, which commemorates the road as part of the area's civil rights history.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
Just as it did during the historic period, the Highway 80 section of the connecting trail features transportation, residential, commercial, and agricultural land uses. Agricultural land use relates to the pastures and pine plantations located in the western portion of this section. Residential and commercial land uses are concentrated in the eastern portion of this section. This section of highway is an official connecting trail of the Selma to Montgomery NHT, though there are not many signs indicating this designation. This designation does introduce a commemorative land use element to the character area. The presence of NPS waysides at First Baptist Church in Selma at the end of the connecting trail reinforces this commemorative land use.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
The focus of land use in this character area is commemoration of the local civil rights events of 1965. To this end, the LIC building interprets these events through exhibits and film. Outside of the building, a walkway system features a number of interpretive waysides to relay historical information to the public. Recreational land use pertains to the number of picnic tables and rest spaces throughout the site. A secondary land use pertains to the use of the site by tractor trailers as a rest stop. These land uses contrast with the residential and agricultural land uses of 1965.

Spatial Organization

Historic Condition

Overall
In 1965, the primary organizing feature related to the spatial organization of the Selma to Montgomery NHT and the connecting trail were the roadways the marchers and motorists took as part of their civil rights activities. These streets and highways, however, do not exist in a vacuum; they were part of a larger landscape that had a diverse character of spatial organization. From wide horizontal spaces flanking the roadbed to tight passages through forestlands, the surrounding landscape influenced the experience of spatiality throughout the project area.

Selma March Route Character Area
The spatial organization of the Selma March Route Character Area was largely defined by road widths, building heights, building setbacks, and street vegetation (Figure 343). The combination of these elements produced a constrained sense of space and reinforced the linearity of the march routes during the period of significance. Two march route streets—Water Avenue and Broad Street—were wider than other Selma city streets, and Broad Street featured the tallest buildings. The mostly residential Sylvan Street featured deep setbacks for its buildings. During March of 1965, the street trees in the character area had yet to leaf out, which provided an expanded experience of horizontal and vertical space in the area.

Highway 80 Character Area
In 1965, the spatial organization of this character area primarily depended on the width of the highway (whether it was two or four lanes wide) and the interplay of vegetation or lack of vegetation along the highway right of way. In the four-lane portions in Dallas and Montgomery counties, the width of the highway, the grassy road margin, and the absence of overly constraining forest vegetation resulted in a generally open sense of space for a roadway. The vertical plane was unobstructed throughout. For most of its stretch through Lowndes County, Highway 80 was two lanes, producing a more confined sense of space, especially where the road passed through forestlands and Big Swamp. Spatial organization was also influenced by the numerous properties along the road. These properties had fences—often featuring vegetation—delineating property lines and fields that created patterns of open space in the landscape.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
Like Selma, the spatial organization of the Montgomery March Route Character Area was largely defined by road widths, building heights, building setbacks, and street vegetation. At the City of St. Jude, marchers congregated in the open recreational field on the north side of the site. This open character was in contrast to the more constrained sense of space found for the remainder of the route. The residential areas of the character area were spatially organized by the series of regularly spaced buildings and the fairly



Figure 343. This March 1965 aerial photo of Sylvan Street shows the overall sense of space present along the street, as the trees had yet to leaf out. Also note the uniform and formalized arrangement of circulation features, buildings, and limited vegetation. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Haywood Paravicini, Birmingham News).

narrow road width. From Five Points Hill through downtown Montgomery, the sense of space was defined by the height and setback of the buildings. On Dexter Avenue, the broad width of the road and its terminus at the State Capitol Building defined this area's spatial organization (Illustration 2.10 and Figure 339).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
In 1965, the Downtown Marion portion of the Connecting Trail was spatially defined by the orthogonal layout of its downtown. Straight, short sections of roadway intersected to form a square around a central space dominated by mature shade trees and the large courthouse building which dominated the visual plane. The commercial and civic properties that lined the road of the connecting trail were low in height, allowing for an unobstructed overhead plane.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
Aerial photographs from the era show that the narrow road width of Old Highway 45 did not produce an overly constrained sense of space because the march passed through a succession of open agricultural landscapes. As such, it was the rolling topography and distant woodlots that defined the spatial arrangement of the character area during the historic period.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
In 1965, the stretch of Highway 80 between Old Highway 45 and Selma was two lanes. Though the west end of the character area was more open, the two-lane highway cut through large sections of forestland after crossing the Cahaba River. The tight vegetation along the roadway in this stretch produced a constrained sense of space. Periodic breaks in the enclosed spatial organization were produced by areas of development and agriculture. By the time the highway reached Selma, the urban fabric, primarily residential development, defined the space in the eastern end of the character area.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
In 1965, the spatial organization of the Lowndes Interpretive Center site was formed by the two

adjacent roadways (Highway 80 and White Hall Road) and the various property lines that created several, mostly indistinguishable spaces within the now-20-acre site.

At the time of the march, a fence outlined an irregularly shaped area in the southwest corner of the site. The area appears to serve as the outlet for a drainage feature that ran diagonally across the site. It may have been fenced to keep cattle out of the area. A large open pasture surrounded this area. The pasture was bounded by Highway 80 on the south and the property boundary on the west and north. The east side of this section was bounded by an adjacent parcel that became the location of Tent City. A short north-south oriented row of trees grew along this edge.

Post-historic and Existing Condition

Overall

The overall spatial organization of the project area is consistent with historic conditions, because the continuation of land uses has continued to define the general sense of space. The widening of Highway 80 in two of the character areas altered the spatial organization to a degree, but as the alignment and overall vegetation/development patterns still generally reflect 1965 conditions, this change does not alter the total spatial orientation of the project area.

Selma March Route Character Area

The Selma March Route Character Area maintains the spatial organization present in 1965. The road widths and the building setbacks remain consistent with the historic period. The street trees along Martin Luther King, Jr. Street have matured to a medium size, which slightly alter the sense of space in this location. The recently added street trees in the core of downtown have not matured to a point of altering spatial arrangement.

Highway 80 Character Area

Certain sections of the Highway 80 Character Area have experienced substantial changes to spatial organization since the period of significance, especially in Lowndes County. In other sections, the spatial organization of the character area is consistent with the historic period, with four lanes of highway passing through commercial areas and farmland that generally reflect 1965 conditions. Again, at an individual property-scale, the spatial organization may not match 1965 conditions, however, looking at the character area overall, the same types and relative composition of spatial organizing features are still present.

The widening of Highway 80, primarily in Lowndes County, resulted in a more open sense of space in this section. Along with the addition of lanes, the construction of a wide central median and roadway buffers flanking the road broaden the overall experience of space (Figure 344). While these new features change the spatial experience of traveling along the highway, the presence of intermittent areas of dense woods and open agricultural landscapes serve as a secondary spatial organization feature that generally reflects historic conditions.

The increase in development as the route approaches Montgomery also affects the historic sense of space. This is particularly obvious around the Highway 80/Highway 31 interchange. Here the off ramp has been altered from 1965 conditions and a significant amount of post-historic development is present.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

The organization of space has undergone some significant changes within Montgomery, but the spatial organization in other areas along the march route is consistent with 1965 conditions.

Alterations to spatial organization exist in several locations. First, the addition of buildings after 1965 changed the spatial organization of the field where marchers camped at the City of St. Jude. The field is still present, however, and march participants would recognize it. The area around Jeff Davis Avenue and Holt Street has undergone major changes due to the construction of the interstate interchange. Its construction obliterated several blocks of residences and dramatically altered the sense of space in the area (Figure 345). The demolition of residences and commercial buildings along Mobile Street reduced building density along the roadway, changing the experience of space in this section of the route.

Throughout the downtown core however, spatial organization is consistent with historic conditions, as the street widths and building setbacks reflect historic conditions.



Figure 344. The widening of Highway 80 altered the spatial organization of this section of the route and produced a broader visual plane than historic conditions. This photograph looks west from one of the high points along the highway. (Source: WLA Studio).

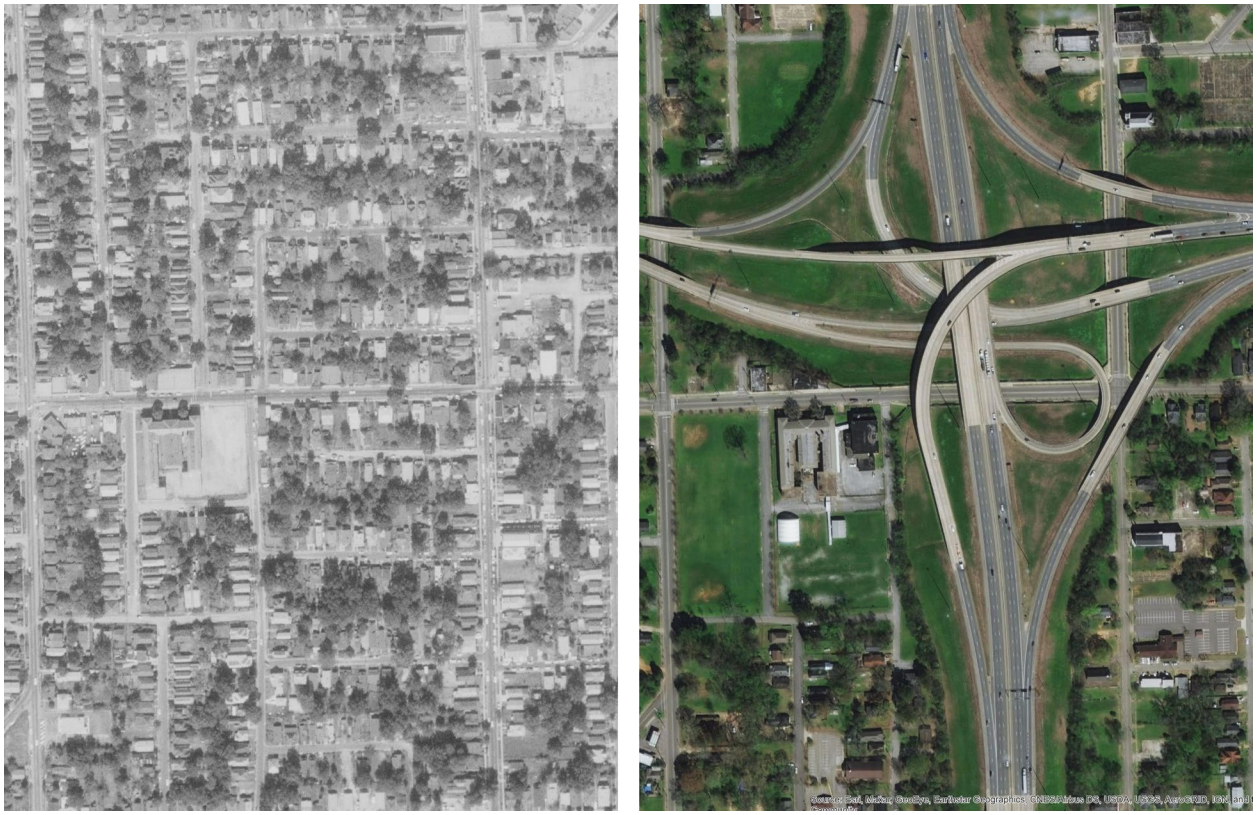

Figure 345. This aerial image compares the area around West Jeff Davis Avenue in 1965 and 2020. It reveals the extent of change caused by the construction of the interstate shortly after the period of significance, which resulted in the alteration to spatial organization, building and structures, vegetation, and circulation features. Note the removal of businesses and residences at the intersection of Oak Street and West Jeff Davis Avenue in the bottom left of each image. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 346. Aerial photograph comparing 1965 and existing conditions of sections of the Marion to Selma connecting trail, showing changes to its spatial organization. These changes are primarily the result of the widening of Highway 80 and the revegetation of pasturelands. (Source: USDA / ESRI).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
The downtown Marion section of the connecting trail continues to feature the same overall spatial organization it did during the period of significance. The absence of trees from the courthouse property does not overly change the sense of space along the route.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
The reforestation of agricultural fields is the most obvious change to the spatial organization of this section since the historic period. This results in a more enclosed sense of space for the northern portion of the highway's route. The retention of the two-lane road width coupled with the open character of the southern portion of the route reflects historic conditions.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
Like the stretch of highway east of Selma, the Highway 80 section of the connecting trail underwent changes to its spatial organizing features after the period of significance. The Alabama Department of Transportation widened the highway from two lanes to four lanes, and, like other character areas, the corridor has undergone reforestation of former pasture lands (Figure 346). This is especially the case in the low-lying wetland areas of the route. Therefore, while the road has been widened, the increase of vegetation along the highway perpetuates the sense of enclosure present in 1965. The route's path through Selma appears overall reflective of historic conditions in terms of spatial organization.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
After the period of significance and the end of Tent City, spatial organization of the site was based on property boundaries related to residential and commercial land uses. The Lowndes Interpretive Center site now features a three-part spatial organization that differs from historic conditions. The three spaces differ in size and primary use. The western section is related to tractor trailer parking and site circulation; the middle section is related to the LIC building and its access; the eastern section is related to interpretation and recreation.

Individual spaces exist within these three areas. For example, the northwest corner of the site contains the Maintenance Building and parking area, a row of visitor amenities is located within a planting island south of the bus parking area, and the domed pavilion is both part of the interpretive walkway area and stands as its own space.

As none of these features existed during the period of significance, the only surviving spatial organization features from the historic period are the bounding roadways, Highway 80 and White Hall Road.

Cultural Traditions

Historic Condition

Overall

From agricultural traditions that originated on the plantation to building traditions rooted in colonial settlement patterns, the diverse cultural landscapes of the project area were products of cultural traditions that predate the period of significance. Note that while some of the cultural traditions described below may seem so common that their description as a "cultural tradition" seems unusual, they nevertheless reflect distinct ways of living in the landscape that originate with replicated cultural norms and values.

Additionally, some of the cultural traditions that pertain to the national historic trail are intangible, meaning that they did not leave physical evidence of their presence or directly influence the development of the landscape. This includes the real-time cultural significance given to the Selma Campaign as it played out in the Black Belt and was projected across the world on televisions, newspapers, and radios. This also includes the intangible traditions of signing freedom songs, civil disobedience, religious calls-to-action, as well as the use of a police force and violence to defend a way of life informed by white supremacy (Figure 347).

Not all cultural traditions present in 1965 and after will be outline below. Rather, this section will attempt to highlight those that had the most bearing on the events and experience of the events of 1965.



Figure 347. The March 7, 1965, Bloody Sunday demonstration showed how the police were used to violently suppress the right to vote and other freedoms of African Americans. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Tom Lankford, Birmingham News).

Selma March Route Character Area

Various cultural traditions produced the physical setting in which the civil rights movement transpired within Selma in 1965. These include building traditions, settlement traditions, and economic traditions that directly influenced the establishment and growth of the city—from architectural detailing to its location along a prominent river. Directly related to the march were cultural traditions related to white supremacy, church activity, and civil disobedience.

Tenets of white supremacy, which permeated through the economic, political, and cultural environment of Alabama, had systematically disenfranchised and oppressed African Americans up to and throughout 1965. The physical separation of whites and African Americans expressed itself on the landscape through segregated neighborhoods, religious institutions, commercial enterprises, and public spaces. Whites, including those in leadership positions, repeatedly used violence to maintain a power structure that systematically favored whites over African Americans. To enforce this system, whites repeatedly carried out violence through quasi-legal police enforcement, intimidation, beatings, and murder. Few whites, however, were ever prosecuted for their actions. This violence—which included the murder of Jimmie Lee Jackson—directly led to the development of the Selma Campaign and the march to Montgomery.

The epicenter of the civil rights movement in Selma was the George Washington Carver Homes, an African American housing complex, and the

nearby African American churches of Brown Chapel and First Baptist. Though segregation was railed against both publicly and privately, segregation gave African Americans a location in which to develop resistance strategies, with the churches, in particular, being instrumental in organizing the Selma Campaign. The churches hosted mass meetings and attracted civil rights leaders from out of town. They rooted these activities within the cultural traditions of the Christian faith. As such, local churches embraced and cultivated traditions of protest and civil disobedience. It was in the African American churches, schools, and neighborhoods that people learned and shared the freedom song tradition. These songs—some secular, some religious, some both—empowered demonstrators in the streets and in the jails.

Highway 80 Character Area
In 1965, the Highway 80 Character Area reflected the commercial, transportation, agricultural, and settlement traditions that were present throughout the Black Belt. By this point, Highway 80 was a well-traveled roadway that served both personal and commercial traffic. The widening of Highway 80, already begun in some areas of Highway 80 in 1965, was intended to increase the use of this corridor for both personal and commercial use. The pattern of land division into individual, arable parcels is a cultural tradition characteristic of European settler-colonial practices that continued into the historic period. Further, the types of crops grown and animals raised, reflect culturally influenced dietary traditions. By 1965, cotton was no longer King, having been dethroned by the boll weevil and cattle, but it was still a widely cultivated crop on the farmland along Highway 80.

In terms of the civil rights events of 1965, the march along Highway 80 featured many of the intangible traditions synonymous with the movement, which included interracial solidarity, faith-based and secular activism, singing of freedom songs, and protest. The tradition of marching in public protest is a long-practiced tradition for the aggrieved to publicly make their demands for a more just life.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
Cultural traditions present in Montgomery in 1965 were similar to those in the Selma. The architecture, gridded street network, and the prominent placement of the Capitol Building all reflect particular cultural traditions. Like Selma, segregation also influenced the development of Montgomery, with distinct African American neighborhoods and commercial areas within the march route.

In terms of civil rights activity, the traditions that supported the movement in Montgomery mirror those present in Selma at this time. African American churches served as anchor points for the movement, and a strong and successful tradition of protest had been established by the Montgomery Bus Boycott ten years prior.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
In 1965, the landscape of downtown Marion reflected the cultural tradition of municipal planning that utilized a town square and a centrally located courthouse. This centering of an opulent courthouse in an otherwise common downtown area represents the value town planners placed on civic administration of the county. Further, just as with Selma and Montgomery, the architecture of the character area reflects cultural traditions related to aesthetics and functions for buildings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A notable example was the county jail located near the courthouse. The jail reflects the cultural tradition of imprisoning people who break the law, with African Americans bearing a disproportionate amount of this form of punishment.

The small town's lack of urban density meant that segregation—the division of space based on race—was not as prevalent in this portion of the study area. An African American church was located directly across from the courthouse. However, this does not mean that violence and racial oppression were not active cultural traditions in Marion, as the beating of peaceful protesters and murder of Jimmie Lee Jackson showed. Related to the civil rights movement, like in Selma and Montgomery, the church played a vital role supporting the traditions of protest through faith-based activism.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
The Old Highway 45 section was similar in cultural traditions as the other character areas. It featured long sections of linear roadway lined with farmsteads. Agricultural-based settlement

and transportation via automobile were the most evident cultural traditions in the southern part of the character area; commercial and residential land use traditions were more evident in the north part of the character area.

Old Highway 45 served as the primary route between Marion and Selma, and as such, the road served as the physical connection between the civil rights activities in the two cities.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
In the Highway 80 section of the connecting trail, cultural traditions that influenced the development of the landscape are similar to those seen in other parts of the study area. These relate to transportation, travel, and trade, as well as agriculture and settlement. From west to east, agricultural lands gave way to commercial and then residential land use, ending at the segregated Sylvan Street and Brown Chapel. As such, this character area also reflects the civil disobedience and faith-based and secular activism traditions found in other character areas.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
During the majority of the period of significance, the Lowndes Interpretive Center Site primarily reflected cultural traditions of agricultural land use. At the end of 1965, Tent City was established. The settlement highlights the cultural tradition of solidarity and mutual aid widely practiced by African Americans up to and in 1965. These traditions strengthened and sustained African American communities during times of crisis and uncertainty, including for the families who resided in this area.

Post-historic and Existing Condition
Overall
In general, the cultural traditions that influenced the development of the landscape up to 1965 are still reflected in the contemporary landscape. Though not present in the exact composition as in 1965, the land uses still follow the general typology of those present in the historic period.

Changes in the overall expression of cultural traditions include the decline of agricultural land use practices related to cotton agriculture in particular, the introduction of pine plantations, and the establishment of a commemorative cultural tradition that honors the civil rights activities of 1965. These include both personal and community commemorative traditions, as well as government-sanctioned commemoration of civil rights history. In terms of government-sanctioned commemoration, the establishment of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail and Marion Connecting Trail reflects the tradition of historic preservation and government-led commemoration of American history. The establishment of the national historic trail promoted its use by tourists and commemorators, as well as resulted in the addition of associated features (streetscape improvements, signs, memorials, museums) that reinforce the tradition of commemoration of the civil rights activities of 1965. Many of these features were added by individuals or non-governmental groups.

Selma March Route Character Area
Downtown Selma continues to feature the same cultural traditions as it did in 1965. It remains an important regional city in terms of transportation and commerce. Residential patterns are still intact, and the composition of land uses remains very much the same. Additional cultural traditions that developed after the period of significance relate directly to commemorative traditions, many of which are centered in Selma because of the seminal events that took place there. A notable example is the annual Jubilee event that draws thousands of participants, including well-known public figures.

Highway 80 Character Area
The Highway 80 Character Area still reflects the historic cultural traditions that shaped its landscape. Cultural traditions that are all still present include the agricultural-based settlement patterns and practices, patterns of land division, and trade and travel via automobile. Though land use patterns have changed some since the period of significance, the overall traditions of land use are still present today.

The cultural tradition of commemoration related to the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail is represented within the landscape in several ways. One example is Memorial Park near the south end of the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Memorial Park honors the participants of the events of March 1965; it also memorializes those who suffered through slavery, lynching, and racial discrimination. Additionally, the signage that

orients travelers along the route (campsite signs, historic trail signs) and the management of the highway as a National Historic Trail reinforce the commemorative tradition. Further, the only NPS-owned property related to the trail is located along Highway 80. Its management as an NHT—though not barring inappropriate development—encourages the preservation of the historic setting. Additionally, "pilgrims" commemorate the march by walking the route from Selma to Montgomery.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
As an urban landscape, the Montgomery March Route Character Area reflects cultural traditions similar to the Selma March Route Character Area. These traditions include its general division of commercial and residential areas, development along a major waterway, and it being a focus of local commerce. The discriminatory practices related to white supremacy are still reflected on the landscape. Segregation and unfair lending practices created patterns of commercial and residential development that remain legible today.

Today, Montgomery's landscape reinforces the cultural tradition of commemoration through road signage, informational waysides developed by both the city and by the NPS, various monuments, plaques, and markers, and street beautification efforts. The city's improvement of sidewalks, addition of tree plantings, and installation of new signage is in keeping with both the tradition of commemoration as well as that of heritage tourism. Additionally, as with the other sections of the study area, the intangible tradition of commemoration is present through people's retracing of the march route.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
The cultural traditions the influenced the development of Marion's 1965 landscape are still evident in the physical setting today. The architectural details of the buildings, the centering of the courthouse, and the square town design remain intact.

The landscape contains several features that relate to the commemoration of the events of 1965. Behind Zion United Methodist Church, in the area in which Jimmy Lee Jackson was shot, a now-damaged plaque memorializes Jackson. An NPS wayside and a polished black granite monument honoring those who took part in the civil rights movement are in prominent locations in front of the church.

North of the church, outside the old county jail, additional features support the cultural tradition of commemoration. These features include a black granite monument that honors Rev. James Orange, a concrete block that is used to support memorial wreaths, and an NPS wayside.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
The overarching cultural traditions present in this area still pertain to agricultural-based settlement/production, commerce, and travel. Though the roadway does not have the same level commemoration-related features as other character areas, the cultural tradition of memorialization is present through the official designation of Old Highway 45 as the Jimmie Lee Jackson-Albert Turner Sr. Memorial Highway. Signage along the route acknowledges this honorific.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
This section of Highway 80 reflects the same cultural traditions as it did in 1965, even though agricultural land use has decreased and development has increased. These traditions are nevertheless still evident in the landscape and factor into decisions on how the corridor is managed and maintained.

This section's inclusion as part of the connecting trail introduced a commemorative cultural tradition. At present, no commemorative features exist along the route until reaching First Baptist Church in Selma where an NPS wayside is located on church property. The route then continues down to Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church to connect to the march route that holds deep commemorative value.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
The cultural traditions present in 1965 are no longer reflected in the Lowndes Interpretive Center cultural landscape. The primary cultural traditions that inform the landscape of the Lowndes Interpretive Center site today is commemoration and interpretation of the civil rights events of the 1960s. To this end, an interpretive center and interpretive trail educate

the public via exhibits and waysides. Further, the architecture of the building and adjacent structures reference important landmarks of the Selma to Montgomery March, including the State Capitol and Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. The site is used by pilgrims who commemorate the march, as well as by participants in larger organized events.

Secondarily, the presence of the tractor trailer parking area connects the site to the transportation traditions of the adjacent Highway 80 Character Area.

Circulation

Historic Condition

Overall

Circulation is one of the more defining landscape characteristics of the project area. The roadways and sidewalks present during the historic period were the arteries through which demonstrators marched for justice and fled from violence. They also served the more mundane role of regular travel through the project area. The roadways during the period of significance varied in numerous ways, depending upon their location and use. The types of roadways extended from unpaved residential streets to modern, illuminated four lane highways.

Below is a general overview of the roadways, sidewalks, and other circulation features present in 1965. This is not an exhaustive inventory and serves more as a snapshot in order to compare to existing conditions.

Selma March Route Character Area

In 1965, the Selma March Route Character area contained four city streets that marchers used for the Bloody Sunday, Turnaround Tuesday, and Selma to Montgomery marches. These were Sylvan Street, Alabama Avenue, Water Street, and Broad Street/US Highway 80 (Illustration 2.5).

Sylvan Street ran northwest to southeast, spanning the half-mile distance between J.L. Chestnut, Jr. Boulevard and Water Avenue. During the period of significance, the road was not paved. Photographs from the era show a red-brown dirt surface when it was wet and a light tan dirt surface when it was dry.[430] Concrete sidewalks were along both sides of the road. Walkways from the adjacent housing complex intersected with the sidewalk at a 90-degree angle. Though unpaved, a concrete curb edged the roadway.

Alabama Avenue ran east to west between Sylvan Street to Union Street, but marchers only walked along a short section of Alabama Avenue. Marchers took Alabama Avenue from Sylvan Street to Broad Street, a total of 0.3 miles, during the Bloody Sunday march. Alabama Avenue was paved in 1965. It had two sections of designated on-street parking and other areas of informal on-street parking. An intermittent planting of street trees lined the roadway. Sidewalks were along both sides of Alabama Avenue.

Water Avenue was the road taken during the Turnaround Tuesday march. The roadway featured commercial properties and was wider than many other city streets. The march route followed Water Avenue for .3 miles from Sylvan Street to the intersection with Broad Street. In 1965, aside from one tree, the roadway did not feature any street vegetation. Designated parking spaces were in front of the buildings adjacent to the road.

Broad Street is the name for the part of US Highway 80 that passes through downtown. It was the primary artery into the city from the east. In keeping with its name, the road was wider than other city streets to accommodate on-street parking and four lanes of traffic. Concrete sidewalks—wider than those in the residential areas of Selma—abutted the tall buildings that lined the roadway.

Travelers into Selma from the east passed over the Alabama River via the Edmund Pettus Bridge (described in detail in Existing Conditions). The bridge was constructed in 1940. Its name commemorated Edmund Pettus, a former Confederate officer and US senator. The bridge measures 1,250 feet. There were elevated sidewalks, roughly 3 feet wide, on both sides of the bridge, flanking its four traffic lanes (Figure 348).

Highway 80 Character Area

In 1965, circulation features within the Highway 80 Character Area included Highway 80, Highway 31, Mobile Highway, and West Fairview Avenue, in addition to auxiliary roads, sidewalks, parking lots, driveways, and bridges. The highways' pavements

430. Photos can be viewed at this web address: https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/civil-rights-rights-march-to-montgomery-walks-past-brown-news-photo/1077329580.



Figure 348. This photograph shows Hosea Williams and John Lewis leading marchers across the Edmund Pettus Bridge along the elevated sidewalk on Bloody Sunday, March 7, 1965. (Source: AAlabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News).

varied; some sections were asphalt and others were a conglomerate material.

This character area begins at the western end of the Edmund Pettus Bridge along Highway 80. Here, the roadway was wide enough to accommodate four traffic lanes and a central median (Figure 337). On both side of the highway, two auxiliary roads provided access to businesses and their parking lots in this commercial area known as Selmont. Some of the driveways to the businesses were paved, while others were packed dirt. A grassy median, segmented to allow for turning traffic, separated the auxiliary roads from the highway. As Highway 80 progressed eastward, a broad segmented grassy median separated the east bound and west bound lanes. The breaks in the median allowed for U-turns to access properties on the opposite travel lane.

In this section of the route, vegetation was sparse, allowing for views of adjacent circulation features such as the railroad that paralleled the highway about 200 feet to the northeast. The march route crossed over a pair of bridges around milepost 87 (detailed information for the bridges in the project area is provided in the Buildings and Structures section). The adjacent railroad and a bridge associated with the railroad was visible from bridges on Highway 80.

As the march route progressed through Selmont and into unincorporated Dallas County, Highway 80 traveled in a more easterly direction. Shortly thereafter, set of bridges crossed over Soapstone Creek. Adjacent circulation features along this section included residential driveways, many of which featured a loop with parallel entrances/exits onto the highway. Several other roadways also intersected with Highway 80 in various locations. These included county roads, residential streets, and farm access drives.

Highway 80 narrowed to two lanes shortly before reaching the Dallas-Lowndes County line. Aerial images show that at the time of the march the Alabama Department of Transportation had cleared land on the south side of the highway in preparation for the highway widening project (Figure 349). The construction zone stretched from the county line to near the bridge that crossed Old Town Creek.

Highway 80 was two-lane throughout Lowndes County. The county featured the same adjacent circulation features as the other counties in the character area, including long residential and farm drives and parking areas at the county's commercial properties (Figure 350). Of note are the series of five bridges on the highway as it passed through Big Swamp. Photographs from the march show that the bridges had guardwalls made of regularly spaced, concrete posts approximately 3 feet tall.

Highway 80 continued eastward through Lowndes County, gently bending and rising and falling with the topography. The highway became four lanes again immediately north of the Gardner farm (Illustration 2.3). During the march, the additional lanes allowed march organizers to increase the number of participants back to size that had started the march. This section also had a segmented grassy median, similar to the section through Dallas County.

At the Montgomery County line, marchers crossed another pair of bridges. Marchers soon thereafter passed by the Montgomery Airport, where adjacent circulation features such as parking lots and runways were visible from the highway because of the lack of vegetation. At the intersection with the north-south oriented Highway 31, marchers progressed down the on/off ramp to access the roadway. The interchange flared out to accommodate the merging roadways, but soon narrowed back to the standard four-lane highway width. Highway 31 also featured a grassy median, but it was less interrupted by U-turn cuts like those on Highway 80. Heading north, marchers crossed a bridge over Catoma Creek and traveled through a still mostly rural landscape.

The march route then continued toward a major intersection where Highway 31 turned east-west, and the north-south route became Mobile Highway. March participants then progressed through an increasingly developed landscape, with many additional circulation features such as parking lots and short driveways that served the businesses along the roadway. Several residential side streets intersected with the highway, and a railroad ran parallel with the highway to the west.

The last road in the character area is West Fairview Avenue, where the marchers would turn off the highway towards the City of St. Jude campus. Fairview was also four-lanes.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
This character area starts at the City of St. Jude. Within the formally designed campus, various circulation features existed, including vegetation-lined drives, paved walkways, and informal desire paths. The formal drives extended between campus and West Fairview Avenue. These included two semi-circular drives and one long straight allée. In the campground area, there were several informal circulation features, including a vehicular access drives, worn paths, and a baseball diamond. As the marchers departed the camp, they exited along the vehicular access drive on the north side of the property, turned right onto Stephens Street and then immediately turned left onto Oak Street (Illustration 2.8).

Oak Street was a paved two-lane residential street oriented north-south. It connected Fairview Ave. with West Jeff Davis Avenue. The road featured slight variations in topography but was generally level. Though the entirety of the Montgomery march route was paved, many roads in the adjacent residential areas were unpaved in 1965.[431] Unpaved and well-worn sidewalks lined both sides of Oak Street. Driveways to residents regularly intersected the sidewalk. Additional circulation features in the corridor included stairs to residences positioned above street level.

The march route then turned right (east) onto West Jeff Davis Avenue, named for the president of the Confederate States of America. This marked a transition into an area with more mixed-uses as the route approached downtown. From here the march route turned north onto Holt Street. Both West Jeff Davis Avenue and Holt Street had two-lanes and appear to have had sidewalks. It is not known if the sidewalks on Holt Street were paved. The sidewalks on West Jeff Davis Avenue were paved, and some sections featured a hexagonal paver (Figure 351).

