United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Name of Property

County and State

Name of multiple property listing (if applicable)

Section number _____ Page _____

SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING RECORD

NRIS Reference Number: 06000940 Date Listed: October 19, 2006

Property Name: Birmingham Civil Rights Historic District

County: Jefferson State: Alabama

Civil Rights in Birmingham, Alabama, 1933-1979
Multiple Name

This property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached nomination documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation.

for Daniel J. Vivian
Signature of the Keeper

October 19, 2006
Date of Action

Amended Items in Nomination:

Section 8. Statement of Significance
The period of significance is hereby changed to 1956-1963.

Section 10. Geographical Data
The following is hereby added as the verbal boundary justification for the property: The boundaries of the district encompass the resources determined to have been significant in Civil Rights organizing and protests in downtown Birmingham between 1956 and 1963.

[This change was made in consultation with and approved by the National Register staff of the Alabama SHPO.]

The Alabama State Historic Preservation Office was notified of this amendment.

DISTRIBUTION:
National Register property file
Nominating Authority (without nomination attachment)

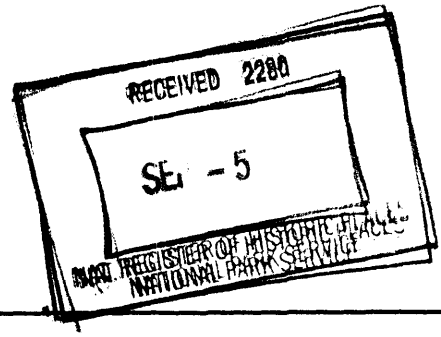
940

Form 10-900
(Oct. 1990)

OMB No. 10024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Registration Form



1. Name of Property

historic name Birmingham Civil Rights Historic District

other names/site number N/A

2. Location

street & number portions of 3rd Ave N; 4th Ave N; 5th Ave N.; 6th Ave N; 7th Ave. N; 8th Ave. N; 15th St. N; 16th St. N; 17th St. N; 19th S. N ☐ NA ☐ not for publication

city or town Birmingham ☐ vicinity N/A

state Alabama code AL county Jefferson code 073 zip code 35203

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this ☒ nomination ☐ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set for in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ☒ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant ☒ nationally ☐ statewide ☐ locally. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Elizabeth Ann Brown — 30 August 2006

Signature of certifying official/Title — Date

State Historic Preservation Office, Alabama Historical Commission

State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. (☐ See Continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is:

☒ entered in the National Register.
☐ See continuation sheet
☐ determined eligible for the National Register.
☐ See continuation sheet
☐ determined not eligible for the National Register.
☐ removed from the National Register.
☐ other, (explain:) _____

for Daniel J. Vivian — Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action

10/19/06

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply)

- ☒ private
- ☒ public-local
- ☐ public-State
- ☒ public-Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

- ☐ building(s)
- ☒ district
- ☐ site
- ☐ structure
- ☐ object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
20	5	buildings
3		sites
		structures
1		objects
24	5	Total

Name of related multiple property listing
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)
Birmingham Civil Rights Movement, 1933-1979 MPS

Number of Contributing resources previously listed in the National Register
11

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)
RELIGION: church
COMMERCE: business; professional; organizational; financial institution; restaurant
FUNERARY: mortuary
EDUCATION: library
SOCIAL: meeting hall
RECREATION: park, monument

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)
RELIGION: church
COMMERCE: business; professional; organizational; financial institution; restaurant
FUNERARY: mortuary
RECREATION/CULTURE: park, monument, work of art, museum
EDUCATION: research facility
SOCIAL: meeting hall

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)
Classical Revival; Gothic Revival; Renaissance Revival; Romanesque Revival; Byzantine Revival; Colonial Revival, Art Deco; International , Jeffersonian Classicism

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)
foundation BRICK; STONE; CONCRETE
walls BRICK; CONCRETE; MASONITE; GRANITE; LIMESTONE
roof ASPHALT SHINGLE; ASPHALT
other METAL; GLASS

Narrative Description
(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)
See Attached Sheets

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria
(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for the National Register.)

☒ **A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

☐ **B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

☐ **C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

☐ **D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions)
Ethnic Heritage: African American
Social History

Period of Significance
1933-1979

Significant Dates
1963

Significant Person
(Complete if Criterion B is marked)
N/A

Cultural Affiliation
N/A

Architect/Builder
Turner, Smith & Baston;
Turner, George;
Rayfield, Wallace (see continuation sheet)

Criteria Considerations
(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)
Property is:

☐ **A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.

☐ **B** removed from its original location.

☐ **C** moved from its original location.

☐ **D** a cemetery.

☐ **E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.

☐ **F** a commemorative property

☒ **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Narrative Statement of Significance
(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography
(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS): N/A
☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
☒ previously listed in the National Register
☐ Previously determined eligible by the National Register
☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
☒ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey
HABS AL 898

☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary location of additional data:
☒ State Historic Preservation Office
☐ Other State Agency
☐ Federal Agency
☐ Local Government
☐ University
☒ Other
Name of repository:
Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham Public Library Archives, Birmingham Historical Society

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property approx. 36 acres

UTM References
(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

	Zone	Easting	Northing
1	16	517020	3708640
2	16	517490	3709150
3	16	517720	3709200
4	16	517820	3709000

☐ See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description
(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification
(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

Name/tite Birmingham Historical Society, with consultants
Organization Birmingham Historical Society date February 9, 2006
street & number One Sloss Quarters telephone 205-251-1880
city or town Birmingham state AL zip code 35223

Additional Documentation
Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets
Maps
A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location
A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs
Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.
Additional items
(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items.)

Property Owner
(Complete this item at the request of SHPO or FPO.)

Name Multiple
Street & number _____ Telephone _____
city or town _____ state TN zip code _____

Addresses included within the district are as follows. Resources already listed in the National Register are denoted with an NRHP.

4th Avenue North: 1500, 1522, 1526, 1530, 1622 (NRHP), 1630 (NRHP)
5th Avenue North: 1427, 1501, 1509, 1510, 1513, 1521, 1527 (NRHP), 1600 (Kelly Ingram Park-NRHP), 1617
6th Avenue North: 1408-1414, 1500, 1530 (NRHP), 1616,
7th Avenue North: 1413, 1420, 1501
15th Street North: 708
16th Street North: 409, 413, 500

Retail District:
2nd Avenue North: 1821 (NRHP)
3rd Avenue North: 1900 (NRHP)
19th Street North: 214, 219 (NRHP), 224 (NRHP)

Government Complex
5th Avenue North: 1800 (NRHP)
7th Avenue North: Linn Park (NE corner of 7th Ave N and 20th Street North)
8th Avenue North: 1930
19th Street North: 618
20th Street North: 710 (City Hall)
21st Street North: 716 (Jefferson County Courthouse-NRHP)
Park Place: 2100

VII. Description

The Birmingham Civil Rights Historic District contains three groups of resources and the streets that connect them. The westernmost section, Northside, lies east of Seventeenth Street between Fourth and Seventh Avenues North in Birmingham, Jefferson County, Alabama. This section contains a fine collection of historic African American commercial and cultural resources, including churches, stores and office buildings, a park, and an institute. Two properties: the Colored Masonic Temple and the Taxi Stand are part of the Fourth Avenue Historic District (2/11/1982). Three additional properties: the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church (9/17/1980; NHL 2/20/06), the A. G. Gaston Building (9/11/2000), and Kelly Ingram Park (5/24/1984) are individually listed in the National Register. The second area is comprised of resources previously listed as part of the Downtown Birmingham Retail and Theatre Historic District (5/5/89; 6/26/98). Businesses within this district were targets and destinations for the various marches and boycotts launched from the Northside section. The Government Complex includes the city-county government complex and adjacent buildings, including the Greyhound Bus Station, forming the third pivotal area in this nomination.

Although many buildings of the early 20th century have been demolished, particularly houses in the residential districts just west of the historic district, and other newer structures built over the last 40 years, significant landmarks, as well as the historic grid of streets, alleys, and sidewalks, remain to convey the sense of place, association, design, location and setting of the period of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The nominated district meets the registration requirements for historic districts listed in the Birmingham Civil Rights Movement, 1933-1979 MPS.

March Routes

The primary march routes are extant street corridors in the Birmingham city center. These corridors tie the strategy centers of the western section of the district to those government and retail locations that actually witnessed the implementation of those strategies. As organized groups, demonstrators moved along the designated corridors to reach their destinations and returned. The routes are counted as sites and not structures because their significance to this district lies in the fact they were locations of events and not significant as structures themselves. The linear nature of these corridors also demonstrates the physical segregation between the African American neighborhood where the marches originated and the retail and government areas that were the final destinations of the marches and the Movement's goals of equal access.

1. 6th Avenue North is the primary route that connects the western section to the municipal complex around Woodrow Wilson Park (Linn Park today). This City Beautiful style group of government buildings extends between Nineteenth and Twenty-first Streets North (now Richard Arrington Jr. Boulevard) and from Park Place to Eighth Avenue North. The complex includes Birmingham City Hall, the Jefferson County Courthouse, the Boutwell Auditorium and the Birmingham Public Library (now Linn-Henley Research Library). These buildings have entrances both on the park and on surrounding streets and avenues. The Greyhound Bus Terminal is diagonally across 19th Street from the Birmingham City Hall 19th Street entrance, the entrance most frequently the site of demonstrations and marches in the 1960s. The Jefferson County Courthouse (12/27/1982) is listed individually in the National Register. (C)

2. 5th Avenue North to 19th Street North served as a primary route that participants in the April-May 1963 Birmingham demonstrations used to reach the retail core, the southeast section of the district. This retail core extends from the intersection of Nineteenth Street at Third Avenue North -- termed "Integration Corner" by demonstrators -- along 19th Street to Second Avenue North. The five properties within this section are part of the Downtown Birmingham National Register Retail and Theatre historic district (5/5/1989). Four of the five buildings are contributing properties: S. H. Kress & Co. Building (1/4/1982) and Loveman's Department Store (now the museum portion of the McWane Science Center (listed 4/14/1983) are individually listed in the National Register. (C)

3. 19th Street North to 3rd Avenue North to 18th Street North to 4th Avenue North (return route from Retail district) also served as a primary route that participants in the April-May 1963 Birmingham demonstrations used to reach the retail core, the southeast section of the district. This retail core extends from the intersection of Nineteenth Street at Third Avenue North along 19th Street to Second Avenue North. This route served also a route for demonstrators returning to the base churches to regroup and report on the day's events. (C)
Western Section (Northside)

Fourth Avenue, North

4. **Smith & Gaston Funeral Home (*c.* 1958), 1500 Fourth Avenue North**
One-storey funeral home with traditional features but of modern construction date, oriented to the corner and generally in a Y shape: veneered in varitone pinkish brick; gabled roofline with main section, the stem of the Y, with prominent corner entrance, flanked by wings to either side. Open-gabled projecting entry porch supported by four square concrete posts and topped by a Colonial Revival-style cupola with painted glass lantern. The limestone-faced facade contains an entry panel with central double metal-and-glass doors with stained glass window above, flanked by 1-over-1 windows; decorative *bas* relief cartouches and swags over the windows. Wings include the East Chapel, a gable-front pavilion at southeast end, of same construction as main building. *Porte cochère* on northwest end. A one-storey portion along the rear alley serves as a garage for hearses. **C**

5. **J.M. Bail Bonding (*c.* 1910), 1522 Fourth Avenue North**
Two-storey commercial building, 25' frontage, brick construction with combed varitone buff brick veneer on facade; plate glass storefront with entry in east side pier; above storefront is a row of five round-arched windows, now filled with glass block. Two rectangular windows on upper storey, also now filled with glass block. Double brackets at the east and west ends support an unadorned wood cornice. At one time a funeral home of the Smith & Gaston company, the building was remodeled about 1946. **C**

6. **Gay Office Supply (*c.* 1920), 1526 Fourth Avenue North**
One-storey commercial building, concrete block construction with brick face-veneer, now painted; flat parapet. Three-part storefront windows with glass transoms, central single-door entry with replacement door. Now fitted with metal security bars over first-floor openings. **C**

7. **Metropolitan AME Zion Church (1955), 1530 Fourth Avenue North**
Turner, Smith & Batson, architects; L.S. Gaillard, contractor
Red brick Gothic Revival church, front-gable roof with parapet returns and stepped stone-capped corner buttresses. Prominent central entry projection with composite arched stone portal and stained glass oculus in upper gable face. Buttressed walls to either side of the facade are in place of towers; projecting entry vestibule in the east of these with double-door side entry under an arched tympanum.
Five sanctuary bays defined by shouldered pilasters, each containing a tripartite arched stained glass window, the main arched portion separated from the lower rectangular panels by masonry spandrels. Lower crossing gabled projections toward rear containing a final window, although these do not serve the sanctuary itself. Two-storey Sunday School and office building of brick construction at rear. **C**

8. **Taxi Stand (*c.* 1949), 1622 Fourth Avenue North** (Fourth Avenue North Historic District, 2/11/1982)
Small one-storey brick commercial building, originally associated with the Masonic Temple (see below): concrete block construction with modern combed red brick veneer, flat parapet; entry in chamfered southeast corner with missing transom panel; large square single-pane plate window on south (Fourth Avenue North) elevation. Older windows on east side are wood-frame 3V-over-1 sash. The building was constructed after a 1930 City of Birmingham ordinance that required separate taxi services for blacks and whites. **C**

9. **Colored Masonic Temple (1922), 1630 Fourth Avenue North** (Fourth Avenue North Historic District, 2/11/1982)
Taylor & Persley, architects; Windham Brothers Construction Co., contractors

A seven-storey commercial office building and Masonic hall, in form a four-part stacked block in Classical Revival style: rusticated limestone base; walls buff brick on the street faces; five primary facade bays on Fourth Avenue North, nine bays along 17th Street side. Above the base, the three parts of the building are defined by molded cornices above the fourth and sixth floors; bays below the fourth-floor cornice are defined by engaged columns on the Fourth Avenue facade and attached columns along 17th Street; above this, bays are defined by pilasters. Upper-storey windows are pairs and trios of 1-over-1 wood sash. The primary entry is three sets of doors on Fourth Avenue, now with replacement commercial metal doors; this area is emphasized above the base by the four Corinthian-capped engaged columns crowned by a gabled parapet.

The building interior is intact, with its small lobby and street-lining commercial spaces, its second-floor grand ballroom, and on the upper floors doughnut corridors lined with wire-glassed upper walls and wooden office doors.

The Temple is physically and historically a major property in the District: its offices served prominent black lawyers, the ACMHR, and the NAACP, which the State of Alabama closed in 1956, inaugurating the Birmingham "Movement", and other civil rights and community organizations, as well as the masons. **C**

Fifth Avenue North

10. **Birmingham Tobacco & Grocery (*c.* 1910, 1950), 1501 Fifth Avenue North**

Two-storey commercial double block and garage/warehouse addition, 50' frontage, older building of brick construction with street faces veneered in butter-jointed buff brick, now painted; crested parapets on front on either side of central stair bay; both storefronts and the front entry now sealed with block. Upper masonry contains blind panels and lozenges; seven upstairs bays on front with replacement metal-frame windows; same in window openings along west side. Original 2-over-2 wood sash visible on east wall.

