

***U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT SITES***  
***A POTENTIAL SERIAL NOMINATION FOR WORLD HERITAGE***

[The Georgia State University World Heritage Initiative is seeking feedback from audience participants in the July 30, 2020 US/ICOMOS Webinar on this working draft narrative expressing the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value and Justification under World Heritage Criteria (ii) and (vi) of the potential serial nomination of U. S. Civil Rights Movement Sites being developed for potential inscription on the World Heritage List. Comments may be sent to [gteskew@gsu.edu](mailto:gteskew@gsu.edu). Thank you for your consideration.]

**SUGGESTED COMPONENTS OF THE POTENTIAL SERIAL NOMINATION**

At these exemplary Civil Rights Movement Sites from across the southeastern United States, nonviolent protests over racial segregation in the public sphere culminated in extraordinary events of global significance that forced open the American system to all its citizens regardless of race, color, religion, sex or national origin and represented to the world the universal principles of freedom, democracy, and equality. The property consists of a suggested thirteen complementary sites from among the more than three hundred historic places across the nation associated with the postwar social movement to end legal white supremacy. Each of the sites bears unique testimony to the African American freedom struggle over racial discrimination, either in segregated schools, separate public accommodations, or the electoral process. While outwardly no different than the thousands of other mundane sites once segregated across the region, the suggested thirteen components of the potential serial nomination became catalysts for change because of the events associated with them that turned these otherwise nondescript churches, schools, houses, and businesses into internationally-recognized crucibles of race reform. The property shows the various forms that racial segregation took as a representation of white supremacy in architecture, town-planning, and landscape design. Some components display “shadows” of the unequal “white” and “colored” sections where nonviolent protest erupted over enforced racial separation at lunch counters and on public transportation, while other components find their origins in a response to exclusionary town-planning practices that resulted in racially separate churches, schools, motels, and neighborhoods created for black people, while still other components mark dividing lines between jurisdictions that signified denial of political participation based on race. These physical barriers provoked an international interchange of ideas regarding nonviolent protests by the civil rights movement over racist demarcations on the public sphere. Influenced by independence movements of oppressed people of color from around the world, the outcry for racial desegregation and equality that occurred at these historic places across the southeastern United States resulted in global events that played out on the world stage, ultimately informing other nonviolent human rights struggles across the globe. The U. S. Civil Rights Movement Sites constitute an outstanding example of an interchange of ideas surrounding the use of nonviolent protest to alter the built environment in the United States by ending racial discrimination in architecture, town-planning, and landscape design that as global events inspired the use of nonviolent protest internationally to achieve the universal values of freedom, democracy, and equality.

The suggested thirteen Civil Rights Movement Sites are the authentic settings of the decisive events that ended legal school segregation, racially separate public accommodations, and the denial of African American voting rights. Indigenous protests led by black students and

parents at **Moton High School** in Farmville, Virginia, **Monroe Elementary School** in Topeka, Kansas, and **Central High School** in Little Rock, Arkansas, resulted in the United States Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling and its enforcement that ended legal racially-segregated public education. Centered in African American religious institutions such as **Dexter Avenue, King Memorial Baptist Church** in Montgomery, Alabama, **Bethel Baptist and Sixteenth Street Baptist Churches** in Birmingham, Alabama, and **Ebenezer Baptist Church** in Atlanta, Georgia, and led by organizations promoting integration such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Council of Federated Organizations, the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s used these places to mobilize the black community behind nonviolent demonstrations across the southeastern United States that called for equal access to America's economic, social and political system. Despite white supremacist efforts to halt the black demand for desegregation and voting rights by bombing churches, assassinating grassroots leaders such as Medgar Evers at the **Medgar and Myrlie Evers House** in Jackson, Mississippi, and by brutally beating nonviolent demonstrators at the foot of the **Edmund Pettus Bridge** in Selma, Alabama, the protests grew. Likewise white resistance at businesses such as the **F. W. Woolworth Store** in Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Anniston, Alabama, **Greyhound Bus Terminal and Bus Burning Site**, underscored the black determination to end racial discrimination. Similarly the March on Washington at the **Lincoln Memorial** in Washington, D.C., used the symbolic space to call for fair employment while plans to return there five years later with the Poor People's Campaign echoed the demand as did the Sanitation Worker's Strike in Memphis, Tennessee, where the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated in 1968 at the **Lorraine Motel**. Local, state, and federal governments responded to the civil rights movement by desegregating schools according to the *Brown* decision of 1954, removing racial divisions in public accommodations according to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, guaranteeing black political participation through the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and making residential discrimination illegal with the Fair Housing Act of 1968. Domestic and international civil rights pilgrims began appearing at the components of the potential serial nomination that quickly became memorial sites. Overall, the ensemble of the thirteen U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites with its range of surviving elements manifesting desegregation accomplished through nonviolent protest over racial segregation in the built environment commemorates the global events that opened the American system to all its citizens regardless of race, color, religion, sex or national origin and that inspired human rights struggles the world over. The completeness of the ensemble speaks to the universal values of freedom, democracy, and equality enshrined in the U.S. Declaration of Independence, U.S. Constitution, and the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

## STATEMENT OF OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUE

At these exemplary U. S. Civil Rights Movement Sites nonviolent protest over racially segregated architecture, town-planning, and landscape design across the southeastern United States culminated in extraordinary events that through desegregation transformed the built environment, opening up the American system to all its citizens regardless of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and inspiring elsewhere in the world civil disobedience campaigns to create societies based on the universal values of freedom, democracy, and equality.

**CRITERION (ii):      The Interchange of Ideas:**

“To exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design.”

The history of the civil rights movement sites as legally segregated by race prior to the events with which they are associated underscores how the property itself inspired an interchange of ideas surrounding civil disobedience campaigns undertaken to alter the built environment of the southeastern United States by removing these structural divisions. Examples of anti-colonial passive resistance against racial proscriptions in India and Africa convinced African American leaders of the value of nonviolent protest designed to physically transform society. By virtue of becoming racially desegregated, the physical assets of the nominated property relate to the interchange of ideas regarding nonviolent protest undertaken to force tangible changes in the built environment while also gaining such intangible ideals as freedom, democracy, and equality. Previously the racially segregated architecture, town-planning, and landscape design reinforced legal white supremacy, but little evidence of that remains—except in some cases as shadows in renovated buildings—while instead tangible evidence of the transformed property is manifested through desegregation, the removal of structural impediments to space now open to all people regardless of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

Racial segregation was a spatial manifestation of the ideology of global white supremacy expressed as separate and unequal spaces in architecture, town-planning, and landscape design that oppressed people of color challenged through nonviolent direct-action confrontation designed to remove the racial distinctions and open up the built environment. The declaration of W. E. B. Du Bois that “the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line,” united the plight of African Americans with the populations of subjugated European colonies in a shared struggle against racial discrimination. In South Africa and India, M. K. Gandhi pioneered in using tactics of nonviolent civil disobedience in mass protests, expanding upon ideas voiced by American Henry David Thoreau and Russian Leo Tolstoy. The example of Gandhi’s *satyagraha* during the first decades of the twentieth century inspired African American leaders who brought the strategies back to the United States and incorporated them into a progressive black theology that influenced future activists in the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Three of the world’s leading social movements challenging global white supremacy in the built environment—the Indian National Congress (INC), the African National Congress (ANC), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)—at first petitioned governments for race reforms but then adopted noncompliance and nonviolent direct action tactics to challenge colonialism, apartheid, and segregation through protests over racialized space undertaken to garner international attention such as India’s Salt March in 1930, South Africa’s Defiance Campaign of 1952, and the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-1956. The *satyagraha* of Gandhi and the INC ultimately accomplished an independence that ended the practice of racial segregation in the former British colony. When South African authorities killed dozens of nonviolent protesters at Sharpeville in 1960, the ANC embraced sabotage and guerrilla war against apartheid. While proponents of armed self-defense existed in the United States, movement leaders advocated a church-based civil disobedience campaign as the best strategy for gaining such abstract ideals as freedom, democracy, and equality, for

removing the segregated divisions of public spaces, and for achieving racial integration into the American social, political and economic system.