431. See image here: https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/view-of-a-crossroads-with-u-s-army-mps-and-troops-guarding-news-photo/508019942; https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/two-young-african-american-boys-stand-in-the-street-with-news-photo/507992192.



Figure 349. Construction began on the widening of Highway 80 during the historic period, but at the time of the march had only resulted in land clearing at the Lowndes County line. This image shows that condition remained the same in 1966. (Source: USDA).



Figure 350. This 1965 aerial image shows typical circulation features in the Highway 80 character area, with the highway, two unpaved roadways, and a cul-de-sac driveway present. (Source: USDA).

At this point there is inconsistency in the historic record about the route. Historic descriptions note that the march progressed from Holt Street to Day Street then onto Mobile Street. However, one image—only released to the public within the last five years—shows what appears to be the head of the procession marching from Holt Street to Grady Street then to Mobile Street (Figure 342). It is possible that both streets were used, but it is certain, based on this image, that Grady Street was. Either way, both the segments of Grady and Day Streets that were used for the march were short and connected to Mobile Street after one block.

Like the other roads along the route, Mobile Street was paved. It was two-lane. It also featured sidewalks along both sides of the street. The long and straight roadway was oriented northeast-southwest and led the marchers to Five Points Hill.

Five Points Hill was a prominent commercial area formed by a cluster of buildings and intersecting roadways set atop a high point in the city's landscape. Intersecting streets included Mobile Street, Montgomery Street, Goldthwaite Street, and Clayton Street. In the center of this intersection was an open paved area that accommodated converging traffic, though it did not have a roundabout at this time (Figure 352).

The route then continued northeast down Montgomery Street. This road was two-lane but was broadened to allow on-street parking on both sides of the road. Sidewalks ran parallel with the roadway and along the fronts of adjacent buildings. After five blocks, Montgomery Street ended at Commerce Street at Court Square.

Court Square was a prominent intersection in the heart of downtown Montgomery. It had an ornate water fountain set in the middle of the intersection of Commerce Street and Dexter Avenue. After just a few dozen feet along Commerce Street, the march route then followed Dexter Avenue east toward the State Capitol.

Dexter Avenue was one of the most formally laid out streets in Montgomery. Oriented on axis with the State Capitol Building, the gently sloping roadway featured a central median and four paved traffic lanes and on-street parking (Figure 353). It measured roughly 120 feet in width. The width allowed for the tens of thousands of march participants to spread comfortably out in front of the State Capitol grounds. Broad paved sidewalks ran parallel along both sides of the road. Several cross streets intersected with Dexter Avenue along its length. Pedestrian crosswalks were at these intersections.

At the State Capitol, a paved sidewalk ran around the perimeter of the grounds. The sidewalk provided access to a monumental flight of granite stairs that led from street level to the Capitol Building at the top of the hill.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
This character area features three roadways as part of the connecting trail: Pickens, Jefferson, and Washington Streets (Illustration 2.4).

Pickens Street runs from Monroe Street on the north to Dekalb Street on the south, though both of these streets are outside the character area. The section of Pickens Street within the character area ran from the Old Perry County Jail to the intersection with Jefferson Street. Both sides of Pickens Street featured paved sidewalks and walkways to connect it to the business and civic buildings that lined the road. Road widths accommodated two traffic lanes and diagonal on-street parking.

Jefferson Street was similar to Pickens Street, with two paved traffic lanes flanked by commercial and civic properties. Sidewalks also lined both sides of the street. The connecting trail incorporates a block-length section of Jefferson Street before it turns south onto Washington Street.

Washington Street ran north-south through Marion's town square. It extended north outside the character area and south where it turned into Highway 45. Like the other city streets, two-lane Washington Street passed through a mixed commercial and civic institution area. The southbound lane featured space for on-street parking, while the northbound lane did not. Sidewalks lined both sides of the road. Heading south, the civic and commercial properties featured adjacent small parking lots.



Figure 351. This 1965 image shows the south side of West Jeff Davis Avenue, which featured a sidewalk with occasional hexagonal pavers. The pavers distinguished these properties as different that the adjacent residential area. (Source: National Archives).

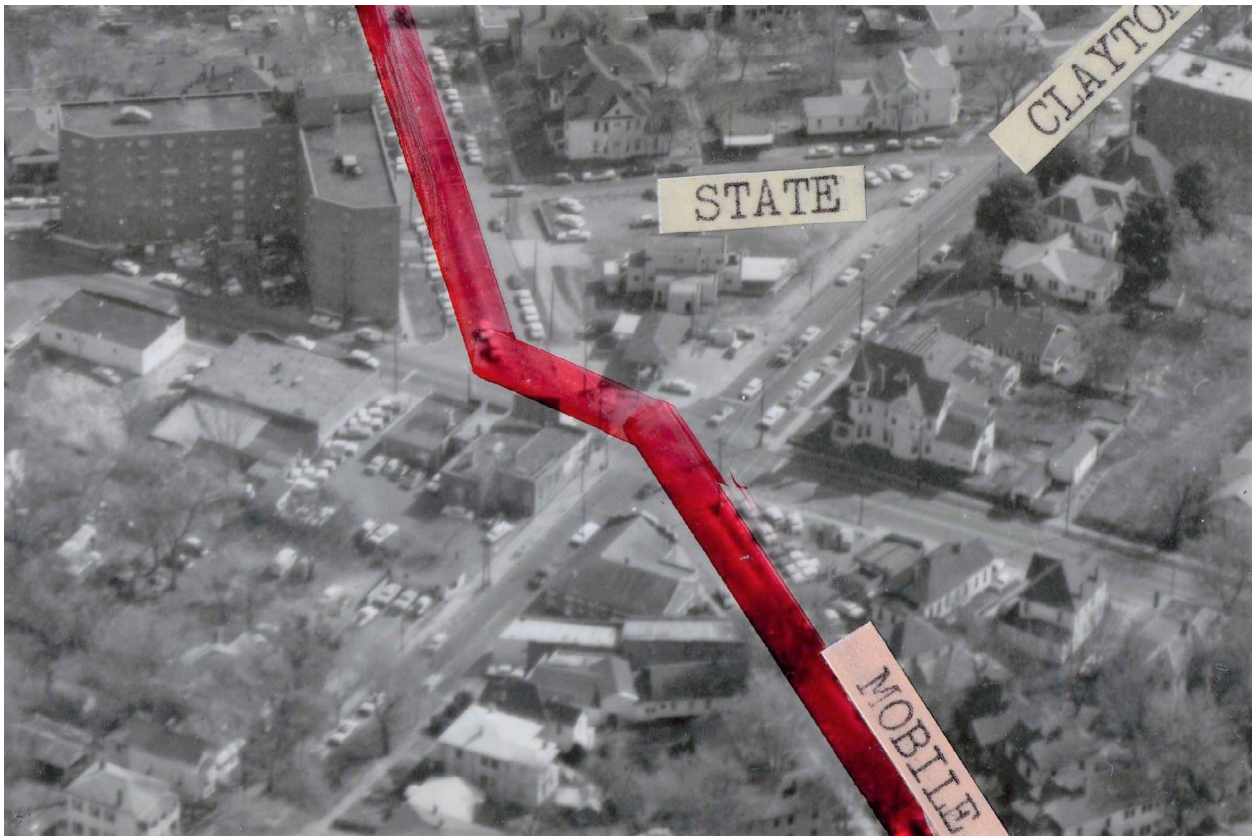

Figure 352. 1965 National Guard aerial photograph of the proposed march route through Montgomery. The image has been cropped to show the Five Points Hill intersection. Note that the intersection was not configured as a roundabout yet, and it was surrounded by various building types, including a gas station, Queen Anne residence, fire station, and large apartment building. (Source: National Archives).

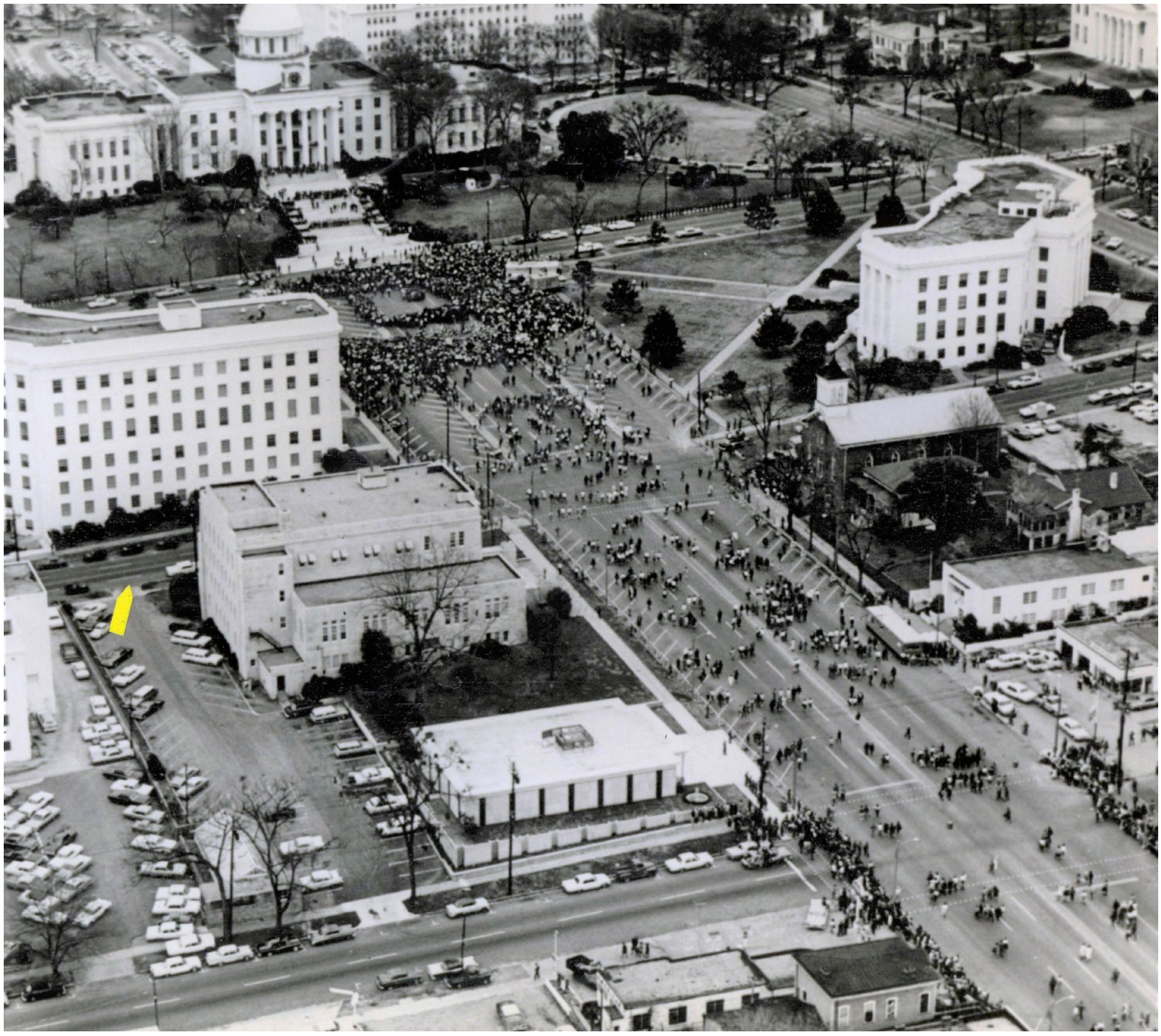

Figure 353. 1965 National Guard aerial photo of marchers approaching the State Capitol along Dexter Avenue. Note the width of the roadway and the formal axial orientation. Dexter Avenue Baptist Church is visible in this image, as are other prominent buildings along the roadway. (Source: National Archives).

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

Highway 45 was an important thoroughfare in the period of significance. It connected Marion with Selma via Highway 80. In 1965, the roadway was like many country roads, with two lanes of traffic winding through a rural landscape. After crossing over Highway 286 via a bridge, the route continued south. At this juncture, a railroad ran parallel and at a close distance from the roadway; both followed the same topographical ridge that projected southward. Adjacent circulation features in this portion of the route included residential driveways, intersecting roadways, and farm access drives. After 14 miles, Highway 45 terminated at Highway 80.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

Like Highway 80 through Lowndes County, Highway 80 in 1965 was a two-lane paved highway that cut east-west across a mostly rural landscape. The corridor containing this portion of Highway 80 featured a number of adjacent circulation features, such as driveways and farm access drives. In the western portion of the character area, the highway crossed the Cahaba River and then crossed over the low-lying floodplain via a series of seven bridges.

Highway 80 then progressed eastward towards Selma where development increased and with it the amount of adjacent circulation features, including cross streets, residential driveways, and parking

lots. On the outskirts of Selma, just east of County Road 14, Highway 80 became four-lane. The four-lane configuration was temporarily reduced back to two lanes at a bridge on the edge of Selma. The highway became four lanes again shortly after the bridge and continued into Selma.

In Selma, the connecting trail turned south onto Broad Street. The road character does not change, maintaining four travel lanes. Here, sidewalks lined portions of both sides of the road. Shortly before continuing onto J.L. Chestnut Boulevard, the route passed over a railroad track. J.L. Chestnut Boulevard maintained the width of Broad Street, but it is unclear if it had four traffic lanes. It did feature sidewalks along both sides of the road. The connecting trail then turned south onto Sylvan Street, which, like the portion extending south of Brown Chapel, was unpaved.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
It is unclear if any circulation features existed in this character area during the period of significance. The most useful aerial image for the site dates to 1966. It shows an informal unpaved path entering the Tent City site from White Hall Road. It is unknown if this was present in any definitive form at the time of the march or before the end of 1965.

Post-historic and Existing Condition
Overall
The present-day conditions of the historic trail and connecting trail are described in detail in the preceding Existing Conditions section. Therefore, the following will focus on general comparisons between 1965 and 2020 conditions, while providing extra detail for specific locations.

The general circulation pattern of the project area reflects historic period conditions. Though some modifications to circulation features have been made, this is to be expected for an active and heavily used roadway.

Of special note are the changes made to the landscape through the expansion of Highway 80 after the period of significance. Illustrations 4.1-4.9 document the sections of Highway 80 most impacted by this change and where a significant shift in highway's alignment occured.



Figure 354. The sidewalks along Broad Street (seen here at the intersection with Alabama Avenue) feature a mixture of surfacing, with brick used as an ornamental accent to standard concrete. (Source: WLA Studio).

Selma March Route Character Area
The same general circulation features that existed in 1965 remain intact today. Selma maintains a gridded street pattern and sidewalks typical of residential and commercial areas. The most significant deviation from 1965 conditions is the paving of Sylvan Street, which was renamed Martin Luther King, Jr. Street in 1976.

Additional changes relate to streetscape improvement projects, specifically the surfacing of the sidewalks. Brick pavers were added to the sidewalks along Martin Luther King, Jr. Street. Historically the sidewalks were concrete. The sidewalks along Water Avenue between Broad and Franklin Streets are paved with red brick pavers. The section between Franklin and Martin Luther King, Jr. Streets now have dark brick paving on the south side of the road and a mixture of concrete and exposed aggregate paving on the north. It is unknown if the aggregate paving dates from 1965, but the brick pavers are a modern addition. Broad Street also features a non-historic sidewalk paving comprised of red brick paving with narrow bands of concrete (Figure 354). Alabama Street retains its unadorned concrete sidewalks, but it is unknown if the materials date to 1965.

Lastly, the Edmund Pettus Bridge still reflects historic period conditions and use. Slight modifications include the addition of a small commemorative marker, general non-altering maintenance, and updated traffic signage. The bridge today serves both as the threshold into Selma and an iconic and world-famous structure related to the civil rights movement.

Highway 80 Character Area
The Highway 80 Character Area has both undergone substantial changes to its circulation features, but it has overall remained largely reflective of historic conditions.

The collection of circulation features in Selmont are in keeping with 1965 conditions. Comparison of historic and existing photographs shows that the alignment, width, and number of lanes of Highway 80 remain as they were in 1965 (Figure 329). The parallel auxiliary streets are still present, as is the segmented grassy median. From here until the Dallas-Lowndes County line, the route is the same as 1965.

The most significant change in the character area occurs within Lowndes County. Instead of featuring two lanes through the county as it did in 1965, Highway 80 now has four-lanes. The construction of the additional lanes was in the planning stages during the period of significance, but construction did not occur until after 1965 (Illustration 4.1 and 4.2). The addition of the lanes resulted in a different sense of space in within the corridor, as described earlier. The new lanes were in keeping with the overall form and design of the highway to that point, with a segmented grassy median of varying widths separating east and westbound lanes. As a result of the addition, the change back to four lanes just north of the Gardner farm is no longer apparent (Illustration 4.6 and Figure 355). New bridges throughout the character area were added as part of the expansion project, and historic period bridges have been modified for traffic safety updates.

That said, large portions of the original two-lane highway are mostly intact, serving as the westbound travel lanes in the western portion of the county and the eastbound lanes in the eastern portion of the county. The shift in the alignment occurs just west of the Rosie Steele campground, where the original roadbed shifts to the more recently constructed eastbound lanes as it travels into Big Swamp (Illustration 4.3). As a result of the new westbound lanes, a large part of the historic Rosie Steele property was destroyed (Figure 356).

An additional change during the expansion of the highway was the construction of an entirely new section of east and westbound lanes at the intersection with State Route 97 (south) and County Road 29 (north). Here the original stretch of two-lane highway runs parallel to the south of these new lanes (Illustration 4.4 and 4.5). This part of the historic road now exists as an unpaved road trace and a section of still used paved roadway (Figure 357 - Figure 359). The paved portion is about roughly 0.7 in length and merges with the eastbound lanes of the highway.

An additional new circulation feature of note is the walkway that connects the parking lot of Wright Chapel A.M.E. Church with the Viola Liuzzo memorial site and overlook. The typical concrete walkway extends east-west along the rim of the hill.

The route of the Highway then winds into Montgomery County following the same alignment as it did in 1965. At the interchange with Highway 31, however, existing condition differs greatly from historic conditions. In 1965, the four lanes of Highway 80 bent toward the northeast to merge with the north-south oriented Highway 31. However, the Alabama Department of Transportation constructed an expansive interchange in this location after the period of significance, resulting in the removal of an entire section of on-off ramp of Highway 80'. It has also changed traffic circulation (Illustration 4.7 and Figure 360). This removed section begins immediately west of the railroad crossing bridge and extends to a service station on Highway 31. Trace pavement of the historic route is still in place. Post-historic on-off ramps provide connections between the two highways.

The roadway connects with the original alignment of Highway 31 after roughly a quarter mile. From here Highway 31 generally reflects 1965 conditions, even as the corridor itself has changed and has had new adjacent circulation features added.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
Overall, primary circulation features of the Montgomery march route reflect historic conditions. The route still follows Oak Street north, and connecting to W. Jeff Davis Avenue, Grady Street/Day Street, Mobile Street, Montgomery Street, Commerce Street, and Dexter Avenue. The widths and alignments of these roads remain the same as in 1965.



Figure 355. Aerial photograph comparing 1965 and existing conditions of Highway 80, adjacent to Campsite #3. With the expansion of Highway 80, the transition between two-lane and four-lane is now missing. The surrounding character of the highway however is in general keeping with historic conditions. (Source: USDA / ESRI).



Figure 356. Aerial photograph comparing 1965 and existing conditions of the Rosie Steele property. The expansion of Highway 80 (westbound lanes) cut through the southern portion of the Rosie Steele Campground. The residences seen in the image on the right are contemporary, and the Steele Service Station and Tavern is missing from the south side of the highway. (Source: USDA / ESRI).



Figure 357. This aerial comparison shows the changes made to Highway 80 at the intersection with State Route 97. Note how Highway 80 in the 1965 aerial is not part of Highway 80 today. During the expansion, four lanes of Highway 80 were constructed north of the original roadbed. The former section of Highway 80 now serves as a short auxiliary road to access several properties including a gas station (Source: USDA / ESRI).



Figure 358. Compare this 1965 image of Highway 80 as it approaches the junction with SR 97 with Figure 359. Note the complete transformation of the landscape on the right side of the image. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News.).



Figure 359. Compare this 2019 image of Highway 80 as it approaches the junction with SR 97 with Figure 358. Note the complete transformation of the landscape on the right side of the image. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 360. Aerial photograph comparing 1965 and existing conditions of the Highway 80 / 31 interchange. Note the removal of the historic period ramp, though remnants of this feature are still present and used to access commercial properties in the area. (Source: USDA / ESRI).

The city has made various alterations within the trail corridor, including paving sidewalks and adjacent residential streets and completing other streetscape improvement projects. The projects include the planting of street trees and updating wayfinding signage. Changes to circulation features within the City of St. Jude campus have also occurred.

Five Points Hill has been modified in a few ways. First, the overall geometry of the intersection has changed (Figure 361). The middle of the intersection still measures around 140 feet across, as it did in 1965. However, the section the intersection to the north has increased in width; historically the intersection measured 40 feet across but now it measures around 80 feet across. The extra width resulted from the blunting of corners of adjacent properties and incorporating this additional space to the intersection. Additionally, there are now two traffic islands in the middle of the intersection: a central roundabout and a raised rectangular island to its north. Lastly, the intersection is paved with dark grey cobblestones, which appears to be different from historic materials.

From Five Points Hill, the march route continues to follow Montgomery Street. Road widths are in keeping with historic conditions, though slight alterations to sidewalks and street parking configurations are visible in comparisons of aerial photographs.

Court Square has also experienced modification, though as much as the Five Points Hill intersection. The principal change is the removal of the two traffic islands within the intersection that were present in 1965. A circular sidewalk surrounds the base of the water fountain. The grey cobble paving of the square matches that of Five Points Hill. Crosswalks are also paved in the same concrete cobble material but are arranged in uniform rows, as opposed to the mosaic arrangement of the square paving. The fountain remains on axis with Dexter Avenue and the State Capitol Building to the east.

Dexter Avenue's circulation features have also undergone modification, though the changes have been minimal (Figure 362). The width and alignment of the roadway remains the same as 1965, except at the east end of the road where on-street parking spaces have been removed and the adjacent property footprints expanded. Dexter Avenue remains a four-lane road that spans several city blocks as it approaches the Capitol Building. The four lanes of traffic are still separated by a low relief median paved in light grey concrete cobble stones. Sidewalks line both sides of Dexter Avenue. The sidewalks have been updated since the period of significance. Now, instead of what was a mostly uniform concrete, of the twelve sections of sidewalk along Dexter Avenue, seven feature the same design and materials. They have a combination of brick and concrete paving and evenly spaced tree planters. Dexter Avenue still ends at South Bainbridge Street across from the Alabama State Capitol. Across from this intersection, the monumental flight of stairs to the Capitol Building is still in place.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

Circulation features within the Downtown Marion character area remain generally consistent with historic period conditions. No major alterations to the alignment or widths of the streets have occurred, and sidewalks still are intact. The one area of noticeable modification is in front of the old county jail, where a portion of the property's footprint along the roadway has been removed to accommodate parking in a small gravel lot. During the historic period, parking was along the curb of the roadway.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

The circulation features within the Old Highway 45 character area remain generally consistent with historic conditions. In the Washington Street section, changes include the removal of some sections of sidewalks and the presence of new or modified parking areas at commercial properties. Though it is difficult to see in the aerial images, it appears that the road width of Washington Street today—with its three lanes—is similar to its width during the historic period. At the intersection with County Route 30, the road becomes two lanes. Shortly thereafter, Washington Street crosses over Highway 183 via a 141-foot-long bridge, as it did in 1965.

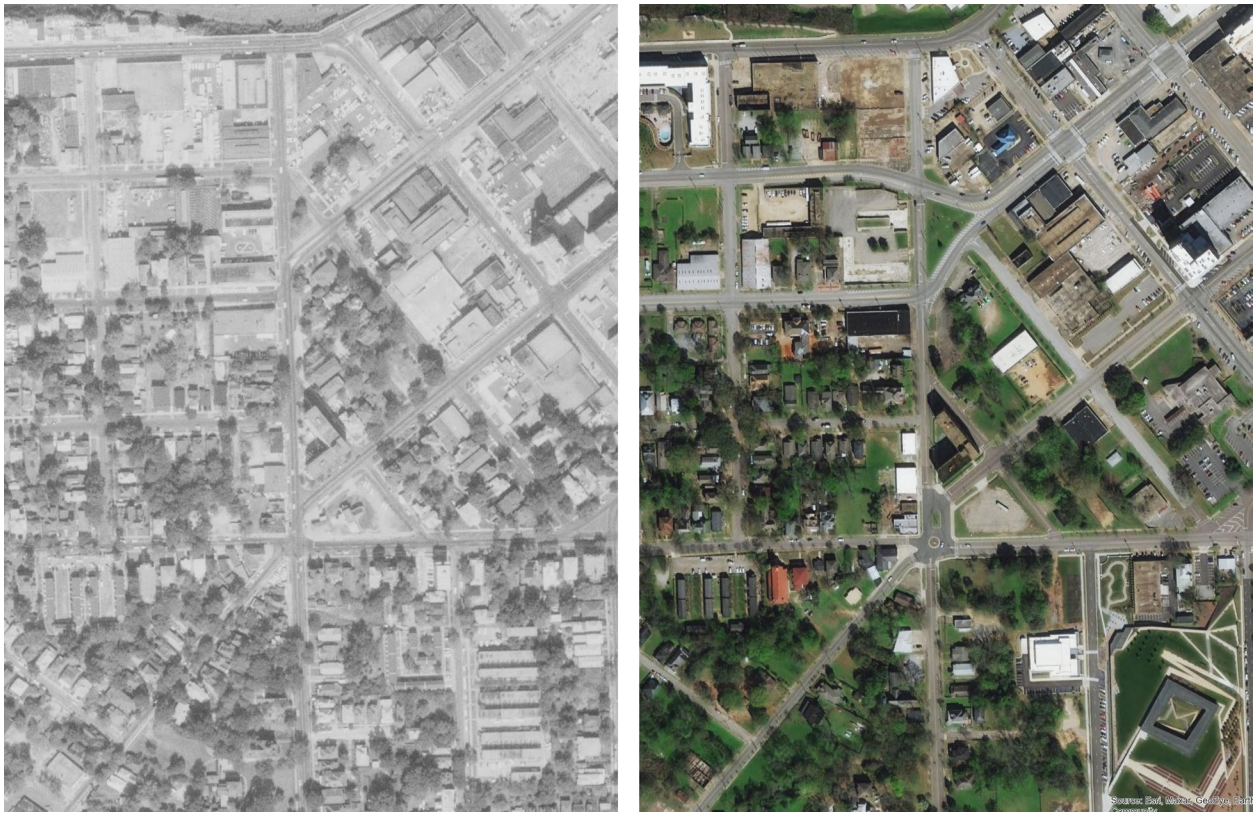

Figure 361. Aerial photograph comparing 1965 and existing conditions of the Five Points Hill area of Montgomery. Note the change in the shape of the now larger and more developed intersection. (Source: USDA / ESRI).

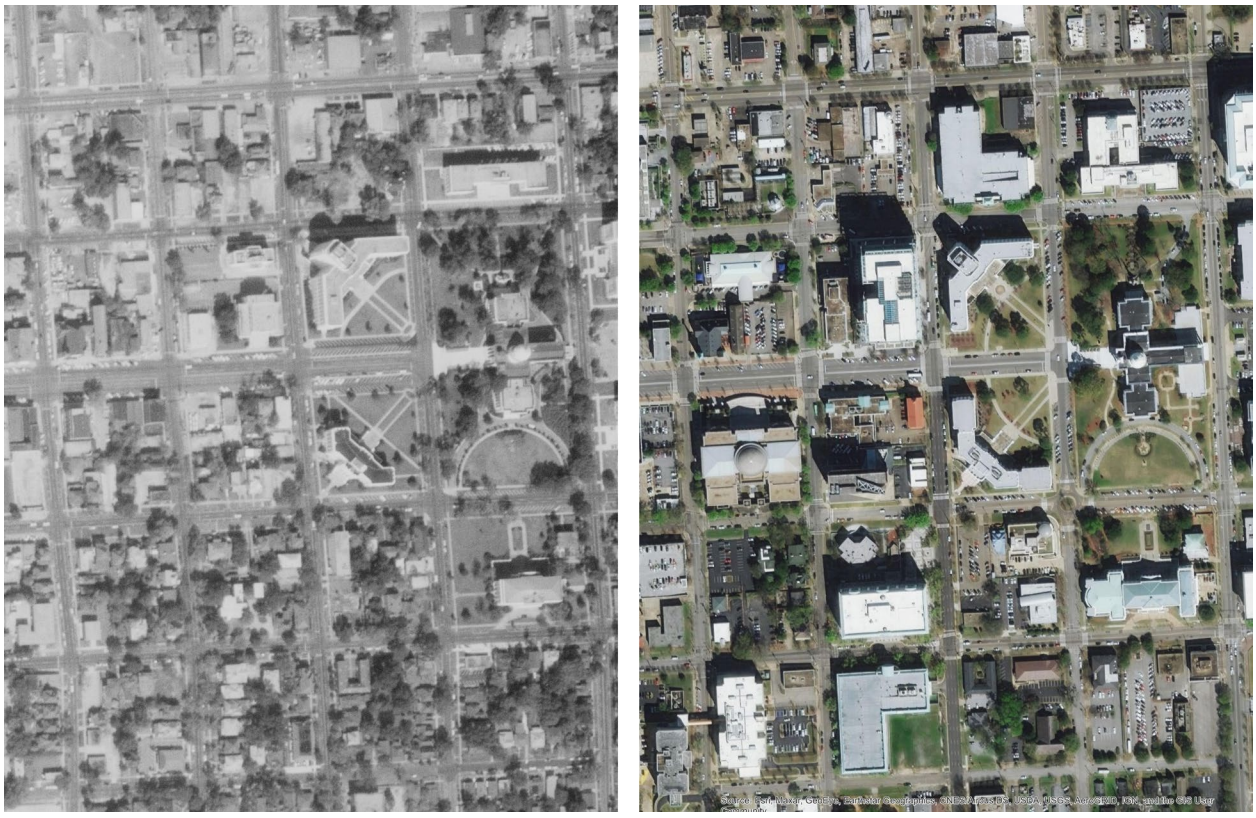

Figure 362. Aerial photograph comparing 1965 and existing conditions of Dexter Avenue in downtown Montgomery. Note generally consistent circulation features and pattern, though a change in materials has occurred. (Source: USDA / ESRI).

Old Highway 45 still reflects its historic condition as it heads south through the rural outskirts of Marion. Road width and alignment is the same as it was fifty-five years ago, with slight updates evident, such as aluminum railings at creek crossing and new paving.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
Like the section of Highway 80 that was expanded in Lowndes County, new travel lanes were added to the Dallas County portion of Highway 80 west of Selma (Illustration 4.8). Here, the eastbound lanes are the newer lanes. The westbound lanes remain in the same alignment as in 1965. When finished, this section of Highway 80 resembled Highway 80 west of Selma. It is now divided by a wide grass median and grass roadway buffers line the outside of the road on the north and south. There are turn lanes located throughout the median. The beginning section of this character area still features a series of bridges crossing over a swampy floodplain. Historically, there was only a total of seven bridges, now there are fourteen.

Starting in the outskirts of Selma, commercial development replaced large portions of the residential areas, changing the adjacent circulation features from driveways to parking lots. Changes to the roadway after this point include the merging of the historic four lane portion of Highway 80 with the contemporary portion, which occurs at the intersection of Highway 80 and State Route 14. At this point, the wide grass median ends and is replaced by a middle turn lane. This character continues along the remainder of the highway. Sidewalks are present on both sides of the road after the intersection with Lapsley Street. The route then turns south onto Broad Street (US-80 Business). The road character does not change, remaining four lanes (Figure 363). Sidewalks continue along both sides of the road, as they did in the historic period. Shortly before continuing onto J.L. Chestnut Boulevard, the route passes over a railroad track that is set into the roadbed. J.L. Chestnut Boulevard maintained the same width and alignment as it had in 1965. Sidewalks are intermittent along the road resulting in the presence of desire paths in some locations.

The route then continues east to Martin Luther King, Jr. Street and south to Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. The two-lane road passes through a residential area. Brick paved sidewalks are set back 20 feet from both sides of the road, with a wide grass strip in between. As stated earlier, these are modern finishes for the sidewalks.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
After the period of significance, the circulation features within the Lowndes Interpretive Center site changed a few times. As part of the Tent City encampment, temporary informal circulation features developed. These were concentrated in the eastern portion of the site. An October 25, 1966 aerial image shows a two-pronged entry drive into the site, extending west from White Hall Road. Circulation within the encampment was informal, with no definite pathways present. Instead, the camps were set within an area of mostly bare ground, similar to a swept yard.