The one-storey brick-veneered garage/warehouse addition extends to the alley behind, where there are two vehicular doors. Windows along 15th Street are filled with glass block. **C**

11. **Park Plaza Apartments (1952), 1509 Fifth Avenue North** (now part of motel?)

One-storey row of apartments set end-wise on Fifth Avenue North: red brick veneer base with composition board siding; hipped roof with vents; metal casement windows. **C**

12. **A.G. Gaston Motel (1954, 1963, 1983), 1510 Fifth Avenue North**
Stanley B. Echols, architect; Steel City Construction Company, builders

A two-storey flat-roofed motel court with a one-storey office portion on either side of a drive-through into the interior court. Original face brick is varitone smooth red, now augmented on the Fifth Avenue North façade by a salmon brick overlay with panels of projecting headers. Originally built as a motel with an associated restaurant and second-floor offices, the building was in 1983 heavily remodeled for residential use, with a facing of random-course sandstone and Roman brick added on the street sides. The interior court is now faced in composition wood siding and is fronted by a two-storey iron-framed covered walkway in customary motel style of the 1950s. Unit windows are small metal-frame sash.

This is a major significant resource in this district, bombed in 1963 and subsequently reopened as a motel, but becoming a residential facility for the elderly in 1983. SCLC leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. stayed in room 49, now numbered 10; it was chosen because it was the honeymoon suite and larger than the other rooms. The press conference announcing the Birmingham agreement that terminated the marches of April-May 1963 took place in the courtyard on May 10, 1963. **C**

13. **Citizen Drug Building (1960), 1513 Fifth Avenue North**

Two-storey commercial building, 25' frontage, a relatively modern building in an earlier commercial style: brick veneer, now painted; facade has corner entry into main store space, a plate show window, and a final bay with entry to the upstairs. Three upper-storey bays with metal casement windows; six similar windows along east side.

Built to house the Citizen Drug business when it moved out of the A.G. Gaston Building next door (see below). **C**

14. **WENN Radio Sign (*c.* 1960, 1968), 1521 Fifth Avenue North**

A metal and neon sign mounted on a pole, I-shaped with WENN on the upper arm, RADIO on the stem, and AM1320/FM 107.7 on the lower arm. The station began in the Gaston Building with the support of this firm, but its DJs later purchased the station and subsequently moved the station to its own building nearby, recently demolished.

The sign originally belonged to Citizens Federal, which had offices in the Gaston Building. After the bank moved to another site in 1968, the sign was reworked to show the station's identification and its independence as a broadcaster (the AG letters were removed.). **C**

15. **A.G. Gaston Building (1959-60), 1527 Fifth Avenue North** (NR 9-11-2000)
Perry C. Langston, Architect; Bank Building and Equipment Corporation, Contractor

Three-storey commercial office building with set-back penthouse and associated auditorium, among the earliest commercial International Style buildings in Birmingham: reinforced concrete frame with brick veneer on the ground floor and aluminum-framed glass and acrylic infill panels on upper storeys. Its most arresting exterior feature is the blue acrylic panels that define the second- and third-storey floor plates and create a horizontal balance to the vertical elements of the design. Daily meetings of the Coordinating Committee for the April-May 1963 marches took place in the second floor conference room.

The L.R. Hall auditorium on the 16th Street side of the building is faced in buff brick on the ground level, above which is a girded screen with colorful inlaid glazed tiles; the entry consists of two sets of commercial double doors under a shallow flat metal canopy. **C**

16. **Kelly Ingram Park (1871, alterations from 1979 to mid-1990s)** (NR 5/24/84)

Occupying a square block between 16th and 17th Streets and Fifth and Sixth Avenues North, one of the three parks designated in the city plan of 1871 and named after the first American sailor killed in World War I.

An open green space with paths crossing in the center, the park was the site of major Civil Rights demonstrations in April and May of 1963. In 1979 black businessman A.G. Gaston commemorated prominent black citizens by placing statues here.

In the 1990s the City of Birmingham, during the administration of its first black mayor, Richard Arrington Jr., redesigned the park to commemorate the events of 1963, transforming it through the use of reflecting pools, walks and statuary. All previous improvements excepting the Gaston memorials were removed. **C**

17. **Freedom Manor (*c.* 1980), 1617 Fifth Avenue North**

A six-storey commercial residential apartment building: concrete construction with a dark buff brick base; masonite panel spandrels on upper levels, sandwiching bands of metal-frame windows, small sash on front and rear, plate on the ends. Entries on Fifth Avenue North and off rear parking lot, the former with a projecting canvas awning, the latter with a solid flat canopy on concrete pylons.

Built on the site of the four-storey *c.* 1910 Gary Hotel. **NC**

Sixth Avenue North

18. **Sixth Avenue Zion Hill Baptist Church (now Deliverance Temple) (1959), 1408-14 Sixth Avenue North**

A modest modern rendition of Jeffersonian Classicism: a front-gabled meetinghouse church with classical decorative features: varitone red brick with buff trim; front gable over a shallow recessed porch, supported by four square brick pillars; oculus window in gable face with keystones; belfry, cupola and weathervane on roof peak. Windows are round-headed in the five sanctuary bays, with metal-framed frosted glass. Front entry now with commercial metal doors, flanked by similar windows without arches.

An arched brick portal connects this building on the west with its associated community building, originally a one-storey 50' commercial block with two wood-and-glass entries flanked by windows. This building was acquired by the present congregation in 1970 for its use. **C**

19. **St. Paul Methodist Church (*c.* 1904; 1948-51), 1500 Sixth Avenue North**
George P. Turner, Architect

A Gothic influenced gable-front church on a raised basement, varitone smooth red brick veneer with limestone trim: Gothic-arched lancet windows, stone-capped buttresses; four sanctuary bays defined by projecting pilasters, each containing a 1995 window with stained glass pieces. Double stairs up to a slightly projecting molded Gothic-arched central portal defined by buttressed piers. The base is rusticated sandstone with segmental-head windows, for many years the only part of the building that was finished or that survived destruction of a 1904 building on the site. There is a two-storey flat-roofed annex on the east side, completed with the present building in 1951. Interior remodeled in 1966. **C**

20. **Sixteenth Street Baptist Church and Parsonage (1911), 1530 Sixth Avenue North** (NR 9-17-80; HABS 1993; NHL 2006)
Wallace Rayfield, architect; Windham Brothers Construction, builders

Described by HABS (AL-898) as follows: "The Sixteenth Street Baptist Church building exhibits an interesting eclectic of Romanesque and Byzantine styles, executed in warm brown brick on a foundation of dark brown rock-faced sandstone. . . . (T)he church has a symmetrically balanced facade with towers and wide round-arched doorways and windows, and is executed in
heavy masonry with rock-faced stonework and other textured, decorative details. An element of the Byzantine is added . . . by the central dome resting on a tall drum and two subsidiary domes located atop the front towers, which are reminiscent of the typical Byzantine 'cross-in-square' church plan. Other Byzantine-influenced features include the polychrome brick and low-relief moldings.

The east and west [side] elevations are largely identical, divided into seven bays with arched, stained-glass windows set into six of the bays. . . . (W)indows of the transept [bays] are larger than the other windows with images of Christ within the stained glass. The rear elevation is punctured by double-hung windows at three levels that service [*sic*] offices and rear halls of the church."

The adjacent parsonage, now offices, is a two-storey, flat-roofed house of the same iron-spotted buff brick of the church, with a projecting flat-roofed porch on corner wood posts; central entry with flanking unmatched windows; three upstairs bays with metal-frame replacement windows; plain band below the parapet in place of a cornice. **C**

21. **Painters' Local/Ans-O-Phone Building (1947, altered 1960), 1616 Sixth Avenue North**

One-storey commercial building, 50' frontage, of load-bearing brick construction, now faced in a limestone base with upper metal screen, completely blind other than for the recessed central entry in a slightly projecting portal. Originally a union local office with standard central entry and flanking windows, the building was altered in 1960 to its present appearance, including the projecting box sign over the entry. **C**

Seventh Avenue North

22. **Harris Early Learning Center (1990s), 1413 Seventh Avenue North**
A one- and two-storey Post-Modern school complex built around two central rectangular playground courtyards, occupying a complete half block on the south side of Seventh Avenue North: gabled roofline with shallow projecting crossing gabled bays; split-face block base with red brick and buff-banded veneer above; 2-over-2 sash windows with soldier-course headers on second storey; gabled *porte cochères* over entry drives. **NC**

23. **Ballard-Hamilton House and Office (1940), 1420 Seventh Avenue North**
Two-storey Colonial Revival-influenced house with wide side gables: combed buff brick veneer on first floor, quoined with dark iron-spotted brown brick; projecting window bays flank the central entry. Novelty board on upper storey; five upstairs bays with 6-over-6 wood sash, a small one in the center. Terra cotta terrace with iron railings; stuccoed end chimney, west side.
Originally a combined residence and physician's office, the house also provided meeting space for African American community groups. It is now occupied by a business, Formation Methods, LLC. **C**

24. **Poole Funeral Chapel (1952), 708 15th Street North**
One- and two-storey funeral service complex with gable-front chapel pavilions flanking a central entry section: red brick veneer; chapel entries are traditional wood doors recessed in limestone frames; *faux* quoining and gable-end returns also on these end sections. Central portion is a flat-roofed projection from a setback two-storey core, fronted by a girded metal-and-glass entry panel. Occasional windows are narrow with metal frames and orange or red tinted glass. The two-storey core of the building is not readily visible from the street. Fifteenth-Street entries under a projecting flat metal canopy. Garage at rear (c. 1950): Brick, metal, and concrete multiple-bay shed garage with asphalt shingle flat roof. **C**

Fifteenth Street North

25. **St. John's AME Church and Day Care Center (1973), 708 15th Street North**
Modern church building with steeply pitched upper roof, buff brick veneer, canopied entrance. A modified tower with a cross separates the sanctuary from the adjoining Day Care Center: two storeys, same brick construction with narrow window bays alternating with brick piers.
This was the site of the Romanesque St. John's AME Church, which hosted Movement meetings and the training of children for the marches of 1963; it was demolished to make way for the present buildings. **NC**

Sixteenth Street North

26. **Infinity Club Connection (*c.* 1949; altered 1990), 409 16th Street North**
One-storey concrete block commercial building, now significantly altered for social use and reoriented with its entrance facing 16th Street: originally of concrete block construction with brick veneer on its 50' Fourth Avenue facade, now covered in pebbledash panels; long west side with central entry and shingled *porte cochère*, blind pebbledash bays defined by brick piers; flanking the entry, bays are faced in permastone. **NC** due to alterations.

Sixteenth Street North, continued:

27. **Post Office Garage/Shores-Lee Law Offices (*c.* 1924; *c.* 1995), 413 16th Street North**
One-storey commercial building, originally built as a garage for the U.S. Post Office with a commercial corner component: load-bearing brick masonry, veneered on street faces and now painted; slightly recessed office window bays with modern aluminum-and-glass entries. Patterned courses in upper face and below parapet; molded parapet cap; canvas barrel awnings.
Redeveloped for offices about 1980, at which time the vehicle doors were converted to window bays; the building was acquired by Attorney and Judge Helen Shores Lee about 1995 and turned into a law center in honor of her father, Civil Rights lawyer Arthur Shores. It also houses other professional offices. **C**

28. **Birmingham Civil Rights Institute (1990), 500 16th Street North**
Two-storey institutional building with traditional features, including a dome that reflects that of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church across the avenue: varitone buff brick veneer; central pavilion with entry through an arcade with recessed ambulatory along 16th Street North, flanked by two long rectangular wings running east-west parallel with Sixth Avenue North; recessed double window bays with stuccoed panel facings along Sixth Avenue; pitched standing seam metal roof. **NC**

Southeast Section (Retail Core)

Second Avenue North

29. **Pizitz Department Store (1923, 1926), 1821 Second Avenue North** (NR District, 1986)
Harry B. Wheelock, architect.
Built in two stages, a major local eight-storey department store, a stacked commercial block faced in ivory-toned terra cotta with a classical cornice at the top. The first-floor level inside is of double height to accommodate the mezzanine, this constituting the exterior base of the column. The ground level consists of commercial storefronts and entries in both faces under a simple storefront cornice; upper windows are trios of wood sash in bays defined by slightly projecting masonry piers; top-floor windows set in a Palladian style. Intervening spandrels marking the floor plates are decorated with unglazed terra cotta tiles.
Abandoned as a retail location in the 1990s, the building sits vacant at the time of this nomination but is scheduled for rehabilitation in the near future. **C**

Third Avenue North

30. **S.H. Kress Building (1937), 1900 Third Avenue North** (address now 301 19th Street North) (NR 1982)
Edward F. Sibbert, architect for S.H. Kress; Day & Sachs, builders. Cohen & Company, architects for the rehabilitation of 2004; Charles & Vinzant, rehabilitation contractors
A five-storey department store building in the Art *Moderne* style favored by Kress for its Fifth Avenue store, produced in Birmingham in the same fine style but on a smaller scale. Clad in white terra cotta with a rounded corner in the "streamline *Moderne*" style: horizontal emphasis through trios of metal-frame windows resting on a continuous sill; scalloped and pleated decorative and framing elements around the storefronts.
Abandoned by Kress in 1978 and altered on the interior in the 1980s and again in the 1990s for office uses; rehabilitated in 2004 as a law office with all exterior and many interior *Moderne* details restored. **C**

Nineteenth Street North

31. **OmniMax Theatre, McWane Science Center (1997) (site of Newberry's Department Store, 1916, NW Corner of 19th Street and Second Avenue North (200 19th Street North)**
Brasfield & Gorrie, general contractors

Modern IMAX movie theatre associated with the McWane Science Center: four storeys, a circular ribbed structure of reinforced concrete; brick veneer with lozenge-pattern decoration. Set back from the corner on a plaza with a fountain, with entries facing the corner.