Centered in the black church, the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s embraced the ideals enshrined in the U.S. Declaration of Independence, U.S. Constitution, and U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, combining them with a Judeo-Christian progressive black theology that advanced Gandhi's teachings of *satyagraha* and expressed a nuanced understanding of nonviolent protest. Racial discrimination that had resulted in black exclusion from white institutions and areas of town contributed to the creation of separate black business districts, separate schools and churches. State and local laws required racially separate seating in waiting rooms and on public transportation, "white" and "colored" entrances and sections of buildings, segregated service at restaurants, stores, and theatres, separate parks and residential areas. Refused equal access to public accommodations, African Americans adapted nonviolent direct-action tactics that challenged "colored" seating in separate sections of transit stations and the rear of buses, staged sit-ins at "white only" lunch counters, picketed establishments that discriminated on the basis of race, gathered in "colored" parks and marched in city streets for equal access, voting rights, and against white supremacy and racial discrimination. Integrationists filed lawsuits as test cases challenging the constitutionality of racially separate schools, areas of recreation, and segregated entrances, waiting rooms, restrooms, and cafeterias at transit stations. A willingness by integrationists to use direct action confrontation tactics forced the nation to reject white supremacy in its many facets and through court rulings and congressional acts end the practice of legally requiring in the design of buildings and landscapes separate "colored" and "white" demarcations and spaces. The *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954 found the "separate but equal" basis of legal segregation in education inherently unequal and therefore unconstitutional. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 made illegal the de jure segregation practices in public accommodations across the U.S. South. With the Voting Rights Act of 1965, African Americans gained citizenship rights and won black political empowerment through election to positions of authority in local, state and federal governments. The Fair Housing Act of 1968 made illegal residential racial segregation in town planning.

Through an international interchange over nonviolent direct action as a strategy to force change in architecture, town-planning, and landscape design and thereby secure freedom, democracy and equality, the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s accomplished the erasure of legal white supremacy from the built environment in the southeastern United States despite the persistence of racism among some Americans. Where once separate and unequal "white" and "colored" entrances, water fountains, bathrooms, lunch counters, waiting rooms, and spaces characterized segregated structures and landscapes, these sites removed their racist divisions with little to no evidence remaining, as desegregation ended the legal requirement of having racially separate schools, parks, and other public facilities as well as churches, business districts, and neighborhoods, while winning voting rights promoted black political empowerment. The interchange of ideas surrounding nonviolent protest and its impact on the public sphere is manifested in the racial desegregation evident at sites today. The intangible gains of freedom, democracy, and equality mirrored these tangible changes to the built environment.

**CRITERION (vi):      Heritage Associated with Events of Universal Significance:**

“To be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria).”

As representations of the series of events that ended the legal requirement of the separation of the races in the public sphere, the U. S. Civil Rights Movement Sites demonstrate outstanding universal significance by inspiring a global embrace of nonviolent protest designed to alter the built environment by removing structural impediments to freedom, democracy and equality. What began as an interchange of ideas among anticolonial activists from India, Asia, Africa, and the United States became a global strategy to end divisions in society based on race, class, gender, and in time, sexual orientation, and physical ability. Not only did desegregation transform the properties by ending racial divisions constructed into the buildings and landscapes, but today that transformation is venerated at the nominated sites as shrines to the power of nonviolent social change to achieve the universal values. Perhaps nowhere is this more evident than in the 1989 nonviolent demonstrations between East and West Germany where activists sang the civil rights anthem, “We Shall Overcome,” as they removed the Berlin Wall that represented the physical barrier to the universal value of freedom.

African American resistance to racial discrimination has always existed in the United States, but in the post-World War II era of anti-colonialism and the struggle against global white supremacy, the nonviolent events at the U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites achieved international recognition. The movements for independence in Asia and across the African Continent inspired American integrationists whose own use of nonviolent direct action encouraged human rights struggles around the world. Media coverage of the violent attacks by government officials and white supremacists on black and white activists challenging the segregated built environment elevated these flashpoints of racial conflict in the southeastern United States to the level of universal significance. Much of the world greeted the news of the U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling in the cases that made up the *Brown* decision of 1954 as an affirmation of racial equality and American democracy, an action reaffirmed with federal support for school desegregation in Little Rock. The mobilization of the black community behind nonviolent passive resistance in the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the use of civil disobedience in the Greensboro sit-ins and the multi-state Freedom Rides inspired not only other oppressed minorities in the United States to resist discrimination but also people around the world confronting discrimination.

African leaders gathered in Ethiopia in 1963 to form the Organization of African Unity expressed their outrage upon watching with horror broadcasts of the brutal suppression of civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham. The media coverage of civil rights protests encouraged the Vietnamese Monk Thich Quang Duc to stage his self-immolation before international journalists in protest of the Diem dictatorship’s desecration of Buddhist temples the same week of the assassination of Mississippi civil rights leader Medgar Evers. As civil rights organizations planned the March on Washington in 1963, international activists coordinated sympathy marches in national capitals around the globe. Although through arrest and imprisonment, the South African apartheid state had suppressed the efforts of the African National Congress, ANC leaders recognized their shared desires for racial equality with the Modern Civil Rights Movement as when at the conclusion of the Rivonia Trial in 1963 just prior to his lengthy imprisonment on Robben Island, Nelson Mandela echoed King’s “I Have a Dream” sentiment in his own “I Am Prepared to Die” speech. In time Mandela’s willingness to negotiate with the Afrikaner

government prevented bloody revolution and resulted in the new South Africa. Influenced by the direct action of the sit-ins and Freedom Rides, Native Americans along the Canadian border in 1964 held fish-ins to defend treaty rights in the Puget Sound. In Australia, students staged a Freedom Ride in 1965 to highlight the ongoing struggle for Aboriginal Australian Rights that had been taking place since the 1950s. At the onset of The Troubles in 1967, Irish activists inspired by the American protests and supportive of the anti-apartheid movement formed the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association in Belfast to promote nonviolent civil disobedience as an alternative to sectarian violence in the struggle against religious discrimination in housing, employment and voting rights. As King coordinated a broad coalition of reform groups representing African Americans, poor whites, Native Americans and Hispanics into the Poor People's Campaign in 1968, the world erupted in protests such as the Prague Spring and France's May 1968 which began as nonviolent demonstrations by students but resulted in brutal suppression by state authorities. In 1977, the Madres de Plaza de Mayo began gathering weekly outside the presidential palace in Buenos Aires in a nonviolent witness to the Argentine government's prosecution of the "dirty war" against prodemocracy activists. Similarly, prodemocracy students at Chonnam National University in Gwangju initially embraced nonviolent protest against the declaration of martial law in South Korea in May 1980 before state authorities suppressed their demonstration. By the end of the decade in Beijing, prodemocracy students staged nonviolent protests in Tiananmen Square in 1989 and sang "We Shall Overcome."

Having influenced demonstrations around the globe, these component sites of the serial nomination associated with the key events of the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s over racial discrimination in segregated schools, public accommodations, and voting rights represent to the world the power of nonviolence as a weapon of the oppressed to transform the built environment and force open the public sphere so that today they are visited by domestic and international civil rights pilgrims as memorials to freedom, democracy, and equality.

## STATEMENT OF SELECTION

Scholars and historic preservationists selected the thirteen components of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites Serial Nomination from among the nearly three hundred places identified as of historical significance in the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The effort involved consultation with more than seventy-five international scholars of the African American Freedom Struggle along with State Historic Preservation Officers, state and local historic preservationists, and staff in the southeastern office of the National Park Service. Many of these authorities gathered at an academic symposium held on the campus of Georgia State University in April 2017 to discuss the potential of a serial nomination of U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites for possible inscription on the World Heritage List. From the outset, representatives of the National Park Service Office of International Affairs have assisted the effort with regular consultations. Four thematic studies produced by the National Park Service under the general title, *Civil Rights in America*, offered in its initial *A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* recommendations of globally important historic places that are further evaluated in additional reports organized by subject: *Racial Desegregation in Public Education*, *Desegregation of Public Accommodations*, and *Racial Voting Rights*. An investigation of the recommended historic places that had received some level of either local, state or federal designation took place, with site visits to nearly half of the 300 locations to get an impression of

integrity and authenticity. As scholars and preservationists debated a Statement of Outstanding Universal Value as it related to World Heritage Criteria, particular historic sites associated with the nonviolent civil rights movement appeared all the more likely as candidates for the potential serial nomination. Further analysis has served to strengthen this conclusion.