After the Lowndes County Co-Op took ownership of the site, they added new circulation features (Figure 364). A 1997 aerial shows an unpaved drive extending north from the westbound lanes of Highway 80 to provide access to the Co-Op operation and what appears to be a residential mobile home set near the northern edge of the property. On the south side of the Co-Op building, a large area of bare ground served as a parking lot. On the eastern edge of the site, the circulation features associated with Tent City were not present by 1997. However, a narrow semi-circular drive connected another building to White Hall Road. This drive is in the general location of the entry drive from the late historic period.

All the circulation features associated with the Co-Op and related operations were removed as part of the development of the Interpretive Center complex. Presently, the Lowndes Interpretive Center features a variety of circulation features related to both vehicular and pedestrian traffic, though none of which reference historic circulation patterns. A full description of these features in included in the Existing Conditions chapter.

The expansion of Highway 80 did not impact the Lowndes Interpretive Center site (Illustration 4.9).

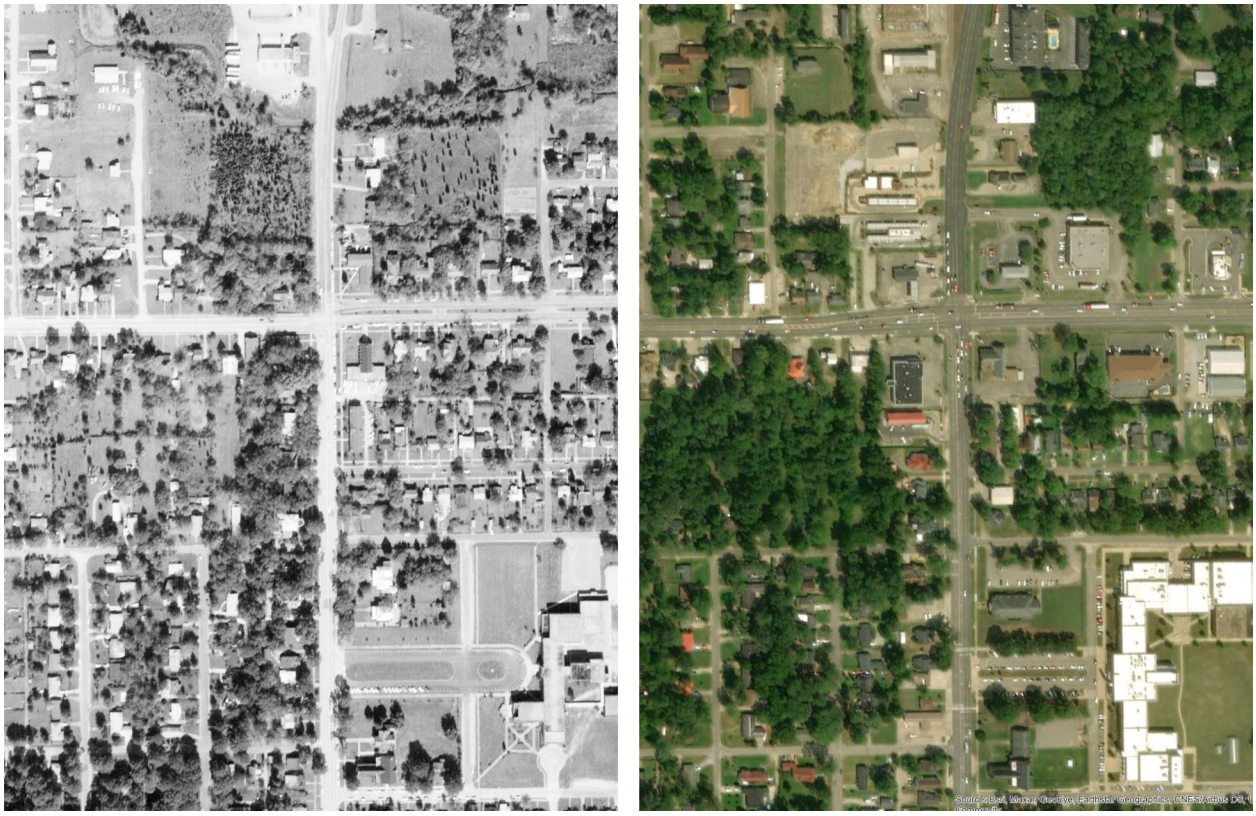

Figure 363. Aerial photograph comparing 1965 and existing conditions of where the Connecting Trail route turns south onto Broad Street from Highway 80. Only minimal changes to the roadway have occurred, with the alignment and number of lanes remaining the same from the historic period. (Source: USDA / ESRI).



Figure 364. This aerial from 1997 shows the Lowndes Interpretive Center site. Note the increased amount of development in the eastern portion of the site where Tent City was previously located. Also note the additional circulation features and vegetation along the water drainage in the pasture. (Source: Google Earth).

Buildings and Structures

Historic Condition

Overall

This report does not document all buildings and structures that existed within the study area in 1965. As such, the following section documents general building types, heavily developed areas, and notable examples, giving weight to those that are historic and/or historically significant.

Overall, the buildings and structures within the project area reflect the developmental history of the Black Belt, including its rural areas and urban centers. The diversity of buildings and structures that existed in the project area was extensive and included from high style municipal buildings to rows of shotgun houses.

Selma March Route Character Area

In 1965, buildings and structures within this character area ranged from multi-family residential buildings to multi-story commercial buildings (Figure 365).

Sylvan Street (Martin Luther King, Jr. Street)

The George Washington Carver Homes development was a complex of 49 two-story apartment units located northeast of downtown Selma along Sylvan Street (Figure 343). They were constructed around 1952 as low- and middle-income residences for African Americans. The units were of brick construction mostly unadorned by architectural embellishments. The complex was laid out in a gridded pattern. Their design reflects their mid-twentieth century period of construction as well as public housing planning standards from this time.

Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church was set within the George Washington Carver Homes development facing Sylvan Street (Figure 366). The building is described as a "two story, brick eclectic religious building [that] achieves its exoticism from derivative styles of the past. The towers are similar to Islamic minarets, the central block has a Baroque curvilinear parapet, and the three arched entrance echoes Romanesque facades."[432] The chapel served various purposes during the period of significance, including a church, meeting space, and place to eat, sleep, and recover. Clustered at the intersections south of Brown Chapel were collections of single-family residences on small lots. A municipal water tower is located within in the viewshed.

Alabama Avenue

Alabama Avenue featured a variety of different building types in 1965 (Figure 367). These included municipal buildings, office buildings, and auto shops. An important building related to the civil rights movement was the Selma City Hall and Jail (now Cecil B. Jackson Public Safety Building), located at the corner of Alabama Avenue and Franklin Street. The large Neoclassical building featured a two-story portico supported by four Tuscan columns and a roofline balustrade. The entry on the north façade featured a large transom and broken pediment. White quoins at the corners offset the yellow brick of the building. During the period of significance, the building served as the city jail where many demonstrators, including Martin Luther King, Jr., were held after their arrest.

Another significant building on Alabama Avenue is the Sullivan Building, located on the opposite corner from the Public Safety Building. The tall brick building featured a commercial first floor and office spaces on the remaining floors. The Boyntons' insurance business was based here, and the Dallas County Voters League and the SCLC used office space in the building when coordinating activities related to the civil rights movement.

Downtown Selma

During the period of significance, downtown Selma featured an eclectic mix of buildings. The buildings ranged from one to five stories in height; and the buildings represented various architectural styles, including Italianate, Romanesque Revival, and Renaissance Revival, Greek Revival, and Queen Anne.[433] At the time of the march, some of the buildings featured a modern flat façade treatment that covered any older architectural details. Notable downtown buildings included the Tepper's Building on Broad Street and the St. James Hotel building at the corner of Washington and

432. Linda B. Ford and Gene A. Ford, "Survey of African American Historic Resources in Selma, Alabama, Dallas County" (The Alabama Trust Fund Survey And Registration Grant Program and The City Of Selma, 2000), 13.

433. Susan A. Besser, "'Water Avenue Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet." (Alabama Historical Commission (State Historic Preservation Office), May 25, 2005).



Figure 365. This March 1965 aerial photograph shows the heart of Selma looking east toward the Alabama River. For orientation, Brown Chapel is located in the center of the image and the Edmond Pettus Bridge is seen in the background, indicated with red arrows. Note the variety of buildings and structures in the city, including a water tower, tall commercial buildings, and the George Washington Carver Homes development. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Tom Self or Anthony Falletta, Birmingham News).



Figure 366. Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in winter of 1965. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History).

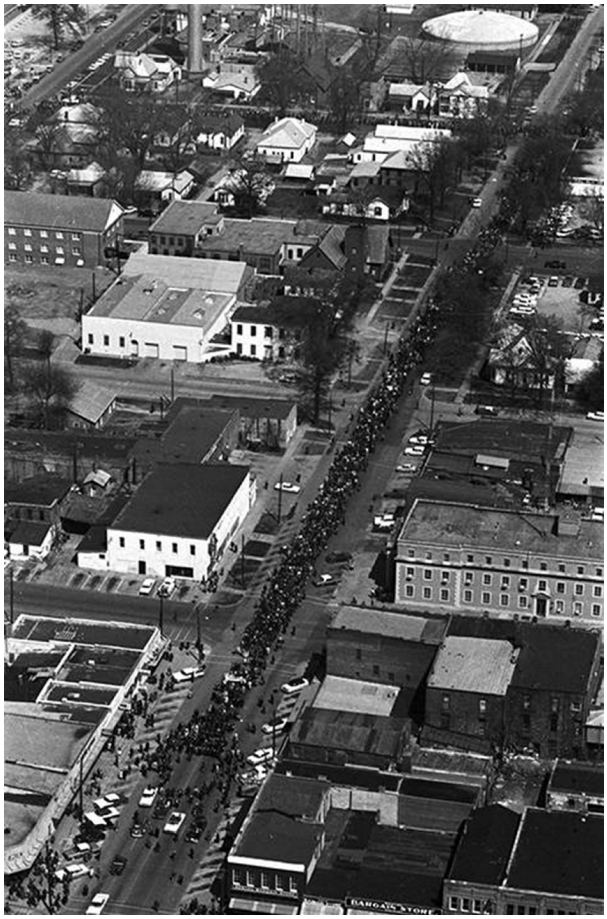

Figure 367. View along Alabama Avenue at the beginning of the Selma To Montgomery March on March 21. Note the variety of building types, including the City Hall and Jail building (center right), and the transition from residential buildings to commercial buildings and the road approaches Broad Street in the bottom of the image. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History).

Water Streets. The building at the corner of Water and Broad Streets (the present Selma Interpretive Center building) was undergoing renovations in March 1965 (Figure 368).

Edmund Pettus Bridge

During the period of significance, the Edmund Pettus Bridge spanned the Alabama River on the southeast side of Selma. Constructed in 1940, the bridge served as the threshold in and out of the city along Highway 80. In March 1965, the structure was a primary landscape feature during several pivotal civil rights demonstrations: Bloody Sunday, Turnaround Tuesday, and the Selma to Montgomery March. In terms of its physical characteristics, the bridge was constructed as a "metal through and concrete open spandrel-arch bridge, 1248'-6" in length." The most iconic part of the bridge was the arch that rose above the roadbed. The arch of the bridge featured an open honeycomb-like crest supported by vertical pillars anchored into the sidewalk flanking the roadway. The name "EDMUND PETTUS BRIDGE" is affixed to the north side of the bridge (Figure 369).

Highway 80 Character Area

Selmont

In the Selmont area, a small commercial district lined both sides of Highway 80 and served as the backdrop for the Bloody Sunday attack and Turnaround Tuesday march. Various businesses were located here in 1965 including restaurants, furniture shops, and automotive-related operations (Figure 370). The buildings were mostly vernacular and/or utilitarian in design, as opposed to the more ornate buildings in downtown Selma. Most buildings were one or one-and-a-half stories tall. Aerial images show approximately thirty buildings and structures in the core of Selmont on both sides of Highway 80.

Craig Field

South of Selmont was Craig Field Air Force Base, which was established shortly before World War II. The large complex sprawled out over 2 million acres (roughly the same size of Selma's urban core) and featured a variety of buildings and structures. A collection of residential units, barracks, and other buildings related to support for the facility stood immediately adjacent to the roadway and were within view of marchers. The buildings ranged from one story to six stories in height.

Rural Architecture

As the march to Montgomery progressed, demonstrators passed through long stretches of rural landscape that featured a range of buildings.

In terms of domestic dwellings, images from the march showed the presence of small one-room cabins to large I-houses. The small dwellings consisted of vernacular saddlebag cottages, dogtrots, and one- or two-pen log shacks. The houses reflected the poverty that rural African Americans experienced in the Black Belt. These houses were juxtaposed with the occasional two-story I-house or other more substantial residence. Limited photographs from this area make it difficult to determine the number or predominate styles of these houses. Other buildings seen in photographs include wooden corn cribs, barns, and other outbuildings.



Figure 368. Broad Street contained most of Selma's largest and more ornate buildings. This photograph shows the intersection of Broad Street and Water Avenue in March 1965. Note how the building currently serving as the Selma Interpretive Center is undergoing renovations at this time. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News).

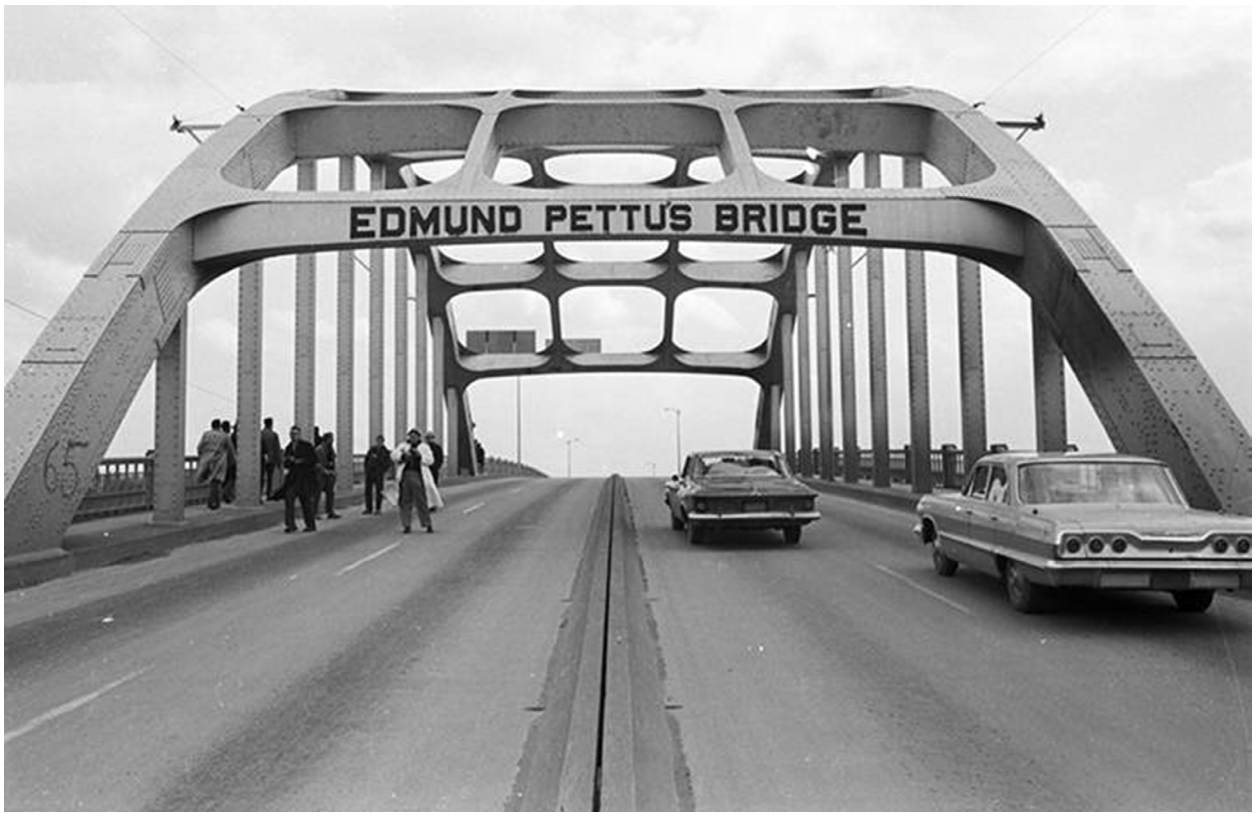

Figure 369. The Edmund Pettus Bridge was a prominent landscape feature in 1965, serving as a threshold in and out of Selma. Its modern design stood in contrast with the more "traditional" architectural styles present in the city. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News.



Figure 370. This aerial image shows from March 1965 shows how the commercial area of Selmont contained various buildings, with most being unadorned and utilitarian. Here restaurants stood alongside tractor dealers and auto shops. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Tom Self or Anthony Falletta, Birmingham News).

Commercial buildings included gas stations, country stores, and various buildings supporting other enterprises. Rosie Steele and her family operated a country store across from the campground location. Research did not reveal any clear images of the building, but it appeared to be a one-story vernacular store with a protruding open shed roof (Figure 371). A large Sinclair gas station was at the intersection with Highway 97 south of the town of Lowndesboro.[434] The building was painted white and featured a protruding roof extension with colonial revival architectural details.

Notable structures from this section of the march route include a large concrete silo located east of the Pintlala Creek Bridge (Figure 372). The silo appears constructed in the monolithic—and potentially "Polk"—style and featured a chute that covers vertically-arranged holes.[435] The date of construction is unknown.

434. See image here: https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/marchers-with-two-signposts-during-the-selma-to-montgomery-news-photo/928313058

435. Universal Portland Cement Company, *Concrete Silos; a Booklet of Practical Information for the Farmer and the Rural Contractor, Prepared by the Information Bureau, Universal Portland Cement Co.*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Universal Portland Cement Co., 1911), 25.

Bridges

The other notable structures in this character area were the bridges along Highway 80. Limited historic photographs and descriptions exist for all the bridges, though some were documented in photographs taken during the march. Additionally, the dates of construction are known for most of the bridges, but not all.

Two bridges constructed in 1940 pass over a small wetland area south of Selmont. Both the east and westbound bridges measured roughly 330 feet long. The SEMO Cultural Resources Inventory refers to this pair of bridges as "relief bridges," though that term can also be applied to the other bridges in the study area.

Two bridges crossed over Soapstone Creek in Dallas County. The eastbound lane's bridge dates to 1957, while the westbound bridge dates to 1933. As such, it is likely that the two bridges differed in construction methods.

At Old Town Creek, a single bridge spanned 275 feet across the waterway. The date of construction of this bridge is unknown. An image of what is



Figure 371. The Steele Service Station—which served as a grocery as well—stood along Highway 80 in Lowndes County. The associated tavern is barely visible behind the Coca Cola business sign in this March 1965 photograph. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News).



Figure 372. A prominent silo was located along the march route to Montgomery, as seen in this still from a March 1965 film documenting the march. This feature is still present in the landscape today. (Source: Democracy Now / King: A Filmed Record, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CBm48Scju9E).

likely the bridge shows that it featured an open concrete rail guardwall consisting of evenly spaced vertical pillars with a top horizontal rail and a bottom footer rail, with a gap between the two rails.[436] Its support system was constructed of vertical concrete pillars.

The Big Swamp area features a series of five bridges and are described in order from west to east. Big Swamp Creek Bridge 1 was constructed in 1946 and measured 586 feet long. Big Swamp Creek Bridge 2 was also constructed in 1946 and measured 202 feet long. Big Swamp Creek Bridge 3, constructed in 1946, resembles the previous two and measured around 200 feet long. Big Swamp Creek Bridge 4 was shorter in length, measuring 170 feet long. It was also built in 1946. Lastly, Big Swamp Creek Bridge 5 is nearly identical to Bridge 4, measuring about 170 feet in length. Photos of this series of bridges show that they featured open concrete guardwalls formed by regularly spaced pillars and a single horizontal top rail, roughly 2 feet in height. The roadbed across the bridges did not contain shoulders. The support system for the bridges likely varied on account of how elevated the roadbed needed to be. Images show that for at least some bridges the support system consisted of angled concrete pillars with metal bar cross braces and what appear to be centrally placed pairs of wooden posts (Figure 324).

The next bridge along the march route after Big Swamp crossed over Tallawassee Creek. It is unknown when this bridge was originally constructed, and research did not reveal documentation of the structure.

At the Lowndes-Montgomery county line, Highway 80 crossed over Pintlala Creek. The eastbound bridge was constructed in 1961. It is unknown when the westbound bridge was originally constructed.

Outskirts of Montgomery

On the outskirts of Montgomery, before the march route reached the City of St. Jude, a variety of buildings and structures lined the roadway.

One of the more visible building clusters was located at the Montgomery municipal airport located near the east end of Highway 80. The complex featured a main airport public terminal, airplane hangars, and various support buildings (Figure 373). The site featured at least twenty separate buildings and structures during the period of significance.

The airport marked the transition to a more industrial and commercial land use. From this point forward to Montgomery, buildings reflected this change. Large warehouses, factory buildings, and other larger commercial buildings lined both Highway 80 and 31 (Figure 374). Small neighborhoods with small single-family homes were nestled between these buildings. These were likely low-income housing given their location within an industrial area.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

City of St. Jude

In 1965, the City of St. Jude contained a dozen buildings on its campus. Most campus buildings were clustered on the south side of the property (Illustration 2.8 and Figure 338). The campus' buildings reflected the Romanesque architectural style, with red brick serving as the primary construction material. Buildings on the campus included a church, hospital, gym, social center, educational institute, rectory, and convent, in addition to other support buildings. These were constructed between 1938 and 1963. The design of St. Jude Church was based on the Church of the Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Rome.

Oak Street

In 1965, Oak St. was predominately residential, with a few commercial and religious buildings (Figure 375 - Figure 376). The houses on the street were mostly small single-family units facing the roadway on uniform rectangular lots. House types include a variety of cottages and shotguns, with varying architectural details such as porches and decorative finishes. The commercial buildings were primarily clustered together, such as the small group at the intersection of Early Street and Oak Street.

West Jeff Davis Avenue

Transitioning from the predominately residential Oak Street, West Jeff Davis Avenue featured a variety of commercial and civic buildings along the short stretch used by marchers. Cities Service Station was located at the southeast corner of

436. The photograph can be viewed here: https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/marchers-on-bridge-with-soldier-during-the-selma-to-news-photo/928292316.



Figure 373. This 1965 aerial shows a portion of the Montgomery airport along Highway 80. The sprawling complex contained various buildings and structures, circulation features, and sparse vegetation. (Source: USDA).



Figure 374. This aerial shows where Highway 31 turns east-west and the road continues north as Mobile Highway in 1965. Note the large commercial/industrial buildings and the tight residential neighborhood intermixed. (Source: USDA).

Oak Street. and W. Jeff Davis Avenue (Figure 351). Another commercial building was located next to the service station. The most prominent building on the street was the Loveless School. Constructed in 1923 and expanded in 1930, the brick-veneer schoolhouse served the local community leading up to and during the period of significance. It was the first educational facility for Montgomery's African American youth. The building featured a classical design with a pedimented entryway.

Holt Street

The portion of Holt Street along the march route spanned a couple blocks and featured a similar mix of commercial, residential, and civic building types. The most prominent building in the area was the Mount Zion A.M.E. Church. The building was originally constructed in 1899 but underwent significant alterations in 1921. The building featured a Classical Revival style, expressed by its Doric columns and central portico. The front of the church building featured a distinctive set of divided stairs that ran parallel with the façade of the church. The church was a fixture of the community and for the civil rights movement in Montgomery.

Grady/Day Streets

Images from the day of the march show participants walking east along Grady Street from Holt Street (Figure 342). Along this short segment of the road, a large manufacturing and/or distribution facility stood among a mixed commercial/residential area. Residential units were mostly small and of the Shotgun type. Other commercial buildings of unknown use also existed in the area. Day Street also featured a mix of commercial and residential buildings, with most buildings filling the entire lot, resulting in a tight building density.

Mobile Street

Like other roadways in this character area, Mobile Street also featured a mixture of commercial and residential land uses. The road progressed up a gradual incline through the Three Points neighborhood. A cluster of commercial buildings of various sizes occupied parcels along Mobile Street between its intersections with Grady Street and Mobile Street and Mildred Street. Residential housing surrounded the commercial area. It featured mostly single-family dwellings. A predominantly residential area occupied the north end of Mobile Street. These dwellings were more substantial in size from those in previous residential sections.

Five Points Hill

Five Points Hill was a prominent intersection on a high point on the west side of downtown Montgomery. In 1965, it featured a cluster of commercial, civic, and residential buildings that included a multi-story apartment complex and fire station. The buildings varied in height, though brick façades were a unifying design characteristic.

Montgomery Street

The buildings along Montgomery Street varied in height, use, and character, but they all reflected a more urban landscape character. The most prominent building along the stretch of roadway was the Jefferson Davis Hotel (Figure 334). The multi-story brick-clad building towered over most of the surrounding buildings. The Whitney Hotel was near the east end of Montgomery Street. It was also a massive building that stood above adjacent buildings. Other buildings along the road ranged from two stories to over six stories tall.

Dexter Avenue.

Dexter Avenue was one of the primary streets within downtown Montgomery (Illustration 2.10). A mixture of buildings lined the road, which included department stores, churches, restaurants, and government facilities. Most of the buildings dated to between the 1850s and the 1930s, with a few that were constructed later. Given the date range, the buildings reflected various architectural styles including Italianate, Neoclassical, Art Deco, and Victorian Gothic (Figure 339 and Figure 377). Other buildings featured modern façades that concealed the original architectural character of the building. Most buildings stood between two and three stories tall, with many containing a ground-floor storefront with office space above.

Of special note is Dexter Avenue Baptist, which played a key role in the civil rights movement in the city. The church was established in 1878 for an African American congregation. The following year, the church purchased a lot at the corner of Dexter Avenue and Decatur Street and soon began construction on a simple wood-frame building. Soon thereafter, work began on a new church building. The new church was constructed of brick and was finished in 1889. The finished church



Figure 375. This cropped image shows marchers progressing along Oak Street on March 25, 1965. Note the small residences lining the roadway, commercial building with Coca Cola sign (mid-ground, right edge of image), unpaved sidewalks, and vegetation. (Source: Loy Williams, https://www.smu.edu/News/NewsSources/Civil-Rights-Pilgrimage/Loy-Williams-Photos-1965).

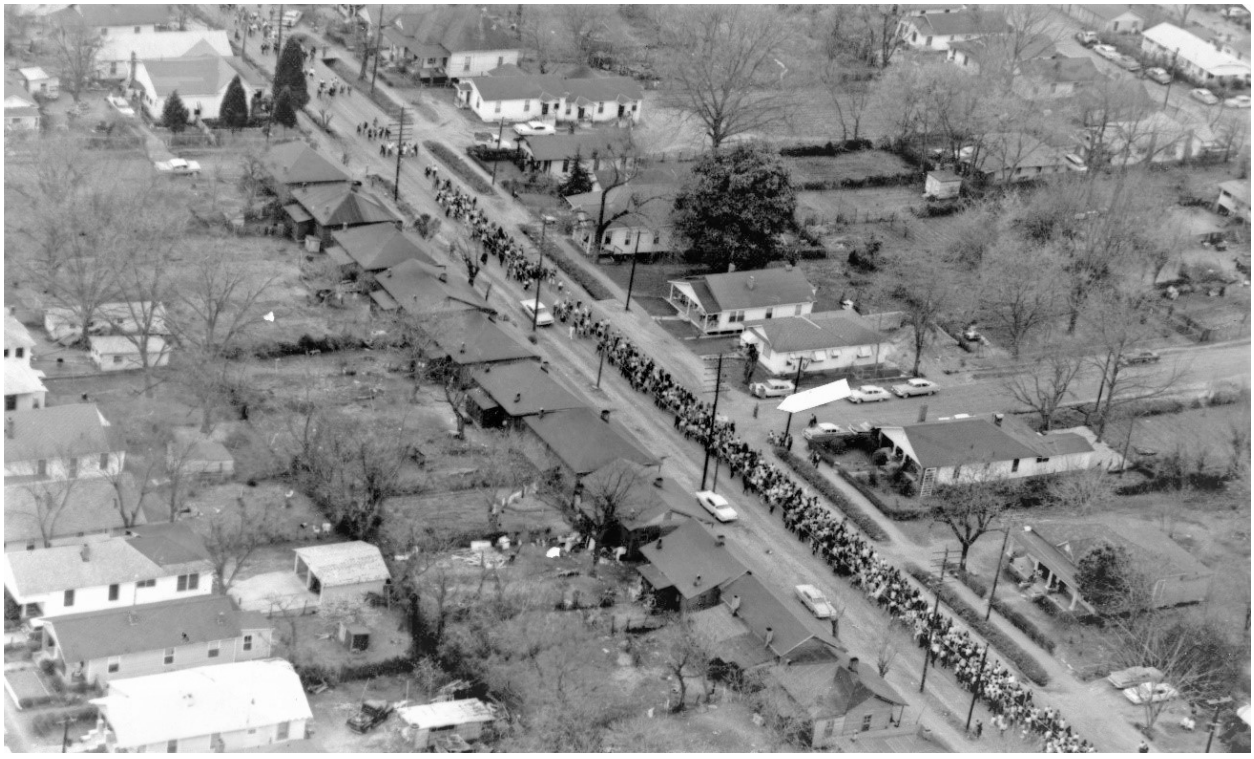

Figure 376. This aerial shows marchers walking north along Oak Street on March 25, 1965. Note the number of houses occupying small lots and all facing the street. Also note the unpaved sidewalks, the presence of trees mostly set back off the roadway, and the prominent utility poles. The arrow, on original photograph, indicates the position of guards. (Source: National Archives).



Figure 377. This March 1965 aerial shows the easternmost portion of Dexter Avenue, which features a variety of civic and municipal buildings such as Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, office buildings for the state government, the State Bar building, and the State Capitol building. (Source: National Archives).

reflected the Gothic Revival style, with Victorian elements. Building features include a central bell tower, prominent set of split stairs, and overall symmetry of design.

State Capitol Building

The Alabama State Capitol Building served as the end point of the march to Montgomery (Figure 378). It was located at a topographical highpoint immediately east of where Dexter Avenue intersected with South Bainbridge Street. The building was constructed between 1850 and 1851 after the first capitol building burned. George Nichols served as the project architect and, using the plans for the original building, designed the three-story Greek Revival building. It featured a portico on its west façade and a prominent dome. By 1911, the building had been expanded to include additional wings, forming a T-shaped building footprint.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

Downtown Marion contained the type of buildings typical of small towns in the South, which included a central courthouse, African American church, and various types of businesses.

Zion United Methodist Church

Zion United Methodist Church was a small church located on a corner lot in downtown Marion. The building was constructed in 1880 and featured a front-gabled roof, small bell tower, and projecting front vestibule entryway. In 1965, the front of the building (west façade) was clad in brick veneer (Figure 379). The sides of the building were painted white. It may have had stucco covered bricks underneath. The building did not feature elaborate architectural detailing, though its windows reflected a Gothic Revival style.



Figure 378. The Alabama State Capitol building as seen on March 25, 1965, with a number of law enforcement officers on the staircase. Note the Confederate battle flag flying on the pole below the state flag. (Source: National Archives).

Perry County Courthouse

The circa 1855 Perry County Courthouse was located in the center of the downtown square of Marion. The two-story brick courthouse reflected the Greek Revival style, with prominent hexastyle porticos supported by Ionic columns on its east and west sides (Figure 380). The central building block features a front gabled roof. The building was enlarged and painted white around 1954; these wing additions featured a side gabled roof. A bell tower rose from the central building's center.

Perry County Jail

The Perry County Jail was constructed in 1911. The two-story brick-sided structure featured a "hipped roof, seven bay façade, central single leaf entrance set in masonry, Colonial Revival door surround, masonry stringcourse."[437] The slatted windows were a distinctive characteristic of the building.

Downtown Marion

The remainder of buildings along the Connecting Trail in downtown Marion reflected a variety of architectural styles ranging from Neoclassical to modern. Other buildings included the Marion Motor Sales Building, which stood between the jail and Zion United Church. The circa 1920 building featured an arched roof which was concealed from view by a brick parapet wall. The

437. Jeff Mansell, "Marion Courthouse Square Historic District National Register Nomination" (National Park Service, 1996).

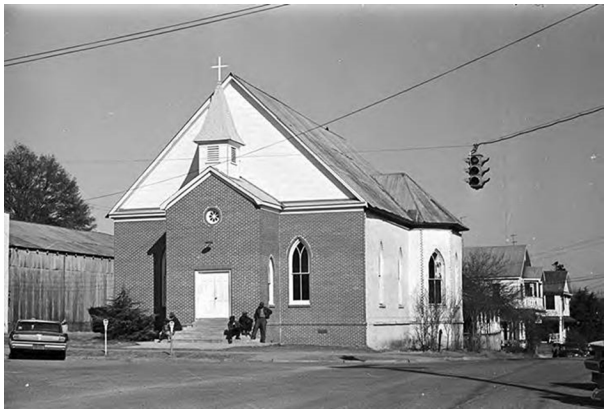

Figure 379. Zion United Methodist Church as seen the day after Jimmie Lee Jackson was killed by a state trooper in February 1965. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History).