This corner was previously occupied by the 1916 Louis Saks Clothing Co., later Newberry's Department Store building, demolished to make way for the present theatre. **NC**

32. **Loveman's Department Store** (McWane Science Center) **(1934-35; remodeled 1990), 214 19th Street North** (NR District, 1986)
D. & W. Lehman, architects, associated with Miller, Martin & Lewis

A four-storey department store building in Art *Deco* style, originally Loveman, Joseph & Loeb and built in the mid-1930s after a disastrous fire destroyed their older store on the site. Faced in limestone with vertical windows fronted by attenuated rectilinear iron ornament; heavy caps on the parapet piers framing the entrances. Chamfered corner bay beneath a clock, for many years a favorite meeting place downtown. At one time the windows were painted, an attempt to modernize the building's appearance; this has been undone and the building well restored to serve as the McWane Science Center. **C**

33. **F.W. Woolworth (1939), 219 19th Street North** (NR District, 1986)
David Oliver Whilldin, architect

Three-storey commercial block in geometric Art *Deco* style, the last of the three major 1930s commercial buildings built on the intersection of Third Avenue North and 19th Street. Faced in warm beige terra cotta, the building has a deep spandrel sign band above the storefront and a chamfered corner bay. The metal-frame windows are stacked in vertical pairs, separated by decorative masonry spandrels. The attenuated incised geometric markings are the sole decorative treatment of the exterior. **C**

Northeast Section (Government complex)

Park Place

34. **Birmingham Public Library (1926-27), 2100 Park Place**
Miller & Martin, architects; Kidd/Plosser/Sprague, rehabilitation architects, 1986

A four-storey public building in the Renaissance Revival style, popular for libraries and museums in the second two decades of the 20th Century. Built of reinforced concrete and faced in Indiana limestone, with a symmetrical nine-bay facade along Park Place, although its original main entry has been moved to the Linn Park west side with a glassed and pedimented vestibule added in 1986 to create a new major entrance from the park. The Park Place facade contains six Ionic fluted columns that are two storeys high, resting *in antis* on the rusticated base and supporting the cornice, above which are two progressively set back attic storeys. The fascia band below the cornice is incised with names of great exemplars of the classical disciplines. **C**

Eighth Avenue North

35. **Municipal Auditorium/Boutwell Auditorium (1924; 1957), 1930 Eighth Avenue North**

Built in 1924 as one of the South's largest (6,000 seats) and most modern auditoriums, the Municipal Auditorium is of load-bearing brick construction with a broad front-gabled roofline, now mostly obscured by the presence of a fronting addition. Designed in a Lombard or North Italian style with a blind arcade under the front eave line, it was enlarged by the City in 1957 by a modern front extension along Eighth Avenue; the addition, anticipated in the 1924 plans, created a public gathering place in the front interior of the building and meeting rooms and offices upstairs. **C**

Nineteenth Street North

36. **Greyhound Bus Terminal (1950; altered 1970s), 618 19th Street North**

A renovated bus depot that was originally a good example of Streamline *Moderne* that has been redone as a stylistic extension of the Burger King located in its north wing. Central main block with stepped-down side extensions, faced in gray-tone buff brick with a darker brick bulkhead with limestone cap. Main block contains recessed-course panel with the tall projecting company sign, and slightly recessed four-door entry, now with modernized glass and framing. The overall frame is defined by limestone block courses, fluted in the reveals of the recessed doorways. Modern additions include the projecting horizontal canopy with "Greyhound" lettering across the fascia. The Burger King North wing has a fake Mansard canopy attached. Saw-toothed bus docks are along the south side and rear, under a flat metal canopy. **C**

Seventh Avenue North

37. **Capitol Park/Woodrow Wilson Park/Linn Park (1871; 1985)**

An original feature of the City plan for Birmingham, this park was originally named Capitol Park and was intended to be the location of a major public building. Some time after World War I the park was renamed to honor President Woodrow Wilson, and it retained that name throughout this nomination's period of significance. (It was renamed for Charles Linn on the occasion of the Linn-Henley Foundation donation of funds to renovate it in the 1980s.)

Plans for the City Beautiful complex of municipal buildings surrounding the park evolved in the 1920s following designs by the Olmsted Brothers of Brookline, Massachusetts. With WPA funding, the City of Birmingham hired Birmingham landscape designer William Kessler to design park improvements including the reflecting pools that visually link City Hall and the Courthouse (see Numbers 38 and 39 below). Monuments in the park include statues commemorating several wars, including the Revolutionary and Civil Wars (the Confederate obelisk, 1905).

Renovation of the park in 1985 included construction of a central fountain, a runnel toward Eighth Avenue, a cast-iron gazebo, and the planting of many trees. **C**

Twentieth Street North

38. **Birmingham City Hall (1947-50), 710 20th Street North**
Charles McCauley, architect

A restrained *Art Deco* skyscraper, the ten-storey City Hall is a steel and concrete structure faced in limestone with a polished granite base, central tower and flanking lower wings, its symmetrical east facade facing Woodrow Wilson (now Linn) Park; window bays are stacked within continuous recessed columns to emphasize the verticality of the building. The Park-side entry on the *piano nobile* main (2nd) floor consists of three metal-and-glass doors with transoms, repeated on the 19th-Street side with steps to the ground-level entries below.

Ground was broken in the spring of 1947, but the building was not completed until 1950. City Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor's name is prominent in the Park-side cornerstone. **C**

Twenty-first Street North (now Richard Arrington Jr. Boulevard)

39. **Jefferson County Courthouse (1929-32), 716 21st Street North** (NR 12/27/82)
Holabird & Root, architects, associated with Harry B. Wheelock; Jack B. Smith, supervising architect; Southern Ferro Concrete Co., general contractor; Giattina Fisher Aycock, architects for the 2002 rehabilitation

A nine-storey reinforced concrete courthouse building, faced in limestone and in generally an H shape, with entries off plazas on both sides between the arms of the H. An exceptional example of *Art Deco* design for public buildings: a series of low relief sculptural panels, designed by Les Friedlander, celebrate cultural influences of the County's past. The window bays are stacked in recessed vertical panels separated by bronze spandrels between floors. What was originally the jail housing sits back from the main structure as an attic level.

The Courthouse has been rehabilitated over a period of years in the early 21st century and many of its original interior features restored. **C**

40. **Vance Federal Building/U.S. Post Office (1921), 1800 Fifth Avenue North**
James A. Wetmore, architect for the Government

A good example of federal Classical Revival style of the early 20th Century, this building extends the entire block along Fifth Avenue North: clad in Alabama marble, two storeys with an attic storey above the cornice; a Doric colonnade on the facade between substantial corner blocks; supporting an inset porch. Main-floor casement windows are round-arched on all sides, while second-storey windows are rectangular and also filled with metal-frame casements.

Rehabilitated in 1972 as a federal Courthouse after construction of a new Post Office facility on 24th Street North; rehabilitated again in 1991 and named after federal Circuit Judge Robert S. Vance. **C**

Architect/builder (continued from form)
McCauley, Charles
Wetmore, James
Miller & Martin
Taylor & Persley
Windham Brothers Construction Co.
Echlos, Stanley B.
Langston, Perry C.
Wheelock, Harry B.
Sibbert, Edward F.
Whilldin, David Oliver
Holabird & Root
Gaillard, L.S.

VIII. Statement of Significance

"But for Birmingham, we would not be here today." So stated the Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth to President John F. Kennedy during the summer of 1963. "Here" was a meeting at the White House to plan what became the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that fulfilled the promise of freedom and equality given in the Declaration of Independence. The preceding centuries of racial struggle culminating in the events of that spring had made Birmingham the essential crucible that demonstrated to the nation and the world the failure of democracy in the United States as evidenced by the pervasiveness of racial prejudice and discrimination, both *de jure* and *de facto*. The very streets where brave black men and women, teenagers and little children, marched for justice and stood their ground facing an implacable enemy who directed fire hoses and police dogs on them, makes this area of Birmingham hallowed ground. The world watched as nonviolent protesters brought the strongest nation on earth to its knees and forced an end to state supported white supremacy. Ultimately the civil rights reforms won in the streets of Birmingham opened the American system to all people, black, white, red, and yellow, men and women, gays and lesbians, and the handicapped. It was here that the nation recognized the need to end discrimination and welcome diversity in order to achieve the dream that the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., later described so eloquently in his peroration that summer at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D. C. Consequently the structures and streets of Birmingham that in the spring of 1963 became a battleground for freedom deserve the same federal recognition as such historic sites as the Boston's Old North Church and the fields of Gettysburg.

The Birmingham Civil Rights Historic District in Birmingham, Jefferson County, Alabama, is eligible under Criterion A for the National Register of Historic Places as a nationally significant property associated with the climax of the civil rights struggle.

The period of significance extends from 1956 when Shuttlesworth founded the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR), a faith-based movement of ordinary people to "press forward persistently for Freedom and Democracy, and the removal from our society any forms of Second Class Citizenship" to April-May 1963, when ACMHR joined forces with King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to sponsor the Birmingham campaign and rid the city of segregation. In May 1963, thousands of black people demonstrated in the streets of Birmingham as hundreds went to jail for freedom. The protests won world condemnation of American domestic politics, galvanized the nation's press against segregation, and hastened the coming of national civil rights legislation.

The Birmingham Civil Rights District is locally significant under the Birmingham Civil Rights Movement, 1933-1979 Multiple Property Submission (MPS) beginning in 1933, when a major demonstration took place in West (Kelly Ingram) Park and until 1979, when massive demonstrations in Woodrow Wilson (Linn) Park opposing police brutality

resulted in support for the political campaign of Richard Arrington Jr. who, winning election as Birmingham's first African-American mayor later that fall, symbolized the triumph of black political empowerment in the city.

The district provides the physical context for understanding many of the major events that define the civil rights struggle in Birmingham. Some individual buildings and styles have changed and several congregations -- St. James Baptist, Thirgood C. M. E., and A. O. H. Cathedral -- have relocated to be nearer the neighborhoods where their members now reside. The Jim Crow barriers that divided blacks and whites have been removed. Seventeenth Street is no longer that great dividing line between black and white activities in the city center. But significant landmarks remain. Northside—as African Americans call the historic section of the Birmingham city center to the west of 17th Street to contrast it from the neighborhoods of Southside which urban renewal projects converted into the University of Alabama, Birmingham's campus—contains properties that hosted strategy and mass meetings and served as points of origin for the massive demonstrations of April-May 1963. These include the historic churches --Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, St. Paul United Methodist Church and Sixth Avenue-Zion Hill Baptist -- along Sixth Avenue North, which served as a major march route, and Metropolitan A. M. E. Zion on Fourth Avenue. The Birmingham Civil Rights 1933-1979 MPS and earlier individual National Register nominations for 22 extant historic African-American churches underscores the significance of the church and church members in organizing, funding, hosting, and sustaining the Birmingham fight for civil rights for the seven years prior to the 1963 climactic demonstrations. (Nominations are being prepared for five additional churches bringing the total number of ACMHR churches nominated to 27 of the 60 churches that hosted meetings and strategy sessions and gave leadership to the local Movement. Through the efforts of Marjorie L. White and the Birmingham Historical Society, all the movement churches have been documented on maps and with period images in the seminal *A Walk to Freedom.*[i]) Structures remaining about Kelly Ingram Park -- the principal battle site of the 1963 demonstrations -- include Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, the A. G. Gaston Building, and the A. G. Gaston Motel, the latter two built just prior to the demonstrations by Birmingham's black millionaire businessman. Also remaining within the Fourth Avenue Business District are structures that served the civil rights community for decades, especially the Colored Masonic Temple.

The 1963 demonstrations opened on April 3 with an economic boycott of downtown department stores and sit-ins at the major lunch counters along 19th Street: Loveman's, S. H. Kress, Woolworth's, Britt's, Lane-Liggett, and Pizitz. Within weeks marches occurred to Birmingham City Hall and the Jefferson County Courthouse, with protests staged at the Birmingham Public Library and the Municipal (now called Boutwell) Auditorium, all of which surround Woodrow Wilson (now called Linn) Park. Other targets for protest were the nearby Trailways and the Greyhound Bus Stations, both of which experienced international notoriety during the Freedom Rides of 1961. These properties and surrounding sidewalks document important physical relationships between the strategy and confrontation centers associated with the nonviolent civil rights protests and the actual events of April-May 1963.

Enhancing these properties are extant streets that connect the historic buildings within the Birmingham city center. In 1979 David Vann called the pavement "hallowed ground" because of its role as the battleground for civil rights reform in America. Previously Vann had worked as the attorney who masterminded the change in city government that removed Bull Connor from office in 1963, and he served as the chief local white negotiator during the spring demonstrations. As Birmingham's mayor from 1975-1979, Vann proposed the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute as a memorial similar to Israel's shrine to the Holocaust. He located the projected building adjacent to Kelly Ingram Park to emphasize the sacredness of the surrounding streetscape. Historian Robin Kelley in his study *Race Rebels* (1994) emphasized the physical setting of black demands for equality. Kelley wrote: "Examples of black working-class resistance in public spaces offer some of the richest insights into how race, gender, class, space, time, and collective memory shape both domination and resistance."[ii] Emphasizing the significance of Birmingham, historian Glenn T. Eskew noted in *But For Birmingham* (1997) that under King's leadership all the efforts at race reform in America, from the local movement of the ACMHR to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) coalesced around the SCLC which "brought these forces together in the streets of Birmingham, where mass

protest forced the president of the United States to propose sweeping legislation that, when passed as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, ended the stalemate in national race relations by opening the system to African Americans."[iii]

Oral interviews with participants in the Birmingham Movement, conducted as part of research for the city-sponsored redevelopment of Kelly Ingram Park in the late 1980s, mapped demonstrations and march routes, determining primary and secondary routes from the churches and Kelly Ingram Park to City Hall and to the retail core. Marchers assembled in the churches and headed east from Kelly Ingram Park along Sixth Avenue North or across the park toward Fifth Avenue North at 17th Street. Here human barricades of police and firemen halted the majority of nonviolent protesters within a block or two of their starting points.[iv] Those groups that made it to the target sites in the retail core or at City Hall most often traveled on 19th Street, and also went through the Fourth Avenue District, where, according to Rev. Calvin Woods, they recruited additional demonstrators in the pool halls. Cars were used to transport demonstrators directly to the demonstration sites and thereby avoid the police and fire barricades. On May 7, the final day, with the jails full, thousands of adults and children showed up to march. Movement strategists abandoned the usual routes to City Hall and the retail core advocating instead all possible routes to arrive at the target sites by noon. *Birmingham News* photographer Robert Adams, stationed at the corner of 19th Street and Third Avenue in the center of the retail district, had no idea his photographs would document the climactic battle of America's civil right struggle.[v] Authorities estimated two to three thousand demonstrators crowded the streets of the retail district and brought traffic to a halt as "civil order collapsed in the heart of the city." [vi]

Later decisions by the U. S. Supreme Court, most notably Shuttlesworth v. City of Birmingham (1969), affirmed the legality of the massive street demonstrations as this landmark ruling upheld First Amendment protection for public parades and demonstrations as protected freedom of speech and assembly activities.

Background: Early Patterns of Civil Rights Activism, 1920-1951

After the turn of the 20th century, Jim Crow laws authorizing the distinct separation of races and subsequent restrictions placed on Negro firms forced Birmingham's growing black community into segregated areas of the city such as the residential neighborhoods of Titusville, Enon Ridge, and Southside, and the black business district known as "Northside." Legal discrimination created a small world of black enterprise to which African Americans had open access. Northside served as the business, social, cultural, and religious center for black people, with activities similar to those in the dominant white district but with some distinctively its own. While barber and beauty shops, pool halls, restaurants, theaters, other small business and offices concentrated along Fourth Avenue, residences and churches lined up about Kelley Ingram Park and along Sixth Avenue North. As the Northside churches were larger -- with capacities for 600-1200 persons -- than the churches in surrounding black neighborhoods -- and accessible by public transportation, their sanctuaries were often used for secular gatherings as well as religious services. By the early 1960s, when business entrepreneur A. G. Gaston had completed construction of his motel and his office building and auditorium at Fifth Avenue at Kelley Ingram Park, the facilities for conventions and traveling African Americans were quite good.