Paramount to understanding the idea of the nomination is recognizing the limitations of what is being proposed for World Heritage in the first place. The focus is tightly drawn around the use of nonviolent social change for race reform in the public sphere known as the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. What began as nonviolent protests in a racially segregated environment—with “white” and “colored” spaces demarcated by law and constructed into buildings and landscapes across the southeastern United States—ended with the events that led to the removal of such restrictions and the opening of society to all regardless of race, manifested as desegregated space and celebrated today with the sites turned into shrines to the universal values of freedom, democracy, and equality. While marking a watershed, the removal of legal white supremacy from the built environment across the United States did not end the racist attitudes held by some citizens, racial disparities in the justice system, or transform economic inequalities rooted in centuries of racial oppression. The movement attempted to address many of these intractable problems with mixed results, from the expression of a Beloved Community encompassing everyone equally to the Poor People’s Campaign that ended the struggle in 1968. Despite the considerable achievement of legally opening the system to all, the imperfect union of the United States continues to struggle with persistent racism and inequality.

Nevertheless, this idea of a nomination—while recognizing these temporal limitations—emphasizes the “triumph of human rights” rather than “man’s inhumanity to man.” The Modern Civil Rights Movement took place during an era celebrating—and was inspired by—the United Nation’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and it accomplished positive societal change. The global significance of the property is in its transformative impact on the built environment, the opening up through nonviolent protest of racially closed and restricted spaces. At each of the proposed sites, this heritage is recognized and the outcome enshrined as an expression of the universal values of freedom, democracy and equality. Thus, the idea of the nomination is similar to such World Heritage Sites as Independence Hall in Philadelphia, the Statue of Liberty in New York City, and Robben Island in Cape Town that amplify a positive “triumph of human rights.” And conversely, the idea of the nomination is not the same as the negative void recalled at such World Heritage Sites as Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp in Poland, Valongo Wharf in Brazil, Goree Island in Senegal, and Hiroshima Peace Memorial in Japan which mark “man’s inhumanity to man.” Yet all of these properties exhibit characteristics as “sites of conscience” but the memories and messages clearly are distinctive. Nor should the property be seen as a “site of recent conflict” with the implication of two warring factions with different defensible views leading to massive death and destruction, for the struggle over racial equality, participation in democratic systems, and freedom of movement are not evolving or partisan issues but accepted, fundamental rights protected in the law of the United States.

## **STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY**

The integrity of the potential serial nomination is based on the careful selection of the thirteen component sites that together provide a whole and intact representation of the key attributes of the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s, and thus, best represent

the Outstanding Universal Value. Each of the component sites provides specific testimony to the erasure of segregation in the built environment that resulted from nonviolent direct action over racial discrimination in segregated schools, separate public accommodations, and the electoral process. Each site represents turning points in the universal struggle to achieve freedom, democracy, and equality as manifested through desegregation and as interpretive shrines that explain the use of nonviolent protest to alter once racially separate and unequal space. With boundaries of adequate size, each of the component sites retains the key elements necessary to demonstrate the features and processes that convey its individual significance as well as the Outstanding Universal Value of the entire property. The boundaries, which are based on their historical setting, include standing structures, landscape features, and architectural elements that are in excellent condition, well maintained, and do not suffer from neglect. The boundaries of each site also include the attributes needed to express its Outstanding Universal Value and enclose its significant dynamic functions. None are currently threatened by adverse development and all will be protected adequately to ensure that their attributes will remain intact in the future. The buffer zones protect the relationship between the site and their settings that contribute to their World Heritage value and the Outstanding Universal Value of the entire listing.

## **STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY**

The thirteen U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites demonstrate a high degree of authenticity that expresses the Outstanding Universal Value of the potential serial nomination. For the most part, the components have remained remarkably unchanged in their overall form and design since the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. As a result of nonviolent protests that created events of global significance, the components underwent alterations to the architecture and landscape that removed the once legally required “white” and “colored” designations of space with separate entrances, waiting rooms, restrooms, dining facilities—indeed whole neighborhoods—resulting in places being physically transformed, though in some cases shadows of these racial distinctions remain behind. In the fifty years since the period of significance, some components remain virtually unchanged while others have seen new buildings added into the landscapes of the existing historic structures, while all retain their form and design. The substance and materials of the components remain intact, excepting some of the modifications that occurred, following national preservation standards. Many sites continue with their original function while all are used as shrines and museums interpreting nonviolent protest for social change in a global struggle for the universal values of freedom, democracy, and equality. The location for each of the components is original and their settings remain relatively intact, thereby enabling the site to retain its cultural value. Because of the religious nature of the nonviolent demonstrations over discrimination in the built environment, all of the components of the potential serial nomination of U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites express a spirituality and feeling of being in a sacred space. The sites have been well researched and their interpretation is truthful and credible.

## **HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

The conflict over racial segregation in the built environment in the southeastern United States occurred at a time when anticolonial movements around the world resulted in the birth of independent nations. Inextricably linked, these struggles over global white supremacy and self



determination—whether using strategies of nonviolent direct action or armed self defense—influenced each other in their confrontations over racially separate and unequal spaces expressed through architecture, town-planning, and landscape design. At the First Pan-African Conference in London in 1900, W. E. B. Du Bois wrote the final report in which he stated, “The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line,” adding, “the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.” The first African American to earn a PhD from Harvard University, Du Bois also studied at Humboldt University in Germany a decade after the Berlin Conference of 1885 at which European powers divided Africa into “spheres of influence.” Racism separated the built environment of imperial possessions into “European” and “colored” public and private areas, while in the southeastern United States, the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court allowed the legal separation of the races in transportation under the rubric of “separate but equal.” The law soon applied to most public accommodations in the southeastern United States. At the time of the Atlanta Race Riot of 1906—a violent outburst of racial hostility that left dozens of black people dead and resulted in segregated town planning that demarcated separate black and white neighborhoods—DuBois resided in the city and responded by co-founding the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a group of black and white integrationists dedicated to the cause of overturning the *Plessy* verdict and securing the desegregation of society. Similarly, the Indian National Congress (INC) had formed in 1885 to end British colonialism and win self-rule in India while in 1912 the African National Congress (ANC) organized in the Union of South Africa to secure voting rights for people of color and end racial discrimination in the built environment. As Du Bois noted at the turn-of-the-century, the peripheral regions of the western core nation-states—the European colonies in Asia and Africa along with the southeastern United States—had experienced the erection of the color line across public and private spaces such as train stations with racially separate entrances, waiting rooms, rest rooms and water fountains built into the structures themselves in order to separate white from black, Indian, Asian, and colored, whether in Port Elizabeth, South Africa; Bombay, India; or Atlanta, United States.

At first challenging white supremacy in South Africa, M. K. Gandhi took the fight to his native India and from his ashram in Ahmedabad, mobilized campaigns against British colonialism, honing a strategy of non-compliance and nonviolent direct action called *satyagraha* (soul force or sacrifice for truth). Gandhi expanded nineteenth century ideas of American Henry David Thoreau whose 1849 essay, *Civil Disobedience*, encourage passive resistance against unjust governmental actions, ideas elaborated upon by Russian Leo Tolstoy in his 1898 *Writings on Civil Disobedience and Nonviolence*. In South Africa, Gandhi challenged racial segregation in transportation and public accommodations. In India he advocated noncompliance with colonialism and led peaceful demonstrations that British authorities met with violent suppression as in the Salt March of 1930. In 1935 theologian and Howard University professor Howard Thurman traveled to India with four other African American ministers to meet Gandhi. There he pressed the Mahatma on nonviolent direct action and learned from Gandhi the importance of nonviolence as a way of life. In his closing remarks to Thurman, Gandhi stressed “it may be through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the world.” Traveling to India in 1936 and meeting with the Mahatma, Benjamin Mays commended Gandhi’s ability to “discipline people to face death, to die, to go to jail for the cause without fear and without resorting to violence is an achievement of the first magnitude. And when an oppressed race ceases to be afraid, it is free.” Both Mays, at Morehouse College in Atlanta where

he taught a young Martin Luther King, Jr., and Thurman, a Morehouse graduate and professor at Boston University who mentored King in graduate school, impressed on their pupil the teachings of Gandhi as they incorporated nonviolent protest into progressive black theology.