Figure 380. The Perry County Courthouse, here with its east façade shown, was an imposing sight in the middle of square in Marion, as seen in this February 1965 photo. Its prominence and classical architecture denoted its municipal function. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History).

Marion Post Office was next to the Marion Motor Sales building. Constructed in 1935, the building reflected the WPA Colonial Revival style and featured a "brick veneer exterior, flat roof, five bay façade, central double leaf entrance set in elaborate Colonial Revival door surround, [and] decorative masonry stringcourse."[438] Other downtown buildings present during the period of significance included those that formed a continuous bloc on the south side of Jefferson Street and those on either side of Washington Street. Some of these date to the 1860s and 1870s. The buildings ranged from one to two stories, with most featuring a first-floor storefront. These buildings were "plain in appearance with flat roofs hidden behind low brick parapets; they feature minimal decorative detailing such as dentil work along the cornice."[439]

438. Mansell, "Marion Courthouse Square Historic District National Register Nomination."
439. Mansell, "Marion Courthouse Square Historic District National Register Nomination."

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
A detailed description the buildings and structures of this character area present in 1965 cannot be provided because of a lack of historic photographs. Aerial images and back dating allow for the identification of some buildings from the period of significance.

A variety of residential, commercial, and religious buildings were located immediately south of downtown Marion. Churches include the brick-clad Marion Presbyterian Church and Siloam Baptist Church. Other identifiable buildings and structures in the area include a water works facility, which contained both buildings and associated water towers. Intermixed with these civic buildings were a number of residences. The route also passed by the Marion Military Institute (Figure 327). While none of the campus's buildings were located along the roadway, the lack of vegetation allowed views into the campus. The large brick buildings on campus reflected a Colonial Revival style. Several presumed manufacturing and/or distribution centers were also located in the area.

With the transition to a more rural and agricultural landscape, the density of buildings declined. Most buildings and structures for the remainder of the route related to residential or agricultural use. Some of the residences were substantial, especially in comparison to the smaller homes in the neighborhoods surrounding Marion. Some of these may have been formerly associated with antebellum plantations. Some of the solitary small building located on agricultural properties seen in aerial photographs may be tenant farmer or caretaker properties. Some of the residential farm properties featured additional outbuildings in various cluster configurations.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
Due to a lack of photographs of this character area a detailed description of its buildings and structures present in 1965 cannot be provided. Aerial images and back dating allow the identification of some buildings from the period of significance.

The west end of this character area was rural in character and contained low building density. With the transition from the more upland to lowland conditions, buildings were mostly absent in this section of the route. However, a series of seven bridges existed in this area. Research did not reveal information regarding the original construction of these bridges nor did it reveal images of them aside from aerial photographs.

As the Highway 80 approach Selma from the west, residential and scattered commercial properties lined both sides of the highway. The increasing density reflected the subdivision of the land as the local economy shifted away from agriculture. The route then approached the northern edge of Selma, where neighborhood development resulted in a high building density.

Three religious buildings located in the eastern end of the character area deserve special recognition due to the role they played in the Selma Campaign.

Tabernacle Baptist Church
The two-story Tabernacle Baptist Church, located at the corner of Broad Street and Minter Avenue, near the downtown core of Selma, featured a prominent pedimented portico on its east and west façades and stained-glass windows on all sides of the building. The corners of the building featured tower blocks set off from the core of the building. A prominent dome rose above a cross-gabled roof. In 1965, the entrance for Black congregants was through the side entrance on Minter Avenue. During the segregation era, African American congregates were not allowed to walk down Broad Street. The church played a significant role in the Selma Campaign, serving as the site of the first mass meeting of the movement and the Boynton's home church.

St. Edmund's Memorial Chapel
St. Edmund's Memorial Chapel sat on the parcel directly south of Tabernacle Baptist Church. The small brick-veneered church reflected a Gothic Revival style in its architectural detailing, including its arched entryway and pointed arched window on center with the entry door. Two auxiliary buildings were located south of the chapel building and connected through enclosed vestibules. The mostly white congregation was one of the first to support the civil rights movement and lent support to the cause.

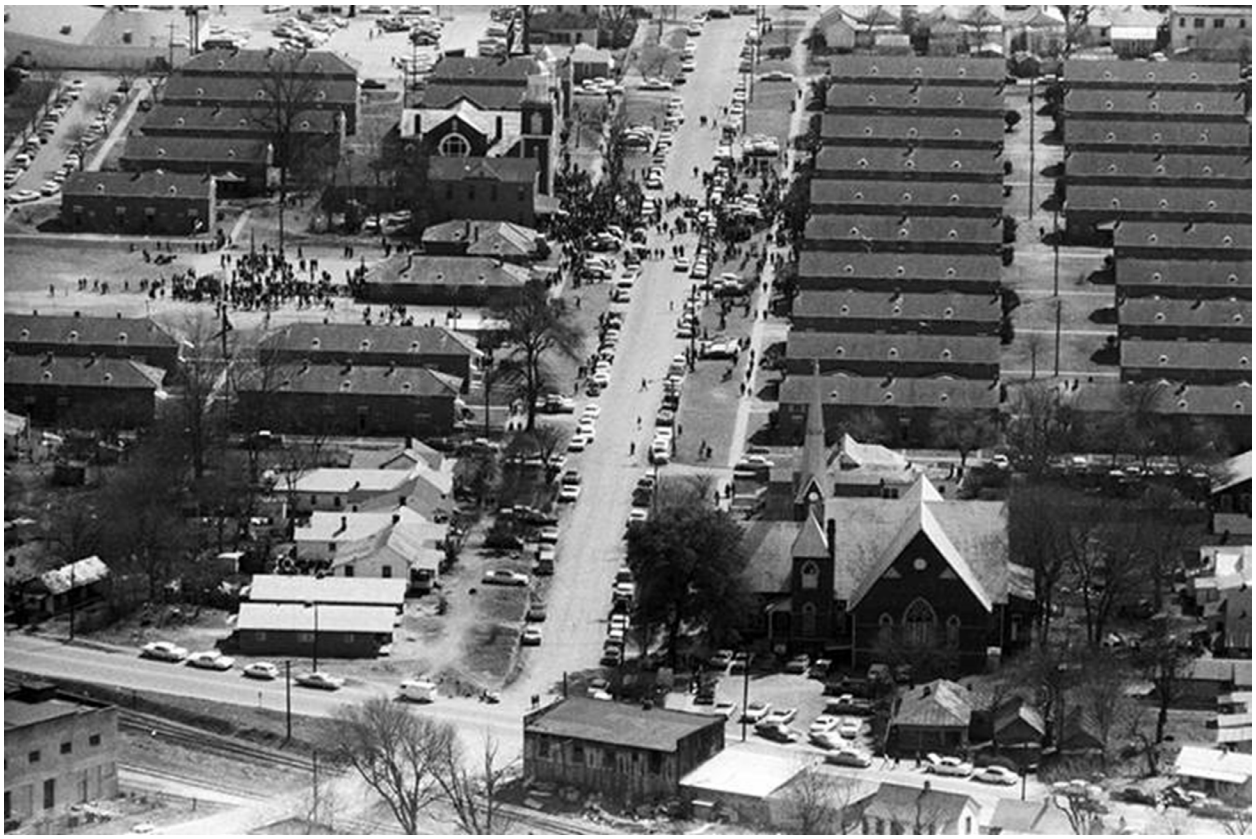

Figure 381. This March 1965 aerial photograph shows the north end of Sylvan Street, from First Baptist Church (foreground, right) to Brown Chapel (background, left). Note the proximity of the two churches and their spatial relation to the surrounding neighborhood. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Haywood Paravicini, Birmingham News).

First Baptist Church

First Baptist Church was a significant place of worship located at the north end of Sylvan Street (Figure 381). The large red brick building was constructed in 1894 and reflected the Gothic Revival style, with pointed arched windows, a cross-gabled roof system, and two towers that served as entryways into the building. Like Tabernacle Baptist Church, First Baptist served a primary role in the development of the Selma Campaign, sponsoring mass meetings and training workshops for the two years leading up to the Selma to Montgomery March.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

No buildings and structures are known to have existed in this character area during the period of significance.

Post-historic and Existing Condition

For contemporary photos of most of the features to follow, see the Existing Conditions chapter.

Selma March Route Character Area

In general, the Selma March Route Character Area's remaining buildings and structures continue to represent the long continuum of Selma's development. That said, while some of the buildings and structures associated with the civil rights movement are still extant in the landscape, many other buildings that contributed to the built environment of Selma are not.

George Washington Carver Homes

The George Washington Carver Homes complex is still intact and in place. Only minor changes to the overall complex have occurred since 1965. Changes include the expansion of auxiliary buildings north of Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. All forty-eight buildings remain in their original configuration and reflect conditions from the period of significance.

Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church

Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church is still within the George Washington Carver Homes development. The important civil rights landmark has not undergone any significant alterations to its exterior or building footprint.

Martin Luther King, Jr. Street to Alabama Avenue Intersection

The stretch of Martin Luther King, Jr. Street south of the Carver Homes has undergone substantial alterations since 1965. At least ten commercial and residential buildings along the street from the housing complex to Alabama Street are gone. Some lots now feature post-historic buildings, while other lots sit vacant.

Martin Luther King, Jr. Street from Alabama Avenue to Water Avenue Intersection

While the previous block along Martin Luther King, Jr. Street is no longer reflective of historic conditions, the block from Alabama Avenue to Water Avenue is reflective of its appearance in the historic period. The majority of the buildings present along both sides of the block were extant in 1965. The most visible change is at the corner of Water Avenue and Martin Luther King, Jr. Street, where a new, larger commercial building has replaced the commercial building present at the time of the march.

Alabama Street from Martin Luther King, Jr. Street to Broad Street

Some of most obvious changes in the march route between 1965 and 2020 are along Alabama Street (Figure 382). An entire block of buildings on the north side of the road is gone. A large Post Office facility was constructed on the block. This change also demolished several hundred feet of city street. Additional changes have occurred on the south side of the street, where buildings in several location have been removed and replaced with parking lots. However, some buildings from the period of significance remain. Historically significant buildings include the Cecil B. Jackson Safety Building (Old City Hall and Jail) and the Sullivan Building. Both reflect their 1965 conditions even if their surrounding context is altered.

Water Avenue to Broad Street

The five-block stretch of Water Avenue between Martin Luther King, Jr. Street and Broad Street features a variety of commercial buildings that span decades of historical development. While several buildings within the corridor have been demolished, many of the buildings present in 1965 are still extant. Changes that have occurred to buildings have not overly impacted the setting along Water Avenue. The overall character is similar; the building heights and setbacks reflect historic period conditions. Notable buildings on the street include the St. James Hotel building at the corner of Washington Street and Water Avenue and the Selma Interpretive Center building at the corner of Water Avenue and Broad Streets.

Edmund Pettus Bridge

The Edmund Pettus Bridge, a NHL, remains in place and reflects its condition during the period of significance. It is one of the most iconic structures of the civil rights movement in the United States. It continues to serve as the backdrop for various events including the annual Jubilee Bridge Crossing and political rallies. It is in good condition and has experienced only minimal change through routine maintenance.

Highway 80 Character Area

The Highway 80 Character Area contains a wide variety of buildings and structures, including residences, warehouses, and airplane hangars. Because of the widening of the highway after 1965, the character area is largely devoid of historic buildings and structures within the immediate corridor. There are clusters of buildings along this stretch of highway, some of which may have existed in some form since the period of significance.

Selmont

The small commercial area of Selmont was the site of Bloody Sunday and Turnaround Tuesday. Currently, over thirty buildings line Highway 80 in this location. Several of the buildings existed in 1965. These building all house or support commercial businesses. The types of businesses range from an auto repair shop to a convenience store and a museum dedicated to the civil rights movement. There are murals depicting the area's civil rights history on the walls of several buildings. Other buildings are vacant and are in a state of neglect. While some of the buildings and structures present in the historic period have either been removed or altered, the overall building character of the area is reflective of 1965 conditions (Figure 329, Figure 370, Figure 383, Figure 384).

South of the commercial hub, the highway corridor features a mixture of residential and commercial buildings. Some residences are part of neighborhoods that were constructed after 1965. Some of the commercial or industrial properties present in 1965 are no longer extant, either having been replaced or removed.



Figure 382. This comparison between 1965 and 2020 aerial images shows how Alabama Avenue has undergone a number of changes to its buildings and structures, including the demolition of a number of residential buildings and the construction of post-historic buildings in various location. However, a few buildings along the road important to the civil rights history of the city are still intact. (Source: USDA / ESRI).

Craig Airfield

About 3.5 miles south of the Edmund Pettus Bridge, Highway 80 passes by the Craig Airfield complex, which was formerly an Air Force training base. Many of the complex's buildings are visible from the roadway, including several dormitory and residential apartment units and a guard booth located at its entrance. The complex has undergone a significant amount of change, primarily through the removal of many of its buildings (Figure 385). However, clusters of residential units are still extant, as are some of the multi-story units present in 1965.

Bridges

While many of the buildings that fronted the march route are gone, several of the bridges present during the march still exist. There are new bridges that were completed after the historic period, most dating from the widening of the highway.

- Relief Bridges: The two 1940 relief bridges along Highway 80 in the eastern portion of Dallas County are still extant and reflect historic period conditions.
- Soapstone Creek Bridges: The eastbound bridge constructed in 1957 is still in place. The Alabama Department of Transportation constructed a concrete guardwall in front of the older guardrails for vehicular safety. The westbound bridge was constructed at some point between 2006 and 2011, replacing one that was built in 1933. It has solid concrete guardwalls, like those that front the old rails on the eastbound bridge.
- Old Town Creek Bridge East and West: In 1973, shortly after the period of significance, the east bound bridge at Old Town Creek was replaced with a newer bridge. The westbound bridge is newer, having been constructed in the mid-2000s.
- Big Swamp Creek Bridge 1 East and West: Big Swamp Creek Bridge 1 East, remains in place from the period of significance. It appears that some improvements have been made to the support system over time, but it is unclear when those changes occurred. The westbound bridge was constructed during the highway widening



Figure 383. The National Voting Rights Museum and Institute is one of the post-historic buildings in Selmont. The building's simple and unadorned design is in keeping with the character of the area. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 384. South of the Voting Rights Museum is a stretch of buildings, most of which were present in 1965. Research did not reveal many clear images of the buildings from the historic period but aside from façade alterations, these buildings appear to reflect 1965 conditions. Several are currently vacant. (Source: WLA Studio).

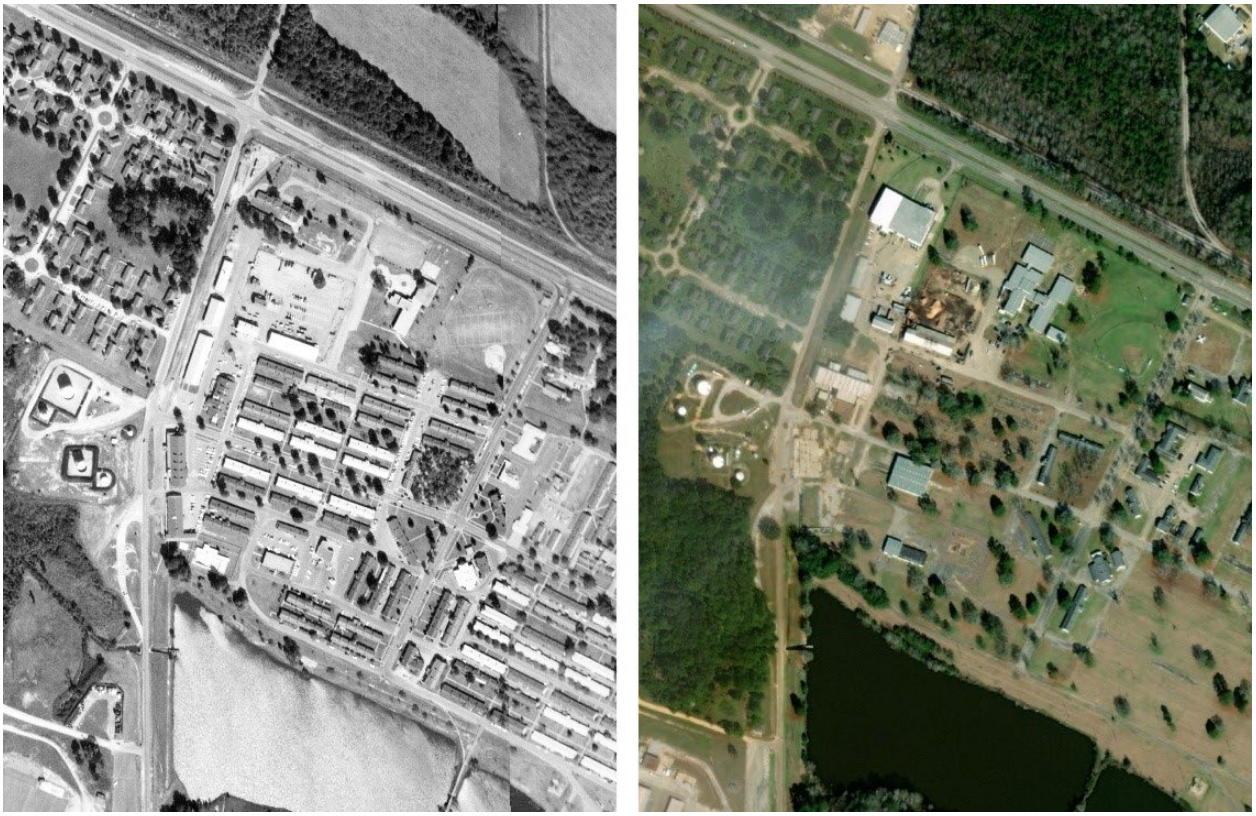

Figure 385. Aerial image comparing 1965 and existing conditions of a portion of the Craig Field site. While many buildings have been removed since the historic period, within the immediate Highway 80 corridor, buildings are in keeping with historic conditions. (Source: USDA / ESRI).

project in 1976. The westbound bridge features a series of sets of substantial concrete pillars for bracing. Each support set has six pillars. The eastbound bridge's supports include concrete and (green) metal pillars.

- Big Swamp Creek Bridge 2 East and West: Big Swamp Creek Bridge 2, east and west are shorter than Bridge 1, but otherwise share a similar developmental history. The eastbound bridge was constructed in 1946, measures 202 feet long, and does not have lane shoulders. It features the open concrete guardwalls as other mid-century bridges in the project area. The westbound lane was built in 1976, measures 255 feet long, and features solid concrete guardwalls. The bridge supports for the east and westbound bridges are the same as those at Bridge 1.
- Big Swamp Creek Bridge 3 East and West: The third set of bridges resembles the previous two described above. The eastbound bridge measures around 200 feet long and also features the open concrete guardwalls. Its support system is also of metal-and-concrete design. The westbound measures 326 feet long, has solid concrete guard walls, and the same concrete pillar support system as the Big Swamp's other westbound bridges.
- Big Swamp Creek Bridge 4 East and West: Bridge 4, east and west are shorter in length as this stretch of Highway 80 begins to leave Big Swamp. The eastbound bridge is 170 feet long and the westbound is 221 feet long. Otherwise, they mirror the other bridges in terms of guardwall and support system as the others in Big Swamp.
- Big Swamp Creek Bridge 5 East and West: Big Swamp Creek Bridge 5, east and west are 170 and 257 feet in length, respectively. They share the same developmental history and design as the other bridges in Big Swamp.
- Tallawassee Creek Bridge: Both of the bridges present today at Tallawassee Bridge postdate 1965. The eastbound bridge was built in 1976 and mirrors the design and materials of the other 1976 bridges on the highways. The westbound lanes bridge was constructed in 2015. It features a different

type of concrete guardwall that is blockier and features drain hole punchouts at the base in a regular pattern.

- Pintlala Creek Bridge: An additional set of bridges is located at the Lowndes-Montgomery county line as it crosses over Pintlala Creek. The eastbound bridge was constructed in 1961, but structurally resembles those from 1976. However, a modern concrete face has been added to the older concrete guardrails. The westbound bridge was constructed around 2017 and features typical concrete guardwalls. Both bridges measure roughly 600 feet in length.
- Catoma Creek Bridge North and South: As Highway 31 progresses through Montgomery, a pair of bridges crosses over Catoma Creek. Like other sets of bridges in this character area, the two bridges differ in age. The northbound bridge dates from 1955 and has concrete facing over the old concrete guard posts. It measures 780 feet long. The southbound bridge was constructed in 1986 and is around 790 feet long.

Silo

A concrete silo that was present in 1965 and that appears in both aerial images as well as video from the march to Montgomery stands in a small area of mown turf east of the Pintlala Creek Bridge on private property. The silo appears to have been constructed in the monolithic—and potentially "Polk"—style and features a chute that covers vertically-arranged holes.[440] The date of construction is unknown.

Utilities

Above ground utility lines are the most visible utility within this character area. Above ground utility lines run along the south side of the highway through Selmont. Lights within the median are mounted on streetlight poles. These lines and poles were installed after the end of the period of significance.

Two cell towers stand on the north and south sides of the highway along the topographical highpoint west of Lowndesboro. The tower on the south side of the road is closer to the roadway, and thus it is more visually conspicuous than the one located on the north side. An additional cell tower is located on the north side of the highway across from the Montgomery Airport. These were not present in 1965.

Near mile mark 118, a large transmission tower directs utilities lines across the highway. A series of these towers extend north and south through a clearing. This is also a post-historic addition to the landscape.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

The march route through the City of Montgomery includes a mixture of residential, commercial, and civic buildings and structures. Often, these buildings and structures are clustered together in neighborhoods and commercial districts. Additionally, some individual buildings along the route possess historic significance for their association with the civil rights movement.

City of St. Jude

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 (Figure 386). The most obvious alteration was the construction of a building in the northern portion of the site within the open field used by campers during the march. The post-historic building however does not overly distract from the historic character of the buildings on the campus.

Oak Street

The buildings along Oak Street have undergone substantial changes. Many buildings present in 1965 are no long standing. On every block on each side of the roadway, at least one building present in 1965 is no longer extant. Some blocks, such as that at the corner of Oak Street and W. Jeff Davis Avenue, no longer feature any buildings from the period of significance. The northern portion of Oak Street is missing a significant number of buildings (Figure 345). Still, the road remains lined by dozens of single-family residences, several duplexes, a few small apartment complexes, various commercial buildings, and a church. What remains along the road, including the arrangement, house type, and setback, reflects the period of significance.

440. Universal Portland Cement Company, *Concrete Silos; a Booklet of Practical Information for the Farmer and the Rural Contractor, Prepared by the Information Bureau, Universal Portland Cement Co.*, 25.

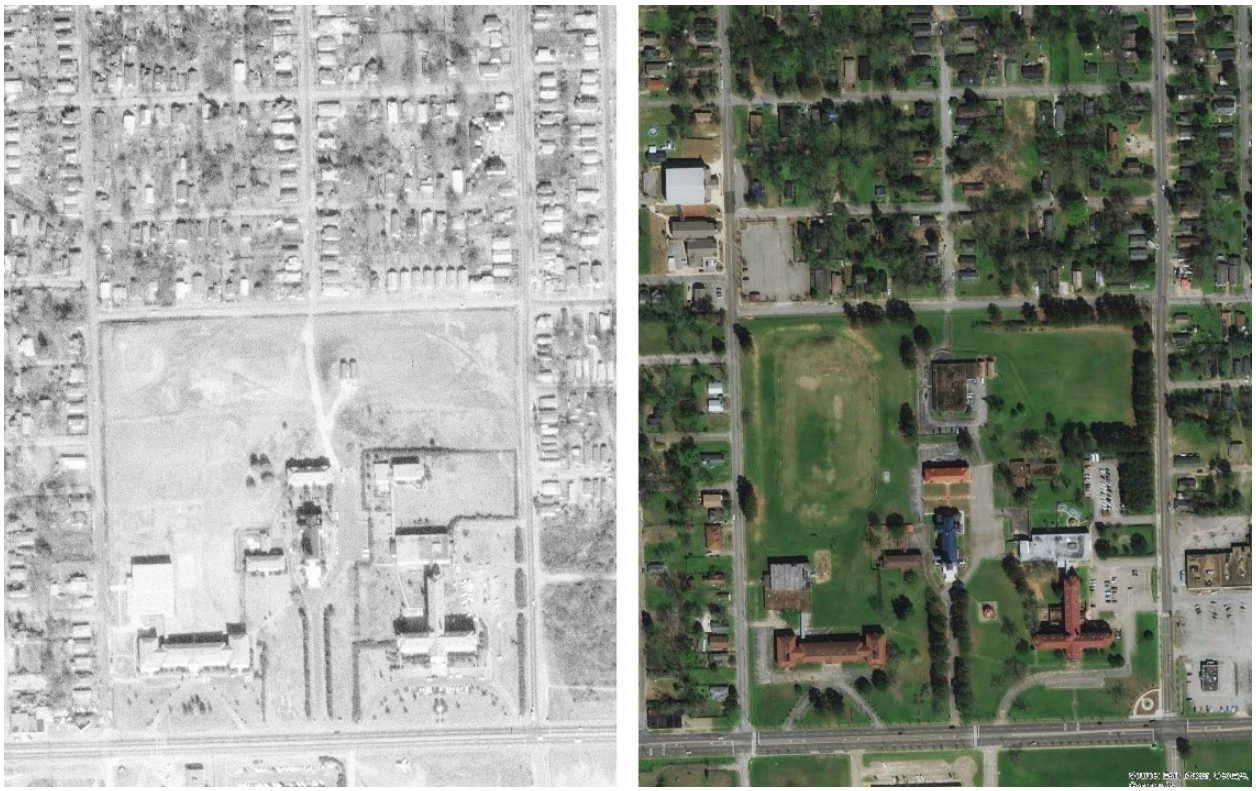

Figure 386. Aerial image comparing 1965 and existing conditions of the City of St. Jude Campus in Montgomery. Note the consistency in buildings and other key landscape features between the two periods. The most impactful deviation from historic conditions was the addition of a large building in the north central portion of the site. (Source: USDA / ESRI).

West Jeff Davis Avenue

Like Oak Street, W. Jeff Davis Avenue has also undergone substantial changes to its buildings and structures since 1965. Many of the buildings that marchers walked past are no longer extant, including the Cities Service Station, adjacent automotive shop, and the collection of other buildings along the roadway. The Loveless School remains in place, however, though a modern addition was constructed after the period of significance to the east of the building.

Beyond this point, no building from 1965 exist any longer due to the construction of the interstate which resulted in the demolition of dozens of residences in area.

Holt Street

Holt Street is also missing several buildings from the historic period. No buildings from the historic period remain from the intersection with W. Jeff Davis Avenue to the Mount Zion A.M.E. Church. Only five buildings present in 1965 remain on the northern section of Holt Road. These are all commercial buildings with the exception of the church. Mount Zion A.M.E Church is still in place, even though it is not actively used for services (Figure 387).

Grady/Day Streets

Almost all of the buildings present in 1965 in this area of the march are missing from the landscape today, including the large manufacturing/ distribution facility. Surviving buildings include a one-story brick warehouse and a corner store located at the Grady Street and Mobile Street intersection. A few of the old residences are still present on Day Street.

Mobile Street

Mobile Street is largely devoid of the over thirty buildings that lined the roadway in 1965. Now only a few former commercial buildings and several residences remain. The surviving buildings include a distinctive mid-century automotive shop at the corner of Mobile Street and Mildred Street and several residences near Five Points Hill. The metal open-air shed structure at the opposite corner is a post-historic addition to the streetscape (Figure 388).



Figure 387. Mount Zion A.M.E. Church now sits vacant behind a chain link fence. The church building served as a hub for Montgomery's civil rights activities. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 388. Mobile Street has lost many of its buildings since the period of significance, and empty lots line much of the roadway near Five Points Hill. (Source: WLA Studio).

Five Points Hill

Five Points Hill features a collection of commercial buildings surrounding the prominent vehicular intersection. All buildings are vacant, but there have been recent improvements to their façades as part of a neighborhood revitalization effort. Notable buildings include the former fire station, which sits at the point formed by Clayton and Mobile Streets, a row of brick commercial storefronts, and the eight-story brick building at the corner of Montgomery and Goldthwaite Streets, which was once an apartment complex.

Some of the buildings present in 1965 are missing today. Missing building include a large building occupying the corner directly south of the apartment building and a collection of residences at the corner of Clayton Street and Goldthwaite Street (Figure 361).

Montgomery Street

Like other areas of this character area, Montgomery Street has experienced many changes to its buildings and structures. Some buildings present in the period of significance were removed and not replaced, while others were replaced with new buildings. At least twenty buildings along the roadway are no longer present.

Prominent post-historic buildings include the Rosa Parks Library and Museum and the office building at the corner of Montgomery and Commerce Streets. Buildings that remain from the historic period include the King William Apartment building, the Bell Building, the Davis Theatre, and the mid-century modern commercial building at the corner of Wilkinson Street and Montgomery Street.

Dexter Avenue

A number of alterations of Dexter Avenue's buildings and structures have occurred since 1965. Alterations include demolition, replacement, and changes to façades. Over twenty buildings that existed in the historic period are no longer extant. In some areas, entire blocks of buildings were removed for the construction of new buildings.

Despite these alterations to the historic character, some blocks of Dexter Avenue reflect historic conditions, especially the north and south sides of Dexter Avenue at Court Square. Fortunately, two of the most historically significant buildings along the road remain. Both the Alabama State Capitol Building and Dexter Avenue Baptist Church are still intact in their historic location, and both reflect their historic condition.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

Since 1965, this character area has lost some of the buildings present in 1965. Several of the buildings along Pickens Street are no longer present, creating gaps between remaining buildings. Though not part of the study area, it is worth noting that

Mack's Café, where Jimmie Lee Jackson was shot, is no longer standing. Other buildings were removed and replaced with post-historic buildings, such as the addition of Marion City Hall located at the corner of Pickens Street and Jefferson Street.

That said, this character area still features some of the same buildings present during the period of significance, including those that relate directly to the civil rights movement in Marion. These include the Old Perry County Jail and the Zion United Methodist Church. The old jail building is no longer used to incarcerate people, but it still stands in its original location on the north side of downtown Marion. No major alterations to the buildings historic character are evident. Zion United Methodist Church remains in place and mostly reflects its 1965 character, with the only deviation being the removal of the white stucco from the sides of the building to reveal the brick underneath.

Other buildings in downtown Marion that remain from the period of significance include most of the commercial buildings along Jefferson Street, as well as the 1930s post office building and former Marion Motors building on Pickens Street. The Perry County Courthouse also remains intact and reflective of historic conditions.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
The Old Highway 45 section of the Connecting Trail continues to feature a variety of buildings and structures within the corridor. In general, the overall distribution, density, and building types reflect historic period conditions. The lack of ground-level documentation of the roadway prevents a thorough analysis, but based on a comparison of aerial images, the general character of the corridor's buildings and structures is similar to 1965 appearances. The churches that stood just south of downtown are still present, as are a number of the residences that mixed in between and behind commercial properties.

As the route moves into a more rural landscape, many of residences present in 1965 are still extant today. Several of these date to the antebellum era or soon afterward. It also appears that some the outbuildings and smaller, possibly tenant houses that were present during the period of significance are still extant in the landscape today.

Deviations from historic period conditions are evident in several locations, including the area north and south of the intersection with Fikes Ferry Road. The country store at the intersection with Highway 80 at the south end of the character area is also a post-historic addition to the landscape.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
The general building density and types of buildings in this section is reflective of historic period conditions. The western half of the section contains an assortment of buildings and structures characteristic of its rural setting. The eastern section features commercial and residential density. However, due to the expansion of the highway after the period of significance, most of the buildings and structures that lined the south side of the highway are no longer present. Some of the residential and commercial buildings on the north side of the roadway remain. Unfortunately, a lack of documentation prevents a thorough comparison of 1965 conditions to existing conditions.

The expansion of the highway also resulted in the addition of new buildings and structures, including a succession of bridges added to the seven that already passed through the floodplain in the western portion of the character area. A contemporary ALDOT complex was also added to this area.

As the route approaches Selma from the west, building density increases, and the density today is greater than in 1965. New residential subdivisions occupy former pasture lands throughout this section. A collection of new, post-1965 manufacturing and industrial facilities are also present. Businesses in this area include hotels, retail shops, medical offices, fast food restaurants, hardware supply, and convenience stores. Building types include metal warehouses, brick ranches, drive-up motels, and those typical for their use such as gas stations. Most buildings are one or two stories in height, with four-story hotel buildings. National business chains such as Pizza Hut, Taco Bell, Rite Aid, and Tractor Supply Company occupy their respective standardized building types. The ages of the buildings vary, but most appear to have been constructed after the 1970s, with development patterns typical of suburban strip development.