In the early 20th century, reform efforts of the black middle class centered on enhancing their gains through selective lawsuits for increased public services such as access to golf courses, better funded schools, and voting rights. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with its legal and technical staff provided assistance to local chapters through its regional office in the Colored Masonic Temple. As early as 1920, Sixteenth Street Baptist Church hosted a Citizenship School at which NAACP members taught women how to conduct voter registration drives and mark ballots.[vii] With one of the largest sanctuaries in the city, Sixteenth Street played host to many NAACP gatherings and those of other civil rights organizations by renting out the use of its building.

In 1922, the seven-story Colored Masonic Temple, rose in the busy Fourth Avenue business district just blocks from

Kelly Ingram Park. The Temple offered meeting space not only to Masons and allied fraternal groups, but also to labor unions, and participants of national conventions held in the city. Many black professionals and organizations had offices in this facility.

On October 2, 1932, the International Labor Defense held its All-Southern Scottsboro and Civil Rights Conference at the Colored Masonic Temple. The gatherings took place in its large third-floor auditorium (an elegant gilded hall which hosted elite soirees and basketball games.) Here delegates discussed voting rights, segregation, freedom of assembly, abolition of chain gangs, and repeal of vagrancy laws. The Scottsboro and Civil Rights Conference became the first major civil rights gathering in Birmingham during the Depression and marked the Temple as a center for black activism.

In 1938, participants in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) met at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, the Colored Masonic Temple, and the Municipal (now Boutwell) Auditorium. At first the black and white delegates conducted their meetings with integrated seating, but Birmingham Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor's police forced the biracial audience to divide into segregated sections. In protest, Eleanor Roosevelt, the First Lady of the United States, pulled her chair into the middle of the aisle between black and white. Ten years later, a very different meeting took place at the Municipal Auditorium when the Dixiecrats, a splinter group of the southern Democratic Party who strongly supported segregation, held its 1948 national convention at the auditorium and condemned attempts at integration.

That same year the Southern Negro Youth Congress (SNYC) held its national convention in the city organized from its headquarters in the Colored Masonic Temple. Connor threatened conference organizers and attendees, arresting Glenn Taylor, the U. S. Senator from Idaho and a Vice Presidential candidate, for challenging Birmingham's segregation ordinances. Birmingham's black attorney Arthur Shores, whose Temple suite abutted the SNYC office, made Taylor's arrest known to national newspapers and magazines, including *Time*. Shores filed the resulting legal case which, carried to the U. S. Supreme Court, mounted the first major constitutional challenge to segregation in public accommodations. When two justices voted to review the case and seven others deferred, Taylor's guilty verdict stood. Local Klan threats ran the SNYC out of the Temple while red-baiting from Washington shut the group down.

Yet Attorney Shores became a key figure in the filing of lawsuits against segregation during the era, often serving as the local attorney in cases where the NAACP had direct or indirect interests. The national organization attempted to undermine Jim Crow through carefully chosen cases that used well-reasoned constitutional challenges to the separate but equal doctrine. In doing so, the NAACP and Shores worked within the segregated system.

In early 1950, white business progressives approached Shores and a handful of black businessmen to join the Interracial Committee of the Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces, a group set up to promote better race relations following a series of dynamite bombings of black owned houses that accompanied successful challenges to the city's segregated zoning ordinances. Shores had filed a series of successful legal suits on behalf of the NAACP that defended the rights of black plaintiffs to live in houses located in illegally zoned white areas such as where Shores would later live on Center Street which became known as "Dynamite Hill" because of the bombings. Political historian Mills Thornton quotes *Birmingham World* editor Emory Jackson, who from his office in the Colored Masonic Temple, condemned Shores and others for wanting, "the status quo in race relations and education." Jackson added, "We must not allow hand-picked, white-folk sponsored leaders to be our spokesmen. Leaders picked by others usually serve those who pick them." But, Thornton considers the Interracial Committee an important institutional link in breaching the barriers of segregation in the city between 1950 and 1956. Thornton concludes:

> The black members conceived of its modest achievements as initial steps toward the eventual elimination of racial discrimination while the white moderates thought of the reforms not as elements of a continuing process

leading toward fundamental change but as ends in themselves, eliminating vestiges of unfairness and backwardness from an otherwise progressive city. [viii]

Shores served as president of the city's oldest black political group, the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council, and he helped organize the Alabama State Coordinating Council for Registration and Voting which endorsed a preferred slate of candidates for public office and assisted the black middle-class in registering to vote at the Jefferson County Courthouse. The president of the Coordinating Council, W. C. Patton, maintained an office in the Colored Masonic Temple. Voter registration campaigns provided a fifty-year backdrop against which the more dramatic civil rights protests for black empowerment occurred between 1930 and 1980.

Shores, Patton, and others in the black middle-class advanced NAACP oriented reforms. Achievements in the early 1950s included a major victory in the fight to end the city's residential segregation laws, the construction of new segregated city parks, the opening of the Birmingham Zoo and Vulcan Park on specially scheduled days to African Americans, and the building of a segregated public swimming pool and day-care facility. These modest gains met with increased white resistance and reprisals by Klansmen unchecked by civil authorities. The cold war ideology against Communism led to a backlash against the NAACP as its membership in Birmingham declined from a high of 6,614 people in 1948 to 1,554 in 1951.

Birmingham Enters the National Stage, 1951 to 1956

To stem the decline, the NAACP moved its regional headquarters to an office in Birmingham's Colored Masonic Temple 1951 and placed its former NAACP Youth Leader in charge. As Southeast Regional Director of the NAACP, Ruby Hurley hoped to rekindle for the organization's support previously shown the Scottsboro Boys, the SNYC, and the SCHW. Yet she discovered the Birmingham chapter stymied by class conflicts. Regional crises became paramount as she found herself involved in the case against the Mississippi lynchers of Emmett Till in 1954 and the Autherine Lucy desegregation attempt at the University of Alabama in 1956.

According to civil right historian Glenn T. Eskew, the charismatic Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth, after his 1953 appointment as pastor of Bethel Baptist Church in Collegeville, breathed new life into the moribund NAACP chapter as its membership chairman. Against the advice of other black ministers, he issued a call for Negro policemen in 1955 by sponsoring a petition demanding the city hire black men as officers. While Shuttlesworth collected 5,000 signatures, the Rev. J. L. Ware, president of the influential black Baptist Ministers' Conference, which spoke for the city's 400 black Baptist congregations, refused to endorse the petition, marking the first of many times this traditional Negro leader opposed the radical black activist. Until 1963 Birmingham remained the only major southern city not to have at least token numbers of black policemen on its force.

On January 16, 1955, a mass meeting at Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, organized by the NAACP, protested the police beating of Charles Patrick at the city jail. A week later, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., then minister at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, spoke to another gathering at Sixteenth Street. He told those assembled that Birmingham blacks had to do something to end segregation -- it would not just go away.

On April 10, 1956, Ku Klux Klansmen under the command of Asa "Ace" Carter attacked black singer and Montgomery native Nat King Cole as he performed at the Municipal Auditorium. The willingness of white supremacists to charge the stage and beat a popular black performer during a concert attended by white youth indicated the lengths some people would go to promote their view of the separation of the races in Birmingham.

Desegregating higher educational remained a focal point of NAACP activity during the decade. In 1954 attorney Shores filed a lawsuit on behalf of the NAACP which represented Autherine Lucy in her attempt to enroll at the Uni-

versity of Alabama in Tuscaloosa. In a hearing at the Federal Building the next year, Judge Hobart Grooms issued an injunction against the University for excluding Lucy as a student. In October 1955 the case reached the U.S. Supreme Court which ordered Alabama officials to register Lucy. On February 1, 1956, Lucy, her family, and friends (including the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth and NAACP director Ruby Hurley) gathered at Shore's office in the Colored Masonic Temple. Together they drove to Tuscaloosa to assist Lucy in beginning classes as the first black student at the University. Lucy registered without incident but immediately became the target of endless harassment. The KKK joined with students to stage violent demonstrations. The University used these demonstrations as a public safety pretext to expel Lucy. In reaction Shores and NAACP attorney Thurgood Marshall filed a complaint at the Federal Building in Birmingham. The document accused University officials of conspiring with four named individuals (including Klansman Robert Chambliss) to keep Lucy out of the school. Federal judge Hobart Grooms ordered the University trustees to re-enroll Lucy, but the trustees responded by permanently expelling the black student. Within days, authorities served Lucy and the local NAACP with a new lawsuit -- one aimed at the financial destruction of the statewide NAACP. On behalf of Chambliss and others, the suit sought libel damages of $4 million. In May, Alabama Attorney General John Patterson filed another brief that alleged the NAACP operated as a "foreign corporation" and had failed to register with Alabama's secretary of state as required by law. State Judge Walter Jones granted a temporary restraining order on the NAACP on June 1, an order served at a meeting between Shores, Shuttlesworth, Hurley, and others at the Colored Masonic Temple. When Shores refused to hold a strategy meeting on what to do next -- fearing arrest for violating the court order -- Shuttlesworth and others gathered at a local funeral home (not extant) and laid plans for the creation of a new organization to champion civil rights in Birmingham. The following month, Judge Jones ordered the Alabama NAACP to turn over its membership lists and records about the Lucy case or pay huge fines. Both the Birmingham chapter and the region-wide operations closed their offices in the Colored Masonic Temple in July 1956.

Dejected over the "outlawing" of the NAACP in Alabama, the Reverend Shuttlesworth vowed to start a new organization to fight segregation and second-class citizenship in Birmingham. He claimed to hear God telling him, "They are trying to kill hope and you cannot kill a people's hope. You shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." Despite opposition from traditional Negro leaders such as the Reverend Ware, who saw the new group as competition, and Attorney Shores, who worried about violating the state injunction, Shuttlesworth proceeded with his plans and in June 1956 convened the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR). This new protest group became the strongest local civil rights organization in America, and the one that in its joint campaign with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) (of which it became an original local affiliate at the SCLC's inception in January 1957) would ultimately stage the climactic battle of the civil rights struggle on the streets of the Birmingham city center. In addition to being the president of the ACMHR, the Rev. Shutlesworth served as Secretary of the SCLC.

The Birmingham Movement Gains Momentum, 1956-1963

Following its organization on June 5, 1956 the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights began holding weekly Monday night meetings to pursue challenges to local and national segregation laws. In the early years working class churches spread across the greater Birmingham area and principally in the industrial parts of the city held these Monday night mass meetings. As Reverend Shuttlesworth recalled in 1998, "The mass meetings were full of religious fervor and were so well attended by the faithful, 300 to 400 of which attended regularly each Monday" beginning in the late 1950s. Marjorie White's *A Walk to Freedom* documents each of the 58 working class churches, describes the building, pastor, and congregation, and is the lead secondary resource on the question. She based her conclusions on the rich primary source material in the Bull Connor Papers (now at Birmingham Public Library Archives) that lists where the movement held its meetings. As Glenn T. Eskew has noted, the police reports not only identify particular people, but they also reveal who was not involved in Shuttlesworth's movement, such as Sixth Avenue Baptist Church and Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, two leading black middle class enclaves which formerly had supported NAACP efforts. These churches did not support the ACMHR because their congregations did not support Shuttlesworth's nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience tactics. Meeting churches attracted the attention of the police and the Klan

and often suffered violent reprisals such as bombings for their civil rights activities. The black middle class congregations joined the local Movement only at the request of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. during the climax of the April-May 1963 demonstrations.

Monday movement meetings raised funds for legal cases and kept movement members in touch with each other regarding progress on the various court initiatives or on other civil rights activities. Within the nominated boundaries of the Birmingham Civil Rights Historic District the Monday night mass meetings attracted attendances of 500 to 600 people during the early 1960s at St. Paul United Methodist, Sixth Avenue Zion Hill Baptist as well as the old St. James Baptist Church, old St. John A.M. E., old Seventeenth Street A. O. H. Church of God, and old Thirgood C. M. E. whose historic buildings no longer remain standing in the proposed Birmingham Civil Rights District. St. James, whose 93-year old pastor supported Rev. Shuttlesworth and his "young fellows" because "he wanted to live to see Freedom come," hosted more recorded meetings than any other church during the period of 1961 to 1963. At the height of the campaign during April-May 1963, St. James Baptist hosted 22 recorded meetings while New Pilgrim Baptist Church on the Southside hosted 17 meetings. By point of contrast, once enlisted in the campaign Sixteenth Street Baptist Church hosted 10 mass meetings in the spring of 1963.

The Alabama Christian Movement for Human Right's first protest resulted from the City's rejection of two black applicants for jobs as patrolmen because of the local practice that reserved the better paying jobs for "whites only." *The Birmingham News* of August 20, 1956 reported ACMHR members George Johnson and Clyde Jones went to the Birmingham City Hall and applied for positions as policemen. The city denied their applications on account of their race.

The ACMHR's first major direct action campaign occurred in December 1956 after the United States Supreme Court had ruled in support of the desegregation effort waged by the Montgomery bus boycott. On Christmas night, the eve of the scheduled protest, Klansmen bombed the Reverend Shuttlesworth's parsonage adjacent to Bethel Baptist Church in Collegeville, nearly killing the civil rights activist and damaging the sanctuary. The next day, December 26, 1956, Shuttlesworth led 300 people onto Birmingham's buses in a show of support for integration. For over an hour ACMHR members sat in the white sections of city buses as they crisscrossed the city including the streets of the proposed Birmingham Civil Rights Historic District. Later police arrested 22 people who promptly received fines in City Court at the Birmingham City Hall. The ACMHR filed an appeal, launching a series of court cases that culminated in the 1958 desegregation of the city's buses. The use of direct action set the ACMHR apart from earlier protest groups in Birmingham.

The first mass meeting following the bus rides took place on December 26, 1956 at St. Paul United Methodist Church, where the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth addressed a jubilant, overflow crow. Only the night before Shuttlesworth and his family miraculously had escaped serious injury in the bombing of their residence. [ix] As Marjorie White explains, "Efforts to intimidate ACMHR members from riding the buses were not only unsuccessful but, indeed, proved the major event that catapulted Rev. Shuttlesworth into messianic leadership. The intimidation efforts galvanized black support for the Movement." [x]

From the Christmas night bombing forward, as civil rights historian Glenn T. Eskew notes, "There was no Movement in Birmingham that did not include the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth. He is at the heart of what can be defined as the modern civil rights struggle in the city. This is not to say had he not been there someone else might not have risen to the position of leader, it is simply to recognize that Shuttlesworth was the leader of the Movement that won the civil rights reforms." [xi]

A few days following the December 1956 bombing at Bethel, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, spoke in Birmingham at the invitation of The Emancipation Association of Birmingham. This group annually commemorated January 1 as the day the Emancipation Proclamation took effect. King encouraged

his listeners to continue the protest against segregated seating on buses, inspiring them with stories of success in Montgomery. A few days later on January 11, 1957 at the Federal Building, attorney Arthur Shores filed suit for the ACMHR against the city's bus segregation policy.