Advocates of an American pacifism during World War I who embraced nonviolent resistance formed the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) in 1916. An early supporter, the Reverend A. J. Muste, headed the FOR from 1940 to 1953 when it attracted such members as Bayard Rustin, James Farmer and George Houser, all who went on to cofound the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). The book *War Without Violence* written by Gandhi's secretary, Krishnalal Shridharani, influenced their commitment. Rustin organized the FOR's Free India Committee in 1945 to garner support in the United States for Indian independence while Houser later headed the American Committee on Africa and cofounded the Americans For South African Resistance that supported the African National Congress' 1952 Defiance Campaign. Media in the United States—especially black newspapers—regularly reported on anticolonial struggles around the world as African Americans recognized the international resistance to white supremacy.

With the outbreak of World War II, the INC encouraged noncompliance with the British war effort in India while in the United States, the NAACP advocated a “Double V” Campaign, promoting victory abroad over fascism but also victory at home over segregation. For decades, Gandhi had led nonviolent direct-action campaigns against British colonialism that by the “Quit India Movement” of the 1940s culminated in the 1947 partition of the colony into three independent nations, India, East and West Pakistan. While the British ended its authority over South Africa in 1931, the triumph of the white Afrikaner Nationalist Party in 1948 instituted a legal policy of racial apartheid as a way for the government to separate the races through town planning, architecture and landscape design in order to limit the freedom, democracy, and equality of nonwhite people. Following the formation of the United Nations in 1945, India requested in 1946 an investigation by the body into the treatment of Indians in South Africa and repeated the request in 1949, warning “if the belief that there is to be one standard of treatment for the White races and another for the non-White continues to gain strength among the latter, the future for solidarity among the Members of the United Nations and, consequently, for world peace, will indeed be dark.” In 1950, the United Nations General Assembly declared the “policy of ‘racial segregation’ (apartheid) is necessarily based on doctrines of racial discrimination.” In response to the UN's rebuke of white supremacy, South Africa withdrew from UNESCO and sought an autarkic route, while the United States heeded India's warning.

The transformation of the political economy of the southeastern United States in the aftermath of the Great Depression's collapse of the plantation system and the Second World War's expansion of wage-earning jobs in manufacturing created favorable conditions for racial change in the region at the very moment the nation sought global influence in the emerging Cold War. The President's Committee on Civil Rights issued its 1947 report, *To Secure These Rights*, which identified not only the moral and economic reasons for race reform but also the international ones, noting that defending racial segregation damaged U.S. foreign relations. In 1944 the Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal had issued similar conclusions in his *An American Dilemma*, suggesting that “in fighting fascism and racism, America had to stand before the whole world in favor of racial tolerance and cooperation and of racial equality.” Responding to grassroots protests by black integrationists, the U.S. Supreme Court began issuing rulings that contradicted its previous *Plessy v. Ferguson* precedent of “separate but equal.” In 1948, President Harry S Truman—recognizing the distinguished service of African Americans during

wartime—ordered the desegregation of the Armed Forces and thereby bolstered U.S. global hegemony. American cultural institutions such as professional baseball integrated its formerly all-white teams starting in 1947 while black performers appeared on the top of the music charts. In support of the lawsuits to end segregated schools that were combined under *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Department of Justice filed an amicus curiae brief stating, “It is in the context of the present world struggle between freedom and tyranny that the problem of race discrimination must be viewed.” These actions heralded changing race relations in postwar America.

In South Africa, as the National Party erected its legal structure of racial discrimination, authorities suppressed the Defiance Campaign of 1952 which mobilized black, white, colored, and Indian people to challenge apartheid in the built environment by occupying “white only” waiting rooms and entering “white areas” without passes. The multiracial effort led by the ANC announced its Freedom Charter in 1955 only to see its leadership including Nelson Mandela detained by the white supremacist government and subjugated to the Treason Trial that began in 1956 and ended in 1961 with acquittals because the campaign had adhered to nonviolent strategies of reform rather than promoting the violent overthrow of the apartheid state. Martin Luther King, Jr., observed Human Rights Day in 1957, attending a rally in support of Mandela and the other arrested South African defendants.

With the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-1956, FOR sent Bayard Rustin and Glenn Smiley to train demonstrators in nonviolence. The success of the boycott heightened King’s international prestige. He received an invitation from the African freedom fighter Kwame Nkrumah to come witness the birth of the independent nation of Ghana on March 5, 1957, an occasion that brought King to tears: “I knew about all of the struggles, and all of the pain, and all of the agony that these people had gone through for this moment.” While in Africa, King met U. S. Vice President Richard Nixon and said to him, “come visit us down in Alabama where we are seeking the same kind of freedom Ghana is celebrating.” In 1959 King undertook a pilgrimage to India to meet with Gandhi’s disciples at his ashram in Ahmedabad and returned to the United States with a deeper understanding of Gandhi’s “absolute self-discipline” and rejection of material possessions. Rustin also spent time studying *satyagraha* in India in 1949 while James M. Lawson, Jr., met with Gandhi’s disciples during his three years as a Methodist missionary teaching at Hislop College in Nagpur from 1953 to 1956. Later King recruited Lawson—a FOR and CORE member—to assist the movement when, as a seminarian in Tennessee, Lawson had held workshops on nonviolence that trained such future activists as John Lewis, Diane Nash, James Bevel, and Bernard Lafayette, all of whom later participated in the sit-in movement of 1960 and the Freedom Rides of 1961. Through an international interchange of ideas that combined black theology with *satyagraha*, integrationists staged nonviolent direct-action confrontations over racially segregated and unequal spaces in transit stations, at lunch counters and elsewhere as they demanded an end to legal white supremacy designed into the built environment of the southeastern United States.

When in South Africa nonviolent demonstrators singing freedom songs marched on the police station in Sharpeville to surrender to authorities for refusing to carry their passes, officers opened fire, killing sixty-nine people on March 21, 1960. News of the deaths promoted protests around the country including at Langa Flats outside Cape Town where police killed two more people. The government then banned the ANC, so its leadership including Mandela went underground and through its militant wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, launched armed revolution against the apartheid state. While advocates for armed self-defense existed in the United States,

foremost among them Robert F. Williams and then later Malcolm X and the Black Panthers, the leaders of the movement for integration including King, Lewis, Farmer, Lawson, Rustin and others, continued to preach a distinctive nonviolence rooted in the theology of the black church with its generational resistance to white supremacy in the built environment and its demand for equal access to the system.

## SUGGESTED INDIVIDUAL COMPONENTS OF THE SERIAL PROPERTY

### 1. ROBERT RUSSA MOTON HIGH SCHOOL/MUSEUM

**Address:** 900 Griffin Boulevard, Farmville, Virginia 23901, U.S.A

**Location:** 37°17'28.70" N, 78°23'51.32" W



The walkout by black students on April 23, 1951 over the inferior educational facilities they received at the African American Robert Russa Moton High School, and the subsequent lawsuit they filed, *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County*, contributed to the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that shook the foundations of legal white supremacy in the world by declaring racially based school segregation in the United States unconstitutional.



Opened in 1939 for Farmville, Virginia's black students, Moton High School demonstrated separate and unequal educational facilities as it suffered from severe overcrowding while lacking an auditorium, gymnasium, and cafeteria as found in the white high school across town. Rather than racially integrate the separate black and white schools and thereby create equal educational opportunities, the local board of education at first used temporary tarpaper shacks in which to house black students, and then, when ordered to desegregate, voted to close all schools. A second U.S. Supreme Court ruling in

1964, *Griffin v. County School Board of Prince Edward*, forced Prince Edward County to reopen its now desegregated schools and provide a public education to all its citizenry. Moton High remained an integrated educational facility until 1992 when it became surplus property that was sold in 1997 to the African American Martha E. Forrester Council of Women that reopened the

facility as a museum in 2001 on the fiftieth anniversary of the student walkout. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of Robert Russa Moton High School are included within the proposed boundary: the school building, its grounds and ball field, and a reconstructed tarpaper shack.