As the Connecting Trail continues into Selma, residential properties outnumber commercial properties, just as in 1965. Some of the most notable buildings related to the civil rights movement within this section are still extant, including Tabernacle Baptist Church, St. Edmund's Chapel, and First Baptist Church.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
After the period of significance, tents continued to occupy the site for a nearly a year. Soon thereafter, Lowndes County Co-Op took ownership of the site, adding a large metal building on the south side of the site along Highway 80. 1990s aerials show what appears to be a residential mobile home set in the northern edge of the property (Figure 364). On the eastern edge of the site, another metal building faced White Hall Road in the general location of the entry drive into Tent City from the late historic period.

All these buildings were removed during the construction of the Lowndes Interpretive Center site. Now the site features a collection of post-historic buildings and structures including the Interpretive Center Building, the Maintenance Building, a pavilion, several picnic shelters, utility screening structure, and various utilities. See the *Existing Conditions* chapter for a description of these resources.

Small-Scale Features

Historic Condition

Overall
Given the incomplete historic documentation of the study area, this report cannot provide a comprehensive survey of historic period small-scale features. Some areas, such as downtown Selma, were subject to far more photography than were rural portions of Highway 80. As such, this analysis will provide more information on the character areas that have more available documentation. Overall, the small-scale features in the project area reflected land uses of the historic period, with most of them typical for their context—urban, rural, residential, etc.

Selma March Route Character Area
During the period of significance, Selma contained many of the small-scale features typical of urban landscapes. Photos from the era show landscape features expected in urban streetscape, including road curbs, traffic lights, parking meters, street lighting, and a variety of types of signs. Some of the more distinctive features include the streetlight standards lining Broad Street, which had a stylized base and globe glass luminaire (Figure 368). Street lighting was also located on the Edmund Pettus Bridge. This light featured a modern design and aluminum materials. Other distinctive features include the traffic lights in the area that, while typical of the era, reflect those common to the historic period (Figure 368). Other small-scale features surely existed in the character area but due to a lack of documentation, are not included here.

Highway 80 Character Area
Highway 80 Character Area featured a diversity of small-scale features. In the Selmont area, small-scale features related to both traffic safety/control/wayfinding features and those related to commercial establishments. Some of the most conspicuous small-scale features in this area were the elevated billboards and large commercial signs that rose above the adjacent buildings' roof lines. Signs include ones for the Buick dealership, Selma National Bank, Gulf, Pontiac, Selma Market, and a beverage company (Figure 389 and Figure 390). These signs lined the north (westbound) lanes of Highway 80. The other side of the highway contain less signage, with advertising more commonly placed on the façades of the buildings.

Other small-scale features in this area included white bollards positioned in the middle of the central grassy medians separating east and west bound lanes. Each section of median contained roughly twenty bollards connected with a metal chain. These stopped outside of Selmont. Typical traffic features were also present in the corridor, including speed limit signs, no parking signs, and streetlights. A large, elevated post and beam structure straddled the westbound lanes of the highway, and displayed directional signs related to wayfinding into Selma.

There is little location-specific documentation for much of the corridor east of Selmont. Some of the small-scale features present in 1965 can be identified from aerial images, by back-dating of features, from informed assumptions, and from the few photographs taken in the rural stretch of Highway 80.



Figure 389. This birds eye aerial from 1965 shows how Selmont contained a number of small-scale features, mostly arranged informally throughout the landscape. Features included a row of bollards running along the central median of Highway 80, elevated billboards (at left), elevated business signs, and utility poles. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Tom Self or Anthony Falletta, Birmingham News).

Some of the typical features present along the highway were traffic and wayfinding signage. Such signs included speed limit signs, roadway identification signs, hazard signage, stop signs for intersecting roadways, and other related signs. A billboard stood along the westbound lanes of the highway in the rural section of Dallas County. The billboard featured a photo of Martin Luther King Jr. at the Highlander Folk School with the text "Martin Luther King at Communist Training School."

Another common feature were the fences that demarcated properties along the route. Images from the march show that these fences were almost all post-and-rail in the agricultural areas of the route. Most posts were not standard dimensional lumber, rather they were irregularly shaped and varied in height. It can be assumed that the wire was likely barbed since cattle occupied many of the pastures in the area. Mailboxes and other residential small-scale features were present throughout the area, but no photographic record of these features was revealed during research. Commercial properties, including Rosie Steele's and the gas station at the Lowndesboro intersection, included signage.

In the community of Tyler, marchers passed by an engraved stone monument noting the history of American Indian and Spanish activity in the area. The monument was erected by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in 1936.

As the route moved to the area south and west of Montgomery, it passed through a more developed landscape with various small-scale features typical of commercial areas. Limited photographs of this section however prevent detailed description of these features. It can be assumed that the most common small-scale feature at the end of Highway 80 and the north-south section of Highway 31 were signs, both commercial and traffic related, along with mailboxes, fire hydrants, small garden beds, and other such features.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

Photographs from inside the City of St. Jude campus show limited small-scale features in the area used by marchers for the concert and camping. Though temporary, a makeshift stage formed from donated coffins was located in this area. A chain-link fence, approximately 6 feet tall, surrounding the site (Figure 391).



Figure 390. The scene in Selmont after the attack by police on peaceful protestors on Bloody Sunday, March 7, 1965. Note the temporary small-scale features littering the ground, the prominent welcome sign in the background, and the street lights at the Edmund Pettus Bridge. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Spider Martin, Birmingham News).

Small-scale features along the residential streets of the character area were typical of period neighborhoods. They included chain-link fences, trash cans, public phone booths, and traffic signage. Along the more commercial sections of the route, such as portions of Grady Street, Jeff Davis Avenue, and Mobile Street, small-scale features included elevated light poles, limited detached advertising signs, and traffic control features such as traffic lights.

From Five Points Hill to the State Capitol, the corridor featured small-scale features typical of an urban commercial area. Traffic lights, directional signage, parking meters, mail deposit boxes, and street lighting were all present. All these features were of the common design and construction for this period. The street lighting was the cobra-head type seen throughout the project area. Along Dexter Avenue, they were affixed to thick green poles with top-end caps. Street names appeared on stone monuments located at the corners of the streets. In the area immediately surrounding the State Capitol, police cordoned off streets using wooden barricades—a temporary landscape feature.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

Downtown Marion featured the same types of small-scale features as the other urban landscapes in the project area. Photographs show the presence of typical small-scale features, including traffic lights, street lighting, parking meters, as well as a flagpole outside the post office building. As opposed to the cobra-head type of street lighting in Selma and Montgomery, the streetlights lining the roadways in Marion were globe style with a top canopy. A prominent small-scale feature in the character area was the chain-link fence that surrounded the county jail property. The fence stood roughly 12 feet tall with barbed wire running along the top.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

Limited images of Highway 45 prevent the description of historic period small-scale features in this character area. Some assumptions can be made, however, based on the varying land uses present in 1965. In the area to the south of Marion, streetlights, commercial and traffic signage, mailboxes, and various types of fencing were likely



Figure 391. A chain link fence enclosed the St. Jude campus, as seen in this March 1965 image. (Source: Loy Williams, https://www.smu.edu/News/NewsSources/Civil-Rights-Pilgrimage/Loy-Williams-Photos-1965).

present. In the more rural section of the route, post-and-rail fencing would be common at farms with livestock. It is doubtful that street lighting was present in this rural stretch of the corridor.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

Like the previous character area, limited documentation of 1965 conditions exist. As such, conjecture will also be used for this area. In the western rural portion of the character area, typical small-scale features would have included post-and-rail fencing and traffic-related signage. Mailboxes may have been located within highway right-of-way at residential properties. Billboards, commercial signs, and elevated lighting would have been present in the commercial and industrial area west of Selma. Within the residential area of Selma, small-scale features would have included mailboxes, street lighting, residential fences, garden beds, and other typical features.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area

There are no known photos of the Lowndes Interpretive Center site in 1965. The images used for analysis in the report date to 1966 (Figure 340, Figure 392, Figure 393). Tents probably occupied the eastern portion of the site by the end of 1965. According to SNCC records, the organization had purchased three 10' x 12', six 16' x 16' tents, one 16' x 32' tent, six cots, and twelve stove heaters. Images of the tents show that they were fabric with internal support posts. Guy-lines and stakes anchored the tents to the ground. It is possible that at least a few of these were in place by year's end. Photographs of Tent City from April 1966 show few small-scale features outside the tents. The conditions of the site in December 1965 were probably very similar to that shown in the 1966 photographs. In the western portion of the site, the 1966 aerial photograph shows fencing—likely post-and-wire—cordoning off a low-lying wetland area.

Post-historic and Existing Condition

Overall

The overall small-scale features in the project area have changed since the period of significance. Most traffic-related small-scale features have been updated, new fencing has replaced old fencing, and numerous commemorative features have been added to the landscape. For an extensive inventory of existing small-scale features, see the Existing



Figure 392. The Tent City site, shown here in April 1966, contained a variety of small-scale features, including oil barrels, wood stakes, refrigerators, and outdoor stoves, among others. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group. Photo by Tom Lankford, Birmingham News).

Conditions chapter of this report. Again, due to a lack of documentation of 1965 conditions, a direct comparison between the small-scale features of the historic period and today is incomplete.

Selma March Route Character Area
Many of Selma's small-scale features have been removed, replaced, and/or updated throughout the character area.

In terms of the streetscape, the corridor contains mostly post-historic streetscape features. There are some similarities. The pedestrian-scale streetlights believed to have been added after the period of significance reflect the design of those present in 1965. They have globed luminaires atop slightly ornamented poles. The light standards present in 1965 were painted silver; the modern poles are black. Additionally, most of the traffic lights in the area have been updated, but several along Selma's side streets are similar to those present during the period of significance (their age was not verified). The older design was multidirectional, with a single light serving to direct traffic within an intersection. The newer design is one-directional, resulting in the need for multiple lights. Elevated street lighting appears to reflect the general type present in 1965, with cobra-head luminaries attached to slightly curved extension rods. It is unknown if these are the original lights, but it is possible.

Other small-scale features, such as commercial signage, benches, and trash cans appear to be post-historic. All the commemorative features within the character area were added after 1965.

Highway 80 Character Area
Most small-scale features within the Highway 80 Character Area today are of the same general types present in 1965. These types include traffic and commercial signage, residential features such as mailboxes, and fencing around agricultural and commercial properties. The majority of these features post-date the period of significance.

Changes in businesses in Selmont and elsewhere, the expansion of the highway, and the redevelopment of certain areas within the corridor resulted in the removal of historic period small-scale features. Many of these features were



Figure 393. This December 1966 photo of two unnamed residents of Tent City shows additional details about the landscape here. Note White Hall Road in the background, and the cook stove and the cot. (Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History).

replaced, especially the traffic signage along the route. Updated hazard warnings, speed limit signs, and road/place identification signs are all modern, as are the National Historic Trail signs. Post-historic street lighting is present along the route as well, including in Selmont and in the vicinity of the Lowndes Interpretive Center.

Most of the fences present in the character area appears to be modern. The newer fencing is post-and-rail with dimensional lumber or metal posts; the fencing does not reflect the more vernacular type of fencing seen in 1965.

The engraved stone monument commemorating DeSoto remains located near the Tyler Fire Department.

The eastern portion of the character area is significantly more developed than it was in 1965, and as a result features more small-scale features than the historic period. Modern commercial small-scale features include business signs, bollards, fencing, mailboxes, and various decorative elements such as planters. While some of these types of features likely existed in this section during the period of significance, the one present now all appear to be modern.

As the march route approaches Montgomery along Highway 31, the number of small-scale features increases. Commercial development results in the presence of numerous advertising signs, such as billboards and other elevated marquees. Again, it is likely that few of these types of small-scale features existed in the period of significance, but due to a lack of documentation, such an analysis cannot be completed.

Commemorative features within this character area are post-historic, including all those within the Civil Rights Memorial Park, the Viola Liuzzo memorial, and the NPS signs identifying the campsites.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
There has been a number of alterations to the small-scale features in this character area since 1965. Typical updates to streetscape features have occurred, such as the replacement of traffic-related signs.

A chain-link fence still surrounds the City of St. Jude campus. Along Oak Street, small-scale streetscape features include typical traffic signage, light poles, fencing, benches, and bus stop shelters. The most common fencing type is chain-link, though some picket and wood privacy fences are present. Of note, a ground-level street name monument is located at the corner of West Jeff Davis Avenue. It is likely this feature was present at the time of the march.

While it is not possible to compare exact conditions, these features are characteristic of those present in 1965. The presence of business signs elevated on poles and business-specific lightings is also reflective of historic period character, though again, it is unknown if these were present in 1965.

The section from Five Points Hill to the State Capitol Building generally contains the same types of features that existed in the historic period, but the majority of these features have been updated to meet contemporary safety or aesthetic standards. Recent streetscape beautification projects have resulted in the addition of new street lighting, public art pieces, concrete tree planters, black metal benches, and modern parking fee meters. Post-historic period commemorative features include engraved stone monuments, interpretive waysides, state historic markers, and statuary.

Some features in this section do reflect the historic period, including the cobra head style street lights on the western-most blocks of Montgomery St.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
Downtown Marion contains the same type of small-scale features as the other urban character areas. These include historical markers, commemorative monuments, and typical streetscape features. Most of these do not date to the period of significance. Streetscape features include post office collector boxes, newspaper boxes, planting beds, and traffic signage. Street lighting is similar to that present in other character areas, with a metal encased luminaire extending from a wood utility pole. The lights differ from those present in 1965. The flagpole outside the post office is still extant in what appears to be the original location. The chain link fence surrounding the old jail is also extant.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
Again, it is difficult to properly analyze the small-scale features of the connecting trail due to a lack of historic period documentation of the route. Present day features include traffic signage such as speed limit signs, hazard signs, and wayfinding signs, chain-link fences, mailboxes, business signs, and in the first section of this road, streetlights. The streetlights are the same as those located in downtown Marion, with metal-encased luminaires attached to wooden utility poles. Fencing in this most southern portion of the route is similar in type and materials to that in other rural sections of the project area, with post-and-wire fencing being the most common type. It can be assumed that the majority of these features post-date the period of significance, even though they reflect the basic types of small-scale features present in 1965.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
The Highway 80 section of the connecting trail contains various small-scale features throughout the corridor. Most of these are traffic related and include signs and suspended signals. Fencing—both chain-link and post-and-wire—is also present along the route. The expansion of the highway undoubtedly resulted in the removal of historic period small-scale features. The increased development within the corridor after 1965 resulted in the presence of more commercial and residential properties, which introduced more small-scale features such as mailboxes, fencing, lighting, and various signs.

Within Selma, small-scale features include typical traffic control features, residential features, and limited commercial and civic features. It is undetermined which features date to 1965, though the general types of features are consistent with the historic period.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
For months after the period of significance, Tent City continued to occupy the site, resulting in the continued presence of tents in the area. Various sized staked posts encircled the tents. It appears a small refrigerator was located outside of one of the tents, which was likely powered by a gas-powered generator. Photographs also show the presence of oil barrels near the tents that may have been used for trash.

After the residents left Tent City, all the small-scale features within the site were removed. It is unknown what small-scale features were added after the Lowndes County Co-Op occupied the site, but it is likely that limited signage, trash cans, and other features existed. These were all removed with the construction of the Lowndes Interpretive Center Site. The site now contains a variety of small-scale features including water fountains, trash cans, lights, interpretive waysides, and numerous traffic-related signs.

Cluster Arrangement

Historic Condition

Overall

Given the size of the project area, this report categorizes cluster arrangement in broad-level detail, focusing on the overall density patterns and clusters of development, with special attention paid to specific locations and the Lowndes Interpretive Center site.

Selma March Route Character Area

During the historic period, the Selma March Route existed as a thoroughly developed urban landscape, with no distinct clustering of buildings or structures. Land use differentiated the development patterns into mostly residential and mostly commercial areas. The commercial buildings, located in the gridded sections of downtown, were clustered more closely together than the buildings in residential areas.

Highway 80 Character Area

During the historic period, general clustering of buildings and structures along Highways 80 and 31 occurred intermittently throughout the corridor. The character area featured areas of commercial and/or residential development separated by areas of agricultural land use or areas of wetland.

The route begins in Selmont, where there was a cluster of commercial buildings arranged linearly along the edge of the road. This developed area was interrupted by a small agricultural field, but it was followed by two additional clusters of development, one residential cluster and the cluster of buildings at Craig Field. Following these areas of development, the landscape becomes mostly rural and limited development existed throughout Dallas and Lowndes Counties. Where there was clustering, it occurred primarily at prominent intersections, such as the one south of the town of Lowndesboro.

The next cluster of development occurred in Montgomery County at the airport complex. Here a cluster of buildings occupied the south side of the highway. To the east of the airport, a cluster of large commercial and/or industrial buildings was located at the intersection with Highway 31. As Highway 31 heads north and transitions to Mobile Highway and Fairview Avenue, development continued relatively unabated, limiting any distinct areas of clustering.

Montgomery March Route Character Area

Like Selma, the Montgomery march route was through a developed landscape with little distinct clustering. The development was separated by land use, resulting in clustering of residential and commercial areas. While some mixed-use areas were present along the route, typically each street or block featured a predominant land use that was reflected by the building character. That said, the City of St. Jude campus and Five Points Hill both constituted a distinct cluster of buildings within the landscape of the Montgomery march route.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section

The landscape in this character area featured mostly uniform commercial development, so no distinct clustering was present during the period of significance.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section

No distinct clustering was present in this character area during the period of significance. In general, the northern portion of the road corridor was more developed, while the southern portion of the route was predominately undeveloped. In the southern portion, a few scattered clusters of residential buildings and associated outbuildings were located around intersections.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section

This section of Highway 80 reflected the character of Highway 80 east of Selma. No distinct clustering was present in the western rural portion of the character area. However, after the stretch of agricultural and undeveloped landscape, development increased. Still, clustering was limited

due to the pattern of development, which was generally evenly spaced along both sides of the highway leading into Selma from the west. Within Selma, no distinct clustering was present due to the overall density of the area.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
The only known clustering at the Lowndes Interpretive Center site during the period of significance was the cluster of tents in the eastern portion of the site. The tents were loosely arranged and appear to mostly be oriented towards White Hall Road.

Post-historic and Existing Condition
Overall
The overall character of clustering in the project area is consistent with historic period conditions. This is largely because land use areas have not substantially changed. While some areas have seen increased development and other areas have seen buildings demolished, the lack of distinct clustering for most of the character area is still the same.

Selma March Route Character Area
Selma retains the same clustering as it had during the historic period, with residential areas generally separated from commercial areas. Despite the loss of several buildings, there is no distinct clustering of buildings and the area reflects a mostly continuous urban density.

Highway 80 Character Area
The section containing Selmont continues to be thoroughly developed and represents a development cluster in the northern portion of the character area. The general developed character continues south through the Craig Field complex. Shortly thereafter, the landscape transitions to a rural setting, with limited development present, just as in the historic period. This character remains the same until the area around the Lowndes Interpretive Center site, where the US Corps of Engineers office complex, Mt. Gillard Missionary Baptist Church, an electrical substation, the LIC complex, two casinos, and several residences create a cluster arrangement. This cluster is centered on a couple of intersections and the other areas of clustering in the rural section of the route are also centered on prominent intersections.
As the route reaches Montgomery County, density increases again, as a result of presence of the Montgomery Airport, the Alabama Air National Guard, and auxiliary businesses such as gas stations and car rental companies. This clustering continues generally unabated for the duration of the character area, including along Highway 31.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
The character of clustering within this portion of the march route has changed on account of the demolition of numerous building since the period of significance. The absence of these buildings results in the interruption of the previously near-continuous urban development that stretched from the City of St. Jude to the State Capitol Building.

The historic clustering of buildings within the City of St. Jude's campus is still extant, despite the presence of a few post-historic buildings and structures. Though a number of buildings along Oak Street have been demolished, this has not changed the street's dense residential character. However, the demolition of many buildings and the construction of the interstate have severely impacted the building density in the area between West Jeff Davis Avenue and Five Points Hill.

Five Points Hill contains a distinct cluster of buildings, though it too has been altered from historic period conditions. The surviving buildings are oriented towards the intersection and form a clear grouping. The remainder of the route does not contain any distinct clustering as it retains the dense urban character it had in 1965.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
No distinct clustering is present in this character area, which is consistent with the conditions of the historic period.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
The Old Highway 45 section of the Connecting Trail begins on the edge of downtown Marion. Building density in this section is highest in the character area. After progressing south, the clustering of buildings decreases. No large development nodes are present along the remainer of the route, though small clusters of development are located at several intersections.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
As in the historic period, building density in this section is greatest in the eastern half of the character area. Development has increased throughout the route, but this is concentrated in the section east of County Road 44. From this intersection east towards Selma, several pockets of loose development are present. In Selma, the continuous urban character of the residential and commercial areas do not result in any distinct building clusters.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
Clustering of constructed features on the site was limited after the period of significance. By the 1990s, development was concentrated in the eastern and southern edges of the site. These features were removed for the construction of the Lowndes Interpretive Center site. Today, no clustering exists on site, given the limited number of buildings. The number of small-scale features however does produce areas where these are clustered near each other.

The most concentrated cluster of features is located around the LIC building. The LIC building is surrounded by a number of lights, an adjacent utility building, signage, and an interpretive and informational kiosk structure.

The other clustering is located east of the LIC building. This cluster includes picnic tables, shade structures, the domed pavilion, and interpretive panels associated with the interpretive trail. This area also contains the heaviest concentration of commemorative features.

Constructed Water Features

Historic Condition

Overall
There is little documentation of constructed water features within the project area during the period of significance. Aerial images show the presence of farm ponds adjacent to roadways that may have been visible by those marching or driving. Only one known fountain was present in the project area at this time.

Selma March Route Character Area
No known constructed water features were present in this character area during the historic period.

Highway 80 Character Area
Known constructed water features in this character area included farm ponds. These were located at various points along the march route. Several appear in aerial photographs and they may have been visible from ground level.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
The fountain at Court Square at the east end of Dexter Avenue was the one known constructed water feature in this character area during the period of significance. The prominent, multi-tiered fountain was constructed in the 1880s. Marchers passed the fountain on the last day of the march.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
No known constructed water features were present in this character area during the historic period.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
Known constructed water features in this character area included farm ponds. These were located at various points along the route; they are visible in aerial photographs. They may have been visible from the march route.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
Known constructed water features in this character area included farm ponds. These were located at various points along the route; they are visible in aerial photographs. They may have been visible from the march route.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
No known constructed water features were present in this character area during the historic period.

Post-historic and Existing Condition

Overall
As in the historic period, few constructed water features are present within the project area today. Two types are present: farm ponds and ornamental fountains.

Selma March Route Character Area
The only constructed water feature in this character area is an ornamental fountain located at the corner of Water Avenue. and Washington Street. The fountain features a large bowl centered on a concrete base. A pedestal in the center of the bowl is topped by the busts of four horses from which water emanates. This appears to be a post-historic addition to the landscape.

Highway 80 Character Area
Several farm ponds are present within the visual corridor of the Highway 80 Character Area. Fieldwork conducted over multiple seasons found that not all ponds near the Highway 80 right of way are visible year-round. Research shows that the majority of ponds in this character area post-date the period of significance.

A large stone monument at the Civil Rights Memorial Park outside of Selma has water emanating from a hole in the boulder. The water runs down the face of the stone into a shallow pool. This feature also post-dates 1965.

Montgomery March Route Character Area
The Court Square fountain is still in place. It was reconstructed in 1984 to repair damage sustained from weathering. The large fountain features a shallow pool ringed by an ornamental fence. A prominent multi-tiered water feature stands in the center of the pool. It has statues of herons, cherubs, and human figures arranged above and below stacked pools.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Downtown Marion Section
No constructed water features are present in this character area.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Old Highway 45 Section
Several farm ponds are located within the Old Highway 45 Section of the Connecting Trail, though again, it is unknown if these would have been visible from the Highway in 1965.

Marion Connecting Trail Character Area – Highway 80 Section
As with the Old Highway 45 section, farm ponds are located within the Old Highway 45 Section of the Connecting Trail, though again, it is unknown if these would have been visible in 1965.

Lowndes Interpretive Center Character Area
No constructed water features are present in this character area.

Archeological Sites

Historic Condition

Overall
No known active archeological sites existed in the project area in 1965.

Post-historic and Existing Condition

Overall
Aside from typical compliance work related to roadway improvements or other public works projects, no known archeological sites are presently being investigated in the project area. The NPS has completed several investigations of areas within SEMO. These projects relate to the installation of radio towers and research related to Tent City at the Lowndes Interpretive Center site. For an overview of these archeological projects, see the Existing Conditions chapter.

Affiliated Sites

This section provides a brief analysis and evaluation statement with accompanying photographs for the three African American-owned campsites. These sites were not formally documented, per scope of work and discussions with project coordinators. Therefore, this analysis is limited in scope.

Campsite #1 (David Hall Farm)

Historic Condition

During the period of significance, the David Hall farm reflected the character of many African American owned family farms in the region. This character included extensive crop fields, livestock, a residence, various outbuildings, fruit and nut trees, and a vernacular—but intentional—arrangement of features.

Both family recollections and aerial images provide a sense of the extent and layout of the farm landscape. The 80-acre property was located on County Road 67, roughly a mile south of Highway 80 and about 8 miles from Selma. It was acquired by the FSA from William and Myrtle Ward, who then conveyed the deed to David Hall for $1800 cash. David Hall and his family farmed the land as many self-sufficient Black farmers did. His daughter, Mary Hall McGuire, described the farm as growing cotton, corn, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, and fruit and nut trees, including peaches, apples, pears, figs, pecans, and black walnut. The family also raised cattle and hogs. David Hall did not sell any of the food crops, instead he "would feed the community off of his farm." The work of running the farm involved the entire family, and in addition to his immediate family, David Hall's sisters' kids lived and worked on the farm periodically.

In terms of the farm landscape itself, the property extended east-west from the roadway. The small house with a rear addition sat roughly 300 feet from the road. An unpaved driveway provided access to the house, which sat on a slight topographical rise.

The driveway was flanked by a short allée of pecan trees that David Hall had planted. A small group of shade trees stood south of the house. Immediately south of these trees were several outbuildings, including a clubhouse, meat smoke house, chicken-coop house, with a tool shed behind the barn. A large barn was located northwest of the house and was surrounded by a fence.

The aerial image shows that the crop fields were irregularly shaped and surrounded the immediate domestic core. The irregularity of the fields was likely a response to the variation in topography across the landscape, though it was not drastic enough to warrant terracing. The entire property appears to have been in production. It did not contain a woodlot or any substantial areas of forestland.

In addition to the driveway, several other circulation features ran through the landscape. One of the more prominent of these extended north from the east side of the large barn towards an open field. This field contained a small pond. Another path extended west from the rear of the farmstead and bent around the contours of the crop fields.

On the night of the marcher's use of the site as a campground, tents were placed in the area between the large barn and the field containing the small pond (Figure 394).

Post-historic and Existing Condition

Since 1965, a number of significant changes have been made to the landscape (Figure 395). The property has recently been subdivided among Hall's heirs. This description only covers the 10-acre property owned by Mr. Hall's daughter, Mary Hall McGuire. This area contains the core of the old farmstead and extends west into the area previously used as cropland.

Today, the property is no longer farmed, which has resulted in the growth of successional forest to the west and north of the property. As such, the old field patterns are no longer legible in the landscape and the sense of space within it is much more enclosed than it was historically. Additionally, the outbuildings present in 1965 have all been removed and a new house has been built to the north of the original house. Other post-historic additions to the landscape include a small shed to the west of the new house and a prominent NPS sign located at the southeast corner of the property that identifies the site as Campsite #1.



Figure 394. This photograph shows the northern portion of the Hall Farm from near the roadway, looking into the property on March 21, 1965. Note the barn to the left. The house, other outbuildings, and pecan allée were all located just out of frame. (Source: James Barker Photography).

That said, some prominent features present in 1965 are still extant. Such features include the original house, the pecan-lined entry drive, and foundation stones of the now-missing barn. The original house is a one-story clapboard-sided residence that is in fair condition. The house contains a small living room, kitchen space, and three bedrooms. The side-gabled house is set on piers and features a front gabled covered front porch.

Campsite #2 (Rosie Steele Farm)

Historic Condition

The Rosie Steele Farm landscape was not as extensively farmed as the David Hall property in 1965. Purchased in 1948, the Rosie Steele farm included 80 acres north of Highway 80 and 1 acre directly across the highway. Aerial imagery shows that the property—the exact boundaries of which are undetermined—contained a few notable features. On the north side of the highway, the landscape was a mixture of forest and pastureland. A 10-acre pasture was next to the Highway. Small patches of woods surrounded the pasture on its east and west sides. It appears that a fence surrounded the pasture on all sides, indicating it was used for cattle. This is the field used as a campground for marchers.[441]

In terms of buildings and structures, a few house sites are scattered throughout the area. It is currently unknown which belong to the Steele family. A small shed was located near the fence line in the pasture used by marchers. On the 1-acre parcel south of the highway, the Steele family, primarily Rosie Steele's two sons, operated a filling station, grocery, and tavern.[442] These are visible in aerial images. In the images, two buildings stand side by side along the highway. Based on the form of the buildings, it is assumed the easternmost of the two was the filling station and grocery. The smaller one to its west was likely the tavern. A

441. A video of a portion of the Rosie Steele farm can be viewed here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eStPRo8hGMw&list=PL-vsvn-unGWuUbx2W6HlYBEedFmHPv2Gp&index=4

442. Danielle Purifoy, "What's Changed in Lowndes County, Alabama—and What Hasn't," Scalawag, January 9, 2017, https://www.scalawagmagazine.org/2017/01/whats-changed-in-lowndes-county-alabama-and-what-hasnt/; "Ask U.S. To Protect Farmers Whose Land Used As Campsites," *Jet*, April 8, 1965, 46.



Figure 395. Aerial image comparing 1965 and existing conditions along of the Hall Farm. The property has undergone a number of changes, including the addition of new residences, circulation features, and the removal of outbuildings. The original residence remains on site, as does the pecan allée along the historic driveway. (Source: USDA / ESRI).

driveway extending south from the buildings led to an isolated (presumed) house site.

Post-historic and Existing Condition

Overall

Access to Campsite #2 was not available during research for this report. As such, this description is based on aerial photography and observations from the public right-of-way. However, due to the expansion of the highway and the addition of post-historic features and changes in vegetation composition, the historic landscape is mostly illegible today (Figure 356).

Campsite #2 is located on the north side of Highway 80. When the highway expanded after 1965, additional lanes were constructed north of the existing highway. The new lanes run across the campsite location. The property was subdivided. The rest of the area used for the camp now contains several residences. In addition to the residences, the site has scattered vegetation, outbuildings, fences, two unpaved driveways, and large open areas. The site is bounded on the east, west, and north by young pine trees and by Highway 80 on the south.

The residences include a modern brick house and a modern manufactured house. The brick residence features a hipped roof and a gabled ell projection. The house, located on the west side of the property, is oriented toward the roadway and is accessed by an unpaved drive. The manufactured home is white, side gabled, and is located on the east side of the property. This house is also accessed via an unpaved drive.

Vegetation on site appears to be mostly successional, with planted pines surrounding the property and scattered pines located near the houses. Two magnolia trees and several crape myrtles stand near the brick house.

Small-scale features on the property include a wood privacy fence, utility poles, playground equipment, and mailboxes. An NPS sign stands parallel with Highway 80 on the east side of the property. This sign is not as prominent as the one at Campsite #1, being more of a road sign. It is "historic brown" in color and contains the text: "Selma to Montgomery Trail / CAMPSITE 2 / Rosie Steele Farm / March 22, 1965."

Campsite #3 (Robert Gardner Farm)

Historic Condition

In 1965, the Gardner farm occupied the corner of Highway 80 and what is now named Frederick Douglass Road. Family accounts suggest that the farm was part of the Carson family land holdings that dates back to Reconstruction. Robert Gardner and his wife Mary, a relative of the Carsons, raised their family on the property.

The Gardners operated the farm very much like the Halls did in Dallas County. Here they raised a diverse mix of crops, some of which they sold at market. Crops included cotton, corn, sugar cane, peanuts, potatoes, vegetables (greens, squash, beans, peas), fruits, and pecans. Animals on the farm included cows, chickens, turkeys, hogs, mules, and horses. According to the family, "cotton, peanuts, cows, and to some extent pecans were sold for market, otherwise the farm was self-sufficient."