When the first effort failed in the courts in late 1958, the ACMHR led a second challenge to Birmingham's segregated seating on municipal buses. The protest began on October 20, 1958 when scores of activists and ministers boarded the buses and sat in the white section. Police arrested dozens of protestors, bringing them before municipal judges who quickly convicted and sentenced them for violating the city's segregated seating ordinance. Fourteen people including the Reverend Shuttlesworth refused bond and remained in jail. Thousands of people gathered outside the Birmingham City Hall in support of the "Birmingham Fourteen," who police held incommunicado. A boycott of the city's buses began under the auspices of the ACMHR yet the arrest of the Rev. Calvin Woods while in his pulpit for advocating the protest helped squelch the effort. Another year passed before on December 14, 1959 Federal Judge Hobart Grooms ruled in favor of ACMHR's appealed convictions and Birmingham's private bus drivers gave up their authority to enforce segregated seating on the city buses. Movement member celebrated success by riding in the white sections.

Another wave of civil rights protest came from students attending Birmingham colleges. To show support for the students conducting sit-in demonstrations in Greensboro, North Carolina, and Nashville, Tennessee, a group of Miles and Daniel Payne College students wanted to conduct their own sit-ins but feared the reprisals that might come. In February 1960, they met with Shuttlesworth soliciting his advice before holding a prayer vigil at Kelly Ingram Park. On March 31, 1960, ten students divided into groups of two and attempted sit-in demonstrations at five downtown lunch counters (including Woolworth's, Atlantic Thrift, Kress, and Grant's). Officers arrested the youth, along with the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth. In early April, Birmingham police went on campus to arrest the integrationists and intimidate the campus community. These incidents were retold in an April 12, 1960, story by Harrison E. Salisbury in the *New York Times* about the student movement and the overall bleak situation for civil rights in Birmingham. Salisbury's no-holds-barred indictment termed Birmingham a "community of fear" where "fear and terror are common in the streets." [xii]

The Congress of Racial Equality contacted Reverend Shuttlesworth and asked the ACMHR to host it on the Birmingham leg of the Freedom Ride, set for May 13-20, 1961. CORE organized the Freedom Rides on buses to protest segregation of interstate transportation facilities. The violence directed at the Freedom Riders, the black and white protesters who integrated the seating in local station restaurants and bathrooms, first at Birmingham's Trailways station (razed) and then, as new riders attempted to resume the rides, at the Greyhound Bus Station, across the street from the Birmingham City Hall, projected the city into the national civil rights spotlight. The Birmingham situation attracted the attention of the administration of President John F. Kennedy. It began on May 15, 1961 when members from the KKK and the National States Rights Party gathered at the Greyhound terminal expecting its bus to reach Birmingham first. Yet Klansmen had attacked that bus in Anniston, thus the Trailways bus arrived first at its company terminal (not extant). The local police and Klansmen had been in contact throughout the day but once the bus neared the station, the police disappeared, leaving the Freedom Riders to the terror of an uncontrolled white mob. The police returned to the scene 10-15 minutes later and restored order, but the damage had been done to the riders and several other blacks and reporters who happened to be there. Rev. Shuttlesworth transported the wounded riders to his home and Bethel Baptist Church for safety. He and the ACMHR, with James Armstrong in the lead, also arranged to have the Greyhound passengers brought from Anniston to Bethel Baptist Church in Collegeville for safety. On Tuesday night May 16, the riders from CORE flew to New Orleans so they could finish the original demonstration by May 17, the anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Reinforcements from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee arrived from Nashville with plans to finish the trip, departing from the Greyhound Station. City Commissioner of Public Safety T. Eugene "Bull" Connor, however, arrested the Nashville contingent which included John Lewis, took them to the Tennessee state line and left them there. The abandoned students contacted ride coordinator Diane Nash who sent cars to pick them up and take them back to Birmingham. After an alleged guarantee of safety from Alabama

Governor John Patterson to John Seigenthaler of the Justice Department, on Friday May 19, a bus left Birmingham from the Greyhound terminal the next day headed to Montgomery. Upon arrival in the state capital, a vicious mob, assisted by the police, beat the Freedom Riders. By sticking with the riders, and assisting the new contingent from Nashville as they continued the journey, Shuttlesworth furthered his reputation and that of the ACMHR as a leader and an institution that would not wilt in battle.

Through an aggressive legal strategy that accompanied his direct action campaign, the Reverend Shuttlesworth had served as a plaintiff in 14 law suits involving civil rights by February 1961. During the Freedom Rides authorities named him in four more suits. By the end of 1961 the ACMHR had won several legal victories including its lawsuits challenging segregation on Birmingham buses, in the Terminal (railroad) station, and in the City parks, as well as the playing of any games together, a city ordinance Rev. Shuttlesworth described as "the backbone of segregation in the city." ACMHR kept a crew of Birmingham lawyers -- attorneys Arthur Shores, Orzell Billingsley Jr. and Oscar Adams -- and out of state lawyers busy filing suits and appeals. These challenges helped serve as a lawful basis for civil rights reform, when no one else, most notably, public officials, took action to end segregation. [xiii]

On October 24, 1961, Federal Judge Hobart Grooms of the U.S. District Court at the Federal Building ruled that Birmingham must desegregate its public recreation areas -- its parks, swimming pools, playgrounds, golf courses -- by January 15, 1962. At a public hearing in City Hall, Birmingham's municipal officials objected to the ruling. As reported in the *Birmingham Post Herald* of December 19, 1961, Mayor Arthur J. Hanes took a hard stance. "Citizens," he noted, "have overwhelmed me with impassioned pleas to hold the line against Communism and integration and this I shall do." Hanes equated the call for desegregation of the parks with the trouble caused by outside "agitators" including the Freedom Riders. He told reporters, "I want to announce here and now that the mayor of Birmingham and Commissioners Connor and Waggoner are not summertime soldiers or sunshine patriots who talk principle in fighting the enemy when the enemy is far away, but fold and throw up the white flag upon meeting the enemy. The people of Birmingham will get the truth concerning this vicious integration movement, if radio and television time has to be bought and handbills distributed door-to-door." Yet the city commission confronted strong opposition to their stand when white civic leaders, ministers, and businessmen spoke out for open and integrated parks. The rebuff by the city's elite enraged the city commission. The conflict revealed a deeply divided white community over the issue of segregation. Nonetheless rather than comply with the federal order, the City of Birmingham closed its parks. In January 1962, Freedom Ride organizer Diane Nash spoke on the closure of the parks at an ACMHR mass meeting at the Metropolitan AME Zion Church. Other civil rights leaders speaking that evening included ACMHR officers the Reverends Fred Shuttlesworth, Ed Gardner, Abraham Woods, and J. S. Phifer.

College students soon reacted. Led by Frank Dukes, they organized new demonstrations. Their Anti-Injustice Committee, formed in January 1962, included the core activists behind the later Selective Buying Campaign of 1962-1963. This group of students worked closely with the ACMHR but refrained from joining SNCC. They scheduled their boycott of local stores to coincide with the Easter shopping season. The protest attracted the members of the ACMHR and many other black people across the city who did not fear Klan reprisal for simply withdrawing their trade from white merchants. The boycott encouraged black shoppers to ignore the city's white-owned department stores such as Loveman's, Parisian, Blach's, and Pizitz's and the national chain retailers such as Woolworth's and Kress, as well as any store that demeaned African Americans or treated them in a second-class manner. The Selective Buying Campaign impacted certain downtown merchants -- but not to the point that business owners felt obligated to oppose Bull Connor and segregation.

With the Selective Buying Campaign underway, Reverend Shuttlesworth invited the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a civil rights organization based in Louisville headed by his friends Carl and Ann Braden and Montgomery native Jim Dombrowski, to join the ACMHR and SCLC in a joint conference on "Ways and Means to Integrate the South" scheduled for April 13-14, 1962. The prospect of holding the meeting in Birmingham unnerved

dedicated activists, yet they came. Many lodged at the "ultramodern" A. G. Gaston Motel. A mass meeting at St. Paul United Methodist Church opened the conference. Workshop sessions took place in the Gaston Building. Among civil rights leaders gathering to address the needs of the movement eight years after the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision were Ella Baker of the Southern Regional YWCA, James Forman of SNCC, W. P. Mitchell of the Tuskegee Civic Association, and C. T. Vivian of the Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action, Martin Luther King Jr. of the SCLC, among others. Police photographed those who attended, but otherwise all went smoothly, becoming the city's largest integrated gathering since 1938. Shuttlesworth used Birmingham's challenging racial climate and the ongoing boycott of selected retail businesses as a platform to convince his civil rights colleagues that the city could serve as a setting for a major civil rights showdown. Shuttlesworth strongly urged King and the SCLC to come back to Birmingham to join a campaign to end segregation but King, embroiled in Albany, Georgia, deferred.

In late September 1962, the SCLC did come back and held its annual meeting in Birmingham. The group held sessions at the L. R. Hall Auditorium of the Gaston Building and at nearby churches. Baseball hero Jackie Robinson and Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY) addressed SCLC members from across the South at opening sessions at Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. The SCLC sponsored workshops at Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, St. Paul United Methodist Church, and the Gaston Building. Delegates stayed either at the Gaston Motel or with friends and ministers. Birmingham police carefully watched the SCLC gathering and intimidated local blacks who showed support. One serious act of violence occurred on the last day, September 28, 1962. A white man climbed on the dais and slugged the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., as the minister finished speaking to his colleagues in the L. R. Hall Auditorium of the A. G. Gaston Building. Police arrested the man who belonged to the NeoNazi Party but King refused to press charges. Again Reverend Shuttlesworth invited SCLC to return to Birmingham for a joint campaign.

The Birmingham Campaign- a Joint Campaign of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights-Southern Christian Leadership Conference, April-May 1963

In early 1963, ACMHR and SCLC leaders began plans to confront segregation in Birmingham. They believed that a concession against segregation in Birmingham would sound its death knell across America. On February 17, 1963, SCLC officers -- the big three -- Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., President; Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Vice President; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Secretary; together with SCLC executive director Wyatt T. Walker met with Shuttlesworth's associates in the ACMHR in a session at the Gaston Motel to plot strategy. They chose for the start of the demonstrations mid-March during the height of the Easter spring clothes-buying season. The date fell after municipal elections arranged to implement the change in city government adopted by voters the previous fall. When the mayor's election turned out to need a run-off between Bull Conner and Albert Boutwell, movement leaders decided to delay their protests so as not to give the former commissioner of public safety an issue with which to win the election. On April 2, 1963 Boutwell won the run-off but Connor refused to leave office, so the City had two municipal leaders during the Birmingham campaign.

Interpreting the campaign as a joint effort between the two groups, ACMHR officials welcomed the SCLC to Birmingham. As Lola Hendricks, ACMHR secretary and the liaison to SCLC's Wyatt Walker during the campaign later explained, SCLC had staff and money. The latter was needed to finance court cases and bail demonstrators out of jail. Hendricks helped Walker set up offices in the Smith Building (on Fifth Avenue at Kelley Ingram Park, no longer extant). [xiv] Informal and formal strategy meetings took place regularly in the second floor conference room at the A. G. Gaston Building and in the A. G. Gaston Motel. Other meetings took place in the L. R. Hall Auditorium adjacent to Gaston's office building.

The initial phase of the Birmingham campaign began in April 1963, with a large ACMHR mass meeting at St. James Baptist Church (historic building not extant). During the spring 1963 campaign, Birmingham police recorded 45 mass meetings at 15 churches. Officers transcribed details of issues discussed and who attended with the reports delivered to

police headquarters. The movement held a majority of these meetings in the Northside churches because as the largest facilities available they held the most people. In time these churches also sat closest to the target sites of the campaign: city hall, the county courthouse, and the retail core. [xv] At the early mass meetings, SCLC speakers fired up the audience and explained the importance of non-violence protest.

To state the purpose and recruit participants for the demonstrations, Rev. Shuttlesworth and Rev. Nelson H. Smith, Jr., ACMHR officers, and Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, SCLC coordinator, drafted and circulated the "Birmingham Manifesto.' The *Birmingham World* of April 6, 1963 printed the entire document, which concludes: "The absence of justice and progress in Birmingham demands that we make a moral witness to give our community a chance to survive. We demonstrate our faith that we believe that the beloved community can come to Birmingham . . . . This is Birmingham's moment of truth in which every citizen can play his part in her larger destiny."

On April 3, the ACMHR-SCLC joint campaign began with sit-ins at area lunch counters. The sit-ins emphasized the black boycott of downtown merchants. Small groups of demonstrators asked for service at the major downtown stores. Rev. Abraham Woods Jr. and his brother, Rev. Calvin Woods, led the first sit-in demonstrations to lunch counters of the leading stores -- Woolworth's, Loveman's, Pizitz, Kress, and Britt's (not extant) -- all located along 19th Street in the heart of the downtown shopping district. Rather than serve the black customers, managers closed the counters for the day. The protesters remained seated. Later in the afternoon, police arrested the demonstrators at Britt's Department Store (not extant).

The night of April 3, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy exclaimed at the ACMHR Mass Meeting at St. James Baptist Church: "The eyes of the world are on Birmingham tonight. Bobby Kennedy is looking here at Birmingham; the United States Congress is looking at Birmingham. The Department of Justice is looking at Birmingham. Are you ready? Are you ready to make the challenge? I have come with Martin Luther King to help lead you. I am ready to go to jail, are you?"

According to protester Gwendolyn Gamble, demonstrators had a set strategy for getting to the retail district: "We pretty much knew exactly where we were going. We were timed to the minute. You have five minutes, eight seconds to get to your destination. Mostly, my destination was J.J. Newberry's, downtown. There were times that we tried to not go the route that the cops thought that we were going. That was the strategy that was used to try to make it to the destination, to get that opportunity to sit at the lunch counters."

Of those initial sit-ins at Newberry's (not extant, demolished for the McWane Center Omni Max Theater), activist Binnie Myles recalled that a well-dressed white woman came up to Myrna Carter Jackson and said: "Why don't you niggers go back where you came from? The niggers here are satisfied," and then more humorously she recalled, "They were trying to write up one of the demonstrators for 'loitering in the aisle,' and he didn't know how to spell aisle and we had a big laugh because the demonstrator said, 'Oh, well, would you like for me to tell you how to spell aisle?' And he was offended, naturally." [xvi]

As the weeks wore on, the sit-in demonstrators -- mostly ACMHR stalwarts -- kept coming back and continued their peaceful demonstrations, getting arrested and bailed out, and tying up business in more stores. As historian Glenn T. Eskew explains, "Indeed, the 'movement was moving,' but the involvement of King and the SCLC was not enough to galvanize black Birmingham behind the campaign as the demonstrations sputtered along." [xvii]

Of the major stores targeted, only the buildings for Loveman's, Kress, Pizitz, and Woolworth's still stand along 19th Street North today. The following chart documents the items published in the *Birmingham News* and *Birmingham Post Herald* regarding the sit-ins and demonstrations at stores during the month of April 1963. Neither paper reported honestly on the civil rights protests and often left key material out of its publications. Indeed with its occasional

coverage appearing on the back pages of the press, the newspapers kept Birmingham's citizens sadly misinformed about what was going on in the city.