## 2. MONROE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL/BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

**Address:** 1515 SE Monroe Street, Topeka, Kansas 66612, U.S.A.

**Location:** 39°02'16.35" N, 78°23'51.42" W



Concerned over the safety of his daughter Linda Brown, who had to walk across a dangerous railroad switching yard to reach a bus stop that took her across town to the African American Monroe Elementary School, the Reverend Oliver Brown joined with twelve other black parents representing twenty children in filing a lawsuit challenging segregated education in Topeka, Kansas, which combined with four other cases and resulted in the landmark U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

The local school board had adopted a policy of providing “separate but equal” racially-segregated educational facilities, and Monroe Elementary, built for black children in 1927, was virtually equal to “white only” Sumner Elementary which the Browns wanted to attend because they lived nearby. With four other appeals filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People challenging racial segregation in education on its docket in December 1952, the U.S. Supreme Court consolidated them under the name *Oliver Brown, et al. v. the Board of Education of Topeka*. On Monday, May 17, 1954 the court issued its unanimous decision that racially segregated schools—whether materially equal or unequal—violated the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The court’s decision noted, “We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other ‘tangible’ factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe it does.” The ruling signaled to the world the changing attitude of the United States towards legal





white supremacy. Reflecting international opinions around the globe, the Municipal Council of Santos, Sao Paulo, Brazil, celebrated the *Brown* decision as “establishing the just equality of the races, essential to universal harmony and peace.” Monroe Elementary remained open as an integrated school until 1980 after which the Board of Education sold the property that, after several owners and years of neglect, became part of the National Park Service in 1992 which reopened the school as a museum on the fiftieth anniversary of the *Brown* decision in 1994. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of Monroe Elementary School are included within the proposed boundary: the school building and its grounds.

### 3. LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

**Address:** 1500 S Park Street, Little Rock, Arkansas 72202, U.S.A.

**Location:** 34°44'18.75" N, 92°18'17.34" W



Responding to the U.S. Supreme Court school desegregation ruling, state governments across the southeast adopted a strategy of Massive Resistance to thwart school desegregation orders by the federal courts that played out over 1957-1959 at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, where white supremacists confronted African American students attempting to attend the all-white school in accordance with the *Brown* decision in a

hostile clash that shocked the nation and the world and forced the federal government to intervene on behalf of racial equality in education.

The governor’s refusal to enforce the court ruling and prevent an escalation of white mob violence—and the international embarrassment over the incident—convinced President Dwight Eisenhower to send in troops from the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne to take charge of the situation. As the armed soldiers escorted black students into the previously “white only” school, international sentiment such as that of the Dutch recalled the president’s D-Day service liberating Western Europe in World War II and in newspaper headlines declared “Eisenhower’s airborne troops again are bearers of democracy.” Little Rock signified the failure of Massive Resistance to defend legal white supremacy, for it demonstrated that the federal government would support court ordered



racial desegregation. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of Central High School are included within the proposed boundary.

#### 4. DEXTER AVENUE KING MEMORIAL BAPTIST CHURCH

**Address:** 454 Dexter Avenue, Montgomery, Alabama 36104, U.S.A.

**Location:** 32°22'47.14" N, 86°18'30.51" W



The day after police arrested Rosa Parks for refusing to give up her seat to a white man, thereby setting the stage for the Montgomery Bus Boycott, one hundred black leaders gathered in the African American Dexter Avenue Baptist Church where they joined its pastor, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., in planning the protest that would last 381 days and result in the application of the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown* decision requiring racial desegregation of schools to all forms of legal white supremacy.

Built as a separate black church on the site of a former slave holding pen used when the Alabama capital boasted one of the nation's largest domestic slave trading markets, the originally named Second Colored Baptist Church completed in 1889, attracted a membership of elite African Americans associated with the city's black professional class and its historically black Alabama State College. Parks'

arrest triggered a long-planned protest over racial discrimination in public transportation that saw, through the leadership of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), a united black community engaged in passive resistance that ushered in a new era of protest and attracted both national and international media attention. The arrival in Montgomery of Bayard Rustin and Glenn Smiley of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), two students of *satyagraha* who encouraged King's embrace of nonviolent resistance not only as a tactic but also as a way of life, held training workshops to teach nonviolent strategies to the MIA members. King's training in a progressive black theology of Protestant Christianity that embraced nonviolent direct action as a strategy for social change came to characterize the integrationist philosophy of the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The U.S. Supreme Court's *Browder v. Gayle* ruling that the MIA filed extended the *Brown* decision to all areas of segregation by finding that "separate but equal" was inherently unequal and therefore legal white supremacy was unconstitutional. King resigned his pastorate of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in 1959 in order to return to Atlanta, Georgia, as president of the newly formed civil rights organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and as co-pastor of Ebenezer







Baptist Church. Following King's assassination in 1968, the Dexter Board of Deacons recognized the church attracted civil rights pilgrims and in 1978 the members voted to change the name to the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church. Today the church has an active congregation and is open daily for tours. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church are included within the

proposed boundary.

## 5. EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH (HERITAGE SANCTUARY)

**Address:** 407 Auburn Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia 30312, U.S.A.

**Location:** 33°45'18.71" N, 84°22;27.14 W

Four generations of the King family have preached from the pulpit at the African American Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia, where, following the Montgomery Bus Boycott, civil rights leaders under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., organized the



Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1957 to help coordinate direct action confrontations over segregation in the built environment and where a decade later the world came to mourn the slain apostle of nonviolence.



Founded as a separate black church in the Fourth Ward area of Atlanta in 1886, the Reverend Adam Daniel Williams, King's grandfather, assumed the pastorate in 1894 and moved the congregation to nearby Auburn Avenue in 1914. The Atlanta Race Riot of 1906 had dramatically transformed the area, for in its aftermath, city officials undertook town planning on racial segregation as white residents moved out of the neighborhood, enabling a concentration of Atlanta's black middle class to congregate along Auburn Avenue that became known as the richest black street in America. As co-pastor under his father at Ebenezer, King occasionally preached



while promoting nonviolent social change through the SCLC. On February 4, 1968, King delivered his final sermon in Ebenezer Baptist Church, a personal eulogy called “The Drum Major Instinct.” Two months later an assassin killed him in Memphis. Thousands of mourners viewed King’s body as it lay in state in the Ebenezer sanctuary as a recording of the sermon played over loudspeakers. With his death, civil rights pilgrims began to visit King’s church and birthplace, so his widow, Coretta Scott King, constructed the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Inc., that included an archive, auditorium, chapel, and a reflection pool containing the crypt of the Kings on land located between the birth home and historic Ebenezer Baptist Church. Annual events are held in the church on the anniversary of King’s January birthday—a national holiday—to celebrate their lives. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of Ebenezer Baptist Church are included within the proposed boundary.



## 6. BETHEL BAPTIST CHURCH (HISTORIC SANCTUARY)

**Address:** 3233 and 3228 29<sup>th</sup> Avenue, North, Birmingham, Alabama 35203, U.S.A.

**Location:** 33°33'06.43" N, 86°48'02.63" W



Because the Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth led the Birmingham civil rights movement from the pulpit of the African American Bethel Baptist Church, white supremacists targeted the sacred space with dynamite attacks three times, the first nearly assassinating Shuttlesworth by destroying the adjacent parsonage and damaging the sanctuary, and the other two causing serious damage to the segregated structure,

drawing international attention to the Birmingham civil rights struggle.