The historic period aerial photographs of the farm show many of the typical features of a small family farm. Such features include a primary residence, several outbuildings, small garden space, crop land, pastureland, and fencing. The majority of these features were clustered together, with pastureland forming a periphery around the site. A long drainage feature extended northeast-southwest through the site.

The yard surrounding the house appears to have been enclosed by a fence. Another smaller area to the northeast was also enclosed. At least five outbuildings, including a substantial barn, were located east of the house. Various worn circulation paths crisscrossed the area.

Post-historic and Existing Condition

Overall

Today, the property remains in the family. Three residences, two of which are lived in, now occupy the core of the farm (Figure 396). The unoccupied home is the house that was present during the march. The other houses are post-historic additions. They are west of the original house, in the field that was used for the marchers' tents. It appears that none of the buildings present in 1965 are extant.

The property remains primarily in pasture, with a tight clustering of buildings, structures, and residential vegetation located along an unpaved driveway connected to Frederick Douglass Road. This cluster—located on the high point of the landscape—constitutes the core of the property. A post-and-wire fence encloses this portion of the property. Both vinyl-sided manufactured residences are side gabled, with shed additions on their west sides for parking. A front gabled barn sits to the south of the residences. Site vegetation includes mature oaks, privet, eastern red cedar, and other ruderal vegetation along fence lines. In addition to the fence that encloses the core building cluster, a perimeter fence encloses the entire property.

A sign identifying the property as Campsite #3 is located at the intersection of Highway 80 and Frederick Douglass Rd. It is styled in the same manner as the one at Campsite #2, featuring the text: "Selma to Montgomery Trail / CAMPSITE 3 / Robert Gardner Farm / March 23, 1965."

This property is private and not open to the public.

Campsite #4 (City of St. Jude)

The analysis of specific changes within the City of St. Jude landscape were addressed in the previous landscape characteristic sections. That said, the campus is highly reflective of historic period conditions.

In 1965, the campus contained a number of buildings that were clustered in the southern half of the property. This overall spatial organization of the site has changed little, with only a few new buildings and structures having been added that alter its historic character. Most of the historic circulation features are still intact, including the westernmost semi-circular drive along Fairview Avenue and the central access drive that still features a tree allée. The eastern semi-circular drive has been modified to accommodate a prominent commemorative feature in the southeast corner of the site. The site maintains its historic extent and is still bounded by a chain-link fence and a surrounding residential context to its north.



Figure 396. Aerial image comparing 1965 and existing conditions of the Gardner Farm. This property has also seen a number of changes to its 1965 landscape, including the addition of new residences and the removal of outbuildings. Like the Hall Farm however, the original residence remains on site, as does the overall sense of spatial organization and rural setting. (Source: USDA / ESRI).

Evaluation of Landscape Integrity

Landscape integrity refers to a cultural landscape's ability to convey its historic significance. *National Register of Historic Places Bulletin 16A* defines historic integrity as "the authenticity of a property's historic identity, evidenced by the survival of physical characteristics that existed during the property's prehistoric or historic period." In *National Register Bulletin 15*, the National Register defines seven aspects of integrity to use when evaluating a historic property:

Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred;

Setting is the physical environment within and surrounding a property;

Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property;

Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property;

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory;

Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time; and

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

In order to retain historic integrity, a property must possess several, and usually most, of these seven aspects. Evaluating historic integrity involves first determining the historic significance of a property and then identifying the existing

features that contribute to our ability to recognize and understand this significance. Character defining features are those distinctive features or qualities that make a property unique. They are the individual parts that make the whole place special and worthy of our recognition as a historic property.

There has yet to be a Cultural Landscape Report published for a roadway-oriented national historic trail, nor an evaluation of integrity for the entire route from Marion to Montgomery. As such, this report had little precedent to follow concerning conducting an evaluation of SEMO's historic cultural landscape integrity. The nature of the project area—primarily its size and diversity—disallowed a systematic inventory of all 1965 or 2020 features throughout the corridor, limiting the application of standard CLR approaches to evaluating integrity.

Therefore, the approach this report has taken in determining the historical integrity of the project area is multi-scalar, whereby three geographical units—project area, character area, and property—are evaluated and synthesized to develop an overarching integrity statement for each aspect of integrity. While this approach results in a superficial evaluation of certain sections of the project area, it allows for a more detailed evaluation of others, including select individual properties. Balancing these small-scale and large-scale evaluations offers a middle-of-the-road approach to crafting a singular statement of integrity.

Integrity of the Site as a Whole

At a project-area wide scale, the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail and associated Marion Connecting Trail are largely reflective of historic conditions and character. The NHT remains bookended by dense urban landscapes connected by a stretch of mostly rural landscape. The land uses present in 1965 are still present. Highway 80 remains in original orientation and maintains its overall alignment.

At a character area-scale, there are more easily identifiable alterations to the historic character, however, the project area remains generally reflective of its historic conditions. Many of the sites that relate to the region's civil rights movement are still extant. Roadways largely reflect their 1965 character. Vegetation type and patterns are in keeping with what was present in the historic period.

At a parcel scale of analysis, there is much more variation in historic integrity. Some sections of the route do not retain integrity. This includes the area where construction of the interstate resulted in the demolition of entire residential blocks in Montgomery. Subsequent streetscape improvements further altered the historic character of this area. On the other hand, some properties still reflect historic conditions, especially in sections of the route that escaped redevelopment or that have experienced continuous use.

Research for this report included review of several past studies that evaluated the historic integrity of portions of SEMO over the last twenty years. While these evaluations do not address the entire project area, their methods for evaluation and conclusions are worth highlighting here.

Concerning Highway 80 itself, the Cultural Landscape Inventory for SEMO drafted in 2000 addresses integrity as follows:

> The roadway proper, i.e., its physical alignment or position in the landscape, is of variable historical integrity with some sections remaining much as they existed in 1965 and others altered. What is of greater importance than the design of the roadway is its location, setting, feeling, and associations. While the macadam surface was a stage for the events of 1965, the march would likely not have occurred in this location without the direct line of historical events begun in the early nineteenth century. Specific design and construction methods (materials and workmanship) of the roadway are of negligible significance vis-a-vis the historic event except in establishing and/or maintaining location, setting, feeling, and association. The roadway itself is similar to other roadways of its period and had no peculiar effect on the march except in its narrowing and widening which affected the number of march participants. The roadway's engineering design did not significantly influence the outcome of historical events, nor is it of more than passing interest in the broader historic pattern of events that led to the march of 1965. Alterations in roadway alignments,

> medians, and lane numbers have had a negative impact on setting, association, and feeling. During their journey marchers would have experienced a transition from an open, visually "safe" highway to an enclosed, intimidating, two-lane country road; this transition is now missing. The driving experience through the study area is more homogeneous than it would have been in 1965.[443]

The report goes on to state:

> The essential physical feature of the landscape is the mid-twentieth-century agrarian setting that has developed from the historic plantation landscape and provides context (physical and historical) for the road. The road, right-of-way, and adjacent landscape express in feeling the historic character of a mid-twentieth-century agricultural landscape in a fertile soil region of a Deep South state. The view from the right-of-way contributes to the highway's significance by providing a physical link for the visitor both to the events of the 1965 march and to the long history of African Americans cultivating white-owned land that led up to the march. The viewshed enhances the integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association of the U.S. 80 right-of-way.[444]

The determination of eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places noted the following for integrity:

> The roadway [Highway 80] itself generally retains a high level of integrity of setting, feeling, location, and association. *These four qualities of resource integrity have the most direct relationship to the highway's ability to convey its historic appearance*. Although materials and workmanship have necessarily changed over time through lane widening, bridge repairs, and regular highway maintenance activities like resurfacing, these qualities are less directly related to the highway's reason for significance. Integrity of design and workmanship on those lanes that remain in place from 1965 is retained in that the roadbed remains essentially unchanged. This is visible in the vertical and horizontal curves and the slope of the shoulders that have not been redesigned since 1965. Routine paving and patching has had little effect on the structure of the roadbed itself. Sod shoulders have been paved only on sections of the highway that were added in the 1970s. The entire eligible corridor retains a notable degree of setting integrity. Setting refers not only to those features within the corridor but the larger landscape as well. U.S. Highway 80 between Selma and Montgomery still traverses a very rural and agricultural landscape, especially through Lowndes County. A comparison of historic photographs and present aerial photography indicates that areas of commercial and residential development have expanded minimally, and that land use patterns bordering the corridor today are quite similar to 1965. Although the choice of row crop may have changed from cotton to soybeans, for example, the distribution of crop land, pasture, and timber land in a series of Alabama River oxbows is similar. . . . Changes in these patterns are where agricultural land has been released to succession and where pine plantations have developed in the last few decades. This represents a minor change as long as pine plantations remain part of a larger pattern of cultivation and not the dominant form of agricultural land use in the corridor.

National Register of Historic Places guidance on evaluating integrity of large cultural landscapes like battlefields and farmsteads emphasizes the importance of setting, feeling, location, and association. This CLR follows this guidance and elevates these aspects of integrity in the multi-scalar evaluation to follow.

Location

The Selma to Montgomery Historic Trail and Marion Connecting Trail retain integrity of location.

Overall, the key components of the landscape that reveal its significant civil rights history are still in the same location as they were in 1965. These components include Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church, Edmund Pettus Bridge, Dexter Avenue, Highway 80, the Alabama State Capitol, and the campsite properties, among others. The roadways

443. John Harper and Teri Nye, "Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail Cultural Landscape Inventory" (Atlanta, GA: National Park Service, Southeast Region, April 17, 2000), 4.
444. Harper and Nye, "Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail Cultural Landscape Inventory," 8–9.

and associated context of the Connecting Trail also remain in their historic period locations. The absence or alteration of individual historic period features throughout the corridor—such as mailboxes, certain buildings, or specific trees—therefore does not impact integrity of location as many of the primary features that convey significance are still in their original locations.

Setting

The Selma to Montgomery Historic Trail and Marion Connecting Trail retain integrity of setting.

The overall setting of the route reflects that of the period of significance, with urban areas transitioning to rural and agricultural landscapes several times over its length. Additionally, at a property-scale, the setting of highly significant properties, such as Brown Chapel and Edmund Pettus Bridge, still reflect their 1965 character. Though the setting of certain sections of the route have been considerably altered through the development of former pasturelands, widening of Highway 80, or as a result of demolition, these instances do not detract from the overall setting.

Design

The Selma to Montgomery Historic Trail and Marion Connecting Trail retain integrity of design.

SEMO is not a designed landscape per se, though many of its elements were consciously designed—buildings, roadways, campuses, etc. Other features or sections reflect a more informal historical development. The design of most key contributing features generally reflects historic period conditions. Such features or individual landscapes that retained their historic period design include: several associated churches, the street/town patterning in Marion, Selma, and Montgomery, and the grounds of the City of St. Jude and Alabama State Capitol. Areas where integrity of design is lacking include the portions of Highway 80 that were widened, and where historic era bridges were replaced. Though consequential, balanced against the whole of the project area, these detractions do not negate the retention of design integrity in other areas. Lastly, at a project-area scale, the design of the corridor that stretches from Marion to Montgomery reflects the general historic orientation and alignment of primary roadways.

Materials

The Selma to Montgomery Historic Trail and Marion Connecting Trail does not retain integrity of materials.

Due to the removal and/or replacement of numerous buildings and small-scale features from the historic period, no character area and few individual properties retain integrity of materials. The widening of Highway 80 resulted in the demolition of fences, mailboxes, and other buildings small-scale features. The highway or its right-of-way does not feature the same materials as in 1965 due to necessary safety improvements and regular maintenance. The construction of the interstate in Montgomery demolished several neighborhood blocks. The economic decline that followed the time of the march resulted in the demolition of more buildings within the study area. Though a collection of resources within SEMO still retain historic period materials, as a whole, the corridor does not retain enough material from that era to retain integrity of materials.

Workmanship

The Selma to Montgomery Historic Trail and Marion Connecting Trail retains integrity of workmanship.

Though SEMO does not possess integrity of materials, the workmanship related to constructed and/or modified features is still generally legible across the varied landscape. At a large scale, the routing of corridor roadways in response to the natural environment remains as evident as it did in 1965. At this scale, present-day field patterns are generally consistent with historic period conditions that represented agricultural traditions of farmworkers. At a character area and property scale, the workmanship related to surviving buildings and street layout remains intact. Some of the more iconic buildings and structures within SEMO in particular retain integrity of workmanship, and therefore balance against the loss of materials in other areas.

Feeling

The Selma to Montgomery Historic Trail and Marion Connecting Trail retain integrity of feeling.

Though impacted by the modification of particular portions of the route, overall, the feeling within SEMO is in keeping with that of 1965. Marion, Selma, and Montgomery all generally feature the same urban character as they did in the period of significance. The regional climate, successional vegetation, and topography also help to reinforce the feeling of the time. Although the expansion of the highway detracts from the feeling of enclosure—and danger—within Lowndes County, the rural and agricultural context is still in place here, as well as in Perry, eastern Dallas, and western Montgomery counties.

Association

The Selma to Montgomery Historic Trail and Marion Connecting Trail retain integrity of association.

The association of the NHT and connecting trail with the historic civil rights activity of 1965 is well established. This association is not only well known by the public, but also actively promoted via commemoration efforts and tourism initiatives. The connection between the events of 1965 and the landscape today is fostered by regularly occurring reenactments and other commemorative events that follow the path of the marchers. Murals, museums, and monuments reinforce the commemorative association of the route, as does its designation as a federally recognized historic area.

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KEY

1. Lane Change Transition (Four-lane to Two)
2. Construction Zone
3. Location of Post Historic Bridge
4. Old Town Creek

Historic Route Alignment

Current Road Alignment / Additional Lanes

NOTES

1. This aerial from 1966 shows the condition of Highway 80 at the transition point between four lanes and two lanes (red line shows historic route lanes and black shows contemporary lanes), which occurred at the Dallas-Lowndes county border. The historic alignment is placed on top of the current alignment.
2. At this time, land clearing and grading had begun for construction of the eastbound lanes.
3. The construction of the new travel lanes necessitated the construction of a new bridge.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

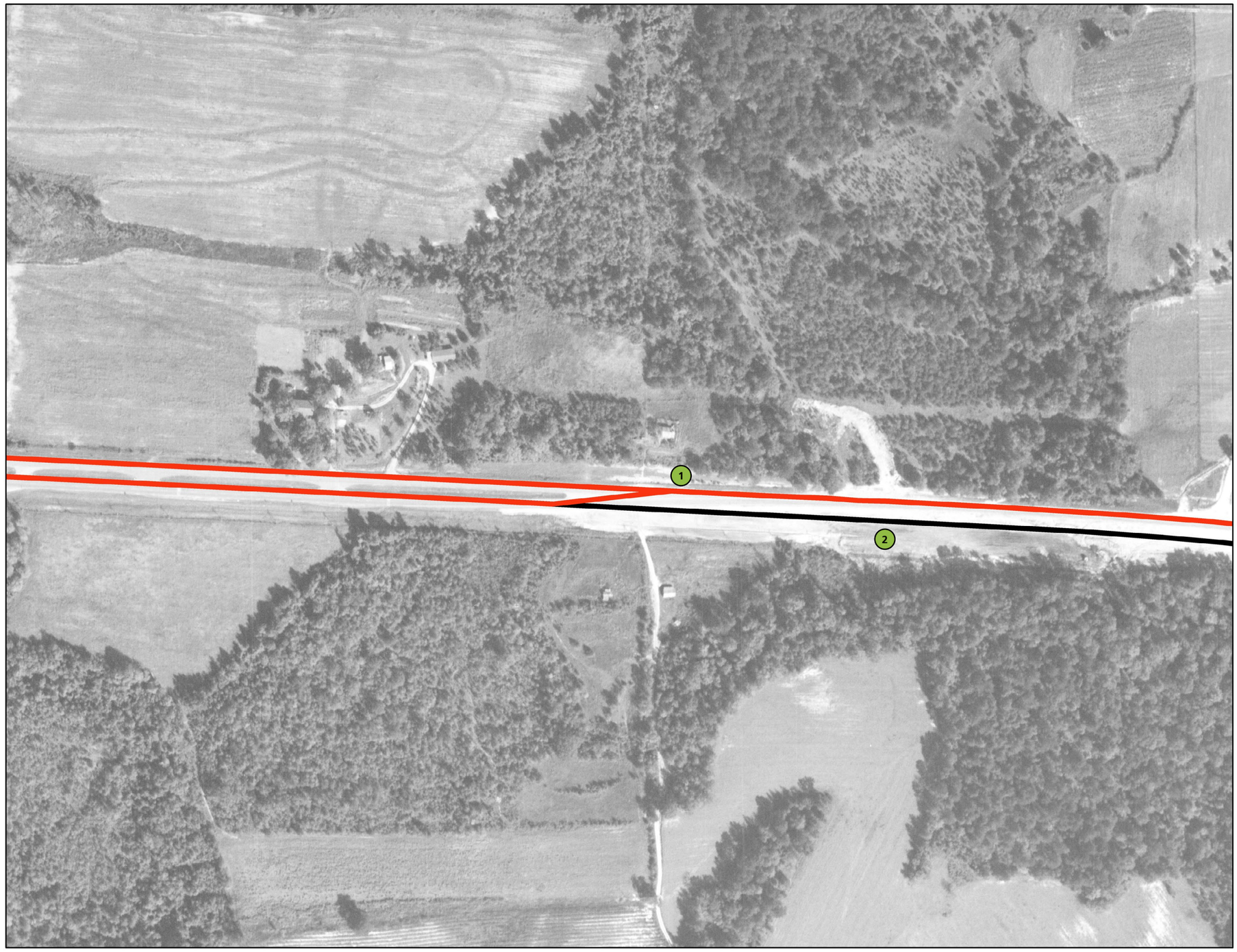
1. USDA
2. USGS

Illustration 4.1

Highway 80 Lane Changes
Dallas-Lowndes County
1966

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

- 1 — Lane Change Transition (Four-lane to Two)
- 2 — Construction Zone
- Historic Route Alignment
- Current Road Alignment / Additional Lanes

NOTES

1. This aerial from 1966 shows the condition of Highway 80 at the transition point between four lanes and two lanes (red line shows historic route lanes and black shows contemporary lanes), which occurred at the Dallas-Lowndes county border.
2. At this time, land clearing and grading had begun for construction of the eastbound lanes.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. USDA
2. USGS

Illustration 4.2

Highway 80 Lane Changes Dallas-Lowndes County, (Detail), 1966

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Lane Change Transition Start
2. Lane Change Transition End
3. Steele Family Businesses
4. Campground #2

Historic Route Alignment

Current Road Alignment / Additional Lanes

NOTES

1. This aerial shows the historic road alignment (red) compared to the current road alignment (black).
2. Note how in this location the historic route followed both what is now east bound and west bound lane, with the transition occurring in the vicinity of the Steele Family farm and commercial properties.
3. Note how the construction of the new lanes cut through the southern portion of the campground.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. USDA
2. USGS

Illustration 4.3

Highway 80 Lane Changes Lowndes County, Rosie Steele Property, 1966

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

- 1 — Lane Change Transition Start
- 2 — Lane Change Transition End
- 3 — Abandoned Highway 80 segment
- 4 — Town of Lowndesboro
- Historic Route Alignment
- Current Road Alignment / Additional Lanes

NOTES

1. This aerial shows the historic road alignment (red) compared to the current road alignment (black).
2. When the highway was expanded to four lanes in this portion of the route, engineers designed the new lanes to bypass the historic lanes of Highway 80, and constructed four new lanes as opposed to the two typical for the remainder of the route.
3. The historic stretch of Highway 80 is still intact and is used to provide access to commercial properties immediately south of the highway.
4. Note how the historic route deviates from contemporary direction of travel, switching from present-day eastbound to westbound lanes in this area.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. USDA
2. USGS

Illustration 4.4

Highway 80 Lane Changes

Lowndesboro

1966

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

- 1 — Abandoned Highway 80 segment
- 2 — Post-historic Highway 80
- Historic Route Alignment
- Current Road Alignment / Additional Lanes

NOTES

1. This aerial shows the historic road alignment (red) compared to the current road alignment (black).
2. When the highway was expanded to four lanes in this portion of the route, engineers designed the new lanes to bypass the historic lanes of Highway 80, and constructed four new lanes as opposed to the two typical for the remainder of the route.
3. The historic stretch of Highway 80 is still intact and is used to provide access to commercial properties immediately south of the highway.
4. Note how the highway expansion resulted in the demolition of a larger swath of the right-of-way than in other portions of the route due to the extra lanes.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. USDA
2. USGS

Illustration 4.5

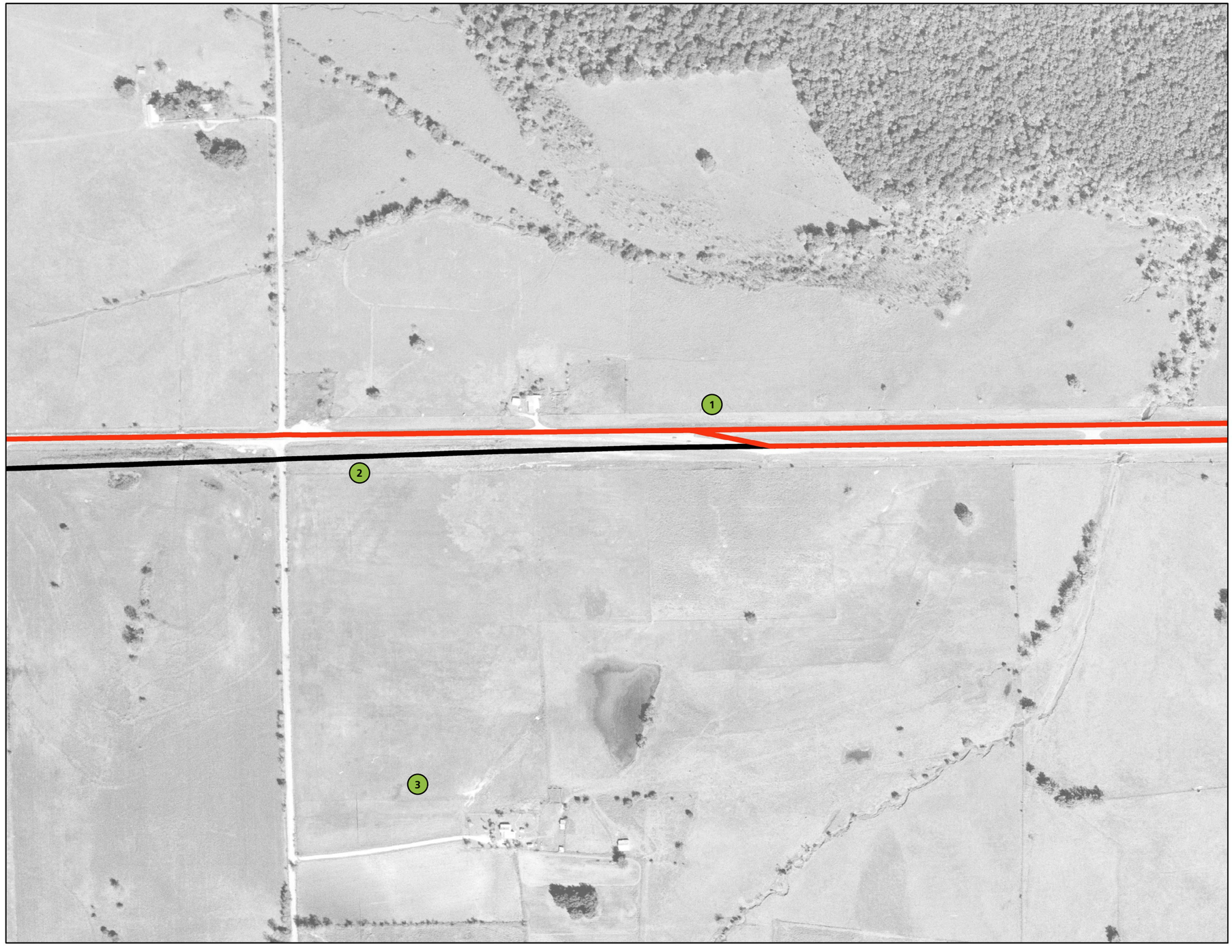
Highway 80 Lane Changes

Lowndesboro (Detail)

1966

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Lane Change Transition
2. Gardner Property Impacted
3. Campsite #3
4. Historic Route Alignment
5. Current Road Alignment / Additional Lanes

NOTES

1. This aerial shows the historic road alignment (red) compared to the current road alignment (black).
2. This is the location--just north of the Gardner Family Farm--where Highway 80 transitioned back to four lane after its stretch of two lane through most of Lowndes County.
3. Note how the highway expansion resulted in the demolition of a portion of the Gardner Family Farm (#2).

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

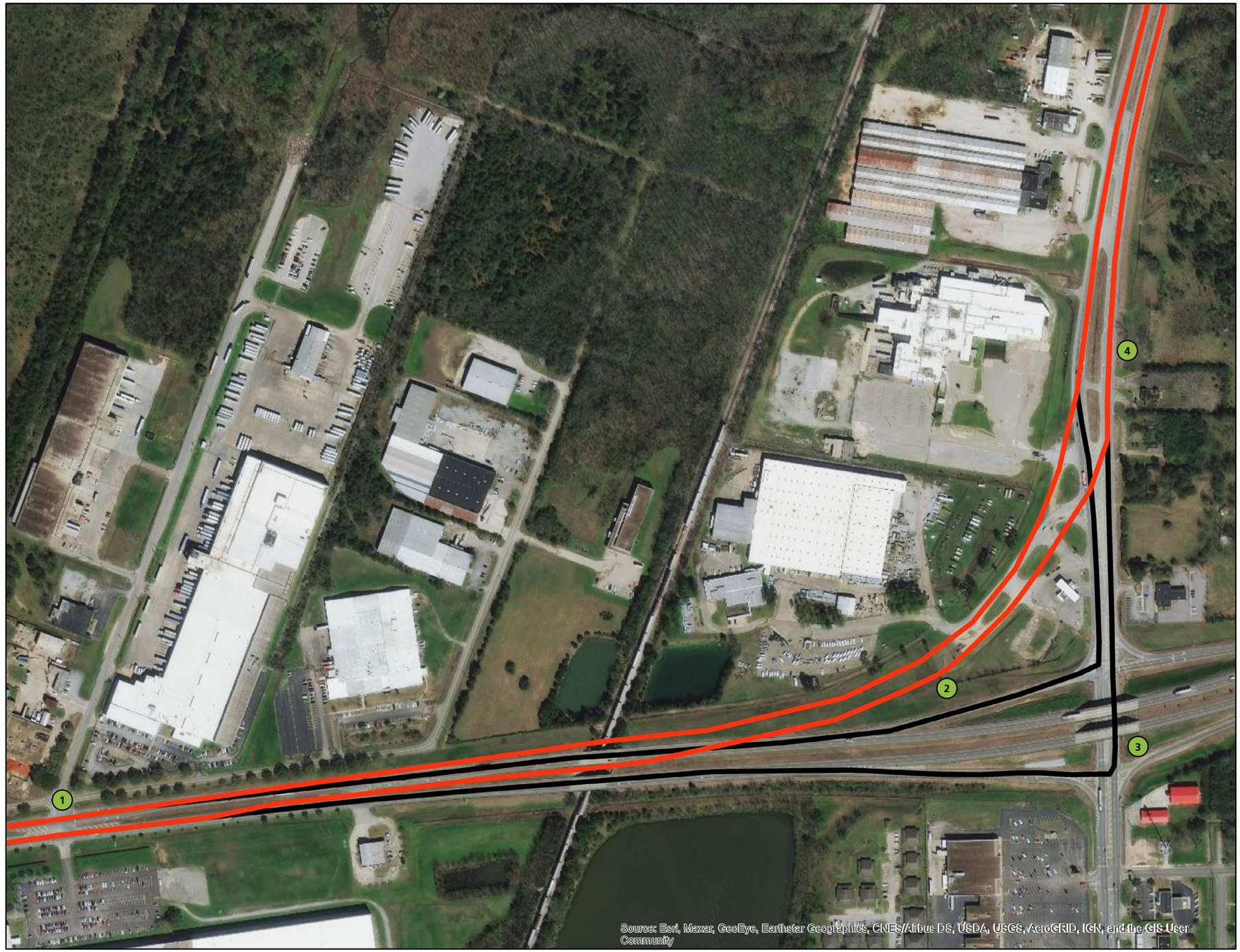
1. USDA
2. USGS

Illustration 4.6

Highway 80 Lane Changes
Lowdnes County
Gardner Farm, 1965

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Transition Point (Historic vs. Contemporary)
2. Abandoned Highway 80 ramp segment
3. Present-day route configuration
4. Realignment with Historic Period Route

Historic Route Alignment

Current Road Alignment / Additional Lanes

NOTES

1. This 2020 aerial shows the deviation in lanes at the intersection of Highway 80 and Highway 31. (See text for a historic period aerial image).
2. Note the reconfigured ramps, with the historic ramp abandoned.
3. The changes have impacted the feeling of transition from the highway to the final stretch of the route into Montgomery.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. USDA
2. USGS
3. ESRI

Illustration 4.7

Highway 80 Lane Changes US 80 / 31 Interchange 2020

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

- 1 — Expansion Lanes
- 2 — Removed Landscape Features
- Historic Route Alignment
- Current Road Alignment / Additional Lanes

NOTES

1. This historic period aerial photograph shows a section of Highway 80 west of Selma, along the Connecting Trail.
2. Like the stretch of Highway 80 through Lowndes County. This section was also expanded after the historic period, resulting in the loss of a variety landscape features.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. USDA
2. USGS

Illustration 4.8

Highway 80 Lane Changes

Highway 80 (West)

1965

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North



KEY

1. Tent City showing 1966 tent locations
2. Expanded Highway Lanes
3. White Hall Road

Historic Route Alignment

Current Road Alignment / Additional Lanes

NOTES

1. This historic period aerial photograph shows the Tent City site.
2. Note how the site itself is unaffected by the expansion of the highway, though it did impact adjacent properties.

Credits

The following sources were used to create this illustration:

1. USDA
2. USGS

Illustration 4.9

Highway 80 Lane Changes Lowndes Interp. Center 1966

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

North

Treatment Recommendations

Introduction

The treatment recommendations for this Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) propose a strategy for long-term management of SEMO's cultural landscape based on research, inventory, and analysis. The appropriate preservation approach considers the evolution of the landscape alongside significance, existing conditions, and current use. The CLR combines the site history and analysis with input from the current site managers to formulate an appropriate treatment and management philosophy for the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail and Marion to Selma Connecting Trail (NHT-CT).

This CLR is the principal treatment document for cultural landscapes and the primary tool for long-term management of those landscapes. A CLR guides management and treatment decisions about a landscape's physical attributes, biotic systems, and use when that use contributes to historical significance. These treatment decisions aim to be consistent with the park unit's significance, condition, and planned use.

Treatment decisions for cultural landscapes are generally determined through the park planning process via a Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP) or a Site Development Plan (SDP). The physical implementation of the treatment for a particular landscape is guided by the CLR. When treatment of a landscape has not been defined through the planning process, a CLR may augment or be combined with an SDP to determine the preferred treatment alternative and physical design. Because treatment decisions can only be formalized in a Decision Document (a NEPA document including public comment), the selected treatment approach will be described as "recommended."

Recommendations follow National Park Service policy, including the Director's Orders No. 28: *Cultural Resource Management Guidelines* and *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*. These documents identify four types of treatment: preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction. Each treatment ranges by level of physical intervention and includes specific guidelines and standards.

Preservation is the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of a historic property. Work, including preliminary measures to protect and stabilize the property, generally focuses upon the on-going maintenance and repair of historic materials and features rather than extensive replacement and new construction. New exterior additions are not within the scope of this treatment; however, the limited and sensitive upgrading of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-required work to make properties functional is appropriate within a preservation project.

Rehabilitation is the act or process of making possible a compatible use of a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features that convey its historical, cultural, or architectural values.

Restoration is the act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by means of the removal of features from other historic periods in its history and reconstruction of missing features from the restoration period. The limited and sensitive upgrading of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-required work to make the property functional is appropriate within a restoration project.

Reconstruction is the act or process of depicting, by means of new construction, the form, features, and details of a non-surviving site, landscape, building, or objects for the purpose of replicating its appearance at a specific period of time in its historic location.[445]

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Treatment

Standards for Preservation:

- A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use that maximizes the retention of distinctive materials, features, spaces, and spatial relationships. Where treatment and use have not been identified, a property will be protected and, if necessary, stabilized until additional work may be undertaken.
- The historic character of a property will be retained and preserved. The replacement of intact or repairable historic materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize a property will be avoided.
- Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Work needed to stabilize, consolidate, and conserve existing historic materials and features will be physically and visually compatible, identifiable upon close inspection, and properly documented for future research.
- Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right will be retained and preserved.
- Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property will be preserved.
- The existing condition of historic features will be evaluated to determine the appropriate level of intervention needed. Where the severity of deterioration requires repair or limited replacement of a distinctive feature, the new material will match the old in composition, design, color, and texture.
- Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.
- Archeological resources will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.