Sit-ins Documented by *The Birmingham News-Birmingham Post Herald*, April 1963

***Birmingham Post-Herald*, April 4, 1963**, pp. 4-5
Lane-Liggett Drug, lunch counter demonstration, 4 arrested
Britt's, lunch counter demonstration, 20 arrested
Loveman's, **Pizitz**, and **Kress**, stores close counters "after Negroes sat down and asked to be served"

***Birmingham News*, April 5, 1963**, p. 2.
Lane-Liggett Drug Store, lunch counter demonstration, 2 arrested
Tutwiler Drug, lunch counter demonstration, 4 arrested.

***Birmingham News*, April 9, 1963**
Loveman's, arrested demonstration outside of store, 7 blacks and 1 white
Britt's, lunch counter demonstration, 3 blacks arrested

***Birmingham Post-Herald*, April 9, 1963**
Britt's, 3 arrested
Downtown stores, 8 arrested for picketing
Bohemian Bakery Cafeteria, 9 arrested

***Birmingham News*, April 16, 1963**
Bohemian Bakery, 2 arrested for demonstrating
Sears Roebuck, 4 arrested for picketing

***Birmingham Post-Herald*, April 17, 1963**
Bohemian Bakery Cafeteria, 9 arrested
Woolworth's, 5 arrested for picketing
Britt's, 2 arrested for smoking

***Birmingham News*, April 19, 1963**
Kress, lunch counter demonstration; blacks sat but were not served
Woolworth's, blacks sat but were not served
2121 Building, lunch counter demonstration, 11 blacks arrested

***Birmingham Post-Herald*, April 19, 1963**
2121 Building, 9 arrested for trespassing

***Birmingham News*, April 20, 1963**
Pizitz, demonstrating outside, 7 blacks arrested
Britt's, lunch counter demonstrations, 7 blacks arrested
Atlantic Mills Thrift Store, picketing, 4 blacks arrested

***Birmingham Post-Herald*, April 20, 1963**
Atlantic Mills Thrift Store, 4 arrested for trespassing

***Birmingham News*, April 21, 1963**
Tillman-Levenson, picketing, 7 blacks arrested

***Birmingham News*, April 22, 1963**

Woolworth's, sit-ins, no arrests
Britt's, sit-ins, no arrests

***Birmingham News*, April 24, 1963**
H. L. Green, sit-ins, no arrests
Britt's, picketing, 5 arrested
1800 block of 2nd Avenue North, 5 with placards arrested

In her February 28, 1996 interview with historian Horace Huntley at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Francis Foster White recalled her efforts to sit-in at the Pizitz department store:

> Pizitz was a big department store. In the mass meeting, everybody got a chance to choose a store where they wanted to sit-in at the counter. I chose Pizitz. There was something special about Pizitz' staircase and I wanted to make my grand showing to the whole world, right there. I went to the Pizitz lunch counter. They had taught us to go in the store and purchase something. I purchased a book. And, I got on the elevator and went to the Mezzanine. That was where the lunch counter was. I sat there and I asked for a menu. The lady didn't come near me. It was black lady. She was frightened and she'd jeopardize her job in some way. She went away. She was cleaning dishes and she never came to my table . . . I was the only one that went to Pizitz. It was a gold staircase and it just swirled around. During that time there was a lady on TV by the name of Loretta Young. She had such fanfare about her. She was just a lady. She was White and she walked down this staircase on her show and she fanned her dress around like that. And that's the way I wanted to walk around that golden staircase at Pizitz, even though my dress wasn't flaring that day. I had on a straight dress, but it was new and I had on my new shoes and my new purse. I think I was looking rather great that day, I was prepared. So, when they came, they took me down the staircase and the camera was right there, so I knew then the whole world would know what they're doing here, because I felt that it was just here they were doing this to us.

A week after the launch of the sit-ins, the movement under the leadership of Shuttlesworth began marches on City Hall to protest the failure of the City to allow parade permits. In time the spontaneous marches became well planned with the Reverend Wyatt T. Walker later suggesting City Hall serve "as the site of our prayer meetings for racial reconciliation." Demonstrators also prayed "for equal treatment before the law" at the Jefferson County Courthouse. [xviii]

In planning for the marches and determining their various routes, the Rev. Calvin Woods of the ACMHR, who participated daily in the demonstrations, noted that, "Whatever the plan, Reverend Shuttlesworth made the final decision as to where we were going. And you can't forget the Holy Spirit, it was directing us also."[xix] The historical record suggests that the marches listed in the table below happened along these routes.

The Birmingham Marches of the ACMHR-SCLC Joint Campaign, April-May 1963

Date	Route	Arrest/Stopping Point(s)
April 6	**Gaston Motel to City Hall** Fifth Avenue at 16th St	Stopped at the Federal Bldg.-Vance Courthouse, Fifth Ave. between 18th and 19th Streets (three blocks). Led by Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth.
April 7 Palm Sunday	**St. Paul United Methodist Church to City Hall** 1500 Sixth Ave.	Henley School NW Corner Sixth Ave. at 17th St. (three blocks) Led by Reverends N. H. Smith, A.D. King, John T. Porter
April 10	*Injunction against demonstrations (boycotts, sit-ins, marches)*	
April 12 Good Friday	**Sixth Ave. Zion Hill/St. Paul Church to City Hall** (Leaders at Gaston Motel)	1700 Block Sixth Ave. Led by the SCLC "Big Three" the Reverends M. L. King Jr., Ralph, Abernathy and Shuttlesworth, accompanied by jazz musician Al Hibbler
April 13	*Birmingham News* published letter from white clergymen. *Rev. King in the Birmingham jail for eight days.*	
April 14 Easter	**Thirgood C. M. E. Church to City Hall**	Along 11th Street Led by the Reverends A. D. King, Nelson Smith Jr., and John Porter, and student leader Frank Dukes.
April 17	**Sixteenth Street Baptist Church to Jefferson Country Courthouse** *(to register to vote)*	1600 Block Sixth Ave. Led by Rev. Henry Crawford
The Children's Marches		
May 2 D Day	**Sixteenth Street to City Hall**	Most arrested in 1600 and 1700 blocks of Sixth Ave. Ten groups make it to City Hall to pray.
May 3 Double D Day Friday	**Sixteenth Street to City Hall, retail district**	Dogs and hoses used, most of 2,000 arrested in the park or on 6th Ave. Television cameras roll.

May 4 Saturday	**16th & A.O. H. Cathedral to City Hall, retail district**	Most of c.1,000 arrested in 1700 block of Sixth Ave.
May 5 Sunday	**New Pilgrim to B. Jail** Fifth Avenue South (c. 2000 marchers go to park across from the jail, pray, return to church.)	No arrests or use of dogs & hoses. Led by Rev. Charles Billups
May 6	**Sixteenth Street to City Hall and retail district**	Kelley Ingram Park sealed; arrests on Sixth in 1600 and 1700 blocks (sufficient marching to get on the national nightly news)
May 7	**Sixteenth Street to City Hall and retail district**	Thousands swarm retail district at Noon and City Hall where they pray; and then return to 16th St. Rev. Shuttlesworth hosed at 16th St. and hospitalized.
May 7-9	**Moratorium on marches**	
May 10	**Press Conference** Gaston Motel	**Rev. Shuttlesworth and King** announce the Birmingham truce

On Saturday, April 6, 1963, Reverend Shuttlesworth led the first march of the Birmingham campaign toward City Hall. Prior to the march, participants gathered in the courtyard of the Gaston Motel where press and police photographers documented their presence. SCLC leaders photographed included: Rev. King, Rev. Abernathy, Rev. Walker, and Dorothy Cotton, none of whom marched that day. The marchers led by Rev. Shuttlesworth and Rev. Charles Billups Jr. of the ACMHR headed east along Fifth Avenue North. Police stopped them, three blocks away, in front of the Federal Building, where they knelt in prayer before being arrested and taken to the city jail. According to Walker, "As we predicted and expected 'Bull' Connor played into the Movement's hands by displaying an obsession to keep demonstrators from reaching City Hall." [xx]

Stopping the first march on City Hall did not deter the morale for additional marches. The next day, on April 7, 1963, Palm Sunday, a large crowd gathered at St. Paul United Methodist Church. When the preaching was over, three Birmingham ministers -- the Reverends A. D. King, Martin Luther King Jr.'s brother and the pastor of First Baptist Church, Ensley; John T. Porter, pastor of Sixth Avenue Baptist Church on the Southside; and Nelson Smith Jr., Secretary of the ACMHR and pastor of New Pilgrim Baptist Church -- led a group along Sixth Avenue North towards City Hall. Birmingham police, assisted by their canine corps, stopped the demonstration at Seventeenth Street, the street that served as the great dividing line between black and white activities in Birmingham. Connor's police expertly contained the crowd within Kelly Ingram Park. Police arrested the marchers for participating in a "parade without a permit." [xxi]

The probability of violence bothered black conservatives and moderates, many of whom had opposed Shuttlesworth and the ACMHR-SCLC direct action campaign and preferred to follow traditional Negro leaders such as the Rev. J. L.

Ware. On April 8, business tycoon A. G. Gaston invited Dr. King to meet him at his motel. Gaston wanted his friends and colleagues to urge King to go slow, but Dr. James T. Montgomery, Rev. Shuttlesworth's physician, chided those attending for wanting to wait for change. Considerable tensions existed between conservative and moderate black people and the activists represented by Rev. Shuttlesworth and the ACMHR. (To use E. Franklin Frazier's biting words, the black bourgeoisie "got along with segregation and concerned itself with status"). [xxii] Dr. King acknowledged this division within Birmingham's black leadership. To counter the distrust and jealousy of the joint ACMHR-SCLC campaign, King created a central committee -- with representatives from all sides -- that met daily at the Gaston Motel to review that day's strategy.

On April 10, a dozen Miles College students went to the Birmingham Public Library where they read books and magazines unmolested by police. That evening, Dr. King addressed a mass meeting at St. John AME Church (historic building not extant) and told the crowd that he would march on April 12 which happened to be Good Friday. Exploiting the symbolism of Holy Week, King hoped to be arrested and thereby gain more national attention for the demonstrations. City officials moved to stop the possibility of King's arrest and that same evening they convinced Alabama Circuit Court Judge William Jenkins Jr., to issue a state court injunction against sit-ins, boycotts, and marches.

In the early morning hours of Maundy Thursday, April 11, at the Gaston Motel, a sheriff's deputy served the SCLC's big three — King, Shuttlesworth, and Abernathy — with Judge Jenkin's injunction. In response, the three ministers called a press conference at the motel to announce their plans to ignore the injunction. Previously during the Albany campaign, King's observance of a similar state state had led to the collapse of the local campaign. Had it been a federal court he might have responded differently. Nonetheless movement leaders engaged in an all-night planning session at the Gaston Motel. As Christians around the world celebrated the last supper, the ACMHR-SCLC leaders discussed how best to raise bail bonds for the movement members housed in Birmingham jails.

As a large crowd gathered at nearby Sixth Avenue Zion Hill Baptist Church the next morning, movement leaders emerged from the Gaston Motel. The groups coalesced under the command of King, Abernathy, and Shuttlesworth then began their Good Friday march to City Hall along Sixth Avenue North. After a block or two, Shuttlesworth peeled off to stay out of jail as the police arrested 50 demonstrators, including King and Abernathy who refused bond and spent the next eight days in jail. During the period, King and his colleagues composed the pivotal, "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" in response to a letter printed in the Birmingham newspapers on April 13 from the city's leading white clergymen who asked that the demonstrations cease.

On Easter Sunday, April 14, 1963, small groups of demonstrators began "kneel-in" campaigns, attempting to attend services at white churches. Some congregations accepted the demonstrators such as the group led by the Rev. Andrew Young at First Baptist and the group at First Presbyterian, but the congregations at Sixth Avenue Presbyterian, First Christian Church, and Central Church of Christ refused to seat the protesters. A large group estimated at 1,000 began a march from Thirgood C. M. E. Church (historic church no longer standing) toward City Hall, but the police quickly stopped the march and arrested 32 demonstrators, including the march leaders: the Reverends A. D. King, John Porter, and Nelson Smith Jr., and Miles College student leader Frank Dukes.

During the next two weeks, despite Dr. King's jailing, the leaders of the ACMHR-SCLC strategy realized the campaign had failed to galvanize major media attention or attract significant participation from a broad spectrum of Birmingham blacks. A. G. Gaston evicted the SCLC from his office building where they had been holding strategy meetings. At the same time, black conservatives raised their profile by organizing a tribute to their longtime leader and Shuttlesworth rival, the Rev. J. L. Ware. The Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting, which had offices at the Colored Masonic Temple (which had denied the use of its facility to the ACMHR-SCLC movement), held a two-day event at the Metropolitan AME Zion Church.

Younger activists -- primarily SCLC staffers: James Bevel and Dorothy Cotton -- decided to step up the direct action campaign. They worked hard to recruit campus leaders such as football players and cheerleaders who had influence with the black youth. Radio disc jockey Tall Paul White of WENN radio, the major black station in the city, encouraged his teenage listeners to support the boycott. The black conservatives on the Central Committee set up by King for the ACMHR-SCLC campaign did not like Bevel or his idea of using students as demonstrators. Without King's blessing, Bevel and his supporters continued with the planning. At a mass meeting on April 30 at the Metropolitan AME Zion Church, Bevel announced that on May 2, high school students should leave school and report to Sixteenth Street Baptist Church at noon. The organizers called the strategy: "D-Day."

On the afternoon of May 2, D-Day began as waves of teenagers, children, and adults (two by two in neat lines) poured out of the churches in the area proposed for the Birmingham Civil Rights District and headed east along Sixth Avenue North and into Kelly Ingram Park. At Parker High School the registrar noted the absence of 40 percent of the student body. Although police and firemen manned human barricades at the edge of the park along the racial boundary of Seventeenth Street, ten groups of 30 to 60 demonstrators made their way to the Greyhound Bus Terminal and Birmingham City Hall. The *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 3, 1963, described the first "Children's March" in a story entitled, "600 Arrested in Demonstrations:"

> A mixed group of 25 congregated at the Greyhound Bus Terminal almost directly across the street from City Hall, and crossed the street together. They only marched about 50 feet before reaching the 19th Street entrance to the building where they were arrested for parading without permits. They knelt and prayed for City officials and then sang freedom songs for several minutes. . . .The demonstrations obviously had been planned down to the finest detail. Not only did pickets move into the downtown area while the marchers were in progress, but several 'youth leaders' had walkie-talkies that they used to direct their followers. The marches erupted in a two-hour period within an eight-block radius on the edge of the downtown business area.

According to *Birmingham News* reports, demonstrators also reached the retail district at 19th Street near Third Avenue North. Here "two groups of children paraded with placards saying, 'No Eat, No Dollars," "Segregation is a Sin," and "Equal Rights." The police arrested hundreds of demonstrators as the city and county jails began to fill.