When the U.S. Supreme Court upheld *Browder v. Gayle* and ordered the desegregation of public transportation, Shuttlesworth announced the movement would test the ruling in Birmingham. On Christmas night 1956—the eve of the challenge—white supremacists tossed a bundle of dynamite between Bethel Baptist Church and its Parsonage next door. Although the blast caused the house to collapse with Shuttlesworth in the front room near the explosion, he survived the assassination attempt and emerged from the rubble unscathed to lead the protest the next day. In

a second attempt to silence the civil rights movement, white supremacists left lit explosives beside Bethel Baptist Church on June 29, 1958, but black guards discovered the bomb and moved it so that when it exploded the church walls did not collapse although the shockwaves again knocked out the stained-glass windows. The third bombing of Bethel Baptist Church occurred on December 13, 1962 as children inside the sanctuary prepared for Christmas, and while they escaped harm, the parsonage and other structures again suffered damage. Bethel became one of several dozen movement



churches that regularly hosted mass meetings on Monday nights where supporters of civil rights reform met with Shuttlesworth and other leaders to plan nonviolent direct action confrontations over separate and unequal “white only” and “colored” sections of transit stations and other public accommodations, schools and parks, culminating in the climatic spring 1963 demonstrations in segregated Kelly Ingram Park and the surrounding streets of downtown Birmingham. At the

same time on the other side of the world, the heads of newly independent governments in Africa gathered at the invitation of Emperor Haile Selassie in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in a meeting “without parallel in history” to form the Organization of African Unity, during which Uganda’s Prime Minister Milton Obote sent an open letter criticizing President John F. Kennedy over the events in Birmingham. “The Negroes who, even while the conference was in session, have been subjected to the most inhumane treatment, who have been blasted with fire hoses ranked up to such pressure that the water could strip bark off trees, at whom the police have deliberately set snarling dogs, are our own kith and kin.” Speaking as if for all the African delegates, Obote concluded: “The eyes and ears of the world are concentrated on events in Alabama and it is the duty of the free world and more so of the countries that hold themselves up as the leaders of the free world to see that all of their citizens, regardless of the color of

their skin, are free.” Bethel Baptist Church remained an active congregation for years after the demonstrations ended until, in 1997, the congregation constructed a new sanctuary nearby while opening up for tours the historic building as a museum that showcases exhibits on Shuttlesworth and the Birmingham movement. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of Bethel Baptist Church are included within the proposed boundary: the church, the memorial garden where the original parsonage stood, and the replacement parsonage across the street.

## 7. F. W. WOOLWORTH DEPARTMENT STORE/INTERNATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS CENTER AND MUSEUM

**Address:** 134 S Elm Street, Greensboro, North Carolina 27401, U.S.A.

**Location:** 36°04'18.20" N, 79°47'26.08" W



Indistinguishable from the dozens of other F. W. Woolworth Department Stores across the southeastern United States, the Greensboro facility, constructed in 1929 on a prominent corner in downtown Greensboro, North Carolina, provided a racially segregated retail experience for customers that provoked a nonviolent confrontation by four black college students who challenged white supremacy in the built

environment and caused an event of global significance that revitalized the civil rights movement.

On February 1, 1960, African Americans Ezell Blair, Jr., Franklin McCain, Joseph McNeil, and David Richmond took seats at the Greensboro Woolworths “white only” lunch counter and asked to be served. The movement spread to other lunch counters in the city, state and region. Within six months seventy thousand people had participated in the direct-action challenge to legal white supremacy. Participants organized the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to assist the protests, for the sit-ins generated national and international media attention as the movement spread. The Reverend James Lawson engaged in an international interchange of ideas when he traveled as a Methodist missionary to India to study *satyagraha* then returned to the United States and as a seminarian at Vanderbilt University, trained future civil rights activists Marion Barry, James Bevel, Bernard Lafayette, John Lewis, Diane Nash, and others, who staged sit-ins in Nashville, Tennessee and elsewhere. In addition to sit-ins, a boycott of downtown businesses pressured Greensboro merchants and the city government to desegregate all lunch counters in July 1960. Once it reopened its desegregated lunch counter, the Greensboro Woolworths continued to operate until 1993 when the business closed. In 1995 local black activists formed the Sit-In Movement, Inc. to purchase the building and turn it into a museum. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of the Greensboro Woolworth Department Store are included within the proposed boundary: the building, its separate racial entrances, and its main interior feature, the enshrined lunch counter.





## 8. GREYHOUND BUS TERMINAL AND BUS BURNING SITE

**Address:** 1031 Gurnee Avenue, Anniston, Alabama 36201, U.S.A.

4992-4994 Old Birmingham Highway, Anniston, Alabama 36201, U.S.A.

**Location:** 33°39'29.21" N, 85°49'52.20" W and 33°38'06.25" N, 85°54'30.43" W



Under the leadership of James Farmer, CORE reprised the Journey of Reconciliation, an earlier challenge against segregation in interstate transportation staged in 1947, as the 1961 Freedom Rides to test compliance with the recent U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Boynton v. Virginia* (1960) which called for the desegregation of public accommodations in southern transportation terminals, but unlike the overlooked previous protest, this time the nonviolent direct action confrontations over racially separate waiting rooms, restrooms, and dining facilities attracted international outrage because of a violent response from white supremacists in Alabama.



Around 1:00 pm on Sunday, May 14, 1961, a Greyhound Bus carrying seven black and white Freedom Riders along with two reporters, two members of the Alabama Highway Patrol and five other passengers, entered Anniston, Alabama. As soon as the bus pulled into the alleyway beside the Greyhound Bus Terminal, Ku Klux Klansmen descended upon it as a white mob filled the street. With screaming men beating on the vehicle trying to get in, highway

patrolmen on board moved to keep the door closed so that the integrationists could not exit the bus and test the desegregation of the station's accommodations. For twenty minutes the white vigilantes violently attacked the vehicle, breaking the glass of the windows and stabbing the tires. Once police arrived and escorted the bus to the Anniston city limits, members of the white mob followed in cars down the old Birmingham Highway until flat tires forced the bus off the road. Then klansmen firebombed the vehicle, nearly immolating the people inside. Images of the burning Greyhound Bus quickly spread around the world, sparking support for the

demonstrations and encouraged others seeking racial justice. Inspired by the Freedom Rides, Native Americans formed the National Indian Youth Council in 1961 and staged fish-ins in 1964 to protest denial of treaty rights in Puget Sound. The landscape along the old Birmingham Highway looks much as it did on that fateful Sunday afternoon in 1961, with a row of houses still standing across the street from where the bus burned. The Greyhound Bus Terminal retains the separate entrances and other architectural designs of racially separate spaces once marked “white only” and “colored.”



Designated by President Barack Obama as the Freedom Riders National Monument in 2017, the site includes all the elements necessary to express its significant attributes: the historic station in Anniston and a triangle of land squeezed between the old and new highways, with an access road that cuts through the top third, separating the spot where the bus burned from a larger parcel currently designated for interpretation and a park.

## 9. MEDGAR AND MYRLIE EVERS HOUSE MUSEUM

**Address:** 2332 Margaret W. Alexander Drive, Jackson, Mississippi 39213, U.S.A.

**Location:** 32°20'27.56" N, 90°12'45.45" W



The assassination of Mississippi's first NAACP Field Secretary Medgar Evers in the driveway of his home in a segregated neighborhood of Jackson only minutes after President John F. Kennedy addressed the nation on the need for race reform on June 12, 1963, shocked the world and galvanized

the civil rights struggle in the United States.

An earlier infatuation with Jomo Kenyatta and the Mau Mau's violent resistance to British colonialism in Kenya in 1952 gave way to advocacy for nonviolent direct action as Evers recruited new members for the NAACP, assisted activist chapters with their protests, and investigated racially motivated murders such as the one that killed fourteen-year-old Emmett Till in 1955. Eager to promote nonviolent direct action challenges to legal white supremacy, Evers of

the NAACP joined with Robert Moses of SNCC, Aaron Henry of SCLC, and Dave Dennis of CORE in forming the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) that used Voter Education Project funds from the Southern Regional Council to create “Freedom Schools” and organize voter registration drives that later culminated in the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964 during which the Ku Klux Klan burned several black churches and killed three civil rights activists—James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner—while Fannie Lou Hamer and other grassroots activists demanded seats at the Democratic National Convention. Previously, white supremacists had thrown a Molotov cocktail at the Evers’ ranch style house located in a black middle class section of Jackson prior to his murder which occurred the same week that the monk Thich Quang Duc, recognizing the power of media coverage of civil rights protests in the United States, invited international journalists including David Halberstam to witness his self-immolation on a busy Saigon street in protest to the Diem dictatorship’s brutal crackdown against Buddhism in Viet Nam. Thousands mourned Evers’ death by attending his funeral in Jackson’s Stringer Grand Lodge Masonic Temple and his burial in Arlington National Cemetery in Washington, D.C., after which his widow, Myrlie, fled Mississippi with their three children for California. Yet she continued to own the house in Jackson and in 1993 donated the property to historically black Tougaloo College that opened it as a house museum showcasing the civil rights leader and the Mississippi movement. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of the Medgar and Myrlie Evers House are included within the proposed boundary.