Standards for Rehabilitation:

- A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use that requires minimal change to its distinctive materials, features, spaces, and spatial relationships.
- The historic character of a property will be retained and preserved. The removal of distinctive materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize a property will be avoided.
- Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or elements from other historic properties, will not be undertaken.
- Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right will be retained and preserved.
- Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property will be preserved.
- Deteriorated historic features will be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature will match the old in design, color, texture, and, where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features will be supported by documentary and physical evidence.
- Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.

445. Charles A. Birnbaum, ed. The Secretary of Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes, (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1996, 9, 18, 48, 90, 128.)

- Archeological resources will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.
- New additions, exterior alterations, or related new construction will not destroy historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property. The new work will be differentiated from the old and will be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of the property and its environment.
- New additions and adjacent or related new construction will be undertaken in such a manner that, if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired.

Standards for Restoration:

- A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use that reflects the property's restoration period.
- Materials and features from the restoration period will be retained and preserved. The removal of materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize the period will not be undertaken.
- Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Work needed to stabilize, consolidate and conserve materials and features from the restoration period will be physically and visually compatible, identifiable upon close inspection, and properly documented for future research.
- Materials, features, spaces, and finishes that characterize other historical periods will be documented prior to their alteration or removal.
- Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize the restoration period will be preserved.
- Deteriorated features from the restoration period will be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature will match the old in design, color, texture, and, where possible, materials.
- Replacement of missing features from the restoration period will be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence. A false sense of history will not be created by adding conjectural features, features from other properties, or by combining features that never existed together historically.
- Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.
- Archeological resources affected by a project will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.
- Designs that were never executed historically will not be constructed.

Standards for Reconstruction:

- Reconstruction will be used to depict vanished or non-surviving portions of a property when sufficient documentary and physical evidence is available to permit accurate reconstruction with minimal conjecture and when such reconstruction is essential to the public understanding of the property.
- Reconstruction of a landscape, building, structure, or object in its historic location will be preceded by a thorough archeological investigation to identify and evaluate those features and artifacts which are essential to an accurate reconstruction. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.
- Reconstruction will include measures to preserve any remaining historic materials, features, and spatial relationships.
- Reconstruction will be based on the accurate duplication of historic features and elements supported by documentary or physical evidence rather than on conjectural designs or the availability of different features from other historic properties. A reconstructed property will re-create the appearance of the non-surviving historic property in materials, design, color, and texture.

- A reconstruction is clearly identified as a contemporary re-creation. Designs that were never executed historically will not be constructed.

Management Philosophy[446]

Since the establishment of SEMO in 1996, the NPS has focused its efforts on interpretation, planning studies, and building community partnerships. Much of this work has been guided by the 2005 CMP. The CMP established the "management objectives for [SEMO] by providing a blueprint for administration, resource protection, interpretation and visitor experience, use of [SEMO], and site development and marking."[447] Given that the NPS only owns a small fraction of land along the route, an important component of the CMP was defining the "roles and responsibilities for the agencies, organizations, and local interests that will serve as partners with the NPS to carry out those objectives."[448] This multi-partner approach still guides management of SEMO today, as outlined in the following management objectives from the CMP:

- Implement the [National Trails System Act] in conjunction with other authorities through partnerships, whenever possible.
- Administer the Trail in a cooperative, cohesive, and consistent manner and as a total entity, while incorporating the expertise and input of interested organizations, agencies, and landowners.
- Facilitate communication among the Trail partners to maintain a comprehensive approach to planning, protection, management, and development.
- Consult with the Trail's advisory council on matters related to Trail management.
- Certify Trail sites and segments that meet the criteria described in the comprehensive management plan consistent with the NTSA.
- Update the inventory of Trail resources, assess conditions, and identify problems on a regular schedule.
- Centralize administration in a well-staffed office that functions as a clearinghouse for all Federal, state, and local governmental agencies and private interest groups.
- Provide incentives and stimulate cooperative partnerships.
- Implement the Comprehensive Management Plan.

Regarding the cultural landscape, the CMP notes that "the restoration of the historic landscape is highly desirable in reestablishing and maintaining the historic character of the route. The most effective means to accomplish that end is to acquire historic and scenic easements at appropriate points on the route."[449] As such, the NPS's approach to resource protection along the route will be achieved primarily through working with partners to assist them steward the cultural landscape, as opposed to the NPS attempting to purchase property for such a purpose.

The NPS has drafted several detailed reports for SEMO that address the cultural landscape and its treatment. This report revisited those reports and found them mostly still applicable to SEMO today. Therefore, site management needs to switch from planning to implementation.

Site Management

The multi-agency approach necessitates clear coordination for effective SEMO site management. Thankfully, SEMO staff have noted that they have a positive working relationship with other agencies. The following outlines current management of the NHT-CT by the NPS and its partners.

Lowndes Interpretive Center

The Lowndes Interpretive Center (LIC) and surrounding 20 acres are the only portions of the NHT-CT owned in fee simple by the NPS. As such, this is the only landscape within SEMO maintained by the agency. Initially, the LIC site was managed and maintained by the Alabama Department of Transportation (ALDOT) as a State rest area and interpretive center. Since that time, the State of Alabama transferred control of the site to the NPS.

446. Much of this text derives from the Statement of Work for this project and the 2005 Comprehensive Management Plan.
447. National Park Service, "Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail Comprehensive Management Plan and Final Environmental Impact Statement," 2005, 2.
448. National Park Service, "Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail Comprehensive Management Plan and Final Environmental Impact Statement," 2005, 2.
449. National Park Service, "Comprehensive Management Plan," 24.

Maintenance tasks at the site include mowing, watering, weeding, trash collection, some of which is performed by contractors.

Selma to Montgomery NHT

The majority of the NHT is managed and maintained by ALDOT and various municipalities. These government entities oversee mowing, paving, streetscape improvements, construction, and vegetation management along the NHT.

Marion to Selma Connecting Trail

Like the NHT, the Marion to Selma Connecting Trail corridor is managed and maintained by ALDOT and various municipalities. Similar to the NHT, these government entities oversee mowing, paving, streetscape improvements, construction, and vegetation management along the NHT. Private landowners along Old Highway 45 likely mow portions of the right-of-way in the vicinity of their properties.

Treatment Period

While a Treatment Period has yet to be defined through a CMP process, for the purposes of this CLR, the Treatment Period for SEMO is 1965. This period corresponds to the Selma Campaign for civil rights, the public demonstrations associated with the campaign, the events in Marion that preceded it, and the subsequent retaliation (and mutual aid) resulting in the Tent City encampment.

Treatment Recommendations

As the Lowndes Interpretive Center (LIC) and surrounding twenty acres are the only portions of the NHT owned in fee simple by the NPS, the bulk of the treatment recommendations in this report will be focused on this site. For the rest of the NHT that is not federally owned, treatment recommendations will be broad in scope, offering overarching guidance and broad overall management objectives. The goal of the recommendations is to provide a framework for NPS managers to use when making decisions about how best to protect historic resources along the NHT-CT, how to provide a range of visitor experience opportunities, how to manage visitor use, and what kinds of additional facilities to develop.

The project team collaborated with SEMO staff to develop the landscape treatment alternative and recommendations to follow. These treatment recommendations are organized by geographical area for clarity.

Primary Treatment

A CMP typically defines the management category or formalized treatment approach for a given NPS unit. While previously vetted park planning documents advocate for stewarding the NHT to reflect 1965 conditions where possible, they do not identify a primary treatment or proscribed management zones where specific actions should take place. Similarly, no primary treatment has been established for the more recently created Connecting Trail. While some portions of the NHT-CT still broadly reflect the cultural landscape conditions of 1965, the LIC site does not possess enough historic integrity to warrant a preservation or restoration treatment to that period. A reconstruction treatment similarly does not make sense for the site based on the change in context on the property (from pastureland to rest stop/interpretive center). As such, this CLR recommends *rehabilitation* as the primary treatment for the LIC site. Similarly, though outside of NPS ownership, this CLR also recommends a rehabilitation treatment for the entirety of the NHT-CT corridor.

Rehabilitation protects the significant historic features that contribute to the integrity of the property while allowing for necessary improvements. Like preservation, rehabilitation involves identifying, retaining, and preserving character-defining features. Additionally, when the landscape's historic character is diminished because an important landscape feature is missing, rehabilitation provides strategies to accurately and faithfully return the missing feature to the landscape. Rehabilitation provides for the continued use of the property through alterations and additions that do not damage the character-defining features. Additions are sometimes necessary to facilitate a new use of a historic landscape, but the rehabilitation guidelines emphasize that new additions should only occur when there is no viable alternative.

Treatment Goals

The overall goal of treatment is to protect and rehabilitate Selma to Montgomery NHT and Connecting Trail cultural landscape through implementing recommendations that reinforce period character, support the modern use of the corridor, or recommend further research.

The treatment goals include:

- Rehabilitate the cultural landscape where possible to the 1965 period through targeted easement protections. The primary features currently contributing to the historic character of SEMO include the downtown streetscapes of Marion, Selma, and Montgomery; the rural and agricultural character between urban centers; patterns of alternating vegetation and open space; historic land uses; views throughout the corridor; and the overall topography and terrain of the corridor;
- Strengthen the interpretive opportunities for making the historic landscape more legible and accessible for visitors; and
- Maintain and strengthen community partnerships through shared decision-making and collaboration.

Treatment Issues

The following treatment issues pertain primarily to the physical landscape and its interpretation. While a number of current interpretive needs relate to the exhibits and spaces *within* the three visitor centers, this report does not offer specific guidance for those. The following treatment issues were provided to the project team between 2019 and 2021.

Lowndes Interpretive Center

The Lowndes Interpretive Center was designed as a rest stop, and most of the site's challenges correspond to that use. Specific treatment issues identified for the LIC site include:

- The large amount of parking and its use by tractor trailers
- Interpretation of the Tent City area
- Visitor and employee safety
- Access to and visitor use of grounds after hours

Treatment recommendations for these issues will be addressed in the text to follow.

NHT-CT

The following issues were identified for the SEMO National Historic Trail and Connecting Trail:

- The complication of different jurisdictions managing different portions of SEMO
- Management of viewsheds
- General law enforcement and visitor protection along the NHT
- Invasive species management
- Management and maintenance of waysides and signs along the NHT
- Challenges associated with the implementation of treatment recommendations on non-federal property
- Protecting the landscape beyond just viewsheds
- Interpretive signage and other ways to reinforce connection between Connecting Trail and NHT.

The Treatment recommendations for these issues will be addressed in the text to follow.

Interpretation Recommendations

A robust interpretive program is an essential component of the management of SEMO. The NPS published a Long Range Interpretive Plan for SEMO in 2003, which identified a number of interpretive themes to highlight through exhibits, signage, and other programming. Interpretive themes are "the key stories or concepts that visitors should understand after visiting the trail. The themes provide the foundation for all interpretive programs and media developed. They do not include everything the trail may interpret, but they do cover those ideas that are critical to visitors' understanding of its significant resources."[450] The established interpretive themes for SEMO are:

- The Selma to Montgomery March resulted in the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which enfranchised citizens previously denied the right to vote. This act changed and continues to change the political, economic, and social fabric of American society.

450. National Park Service, "Long Range Interpretive Plan, Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail," 2003, 8–9.

- Fighting against the evils of bigotry and hatred, individuals risked their lives and livelihoods for the right to vote, bringing greater value and meaning to the democratic process.
- Courageous and committed individuals, working through a variety of community institutions and nationally recognized groups, played pivotal roles in bringing about vast change to the social and political landscape of American society for present and future generations.
- Through the use of nonviolent protest, ordinary people worked to mobilize and sustain the modern civil rights movement, a movement that became an example for other worldwide democratic movements.
- The struggle of African Americans to realize the dream and right of full citizenship as guaranteed by the United States Constitution forced this country to live up to its ideals of equality for all.
- The cultural landscape and environment is reflective of the social, economic, and legal systems that resulted in the modern civil rights movement, images of which helped shape the national reaction and response.
- Selma, Alabama was selected as the starting point of the Voting Rights March of 1965 because of the convergence of several crucial political, social, and economic factors, which were inclusive of its location/geography.
- The efforts of those involved in the Selma to Montgomery March are part of the continuum within the civil and human rights struggle of African Americans from slavery to modern times.

This report concurs with these themes and recommends the following expansion of thematic content:

- The inclusion of Marion, and in particular the killing of Jimmie Lee Jackson, and its role as an impetus for the Selma to Montgomery March.
- The use of mutual aid by African Americans as a means of community building, solidarity, and survival.
- The role of SNCC in maintaining a political presence and helping to establish an independent political party in Lowndes County—a precursor to the Black Panther Party.

The interpretation of the cultural landscape is primarily provided through the three NPS-operated visitor centers. The NPS has installed interpretive waysides in Marion and Selma, and the City of Montgomery also installed several waysides. Physical improvements to bolster interpretation throughout SEMO is provided in the text to follow.

Lowndes Interpretive Center

The Lowndes Interpretive Center (LIC) was constructed in 2004. Initially, the site was managed and occupied by both the NPS and ALDOT. The Memorandum of Understanding between ALDOT and NPS has lapsed, and to date, it is the only property along the NHT that is owned and operated by the NPS.

Very few traces of the 1965 cultural landscape exist on site today. Surviving features include the overall spatial arrangement (located at the corner of Highway 80 and White Hall Road intersection), a short section of a driveway into the site, and a mostly undeveloped and open field in the southeast corner of the site. The construction of the LIC building, expansive parking area, and interpretive trail and picnic area necessitated the removal of the buildings and structures on site. That said, the features removed from the landscape post-date the 1965 historic period.

This report does not advocate for the restoration of the landscape to 1965 conditions; however, it does propose modifying the existing site to better reflect the story of Tent City through a redesign the landscape that is *informed* by 1965 conditions.

Tent City

Previous studies had yet to place the exact location of Tent City in the LIC landscape. This report located a 1966 aerial image that clearly shows the Tent City encampment where the interpretive walk and picnic area is now located (Figure 397). With this information, along with a recently completed archeological report addressing the area, a re-interpretation of Tent City through expanded programing, exhibits, or constructions is possible.



Figure 397. 1966 aerial image of the Tent City encampment. (Source: USDA).

The emotional and cultural connection to the Tent City site warrants sensitivity. Tent City housed dozens of refugees for over its two-year presence along Highway 80. Its existence was due to both an oppressive power structure that lingers into the present and due to the continuation of the mutual aid that African Americans in the area had long relied on to survive. The closure of Tent City was made possible by the local community's efforts to relocate the families to more appropriate housing. The implementation of any final design for site redevelopment should include the input from local individuals and friend groups who have direct connections to the events of 1965.

Current Interpretation

Currently, the interpretation of Tent City entails informational waysides along a paved trail and museum exhibits inside the LIC building. The outdoor wayside panels are in poor conditions due to weathering. This design is more in keeping with a traveler rest stop than with a historically significant memorialized space and does not reference the historic Tent City encampment through its physical features or layout.

Interpretation Alternatives

The following Tent City interpretation alternatives are provided as a means to restart conversations around interpretation of Tent City. All alternatives are premised on the partial or full removal of the current designed landscape east of the LIC building.

Alternative One: Friends Group Memorial

Over the last several years, the Lowndes County Friends of the Civil Rights Movement (LCFCRM) have petitioned for a more Lowndes County-specific memorial to Tent City on the LIC site. They drafted a design with the assistance of an architect, as seen in Figure 398. As such a large project on federal land requires an abundance of time, resources, meetings, and approvals, the LCFCRM have begun to seek an alternative location for its construction.

While the LCFCRM design is a welcome attempt to memorialize the space, the design presented in the one sketch does not fully engage the site's potential or its history.

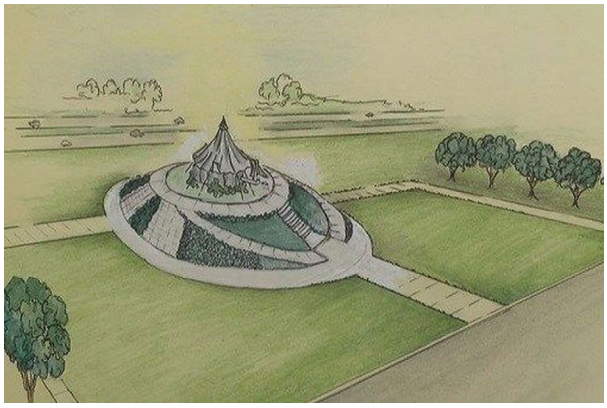


Figure 398. Proposed memorial for Tent City as developed by the Lowndes County Friends of the Civil Rights Movement. (LCFCRM) have petitioned for a more Lowndes County-specific memorial to Tent City on the LIC site. (Source: LCFCRM Facebook page).

Alternative Two: New Memorial + Interpretive Design

The creation of a new memorial design for the LIC landscape offers the opportunity to create a more immersive and respectful interpretation of the Tent City encampment. This report offers an alternative concept that aims for that goal (Illustration 5.1, and Figure 399 and Figure 400 for illustrative comparison). The new memorial design would reference—but not recreate—the historic tent encampment, including the space between tents, former circulation features, and historic-period vegetation.

Tent City resulted from the dual threads of violence and discrimination fueled by white supremacy and African American solidarity. The Tent City Memorial is meant to reflect the latter, as a place of healing for the Lowndes County African American community. As such, the memorial seeks to offer an unambiguously positive experience for visitors, one that prioritizes a sense of safety and security, rootedness, connectedness, and liveliness. It is also intended as a space to educate the public about how the plight of African Americans in the area persisted after the media's attention left Lowndes County.

In order to provide a space of reflection, the concept adds a buffer around the perimeter of the site. While this is not in keeping with historic conditions, the fact that Tent City residents were fired upon by passersby warrants the creation of such a buffer. It offers psychological protection from the road and reinforces the healing intention of the memorial. Buffering also insulates from freeway noise.

The interior core of the concept features a collection of "ghost structures" set within an open space to evoke 1965 conditions. The structures are open-sided, Corten-steel frames that reference the tents that housed families at Tent City. The restoration of canvas tents in the landscape would constitute an ongoing maintenance issue due to environmental conditions of the site (heavy rain events, heat, and wind). As such, their use is not recommended. The use of open Corten-steel structures that share the same dimensions as the original tents provide a clear sense of the layout of the encampment, while not feeling like a restoration of the 1965-1966 landscape.

A large flexible-use space for commemorative and community events is proposed for the area adjacent to the structures. Here, seating can be arranged for ceremonies and other gatherings. This area is also intended for residents of Lowndes to exercise, enjoy family gatherings, and play when not used for ceremonial purposes.

Historic circulation features, including paths and drives, were informal within Tent City. In order to keep the site accessible, the conceptual design includes formalized pathways. One path meanders along the entirety of the memorial's edge, with two access points into the existing parking and building entrance area. A secondary path connects to the ghost structures area. It is constructed of discontinuous concrete pavers set into crushed, compacted and ADA-accessible gravel hardscaping. In the northeast corner of the site, an oval-shaped loop marks the historic entrance into the site. This feature is connected to a straight alleé which follows the approximate route of the historic drive into the site. Interpretive panels would line the pathways in various locations. These would be defined by a revised interpretive plan for the site.

During the Treatment Period of 1965, the site featured successional vegetation typical of southeastern pasturelands. Pine trees and broomsedge were prominent in the landscape and helped form two distinct swaths of vegetation within the encampment. The proposed planting scheme references the site's historic land conditions. In the spirit of emotional regeneration and restoration, the planting plan prominently reflects the Blackland Prairie ecology once prevalent to the area. Prairie plant species include colorful perennials and grasses that will awaken

visitors' senses and offer a sense of seasonality through visual changes to the colors and scents over the course of the year. The plantings have the additional benefit of serving the needs of pollinators and other wildlife.

Specifically, the concept plan includes two broad planting schemes indicated by "HVPP" and "NVPP," or "historic vegetation planting pattern" and "new vegetation planting pattern," respectively. Each has their own plant palette, and the visual distinction between the two schemes conveys the distinct areas of the site that were vegetated versus open during the time when people were forced to live in Tent City. Areas denoted as "NVPP" are intended for more formal plantings, while "HVPP" is more naturalized to further reinforce the distinction between historic and not historically vegetated areas. This variety also creates an additional layer of visual interest. Each of the two zones is a mix of trees, shrubs, and groundcovers.

The border between prairie and turf grass area is a simple mown edge. The tree alleé of Chinquapin oak (*Quercus muehlenbergii*) honors the original drive entrance for the residents of Tent City. This oak is also native to Blackland Prairie. It is relatively disease and pest free, fast growing and has beautiful fall color that complements many of the fall blooming prairie plant species.

While this design was generated with the local community in mind, finalizing the design with the input of local community partners would be beneficial for both the design itself and for the continued resilience of such partnerships.

Alternative Three: Update Information / Replace Panels

A third alternative is to retain the current design but update and replace the informational panels. As the photographs on the panels are faded, new panels would better convey the story of Tent City.

Parking Lot Redesign

As designed, the LIC site was to intended to serve as both a rest stop and an interpretive center. As a result, the site contains over two acres of parking for tractor trailers plus a smaller lot for buses and personal automobiles. The NPS and ALDOT agreement to allow tractor trailer use of the site is no longer in effect. Therefore, there is a clear opportunity to redesign the parking area to better serve the needs of SEMO and the visiting public.

Remove Tractor Trailer Parking and Add Picnic Area

This proposal recommends removing the tractor trailer parking and relocating all picnic facilities on site to this area. The parking lot west of the LIC building already features limited picnic facilities; this design would add to these for a more expanded picnic area separate from the proposed memorial space. See Illustration 5.2 for a conceptual plan of the rehabilitation.

The new design does not radically alter the layout of the property. Instead, it only removes the tractor trailer parking lot and replaces it with a vegetated picnic space that would be inviting to both visitors to SEMO and local residents. The redesigned space offers open air picnic tables, several pavilions, walking paths, and other visitor service amenities. The area works within existing site conditions, namely the primary vehicular flow and site topography. Further, it connects easily to both the LIC building and the proposed Tent City memorial space.

Vegetation in the area would differ from the proposed Tent City memorial prairie. Rather, it would be more in keeping with what is already existing on site and would consist of a mixture of oak tree types, other flowering tree species such as dogwood, and a ground plane of mown turf.

In order to reduce light pollution emanating from the site, it is recommended that new night sky-friendly luminaries be installed as part of the redesign.

Selma to Montgomery NHT

The Selma to Montgomery NHT consists of 54 miles of roadway stretching from the condensed urban center of Selma, through the rural Black Belt region, to the capital city of Montgomery. The NHT contains a diversity of landscapes that reflect residential, commemorative, civic, agricultural, recreational, and commercial land uses.

Treatment issues identified by SEMO staff for the NHT include the following:

- The complication of different jurisdictions managing different portions of SEMO.
- Challenges associated with the



Existing Conditions of Proposed Tent City Memorial

Figure 399. This photograph shows the current condition of the Tent City site at the Lowndes Interpretive Center. (Source: WLA Studio).



Figure 400. This image shows a rendering for the proposed memorial for Tent City. It shows the design from the same angle as Figure 399 for comparison. (Source: WLA Studio).



TENT CITY MEMORIAL LANDSCAPE LEGEND

1. Corten steel ghost structures
2. Path
3. Gravel hardscaping area
4. Prairie planting area
5. Area of historic vegetation planting pattern
6. Area of new vegetation planting pattern
7. Area of historic entrance
8. Mown turf grass
9. Flexible-use gathering space
10. Tree allee and location of historic drive
11. Main entrance
12. Secondary entrance
13. Introductory interpretive panel
14. Interpretive sign
15. Water fountain

Credits

The following sources were used to create the existing conditions illustrations:

1. Google Earth
2. National Park Service

Illustration 5.1

Proposed Tent City Memorial

Source: WLA Studio

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021



SITE PLAN LEGEND

1. Maintenance facility (ext)
2. Parking (ext)
3. Exit drive (ext)
4. Entrance drive (ext)
5. Picnic area and path
6. Tent City memorial landscape (see illustration 5.1)
7. Lowndes interpretive center (ext)
8. Pavilion, 4-table
9. Pavilion, 2-table
10. Open-air picnic table
11. Water fountain
12. Trash recepticle
13. Crosswalk
14. Sign (ext)
15. Wooded area
16. Connecting path

*(Ext) – existing

Credits

The following sources were used to create the existing conditions illustrations:

1. Google Earth
2. National Park Service

Illustration 5.2
Lowndes Interpretive Center Proposed Redesign

Source: WLA Studio

Selma to Montgomery
National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report
June 2021

implementation of treatment recommendations on non-federal property.
- Protecting the landscape beyond just viewsheds.

These issues and others are explored in the text to follow. Again, the treatment recommendations regarding the NHT-CT are broad and will rely on the partnerships at the core of SEMO's management.

Selma

The City of Selma is nearly synonymous with the mid-twentieth century civil rights movement. The images from Bloody Sunday, the Selma Wall, the Selma to Montgomery March, and the numerous other protests and mass meetings that occurred in Selma were broadcast across the world and became synonymous with the civil rights movement.

Currently, multiple buildings along the NHT route in Selma are boarded up. Some are in a severe state of neglect. The city has recently installed new sidewalks as part of a limited streetscape improvement plan, but these upgrades are fairly modest.

Streetscape

Overall, Selma's streetscape is largely reflective of 1965 conditions. Building heights, setbacks, and architectural character are in keeping with the historic period. This setting provides the foundation for providing visitors an accurate sense of Selma as it existed in 1965. That said, there is not a need to try to restore Selma's streetscape to 1965 conditions or to necessarily restore the town to that time period. The NPS-operated Selma Interpretive Center provides a broad account of the struggle for civil rights that transpired in the city, and limited interpretive panels along the route provide additional information to visitors.

The following recommendations pertain to cultural landscape improvements the NPS can support in Selma:

- Add additional interpretive panels and repair/replace damaged ones. Spread the panels along the march routes through the city but locate panels in a manner that does not result in visual clutter. Potential locations for new panels include along Alabama Street, where interpretive and commemorative features are lacking. These panels may be part of NHT-CT interpretive redesign, linking Selma to both Montgomery and Marion.
- Limit the amount of additional commemorative small-scale features (such as the memorial light fixture on Water Street). While commemoration is an important cultural activity, visual clutter and long-term maintenance are concerns.
- Maintain recently planted street vegetation through pruning and regular watering as needed. While Selma's streetscape was not heavily vegetated in 1965, providing shade trees along the sidewalks would be beneficial to visitors.
- If feasible, advocate for the retention of older streetlights and traffic signals, which better reflect historic conditions.
- Assist property owners to apply for rehabilitation grants or assistance for façade improvements.

Highway 80/31 – Dallas, Lowndes, and Montgomery Counties

Bloody Sunday site

While the majority of the Selma to Montgomery March route runs through rural Dallas and Lowndes counties, this section also contains one of the most infamous locations in civil rights history—the site of Bloody Sunday. The site, which sits just outside of Selma's city limits in Selmont, is typical of vernacular commercial development outside an urban core. Individual buildings and structures line Highway 80 and two auxiliary roads. The buildings reflect a variety of construction types and dates. During the historic period, this was a commercial area. Historic photographs suggest that there was more business activity during the historic period than there is currently.

Recommendations

- Deter incongruent (i.e. modern style) development. There have been various changes to the building stock in Selmont, but like in neighboring Selma, the land use, building density, setbacks, and architectural character are *generally* reflective of 1965 conditions. However, there is a risk of having chain stores or fast-food restaurants develop parcels in the location and impacting this historic

character. At a minimum, work with developers to construct new buildings that compliment and do not detract from the overall character of this area.
- Add safe vehicular parking and walking options for visitors. Explore the placement of crosswalks/sidewalks that would provide access to the nearby civil rights park and interpretive panels.
- Add interpretive panels—potentially with QR codes that link to historic news footage—along improved sidewalks.

Interpretation + Wayside Pull-offs
Interpretative features or other public history displays along the march route from Selmont to downtown Montgomery are limited. Aside from a few non-descript campsite location signs and a few small NHT signs, there is not a lot to signal to convey to a visitor that the highway holds historic significance. Over the years, park planning has explored the possibility of adding wayside pull-offs for motorists. In 2011-2012, the Jaeger Company and Lord Aeck Sargent drafted recommendations for the placement of pullouts along the route. The report was "put on the backburner," with hopes that this CLR could address the issue. While this report does not go into the specificity as the 2011-2012 project did, its findings are summarized here, with recommendations for next steps.

The 2012 report presented designs for the construction of six wayside pullouts along Highway 80 (Figure 401). The locations were chosen for their proximity to important sites along the NHT and relative lack of impediments to construction. The design process included the input of the Alabama State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and ALDOT. As the report went through this consultation process with partners, this CLR will revisit the identified locations and see if they are still viable. The following locations were identified for wayside pullouts:

- Trail Orientation Point (GPS Coordinates: N32 x 24.083' x W87 x 07.37')
- Campsite #1, David Hall Property (GPS Coordinates: N32 x 20.080' x W86 x 56.882')
- Dallas/Lowndes County Line (GPS Coordinates: N32 x 18.554' x W86 x 51.068')
- Mount Gilliard Missionary Baptist Church (GPS Coordinates: N32 x 16.450' x W86 x 44.805')
- Campsite #2, Rosie Steel Farm (GPS Coordinates: N32 x 16.059' x W86 x 42.349'
- Viola Liuzzo Monument (GPS Coordinates: N32 x 15.712' x W86 x 38.625')

While mostly concurring with this program, this CLR recommends a slight revision to these locations.

- The first pullout was recommended to be sited along Highway 80, approximately one and a half miles south of the Edmund Pettus Bridge. The 2012 report recommended two interpretive panels in this location, which would serve as the "Trail Orientation Point." The purpose of such a pullout is clear, but the location would be better within the commercial strip of Selmont, where there is both a strong connection to the events of 1965 and ample developed areas for siting the pullout.
- The second pullout would serve to interpret Campsite #1, the Hall Farm. The location selected in the 2012 report is not located at or adjacent to the actual Hall Farm campsite, which is located roughly ¾ of a mile south of Highway 80. Instead, it is located along Highway 80 eastbound, at the intersection of Highway 80 and County Road 145. A directional arrow on the sign points to the right, along County Road 145, indicating that the campsite is located in that direction. However, visitors would need to turn again onto County Road 67 to reach the campsite, and there is not a wayfinding sign to guide visitors. If visitors do determine where to go, they will see a large NPS sign at the campsite location. Presently, the Hall family is in discussion on next steps for the preservation and interpretation of their property. Should they want visitors on site, then this location, perhaps adjacent to the small farm pond on the property, would be a better location for a pull out. Should the family or neighbors not want the increased vehicular traffic, the location selected by the 2012 report would still be suitable.

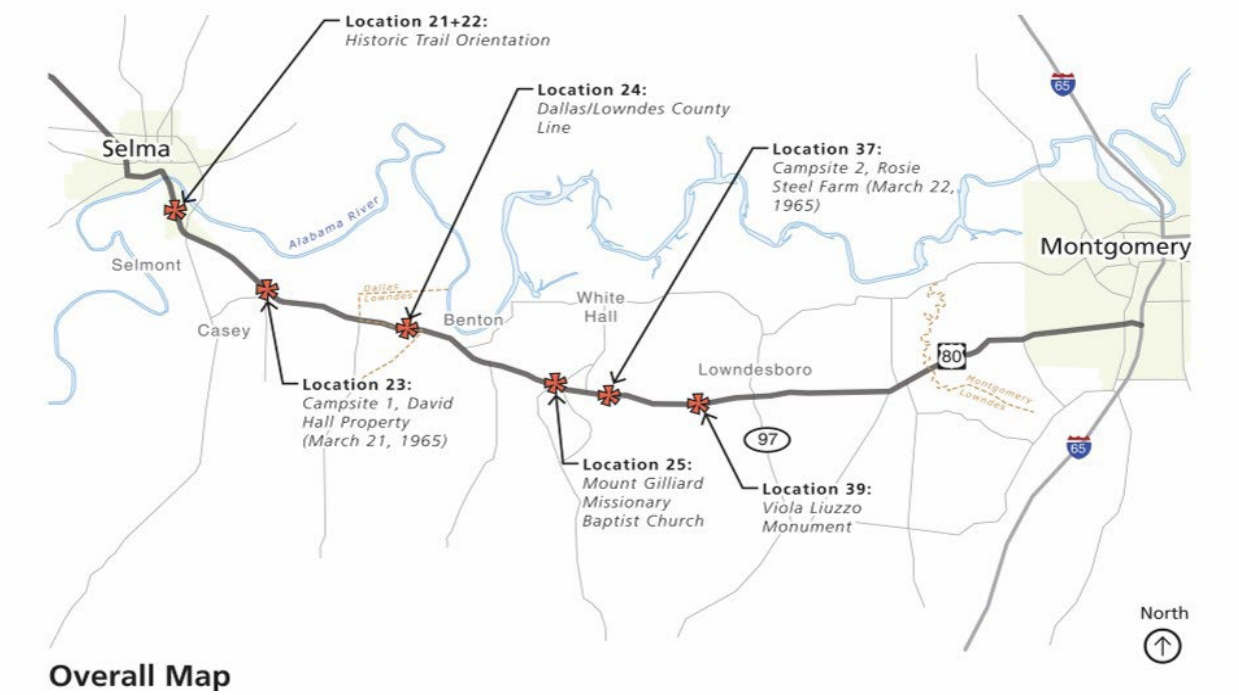


Figure 401. This map shows the proposed interpretive pullout locations as drafted by the 2012 project. (Source: WLA Studio).