That evening thousands gathered at mass meetings as the ACMHR-SCLC celebrated the success of the marches. Attendance was so large as the entire black community rallied to support the Movement. Churches on Northside and Southside that hosted meetings that evening included St. John A.M.E. (not extant), St. Paul Methodist, Thirgood CME (not extant), Sixteenth Street Baptist, New Pilgrim Baptist and Sixth Avenue Baptist (not extant). The next day, May 3 -- quickly tagged as: "Double D-Day" -- hundreds more marchers gathered at the Northside churches, including Metropolitan AME Zion Church, Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, Sixth Avenue Zion Hill Church, and St. Paul United Methodist Church. At midday, the first groups of an estimated 2,000 children, students, and adults began to move across Kelly Ingram Park and along Sixth Avenue North, headed toward their twin destinations: City Hall and the retail core. On this day, Commissioner of Public Safety Bull Connor was prepared. With the jails full, Connor tried to control the demonstration by containing the marchers within Kelly Ingram Park. To do so, firemen used bursts of high-pressured water and police employed their nightsticks and attack dogs. For the vast majority of demonstrators, Connor's strategy of confinement to the park worked. Officers arrested students and loaded them into school busses that shuttled between the park and makeshift jails. However, at least one group made it to City Hall where it knelt in prayer before police stepped in and arrested the 27 demonstrators, charging them with loitering. Fifty other activists made it to the retail district before similarly being arrested.

Years later, march participants recalled their experiences and anxiety in oral interviews conducted at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute. In her June 1, 1995, interview with Horace Huntley, Audrey Faye Hendricks recalled, "I didn't see anything wrong as a child to be able to march in a group to say I don't like what is going on and then you put a dog

on me?" Another of the young marchers, Gwendolyn Gamble, observed in her January 24, 1996 interview with Huntley: "We were at risk. It was no fun. Sure we got to meet people. I was young, but it still was no fun. I knew once that water hose hit me I didn't know if I was going to survive it or not, because the pressure from that hose was so great that it would actually knock your breath away." The police chased demonstrators throughout Northside. Demonstrators ran to "safe havens" in the churches and businesses around Kelly Ingram Park and along Fourth Avenue North where property owners provided them with shelter. The Poole Funeral Chapel, located just north of St. Paul Methodist Church and Sixteenth Street Baptist Church served as a safe haven. Dr. Hershel Hamilton treated wounded protesters at his doctor's office for which he gained the name, "the dog bite doc."

John Gary, in his July 3, 1996 interview with Horace Huntley, recalled how the Fourth Avenue merchants hid demonstrators from police.

> Robert McClain and I used to have to get on 4th Avenue [to walk back to Smithfield]. They had lots of joints on 4th Avenue and these people who would run these joints. When we would see a police car coming, we would run in one of these joints and the people who run these places would let us get up under the counter. Now, we knew that they were paying the police to do a lot of this illegal stuff. You know, selling booze and all that. And, the police would come in that place and say, "Have you seen those Niggers who been marching around here?" And to show you what type face that these business Black men had to put on, that were operating on 4th Avenue, "Naw, boss, I ain't seen none of them Niggers, but you know me, if I see them, you know I'm going to let you know.' And we were right up under the counter in these places. [Huntley then termed them] "sort of like an underground railroad" [and Gary continued] "I think they should get some mention, somewhere down the line, because they really helped a lot of us.[xxiii]

Connor's use of high-pressure water and snapping dogs effectively contained demonstrators within a short range of Kelly Ingram Park. But photographs and televised coverage of the brutal hosing of children sickened viewers, and gained a new visibility for civil rights issues. When similar police tactics took place on May 4, Attorney General Robert Kennedy asked the leaders of the Birmingham campaign to stop using children. The news coverage sickened President John F. Kennedy who responded he could "well understand why Negroes of Birmingham are tired of being asked to be patient." He sent Burke Marshall and John Doar of the Justice Department to negotiate an end to the conflict.

On Sunday, May 5, kneel-ins took place at 21 white churches. The Children's Marches continued on Monday, May 6, 1963. By this point City officials used just about any public facility, including the 4-H Club Barracks at the state fairgrounds and the basement of City Hall to house those arrested, among them comedian Dick Gregory. The following day, May 7, 1963, march leaders instructed students to abandon their orderly lines and reach the retail area and City Hall by any method possible. Hundreds of demonstrators stopped the busy mid-day business traffic in downtown Birmingham. In *But for Birmingham* (1998) historian Glenn Eskew explained how this final strategy worked:

> Like the Children of Israel at the Battle of Jericho, a line of several hundred students exited the church and marched completely around the park . . . arriving back at the church as if the pounding of their feet would tumble the walls of segregation. The doors of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church suddenly swung wide and out swept hundreds of schoolchildren. They took off in several directions but with a common destination. . . . The spectators lining the sidewalks joined in the surge of black humanity as it overran the traffic barricades and once-formidable firemen and headed, unabated, toward the downtown business district several blocks away. Like clockwork, nonviolent activists carried out movement strategy to shut down the center of Birmingham during the lunch-hour rush. At least three thousand demonstrators milled about on Twentieth and surrounding streets, grinding traffic to a halt for half an hour. Emboldened by their strength in numbers, African Americans entered department stores and other offices they normally avoided in the retail district.

> Like a ribbon, [James] Forman wove one group in and out of the shops as the activists sang freedom songs. While the students sat-in and picketed, old-line ACMHR members stopped in the middle of the sidewalk and knelt in prayer. . . . Powerless to act, policemen stood by helplessly as civil order collapsed in the heart of the city. [xxiv]

May 7 was the most effective day of demonstrations of the spring campaign. Hundreds of demonstrators reached the target points, including City Hall and Woodrow Wilson (now Linn) Park, and Loveman's, Pizitz, Kress, and Woolworth's in the retail district, causing commerce to grind to a virtual standstill for a half-an-hour. With the economic boycott, which Wyatt T. Walker claims was 96% effective, the downtown economy was paralyzed. [xxv] At the conclusion of the demonstrations, a final burst of water knocked Reverend Shuttlesworth into the east wall of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, hospitalizing him and effectively eliminating his voice in the negotiations that would halt the demonstrations.

The *Birmingham News* in its May 8, 1963, edition bemoaned the "senseless" demonstrations in Kelly Ingram Park, the center of Birmingham's civil rights battles which few in the white press understood. Staff writer James Spottswood described the daily skirmishes:

> Once Kelly Ingram Park was dirty.
> Paper littered its patchy grass.
> Tuesday the grass was green in the soft spring sunlight, washed clean by lashing streams of water from fire hose.
> Instead of dirty paper drifting in the wind, the grass was dotted with the ugly flowers of hate—bricks and stones, sticks and bottles.
> Kelly Ingram Park has become almost daily now for more than a month the scene of an increasingly dangerous battle.
> Police and firemen fight to maintain law and order.
> Young Negroes rush through the park yelling for "freedom."
> Then comes the inevitable clash. Police with nightsticks, firemen manning hoses, force them back.
> The youths retaliate with missiles.

On May 8, Dr. King, Assistant Attorney Burke Marshall, businessman Sid Smyer (whose firm owned substantial real estate in the city center); together with other city officials and business leaders negotiated a temporary moratorium. Rev. Shuttlesworth strongly objected, but despite his opposition, the demonstrations ended. Dr. King needed a victory from the Birmingham campaign and also good relations with the Kennedy administration, much more than solutions to the many local issues set forth by Shuttlesworth in the *Birmingham Manifesto*. Speaking to his home congregation of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta in early May 1963, King had staked his future with the fight in Birmingham: "If we can crack Birmingham, I am convinced we can crack the South. Birmingham is a symbol of segregation for the entire South." [xxvi] In *Why We Can't Wait,* King insisted that Birmingham was the right place, at the right time to tackle the evils of segregation in "the toughest fight of their (SCLC leaders) civil rights careers. They also believed that, if successful in Birmingham, they could break the back of segregation all over the nation. In a city that had become the country's chief symbol of racial intolerance, victory might well set forces in motion to change the entire course of the drive for freedom and justice." [xxvii] Both Dr. King and Rev. Abernathy wanted, and the SCLC needed, a victory in Birmingham, and the sooner the better.

However, the thousands who faced the dogs and hoses to march and go to jail for freedom -- by their examples of mass direct action -- also captured the nation's attention, drawing unprecedented concern to civil rights issues and the need for new federal legislation. As Rev. Edward Gardner, ACMHR vice-president, told mass meeting participants at Sixteenth Street Baptist Church on May 7, 1963: "We got them in there from 6, 9, 10 and 12 years old and they want

freedom. . . . . If they (the parents and grandparents) quit worrying so much and pray more, they would be better off . . . . We are not concerned about dogs and water. We are concerned about freedom."

The example of mass direct action also spurred other demonstrations across the nation. On April 15, 1963, fifty college students and ministers conducted a vigil on the lawn of the Connecticut state capitol in Hartford, praying for justice in Birmingham. Five days later, on April 20, 1963, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized demonstrations against the national chain stores that maintained segregated branches in Birmingham. Across the nation, thousands picketed Kress, H. L. Green, J .J. Newberry, and F. H. Woolworth stores.

The pressure on the Kennedy administration to resolve the climactic events in Birmingham intensified, as the numbers of stories and images grew in the national and international press. After their arrival on May 5, federal officials Burke Marshall and Joseph Dolan, brought both sides to the table. Marshall called on campaign leaders at the Gaston Motel and then met with downtown merchants in the first attempt to reach a settlement. Over the next five days, he worked tirelessly hammering out a truce between city officials and merchants and the civil rights leaders although not fully accepted by Rev. Shuttlesworth and the ACMHR, the gist of which the black and white groups announced at segregated press conferences. Movement leaders read the truce at a press conference held in the courtyard of the A. G. Gaston Motel on May 10. The spring demonstrations had not achieved all of the goals set by the ACMHR, but white leaders had made concessions felt unimaginable a few months earlier. In the *Birmingham Post Herald* of May 11, 1963, Attorney General Robert Kennedy noted that the lessons learned in Birmingham "can be used to solve future problems between whites and Negroes." Kennedy believed the Birmingham agreement signified "what it is going to mean for the rest of the country over the period of the next decade and the next 12 months really." Like Attorney General Kennedy, Shuttlesworth perceived the demonstrations as "a victory that eventually would have more impact on America than on Birmingham." [xxviii]

White supremacists attempted to upset the hard-won resolution. On the night of May 10, angry whites threw bricks through the windows of the Pizitz department store. On the night of May 11, white vigilantes aimed squarely at the civil rights leaders themselves (especially Dr. King) by bombing the Rev. A. D. King's house in Ensley and bombing Room 30 of the Gaston Motel, the suite where King stayed and where strategy meetings had taken place over the past two months. Violent protests erupted in the slum areas surrounding the motel. The *Birmingham Post-Herald* of May 13, 1963 reported: "The rioting left an 8 or 10-square block area around the motel a shambles as the sun rose on Birmingham's shame. Streets were littered with broken glass and rocks. Stores were burned and wrecked." The reporter claimed that, "it was nearly three hours before enough police and troopers, some armed with submachine guns as well as carbines, arrived to "secure" the streets around the motel. King's lieutenants (the reporter surmised, more likely ACMHR leaders, as the SCLC staff had gone home), with loudspeakers, helped herd part of the mob into the motel courtyard and an adjacent parking lot." President Kennedy sent federal troops to two nearby bases, Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery and Fort McClellan in Anniston, where they could be rushed to Birmingham if the violence did not stop.

The *Birmingham Post-Herald* of May 16, 1963 carried a report on a rally at the Municipal (now Boutwell) Auditorium where Mayor Albert Boutwell spoke to the United Americans for Conservative Government. Complaining bitterly about federal intervention, Boutwell compared the local white newspapers for reporting the incidents so thoroughly to *Tass* or *Pravda* of the Soviet Union. On the "riots" after the bombing of the Gaston Motel and King home, the blacks "would have burned and sacked the city" if it had not been for presence of highway patrol, claimed Boutwell. On May 20, 1963, the Birmingham Board of Education retaliated against the student demonstrators by expelling 1,000 students for participating in the marches. [xxix]

Outside of Birmingham in an immediate reaction to the riots, African Americans took to the streets to demand civil rights. In Chicago, according to a May 15, 1963 report in the *Birmingham Post-Herald*, police chief O. W. Wilson said

that recent violence in his city "was an outgrowth of the Birmingham situation. It wouldn't have happened a year ago." A later report by Harold Fleming to the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta found that in the ten weeks after Birmingham, 758 demonstrations took place in 186 American cities, leading to the arrest of 14,733 citizens. Political scientist Bobby Wilson concludes that after Birmingham, "Direct action became a relevant characteristic of identity politics" across the nation.

More importantly for civil rights history, the events of the April- May Birmingham campaign forced President Kennedy's hand. In an address to the nation on June 11, 1963, Kennedy wondered: "Are we to say to the world—and more importantly to each other—that this is the land of the free, except for the Negroes?" He thought not: "The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative boy can prudently choose to ignore them."

"Just as the children's crusade broke the stalemate in local race relations" in Birmingham, observed civil rights historian Glenn Eskew, "so too it broke the stalemate on the national level as it forced the president and Congress to draft legislation that ended legal racial discrimination. . . . Consequently, the victory in Birmingham evolved into the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which opened the system to African Americans even in recalcitrant places such as the steel city. The SCLC rode the wave of international outrage over Birmingham, increasing its revenues tenfold and honing a new strategy of nonviolent coercion. The March of Washington was simply a celebration of the victory in Birmingham." [xxx]

On June 5, 1963, the often warring factions pushing for civil rights in Birmingham joined together at Metropolitan AME Zion Church to celebrate the victories of the spring campaign as they gathered on the seventh anniversary of ACMHR. Rev. G. W. McMurray, who had not supported the creation of the ACMHR, welcomed the organization and its many followers to his church. Emory O. Jackson, editor of the *Birmingham World* who often stood at odds with Rev. Shuttlesworth, introduced him to an adoring crowd. Rev. Shuttlesworth asserted that the spring demonstrations represented the beginning of a new era in Birmingham and in the nation:

> Yes, my friends, the New Frontier is trying to catch up with the Negro frontier. Unless the President moves with dispatch, vigor and with a degree of dedication as that which was shown by Abraham Lincoln, Negroes will be demonstrating in every nook and cranny of the nation: north, east and west.
>
> We are closer to freedom because the Negro is this city is united as never before. Both young and old, students and adults, middle class, low class and no class, all joined together to put on the biggest mass demonstration ever to occur in America; and the economic boycott spoke its piece to the merchants that they, too, had to realize that this is a new day. Police dogs, the police lines and the water hoses could not put out the fire that started burning in Birmingham. [xxxi]

Later that summer, many ACMHR members participated in the March on Washington. Six buses pulled up to the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church and left for the nation's capital from this point.