## 10. SIXTEENTH STREET BAPTIST CHURCH

**Address:** 1530 6th Avenue N, Birmingham, Alabama 35203, U.S.A.

**Location:** 33°31'00.30" N, 86°48'53.76" W



The dynamite blast that blew a hole through the granite foundation of the African American Sixteenth Street Baptist Church and claimed the lives of four black girls preparing for the Sunday church service on September 15, 1963, revealed to the world the depths white supremacists would sink to defend racial segregation in Alabama. The black church had provided a staging ground for the thousands of school children who confronted water hoses and police dogs in the surrounding streets and adjacent “colored” Kelly Ingram Park at the height of the nonviolent demonstrations for race reform earlier that spring.



Developers who founded the industrial city of Birmingham in 1871 around the intersection of two railroad lines set aside lots for white religious institutions, so in 1873 when a black congregation formed as the First Colored Baptist Church, it requested and received a parcel on which to construct a segregated facility on the north side of town, later changing its name to reflect its location, the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. The congregation hired the African American architect Wallace A. Rayfield to design the new sanctuary and parsonage that opened in 1911 as the grandest black-owned public space in Birmingham. Whenever leading African Americans visited the city, they spoke from the pulpit of Sixteenth Street because of its attractive ability to accommodate notable guests and the crowds that came to hear them. By early May 1963 the world watched nightly film footage showing the distinctive twin brick towers and tiled domes of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church



with doors wide open as enthusiastic youth scampered down the stairs into the streets and the water coming from high powered fire hoses trained along the edges of Kelly Ingram Park as Birmingham's fire department tried to keep the protesters penned in the black section of town. Four months later the Sunday explosion rocked the city, pushing cars out into the street, blowing the windows out of surrounding buildings, and imploding the exterior wall in to the ladies' restroom where five black girls had gone to ready themselves for their parts in the church service. The blast killed four of them, Addie

Mae Collins, Denise McNair, Carole Robertson, and Cynthia Wesley, while leaving sister Sarah Collins blind in one eye. Later that day, in the racial hostility that gripped the city, two teenage black boys were murdered, Virgil Ware by two white Eagle Scouts, and Johnny Robinson by Birmingham police. The senseless deaths at the hands of white supremacists shocked good people in Alabama and across the South as well as the nation and world as outrage immediately followed. In Wales, children collected pennies to donate to the church, using the funds to create a stained-glass window later installed above the balcony of a black man pushing against oppression and reaching out in forgiveness. In time, opened the church to civil rights pilgrims. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church are included within the proposed boundary: the church and its parsonage.



## 11. LINCOLN MEMORIAL AND GROUNDS

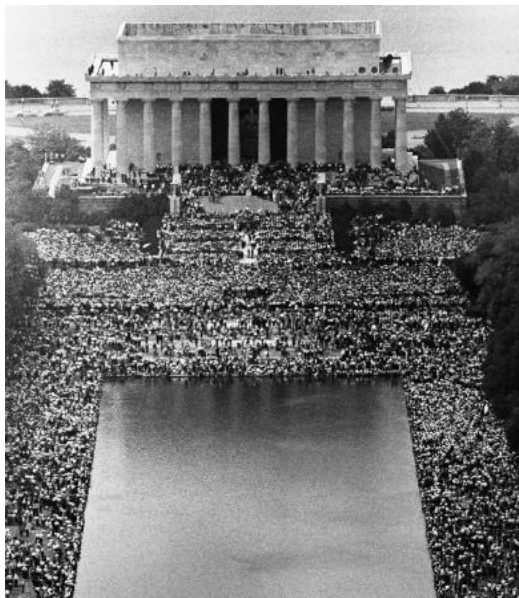
**Address:** 2 Lincoln Memorial Circle NW, Washington, District of Columbia 20037, U.S.A.

**Location:** 38°53'21.47" N, 77°02'59.45" W



Initially planned as a massive civil rights protest in the streets of the nation's capital on August 28, 1963, the March on Washington Movement evolved into a global celebration of human rights on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial witnessed by millions of people who endorsed the proposed race reforms being debated in the U.S. Congress as characterized by the "I Have A Dream" speech delivered by the charismatic Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in which he eloquently expressed the goals and aspirations of the nonviolent black and white integrationists.

Representing the SCLC, King shared the dais with the Chairman of SNCC John Lewis, the head of the NAACP Roy Wilkins, James Farmer of CORE, and Whitney Young of the National Urban League, along with Bayard Rustin and A. Phillip Randolph of the March on Washington Movement. A quarter of a million people descended on the national mall in Washington, D.C. as



millions more watched the events internationally over live television broadcasts. Support petitions for U.S. civil rights circulated across Europe while simultaneous demonstrations and marches occurred in Kingston, Jamaica; Accra, Ghana; Cairo, Egypt; Tel Aviv, Israel; Oslo, Norway; and elsewhere in the world. The demonstration culminated at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial, a racially symbolic space because of its association with the president who had proposed the Emancipation Proclamation but also because of previous protests over racial discrimination. Efforts to memorialize Lincoln began shortly after his assassination in 1865 but took decades to implement with groundbreaking occurring in 1913 and the construction of the memorial modeled on a Greek temple lasting until 1922. Inside sits the statue designed by Daniel Chester French of Abraham Lincoln looking



down the reflecting pool of the National Mall landscape of Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. President Warren G. Harding dedicated the memorial before a segregated audience that heard addresses by such speakers as Tuskegee Institute President Robert Russa Moton who, being a black man, was denied a seat on the dais with the president and other white speakers. When in 1939 the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to permit a performance by the renowned black opera singer Marian Anderson in its segregated Constitution Hall, an outraged First Lady of the United States, Eleanor Roosevelt, resigned her membership in the DAR and arranged a free Easter concert by Anderson on the steps of the nearby Lincoln Memorial. An integrated audience of 75,000 people including the president and first lady, his cabinet, congressmen, and the members of the U.S. Supreme Court assembled to hear Anderson sing arias and Negro spirituals.

The March on Washington capitalized on the Lincoln Memorial's symbolism by concluding with speeches delivered from its marble steps with King's address the best known: "I have a dream," he said, quoting the Declaration of Independence, "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these



truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'" King continued, "I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood." A year later at the conclusion of the Rivonia Trial, Nelson Mandela echoed King, "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all person live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." Imprisoned under brutal conditions on Robben Island for eighteen years, then in Pollsmoor Prison for an additional decade, Mandela befriended his enemies and developed an awareness that enabled him to negotiate a peaceful transition with representatives of the National Party that ended apartheid and ushered in a new democratic state. At his inauguration as South Africa's first black president in 1994, Mandela again echoed King's "I Have a Dream Speech," saying of the new nation and its people, "Free at last! Free at last!" As the civil rights movement focused its attention on economic justice in 1968, King harkened back to Randolph and Rustin's original 1941 strategy of the March on Washington and proposed the Poor People's Campaign with a shanty town of temporary housing called Resurrection City constructed on the national mall beside the Lincoln Memorial. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of the Lincoln Memorial are included within the proposed boundary: the Memorial, the Reflecting Pool and grassy lawns on either side, along with the area that housed Resurrection City.

## 12. EDMUND PETTUS BRIDGE

**Address:** US80, MP 85.415, Selma, Alabama 36703, U.S.A.

**Location:** 32°24'19.21" N, 87°01'06.27" W

Years of grassroot mobilization against racial discrimination in the built environment and for the registration of black voters across the southeastern United States—especially in Georgia and Mississippi—culminated in the March 7, 1965 brutal beating of nonviolent demonstrators at the

foot of the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, causing international outrage and resulting in federal voting rights legislation.