- The Dallas/Lowndes County Line location is an appropriate location for a pullout. It was in this location that the highway narrowed from four lanes to two lanes, and the number of marchers was reduced to a few hundred for safety. This moment in the march is important to interpret to the public.
- The Mount Gilliard Missionary Baptist Church location is not needed due to the proximity of the LIC site, and the interpretive programs located there.
- Campsite #2 location is appropriate location for a pullout.
- The Viola Liuzzo Monument location is an appropriate location for a pullout.
- This CLR recommends adding a pullout across from the Gardner Farm location, at the intersection of Frederick Douglas Road and Highway 80, should conditions be appropriate and the Gardner family supports.

In terms of landowner approvals, the report notes that planning for interpretive waysides along the NHT began in 2002 and that "[p]revious planning efforts did include some discussions with landowners to determine their interest in accommodating the wayside developments. Some agreements are in place regarding the installation and content of interpretive panels, but the configurations of the associated pull outs have not been discussed in detail. At this time, discussions of land acquisition should remain undisclosed as this is very sensitive in nature. NPS plans to make contact with private landowners directly." It is unknown at this time if the agreements are still in place.

The following summarizes the design approach and parameters of the 2012 report:

- Wayside pullout will accommodate two buses and five to ten vehicles.
- Wayside pull through will accommodate pull through of a bus or RV when all spaces are occupied.
- Safety of visitors, particularly school-aged children, is a primary concern.
- A percentage of parking spaces and all paths leading to the interpretive panels will be fully accessible.
- Visitor experience is of great importance. Achieving a buffer from street noise to allow for contemplation and locating interpretive areas adjacent to the historic resource will enhance the visitor experience.
- Parking in the right of way is not permissible.
- Development off of adjacent county roads



Figure 402. This photograph shows a small patch of woody vegetation in the median along Highway 80. Its presence in the landscape today presents an opportunity for vegetation to be installed elsewhere along the NHT-CT (Source: WLA Studio).

as opposed to direct access off of U.S. Hwy 80 may be a good option in that it eliminates the design constraints imposed by ALDOT for development.
- The speed limit for along U.S. Hwy 80 is 65 MPH except for Site 21 & 22, which is 55 MPH. The design team will consult with ALDOT and American Association of State Highway Officials (AASHTO) standards for guidance on ingress and egress requirements for each specific site configuration.

These remain as important design considerations and parameters. Further recommendations for interpretive pullouts include:

- Update the 2012 report, exploring the options from the 2012 report and adjusting for recommended changes proposed by this CLR.
- Draft a new cost analysis for construction.
- Task the partnerships coordinator with contacting property owners and updating the landowner survey.
- Consult with ALDOT and adjust for any changes in state highway regulations.

Vegetation Management

Vegetation along the NHT varies widely from dry, sunbaked pasturelands to dense, dark swampland. Little ornamental vegetation exists in the right-of-way. Where ornamental vegetation does occur, it is typically within or near a developed area. Examples of this include the trees lining the highway in and out of Selma and the live oaks near the Montgomery airport.

The maintenance of vegetation along the trail right-of-way is performed by ALDOT. Primary tasks include mowing, tree trimming, and spraying herbicides. The frequency of vegetation maintenance depends on the season and need. Vegetation management outside the immediate ROW is performed by or for individual landowners at their discretion or by municipalities. Some properties are maintained for little vegetation, while others allow plants to colonize fence lines and other marginal areas. Some fields are fallow, resulting in the presence of successional vegetation.



Figure 403. 2019 aerial image showing the conditions at the Dallas-Lowndes County line. Tree plantings in the median here could help to recreate the sense of enclosure experienced by marchers in 1965, despite the widening of the highway and other changes to historic conditions. (Source: Google Earth).

Invasive species occur in various locations along the trail. Bamboo and privet were the most observed invasive exotic species during fieldwork. While the vegetation found within the NHT corridor largely reflects historic conditions (in terms of types, not specific plants), it is likely that more invasive exotic plant species exist today.

ALDOT allows very little woody vegetation to grow in the Highway 80 median, which is covered in grass. Where it does occur, vegetation consists of just a few trees (Figure 402). The presence of trees along the highway can pose a threat to motorist safety and clean up from downed limbs constitutes extra maintenance costs.

The parameters of safety, non-NPS ownership, and sheer size of the NHT limits the vegetation management recommendations. As such, the following recommendations pertain primarily to reinforcing historic vegetation patterns and character.

Recommendations

- While it is not common in the project area, this report recommends ALDOT plant a small cluster of oak trees within the median at Dallas-Lowndes county line, on the east and west sides of the bridge (Figure 403). This would help to create a similar sense of enclosure marchers faced in this part of the journey. If horizontal clearance standards can be achieved—such as the example seen in Figure 402—the design can satisfy safety considerations. Further, this vegetation feature coupled with the proposed wayside pullout in this area would provide a striking interpretive point along the NHT.
- Encourage municipalities and landowners beyond the Highway 80 ROW to continuously revise fire protection plans as needed.
- Encourage the same parties to limit the amount of invasive exotic plant species and/or adopt an exotic vegetation management plan.

Viewsheds + Land Conservation

The ongoing development of the NHT-CT corridor represents a challenge to this approach to management, and recent construction within the corridor has had a detrimental impact on the historic cultural landscape. While the NPS management philosophy has been to advocate for the stewardship of the landscape in keeping with historic period conditions, this does not prohibit future development projects from occurring.

Although the SEMO cultural landscape has changed since the period of significance, the primary spatial patterns and many significant individual features remain intact. Further, the historic significance of individual properties varies along the NHT-CT, necessitating different management and treatment approaches.

In 2010, a team consisting of EDAW, NPS, and the Alabama Historical Commission drafted a document entitled "Protection Plan for U.S. Highway 80" (referred to hereafter as Protection Plan). The purpose of the report was to "determine the most intact and significant landscapes along the 1965 Voting Rights March route and to develop strategies for protecting the natural and cultural resources that contribute to the corridor's historic meaning." Using a GIS-based ranked model system, the Protection Plan identified both "High Quality" and "High Integrity" viewsheds along the route, noting the locations corresponding specific views within these areas (Figure 404).[451] Factors for the analysis consisted of land cover type, cultural significance, visibility, and environmental resources. The resulting map identified distinct parcels for conservation, ranked by priority (Figure 405). The protection plan mirrored the GMP in acknowledging the difficulty of securing such protections along the NHT, and therefore stressed the need for a collaborative approach using various conservation techniques (fee simple ownership, bargain sale, conservation easement, purchase of land with leaseback, lease, limited development option, and outright donation) to safeguarding both the scenic and culturally significant portions of the route.

The highest conservation priority areas are scattered along Highway 80, with concentrations in Selmont, in the vicinity of campsites, at the Dallas-Lowndes county border, and adjacent to the LIC site. These areas—along with the identified views and viewsheds—were field investigated by the preparers of this CLR to evaluate if the locations still had conservation potential. Though not running a similar modeling program, the visual survey performed for this report concurs with the findings of the Protection Plan.

Lastly, in terms of threats, the Protection Plan report identified the area in White Hall adjacent to the LIC site as a primary area of concern. This concern has proven justified as development pressures continue to increase in the area.

Recommendations

- Consult the Protection Plan and develop a ranked list of parcels for protection. This report recommends prioritizing the parcels adjacent to the site of Bloody Sunday and the agricultural landscapes near the LIC site.
- Through SEMO's partnerships coordinator, establish contact with property owners to begin discussions for potential conservation easements or other appropriate arrangements.
- Hold public meetings about the need to limit incongruent development along the NHT, stressing the benefits that could come through conservation and increased tourism.

Signage

Few features in the landscape notify the visitor of Highway 80's historic significance or its status as a NHT. The lack of signage is most acute in the rural section of the route between Selma and Montgomery. While the highway contains a number of small signs referencing the historic trail, these are easily missed or overlooked by motorists travelling at a high rate of speed. Additionally, the three signs indicating the locations of the campsite, while larger, are also not particularly visible from the road (especially the sign for campsite #2, which is positioned parallel to the road). Lastly, two large NHT identification signs are located at the Highway 80 / 31 interchange.

There is opportunity to install signage that better informs the visitor of the significance of the highway. That said, an obstacle to sign

451. See report in park archives for details regarding model development and deployment.

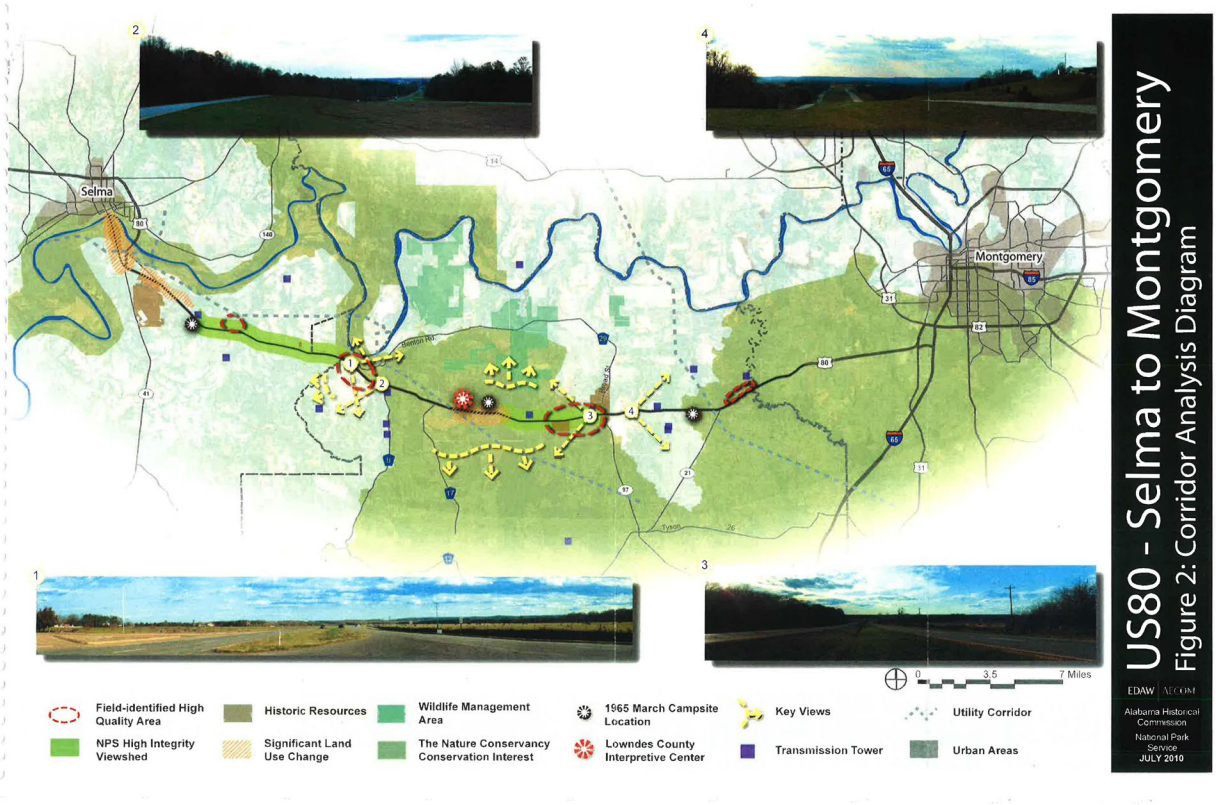


Figure 404. This map from the 2010 Protection Plan identifies the areas along Highway 80 that possess historic integrity, key views, high quality scenic areas, and other factors. (Source: NPS).

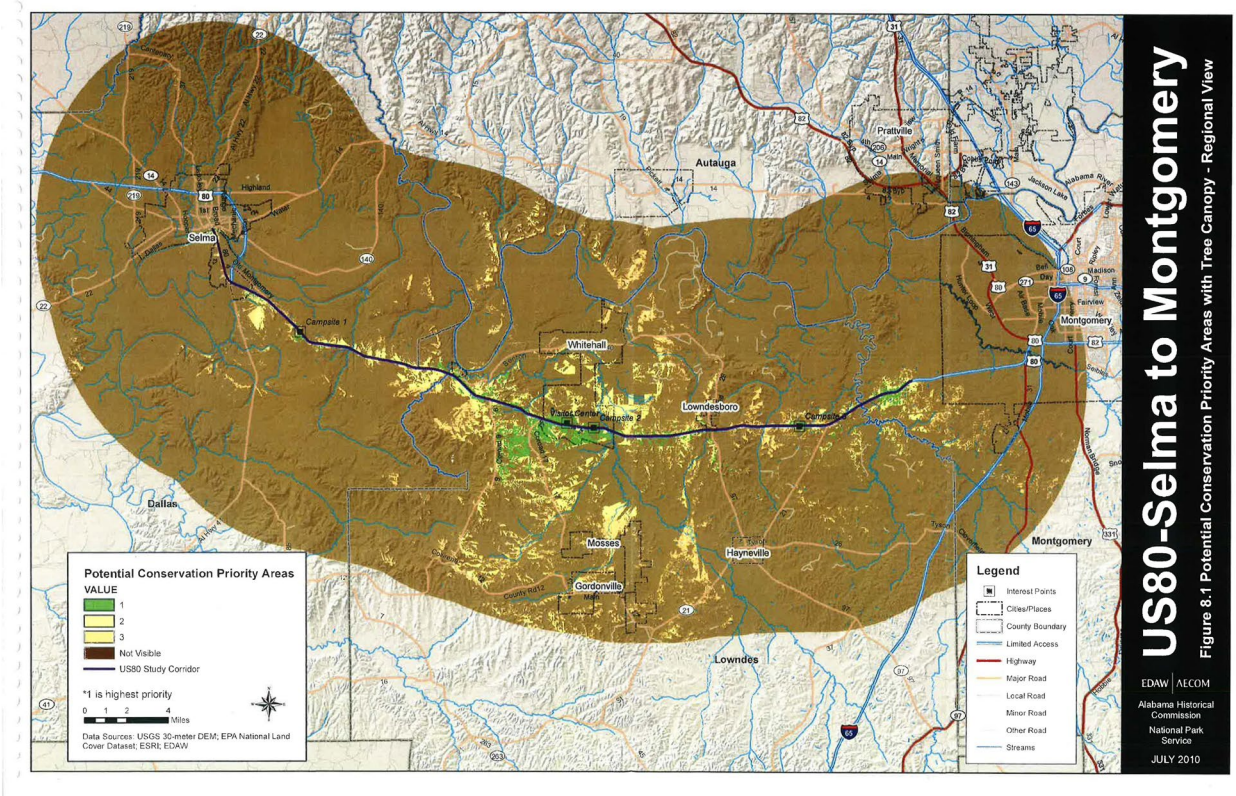


Figure 405. This map from the 2010 Protection Plan identifies the areas along Highway are prioritized for protection. This report field-checked these areas, and despite some change to on the ground conditions in the last decade, the identified parcels are still worthy of some form of conservation. (Source: NPS).

placement is that the historic march began in Selma and progressed east to Montgomery, yet a large percentage of visitors to SEMO begin their visit in Montgomery and travel west (in reverse of the march) to get to Selma. This complicates interpretation. For the history of the civil rights movement in the Black Belt to be conveyed properly, chronology is important, and as such, interpretation and corresponding signage should be oriented/ordered from west to east. This will also help to link the NHT to the Connecting Trail (discussed later).

Recommendations

- Consider adding larger NHT signs along Highway 80 to reinforce significance of route to the public.
- Integrate signage with a larger interpretive plan and proposed wayside pullouts.

Montgomery

Over the last several years, the City of Montgomery has installed various interpretive and commemorative features along the NHT route within its limits. These features include new waysides, public art, and street tree plantings. These additions begin at the City of St. Jude campus and continue along the march route to the State Capitol Building. While not reflective of historic conditions, the new features nevertheless convey the significance of the route and are in keeping with the commemorative character of the route as it exists today. Further, it helps to attract people to both the city and to learn about its civil rights movement history.

Day Street vs. Grady Street

One treatment issue pertaining to the City of Montgomery is that marchers took a different route through the city than is currently interpreted by the NPS and the city. As explained in the Analysis and Evaluation section of this report, a National Guard photograph from the last day of the march clearly indicates that some portion of the crowd marched along Grady Street and not Day Street. While the difference does not radically change our understanding of the march, it does alter it. For example, the properties targeted for possible protection or for a National Register nomination would perhaps be different considering this change in our understanding of the route.

Recommendations:

- Work with the City of Montgomery to update its interpretive waysides along the march route to include Grady Street.
- Limit the amount of additional public art and commemorative elements along the route, as too many commemorative features can distract from the historic landscape.

Marion to Selma Connecting Trail

Established in 2015, the Marion to Selma Connecting Trail consists of 28.3 miles of roadway stretching from the small downtown of Marion to Brown Chapel in Selma. Landscape types along the route include residential, agricultural, natural, and commercial. Two primary treatment issues exist for the Marion to Selma Connecting Trail—interpretation and the condition of the roadway.

Interpretation

The most pressing issue concerning the Connecting Trail is the lack of interpretation and signage that connects the route to the NHT beginning in Selma. This segment was only created several years ago, and therefore has not received the same amount of planning as the march route. Limited interpretation features currently exist in Marion, amounting to just several waysides and memorials. Very few signs note the significance of the route for travelers. Additionally, few notable landmarks are present along the route. Aside from sections of Old Highway 45, the Connecting Trail is not particularly scenic.

That said, the first hurdle to interpretation is making people aware of the Connecting Trail. Marion and Perry County do not command the same amount of national attention as Selma, and the story of Jimmie Lee Jackson is often neglected in the narrative about the Selma to Montgomery March. The lack of awareness concerning the Connecting Trail is further exacerbated by the distance between Montgomery (where many visitors base their visits) and Marion, which totals 78 miles or an hour and a half drive. It will be a challenge to get people to travel first to Marion, then to Selma, and back to Montgomery, however, this would be ideal for a chronology-based interpretive design.

Though these challenges exist, the character of the Connecting Trail, aside from the section closest to Selma, is largely reflective of overall 1965 conditions. Downtown Marion, like downtown Selma, still features historic period buildings and spatial organization. The rural stretch of Old Highway 45 reflects historic conditions. As such, utilizing the cultural landscape for interpretive purposes is possible.

Interpretation should focus on the organizing that was occurring prior to and after Jimmie Lee Jackson's death. The history—that of a small rural Southern town organizing for civil rights outside of the media limelight—is reflective of other communities at the time. Much of this history is not known, in part due to a focus on larger events and campaigns.

Treatment Recommendations

- Draft a long-range interpretive plan for the Connecting Trail. Alternatives to explore include thematic vs. chronological interpretive route planning, the presence/viability of interpretive pullouts, and visitor safety in a remote area.
- Expand official Connecting Trail route to begin at the Old Perry County Jail, which already features NPS-interpretive waysides, but is not included as part of the Connecting Trail.

Old Highway 45 Road Condition

An additional treatment issue is the condition of Old Highway 45, which is in fair to poor condition in sections. Furthermore, the road is used by locals who drive over the posted speed limit. With no passing lanes, this complicates a leisurely drive for the touring public.

Recommendations

- Petition ALDOT to improve the road condition and potentially to add additional dotted center lanes to allow for cars to pass. The widening of the roadway is not recommended.
- Add NHT signage to the route to reinforce its special status and alert drivers that it is being used by tourists.
- Encourage landowners and local municipalities to remove invasive privet along the road margin.

Campsites

The campsites are among the most important properties along the NHT-CT. The four sites vary greatly in terms of historic integrity, though they nevertheless embody the intangible heritage of the movement for civil rights. The campsites remain owned by either family descendants or by the same entity, as is the case of the City of St. Jude. As such, the properties are valuable to their owners in ways that go beyond their civil rights movement association. Those working with the owners must keep this in mind. The NPS has been in contact with the campsite owners over the years, though recent communications were paused during the Covid-19 pandemic. That said, the level of engagement with the owners has been unequal, and not all the property owners want the same thing in terms of the commemoration or interpretation of their properties.

This report does not provide specific physical improvement recommendations for the campsites. Rather, it identifies various issues related to public engagement with the sites while discussions between NPS and the owners take place. Treatment issues for the campsites include the safety of property owners, identification signage, and interpretation.

Safety of Property Owners

As it was in March of 1965, the safety of the campsite owners is of utmost importance. These families faced retaliation for their involvement in the Selma to Montgomery March, and they should not have to feel any renewed sense of danger due to the identification or interpretation of their properties. While each property faces different obstacles to safety due to proximity to a roadway and other factors, some overall guidance can be provided here.

First, the Partnerships Coordinator for SEMO should discuss with owners the extent of public engagement they want for the site. Currently, signage identifies the sites, with no accompanying waysides or other information. Visitors to SEMO occasionally stop at the signs to take pictures, but without any other information, the visitors do not know what exactly they are looking at. The OC should discuss with the property owners if the current placement of signage is causing any feelings/actualities of danger or unease. This

discussion should inform any planning for the expanded interpretation of their properties.

Signage
Five signs—of four different types—identify the four campsites.

As previously mentioned, two signs identify Campsite #1—one along Highway 80 and one directly in front of the Hall property on County Road 67. The one located at the corner of Highway 80 and County Road 67 does not provide enough information to direct visitors to the campsite, as it does not relay that an additional turn is required. The sign in front of the Hall Property differs from the other campsite signs, as it is larger, and mounted and elevated by two posts set in stone supports.

The sign located at Campsite #2 is placed parallel to Highway 80 in a position that is difficult to read at a high rate of speed. It is the only campsite sign that is located along the westbound lanes of Highway 80.

The sign for Campsite #3 is in a logical position at the northwest corner of the Gardner property. The angle of its placement and the retention of the cultural landscape in its vicinity, makes the campsite legible to the public.

The sign for Campsite #4 is located at the southwest corner of the City of St. Jude property and faces west. This placement is oriented to those traveling the march route from the west, heading into Montgomery. The sign is larger than those along Highway 80.

Recommendations

- Add an additional directional sign for Campsite #1 on County Road 145 directing visitors to turn left onto County Road 67.
- Add an additional identification sign for Campsite #2 along Highway 80 eastbound, in the vicinity of the old Steele Family-owned store.

Interpretation
There is currently no interpretation of the campsites within the landscape. Recommendations for interpreting these sites hinge on the ownership status of the properties, and as such, detailed recommendations for their interpretation are not provided here. However, some guidance is warranted in reference to the cultural landscape.

- Should the campsite owners want to explore the donation of their properties for interpretive purposes:
    - Complete a cultural landscape reports on the four properties, which will explore in detail the historic conditions of the campsites and provide guidance on the protection of remaining historic site features and rehabilitation alternatives for public use.
    - Advocate for the retention of historic material and spatial organization features left at the campsites today, which varies between the four sites.
- Should the property owners elect not to convey their properties for public access and use:
    - Enter dialog about the potential placement of interpretive waysides in an appropriate location, which may be coupled with the proposed pullouts discussed previously.
- In either case, place the interpretation of these properties into a larger context of African American solidarity and mutual aid that existed prior to and after the Selma to Montgomery March through pullouts, museum exhibits, and commemorative events.

Resilience to Natural Hazards

Cultural resources including historic buildings and small-scale features "are fixed in place or derive much of their significance from the place within which they were created. Many are non-living, and all are unique. As a result, the capacity of cultural resources to adapt to changing environments is limited."[452] Natural hazards can impact cultural vegetation with even the slightest variation in temperature and moisture. As stated

452. National Park Service, "Cultural Resources and Climate Change," (n.p., 2016), accessed December 9, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/climatechange/upload/06-CCRP-Cultural-Resource-Brief-FEB-2016.pdf.

in the Director's Policy Memorandum 14- 02, "NPS cultural resource management must keep in mind that (1) cultural resources are primary sources of data regarding human interactions with climate change; and (2) changing climates affect the preservation and maintenance of cultural resources."[453]

The NPS has yet to draft a climate change brief for SEMO. However, based on regional examples, relevant climate changes that are projected for SEMO include increased temperature, increased humidity, potentially increased precipitation, and increased extreme weather events.[454] These have distinct impacts on cultural resources within cultural landscapes, including the following: [455]

- Decline/disappearance of some vegetation species, other species favored
- Heat stress on culturally significant vegetation
- Increased stress (e.g. desiccation, warping, cracking, etc.) on constructed landscape features
- Decline/disappearance of critical vegetation species, other species favored
- Increased desiccation, warping, and cracking of constructed landscape features
- Limited ability to plant in waterlogged soil
- Loss of historical integrity with improved drainage systems
- Decline/disappearance of some vegetation species
- Decreased soil fertility from erosion, waterlogging, leaching
- Loss of landscape features
- Increased susceptibility to destructive fungi
- Wash out or damage to roads, trails, and landscape features throughout parks
- Loss of landscape features
- Variable damage/loss of organic and inorganic materials and landscape features
- Soil erosion
- Immediate alteration/destruction of historic landscape, particularly trees
- Reduction in or loss of access due to washing out or damage to roads, trails, and landscape features.

NPS site managers should be prepared for any number of these impacts, and have actionable strategies incorporated in all planning documents to address maintenance, repairs, and preservation of cultural resources.

Recommendations for Further Research

National Register Nomination

While various portions of the NHT-CT have been included in various National Register Nomination Forms, currently a stand-alone NRNF does not exist. If necessary, draft two separate documents—one for the main trail route and the other for the more recently established connecting trail.

Interpretive Pullout Report, update

Update the decade-old interpretive pullout report in order to determine if the locations selected by the old report and those proposed by this CLR are viable options.

Call for Public Assistance

Develop a strategy for public outreach to solicit photographs and information concerning the history of the march and the campsite locations. While the march and related events were documented, limited photographic documentation of the landscape during this time exists within SEMO archives. Additional information pertaining to the particulars of the march route (such as the Grady Street vs. Day Street issue) may be collected to improve the understanding of the cultural landscape at the time.

Viewshed/Property Protection Plan

Update the 2010 report that identifies conservation priorities. The report can address both historic properties and scenic viewsheds in the corridor. Findings from a recommended climate change report should be incorporated to address resiliency to fire, storms, and flooding.

453. John B. Jarvis to All National Park Service Employees, memorandum, 10 February 2014, Climate Change and Stewardship of Cultural Resources, Policy Memorandum 14-02, https://www.nps.gov/policy/PolMemos/PM-14-02.htm.
454. Marcy Rockman et al., "Cultural Resources Climate Change Strategy" (Washington, DC: Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science and Climate Change Response Program, National Park Service., 2016).
455. Ibid.

Climate change planning document

Draft a comprehensive climate change document for SEMO. The report can address the various threats facing the corridor and its significant resources.

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Appendix A.

Enlarged Trail Map

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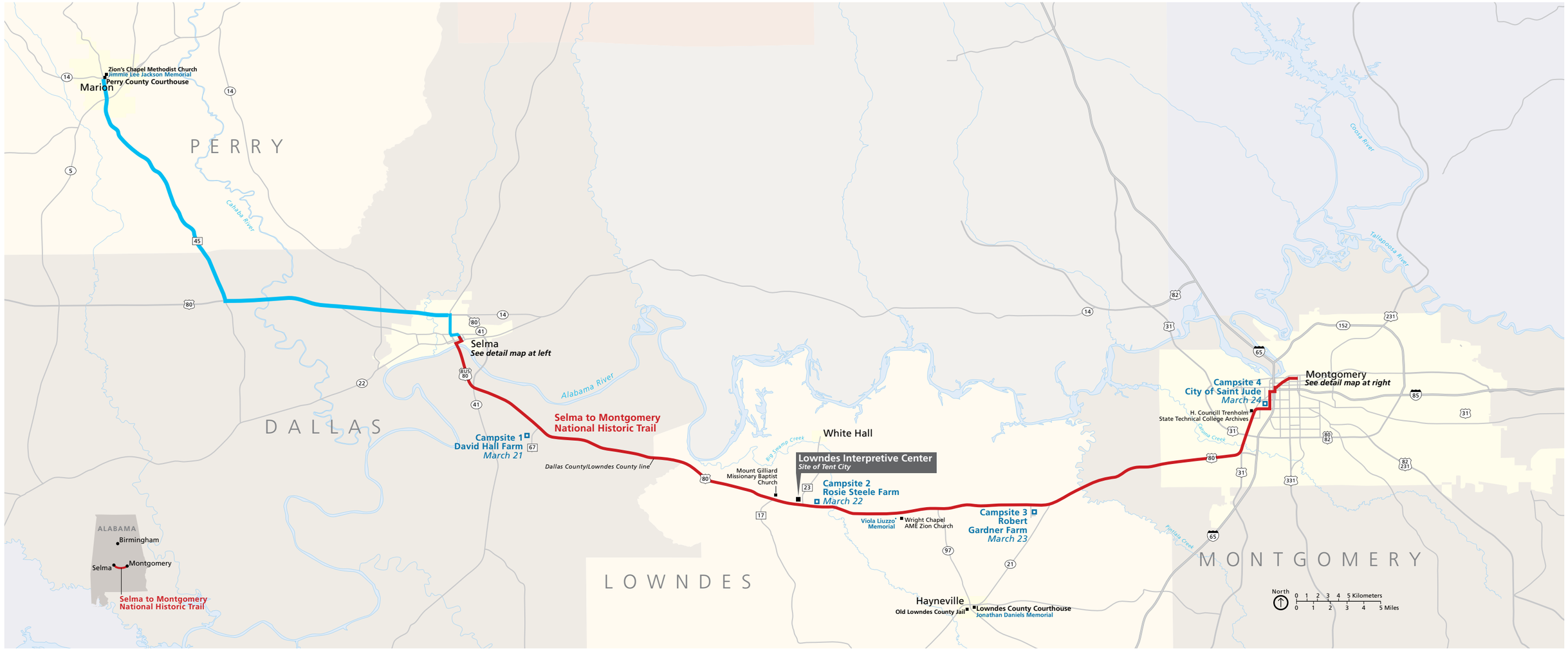

Amended map of the SEMO NHT showing the march route in red from Selma to Montgomery, with the Marion to Selma Connecting Trail in blue. (Source: National Park Service and WLA Studio).

Appendix B.Author Statement Regarding Johnson Publishing Company Images

This Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) uses photos from the Johnson Publishing Company archives as figures. "The archive includes 3.35 million negatives and slides, 983,000 photographs, 166,000 contact sheets, and 9,000 audio and visual recordings, comprising the most significant collection illustrating African American life in the 20th century. The archive was acquired last year for $30 million by the Ford Foundation, the J. Paul Getty Trust, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the Smithsonian Institution in an effort to safeguard the unparalleled treasure of African American history and culture for the public benefit."[50]

The Smithsonian Institution states that "The foundation consortium will donate the archives to the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, the Getty Research Institute, and other leading cultural institutions for the public benefit to ensure the broadest access for the general public and use by scholars, researchers, journalists, and other interested parties."[51] However, researchers at the Smithsonian also stated that these items will not be made available until the entire collection is digitized. There have likely been delays in this digitization effort due to the COVID-19 pandemic, during which this CLR document was produced. The authors have made good faith efforts to receive updates about the status of this digitization, but they were unable to receive final digital products prior to the production of this report. Scans included herein were obtained from physical versions of these photographs. In the future, the NPS may wish to substitute them for the full quality graphics when they are publicly available from the National Museum of African American History and Culture.

50. Smithsonian Institution, "Consortium Forms Advisory Council, Announces Plans to Preserve Historic Ebony and Jet Photographic Archive," National Museum of African American History and Culture, March 11, 2020, https://nmaahc.si.edu/about/news/consortium-forms-advisory-council-announces-plans-preserve-historic-ebony-and-jet.

51. Smithsonian Institution, "Foundation Consortium Acquires Historic African American Photographic Archive," Smithsonian Institution, accessed October 6, 2021, https://www.si.edu/newsdesk/releases/foundation-consortium-acquires-historic-african-american-photographic-archive.

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 historical 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 U.S. administration.

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Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail
Cultural Landscape Report

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

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