On July 23, 1963, at the Birmingham City Hall, a newly elected city council repealed the city ordinance demanding segregation in places of public accommodation. On July 30 department stores desegregated their lunch counters, but outside Loveman's, Woolworth's, Kress, and Pizitz white supremacists from the National States Rights Party picketed the restaurants. Yet the integrationists found the lunchroom staffs to be friendly and helpful. Two weeks later on August 15, 1963, a National States Rights Party member threw a tear gas canister into Loveman's, a signal that hatred and violence had abated, but not ended in all quarters.

Other civil rights goals had yet to be filled in Birmingham as citizens prepared for the desegregation of the school system that fall. In early September, Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth and ACMHR leaders met at the Smith and Gaston Funeral Home to decide how best to show support for Mayor Albert Boutwell who supported desegregation of the schools. Dr. John Munro, a dean from Harvard University on leave to work for black Miles College attended the meeting with Miles president Lucius Pitts. As they discussed their plans they received news white vigilantes had bombed the Center Street home of attorney Arthur Shores. The meeting adjourned and the ministers rushed to the Shores house. [xxxii]

The bombing made clear the failure of the Ku Klux Klan to accept desegregation in Birmingham. On September 4, Reverend Shuttlesworth and ACMHR stalwart James Armstrong, together with attorneys Oscar Adams Jr., and Constance Motley, enrolled Dwight and Floyd Armstrong at Graymont School in Smithfield, not far from Shores' house. Protesters appeared at the city's white high schools -- Phillips, West End and Woodlawn -- carrying signs and skirmishing with city police on September 12. From the capitol in Montgomery, Alabama Governor George Wallace and other public officials encouraged white supremacists to show their disregard for the law.

On Sunday morning, September 15, the blast of dynamite at Sixteenth Street Baptist Church resounded around the world. The bomb blast killed four children as they prepared for Sunday Services. National and international outrage reached a crescendo. Rev. King wired President Kennedy: "I shudder to think what our nation has become when Sunday School children are killed in church by racial bombs." Respected southern journalist Ralph McGill wrote in the *Atlanta Constitution* of September 17, 1963: "extremists in high and low places-who inflame by word and example-have for a long time been sowing the seeds now come to harvest." U.S. District Court Judge Clarence Allgood told a federal grand jury in Birmingham: "I can think of no greater heresy or a more blackening sin against humanity. . . . Acts of terrorism and foolish intimidation of a peaceful people for the misguided cause of 'Southern tradition' is a heresy." [xxxiii] Few were left in America who doubted that a strong stand for justice against terrorism must be made. With the church severely damaged, family and movement leaders held funerals for the four girls in other sanctuaries such as Sixth Avenue Baptist Church on Southside. Months passed as the congregation repaired Sixteenth Street Baptist Church with the building being reopened for services on June 7, 1964. The people of Wales donated a stained glass window of a crucified black Christ as a memorial of the young victims.

ACMHR members returned in mass for the 12th anniversary celebration of the creation of the ACMHR, which took place on June 9, 1968 at the L. R. Hall Auditorium of the A. G. Gaston Building. Rev. Shuttlesworth, still the president of the organization (as all court cases involving the ACMHR would not be resolved until 1969), reminded the members that "if integration is ever to become a meaningful reality, then it must come immediately." Fourteen years after Brown v. Board of Education, the vast majority of southern schools remained segregated. In an era when voices for black power and violence gained strength, Shuttlesworth urged continued non-violence: "Non-violence will work. It worked in Montgomery in 1955, in Birmingham 1963, in Selma in 1965, and it has worked in many other places. . . . I call upon Negroes and whites to embrace non-violence for America's sake."[xxxiv]

By the mid-1960s, the stationing of the Rev. Joseph Lowrey at St. Paul United Methodist Church made him a key civil rights advocate in the city. As St. Paul's minister from 1964 to 1968, Lowrey this movement congregation during the transition to a more open racial environment. Lowery particularly spoke out against police brutality. In 1967, he also headed the Birmingham branch of the SCLC that met regularly at his church. In 1968 Lowery moved to an Atlanta church where he remained for the rest of his ministerial career also serving as SCLC president from 1977 to 1997. In 1979, he returned to the Birmingham to play a leading role in the outcry following the police shooting death of Bonita Carter. At a mass meeting at St. Paul's on July 16, 1979, Lowery promised that, "We will not stand idly by and let black life be snuffed out while those responsible are let off scot-free." He led a protest march to the Birmingham City Hall on July 20, 1979 that marked "one of the largest protest marches in the city since the 1960s." Before the

assembled crowd, Lowery took off his key to the City, given him the year before by Mayor David Vann, and promised not to wear it until in Birmingham "justice ran down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream." [xxxv]

The demonstrations over police brutality surrounding the death of Bonita Carter, and the subsequent election of Richard Arrington Jr., as mayor of Birmingham symbolize the triumph of black political empowerment and an end to the historical period of the civil rights struggle in Birmingham. Over the next 25 years, various Resolution Centers emerged to bring black and white together, from the monuments erected in Kelly Ingram Park to the opening of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute. The latter facility began under Mayor Vann's administration but found fruition under Mayor Arrington's watch with a grand opening in 1992. The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute's oral interviews, the manuscript records housed in the Birmingham Public Library's Department of Archives and Manuscripts, and the work of scholars ensures that future generations will not forget the victories won in the streets of Birmingham for the nation and the world.[xxxvi]

IX. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights Files, Birmingham Historical Society.

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights Collection. Birmingham Public Library

Bass, S. Jonathan. *Blessed Are the Peacemakers: Martin Luther King, Jr., Eight White Religious Leaders, and the "Letter from Birmingham Jail"*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001.

Birmingham Civil Rights Interviews. Archives Department. Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham.

Birmingham News, 1950-1965.

Birmingham Post-Herald, 1950-1965.

Birmingham World, 1932-1965.

Cotman, John W. *Birmingham, JFK, and the Civil Rights Act of 1963*. New York: Peter Lang, 1989.

Egerton, John. *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation before the Civil Rights Movement in the South*. New York: Knopf, 1994.

Eskew, Glenn T. *But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Fairclough, Adam. *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

Feldman, Glenn. *Politics, Society, and the Klan in Alabama, 1915-1949*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999.

Feldman, Lynne B. *A Sense of Place: Birmingham's African American Middle-Class Community, 1890-1930*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999.

Franklin, Jimmie L. *Back to Birmingham: Richard Arrington, Jr., and his Times*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989.

Garrow, David J. *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Council*. New York: Morrow, 1986.

Garrow, David J., Ed. *Birmingham, 1956-1963: The Black Struggle for Civil Rights*. Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Publishing, 1989.

Kelley, Robin D. G. *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class*. New York: Free Press, 1994.

King, Martin L., Jr. *Letter from Birmingham Jail*. Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1963.

King, Martin L., Jr. *Why We Can't Wait*. New York: Mentor Books, 1963.

Krueger, Thomas A. *And Promises to Keep: the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.* Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967.

Manis, Andrew M. *A Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999.

McWhorter, Diane. *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama, The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution.* New York: Simon and Shuster, 2001.

Morris, Aldon D. *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change.* New York: Free Press, 1984.

Nunnelley, William A. *Bull Connor.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991.

Oppenheimer, David B. "Kennedy, King, Shuttlesworth and Walker: the Events Leading to the Introduction of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." *University of San Francisco Law Review* 29 (Spring 1995).

Peake, Thomas R. *Keeping the Dream Alive: A History of the SCLC from King to the Nineteen Eighties.* New York: Peter Lang, 1987.

Scribner, Christopher M. *Renewing Birmingham: Federal Funding and the Promise of Change, 1929-1979.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002.

Sikora, Frank. *Until Justice Rolls Down: the Birmingham Church Bombing Case.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991.

Sullivan, Patricia. *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Thornton, J. Mills, III. *Dividing Lines: Municipal Politics and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.

White, Marjorie L. and Andrew Manis, Eds. *Birmingham Revolutionaries: The Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.* Macon: Mercer University Press, 2000.

White, Marjorie L. *A Walk to Freedom: The Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, 1956-1964.* Birmingham: Birmingham Historical Society, 1998.

Wilson, Bobby. *Race and Place in Birmingham: The Civil Rights and Neighborhood Movements.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.

X. Geographical Data

Additional UTM Coordinates

5. 15 517300 3708760
6. 16 517300 3708760
7. 16 517900 3708560
8. 16 518040 3708340
9. 16 517780 3708180
10. 16 517220 3708270

Verbal boundary description and boundary justification:

The Birmingham Civil Rights Historic District contains three groups of historic resources and certain streets connecting them. These streets served as the major march routes during the April-May 1963 demonstrations.

The western section (Northside) lies between Fourth and Seventh Avenues North and Fifteenth and Seventeenth Streets in Birmingham, Jefferson County, Alabama. Fourth and Fifth Avenues North and Nineteenth Street connect the western section to the southeast section of the district.

The southeast section (downtown, the retail core) is centered at the intersection of Nineteenth Street and Third Avenue North. The boundaries for the southeast section are along Nineteenth Street North, site of the major department stores.

Sixth Avenue North is the historic corridor (march route) that connects the western section to the northeast section (the governmental center), which is centered around Woodrow Wilson Park (Linn Park today) and contains the Greyhound Bus Terminal, the Birmingham City Hall, the Jefferson County Courthouse, the Municipal-Boutwell Auditorium, and the Birmingham Public Library (now Linn-Henley Research Center), all of which face the park except for the bus terminal

The nominated boundaries contain the extant historic property associated with the Birmingham Civil Rights Historic District.

END NOTES

[i] Marjorie White, *A Walk to Freedom—the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights* (Birmingham: Birmingham Historical Society, 1998) documents and maps the involvement of 60 ACMHR churches, the vast majority of them working class congregations spread across the city in its industrial districts. See Richard Anderson and Marjorie White's map, "Birmingham's Civil Rights Churches," originally produced for the Historic American Engineering Record, a Washington based branch of the National Park Service, as part of documentation of the Birmingham Industrial District. The map is derived from a Birmingham Planning Board Plan of Existing Land Use, 1926, as amended in 1965. The map is an insert within *A Walk to Freedom.*

[ii] Robin A.G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 56.

[iii] Glenn T. Eskew, *But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 17.

[iv] "Birmingham, Alabama Civil Rights Demonstrations, April and May 1963," a map with legends, written by Dr. Horace Huntley under contract to the City of Birmingham as part of Grover & Associates research for the landscape improvements to Kelley Ingram Park, completed simultaneously with the development of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute. According to Odessa Woolfolk (Telephone Interview with Marjorie White, 11/19/04) this map was prepared by Dr. Huntley and Edah Grover after extensive meetings with Movement members including the Reverends Abraham and Calvin Woods, Col. Stone Johnson, and Lola Hendricks. Odessa.Woolfolk and the City's historic preservation officer Victor Blackledge coordinated the process for Mayor Arrington. In an interview on 11/22/04 Rev. Calvin Woods reviewed the routes and confirmed that Sixth Avenue to 19th Street was the major route to City Hall and the park. Routes correlate with photographs published in *A Walk to Freedom.*

[v] Photographs of the May 7, 1963 demonstration from the collection of photographer Robert Adams, Birmingham and published with his permission in *A Walk to Freedom*, pp. 66-67.

[vi] Glenn T. Eskew, *But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 277-78. The Birmingham News, May 7, 1963.

[vii] Lynne B. Feldman, *A Sense of Place: Birmingham's African American Middle Class Community, 1890*-1930 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 177.

[viii] J. Mills Thornton, III, Dividing Lines: Municipal Politics and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003, 155, 168, 194.

[ix] On different reports on the mass meeting, see *Birmingham Post-Herald*, December 17, 1956, and *Birmingham World*, December 29, 1956.

[x] Marjorie White, *A Walk to Freedom-Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights* (Birmingham: Birmingham Historical Society, 1998,)

[xi] Glenn T. Eskew, *Comments on Carroll Van West's National Register of Historic Places Registration Form Birmingham Civil Rights District* (Typescript, Birmingham Historical Society, August 2004)

[xii] Eskew, 148-150; Harrison E .Salisbury, "Fear and Hatred Grip Birmingham," *New York Times*, April 12, 1960, pp. 1 and 28.

[xiii] White, 130, 138.

[xiv] Lola Hendricks Interview, 5/2/98 with Marjorie White at Birmingham Historical Society.

[xv] White, 45-46.

[xvi] Abernathy's speech is cited in Eskew, 211. Gwendolyn Gamble interview, 1/24/96, with Horace Huntley at Miles College, BCRI Archives, 9-10; Binnie Myles interview, 11/3/1995, with Horace Huntley at BCRI, BCRI Archives, 10.

[xvii] Glenn Eskew, "'The Classes and the Masses': Fred Shuttlesworth's Movement and Birmingham's Black Middle Class" in *Birmingham Revolutionaries-The Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights*, p. 43.

[xviii] Wyatt T. Walker, "The Historical Significance of Birmingham", in *Birmingham Revolutionaries*, p. 73

[xix] Reverend Calvin Woods, Interview, 11/22/04 with Marjorie White, Birmingham Historical Society.

[xx] Ibid, 73.

[xxi] A very good account of this march is the Rev. John T. Porter interview, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham.

[xxii] Glenn T. Eskew, "The Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and the Birmingham Struggle for Civil Rights, 1956-1963" in David J. Garrow, ed., *Birmingham, Alabama, 1956-1963: The Black Struggle for Civil Rights* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1989), pp. 3-114,

[xxiii]John Gary Interview, July 3, 1996, with Horace Huntley, Archives, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute.
[xxiv] Eskew, 277-278.
[xxv] Wyatt T. Walker, "The Historical Significance of Birmingham," in *Birmingham Revolutionaries*, 73.
[xxvi] King's address is cited in Diane McWhorter, *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama, The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 2001), 395.
[xxvii] Art Kuettner, "Marchers Go Undoused in Sunday Demonstration" Birmingham World, May 8, 1963, p. 1. This story was a UPI file news item that appeared in newspapers across the country. Martin Luther King Jr., *Letter from a Birmingham Jail* (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1963), 3. Also see Jonathan Bass, *Blessed Are the Peacemakers: Martin Luther King Jr., Eight White Religious Leaders, and the "Letter from a Birmingham Jail"* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001).
[xxviii] "RFK Predicts Other Racial Crises Like Birmingham's," Birmingham Post Herald, May 11, 1963; Manis, 390; Leonard R. Teel, *Ralph Emerson McGill: Voice of the Southern Conscience* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001) 385.
[xxix] *Birmingham News*, May 12-13, 1963; McWhorter, 429-34; Eskew, 300-301, 308.
[xxx] Eskew, 299-300; Bobby Wilson, *Race and Place in Birmingham: The Civil Rights and* Neighborhood Movements (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 100.
[xxxi] Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, *7th Anniversary Report to the ACMHR*, ACMHR Collection, Birmingham Historical Society.
[xxxii] McWhorter, 499.
[xxxiii] *Birmingham Post Herald*, September 16-17, 1963.
[xxxiv] Speech filed in Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights Collection, Birmingham Historical Society.
[xxxv] Jimmie Lee Franklin, *Back to Birmingham: Richard Arrington Jr., and his Times* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989), 131-132.