In the winter of 1965, King and the SCLC joined with the indigenous voting rights campaign in Selma that had been receiving assistance from SNCC by staging a march to the “white only” entrance of the Dallas County Courthouse where the clerk of court controlled the electoral process and refused to register black voters. On Sunday, March 7, nonviolent activists led by John Lewis of SNCC and Hosea Williams of SCLC



began the “Selma to Montgomery March” as they silently led five hundred people in lines of two out of Brown Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church through Selma’s business district and up the Edmund Pettus Bridge. At the apex, as they looked out over the Alabama River into Dallas County whose jurisdiction began at the foot of the bridge, they observed gathered there Sheriff Jim Clark and his deputies on horseback joined by State Highway Patrolmen sent by Alabama Governor George Wallace lined up to stop the march from continuing to Montgomery. Descending to the county line and its symbolic representation of the courthouse and the denial of



the ballot, the young and old demonstrators knelt in prayer. “Troopers Advance,” came the call as the state fired teargas into the crowd and pandemonium erupted. Wearing gas masks and swinging nightsticks, the state troopers waded into the activists as they turned to run back towards town. Like cavalymen, the deputies charged on horseback, jabbing protesters with electric cattle prods. White law enforcement officers chased the black demonstrators back into Selma where they could not even find refuge in their churches. Television crews

captured on film the savage attack and rushed the footage to New York City where the networks interrupted the evening’s programs to broadcast reports of “Bloody Sunday.”

Speaking with the press, King linked the civil rights fight of black Americans with anticolonial struggles around the world, noting that “millions of dollars can be spent every day to hold troops in South Viet Nam and our country cannot protect the rights of Negroes in Selma.” In a live televised broadcast of an address to Congress on March 15, President Lyndon B. Johnson quoted the anthem of the civil rights movement saying, “We Shall Overcome,” then announced legislation designed to promote black political empowerment being sent to the U.S. Congress for

quick passage as the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that authorized federal registrars to enroll voters and the justice department to end gerrymandering, at-large elections, and other mechanisms designed to negate the black vote. Federal District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., authorized the movement to proceed and on March 21, the “Selma to Montgomery March” began again, this time with eight thousand people joining movement leaders as they crossed unimpeded the Edmund Pettus Bridge and headed east the fifty-four miles to Alabama’s capital. The crowd swelled to twenty-five thousand people and included such internationally significant religious leaders as Greek Orthodox Archbishop Lakovos and Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, Protestant leaders and celebrities who joined Martin and Coretta Scott King as they walked past the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church where ten years before they had led the bus boycott, and on up to the state Capitol. After Selma, several universities invited King to speak in South Africa but the apartheid government denied him a visa in 1966. Speaking in New York, King said, “In South Africa today, all opposition to white supremacy is condemned as communism, and in its name, due process is destroyed,” adding “a medieval segregation is organized with twentieth century efficiency and drive. A sophisticated form of slavery is imposed by a minority upon a majority which is kept in grinding poverty. The dignity of human personality is defiled; and world opinion is arrogantly defied.” Seven years after Bloody Sunday, John Lewis returned to Selma with other civil rights leaders to reenact the bridge crossing in 1972, thereby initiating perennial events that have turned the structure into a shrine. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of the Edmund Pettus Bridge are included within the proposed boundary: the bridge and the highway running from downtown Selma to the area of Dallas County where the event took place.



### 13. LORRAINE MOTEL/MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. ASSASSINATION SITE

**Address:** 450 Mulberry Street, Memphis, Tennessee 38103, U.S.A.

**Location:** 35°08'04.48" N, 90°03'29.75" W

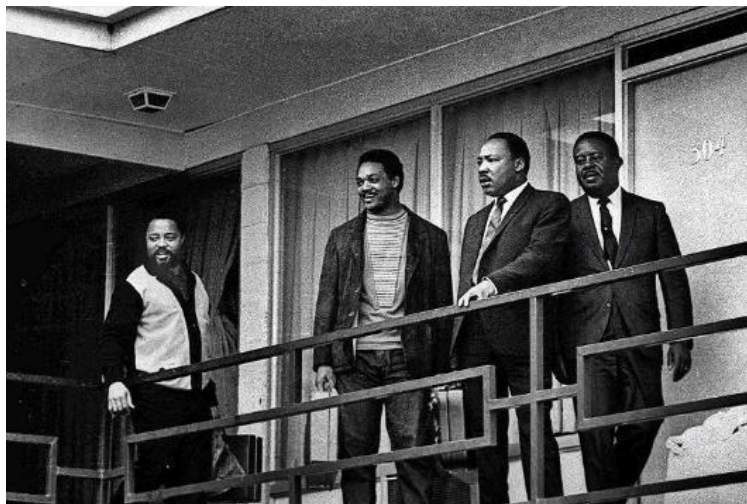


As all manner of protests upended social order around the world in 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr., tried to focus the Modern Civil Rights Movement on the issue of economic inequality for black and other impoverished Americans but just as the effort got underway, an assassin silenced this leading voice for nonviolence as he stood on the balcony of the once segregated Lorraine Motel.

While planning the Poor People’s Campaign, King received an urgent call



to join striking sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee, who earned so little pay they often worked two jobs or relied on government assistance to feed their families; so they demanded higher wages, better safety conditions, and recognition of their union. In January 1968, a new mayor in Memphis refused to pay garbage collectors overtime or replace old equipment, and on February 1, a malfunctioning truck crushed to death two garbage collectors. The lack of a response by the city convinced the employees in the Memphis Department of Public Works to go on strike, and when they conducted a nonviolent march to city hall on February 23, police used teargas to break up the demonstration. The violent suppression galvanized the local civil rights community as the chairman of the strike committee, the Reverend James Lawson, organized the Committee on the Move to Equality (COME) and invited King to Memphis. Speaking on March 18, 1968 before 25,000



people gathered in support of the striking garbage collectors, King emphasized unity: “we are all tied in a single garment of destiny.” Yet when he returned to lead a demonstration on March 28 that included thousands of school children, the heightened racial tensions in the city could not be contained. Unable to control the crowd of protesters, King and Lawson abruptly ended the march and sent the demonstrators back to Clayborn Temple but police followed them into the movement church, discharged tear gas within its sanctuary and beat the nonviolent activists as they gasped for air. A riot broke out in the streets of Memphis, and during the ensuing clashes, police killed a sixteen-year-old unarmed black boy. The next day striking sanitation workers held “I Am A Man” signs on their picket lines. Determined to demonstrate the efficacy of nonviolence, King returned to Memphis on April 3 and, that night, when strikers implored him to



speaking, delivered in Mason Temple his impassioned last address: “I’ve seen the Promised Land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight that we, as a people, will get to the Promised Land.” When in Memphis, King often stayed in the black-owned Lorraine Motel that during segregation had been among the only public accommodations opened to African Americans until the Civil Right Act of 1964 desegregated the city’s hotels. Preparing to depart the motel on the evening of April 4, 1968, King stepped out of Room 306 onto the balcony to speak

with the SCLC leaders standing beside the cars parked in the lot below when a single shot fired from a boarding house across the street pierced his head and brought down the apostle of

nonviolence. News of King's assassination spread quickly in the media as Lawson appealed for calm over the Memphis radio. Four days later Coretta Scott King led 42,000 people in a silent march through the streets of Memphis mourning King's death and showing support for the striking sanitation workers. Afterwards the black owners of the Lorraine, Walter and Loree Bailey, kept vacant as memorials King's Room 306 and the adjacent 307 that the SCLC had used for strategy sessions, while transitioning the rest of the motel into residential housing. Later foreclosed on, the motel faced demolition until black activists led by D'Army Bailey purchased the building in 1982 for conversion into an African American history museum that memorialized King. The resulting National Civil Rights Museum, which opened in 1991, retains the façade of the motel and the two enshrined Rooms 306 and 307 as historic relics of the event that occurred here in 1968. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of the Lorraine Motel are included within the proposed boundary: the front façade and balcony where King stood, the plaza and road in front of the motel, and the boardinghouse from which the assassin fired the lethal shot.