NPS Form 10-900-b OMB No. 10024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

__X__ New Submission ___ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

African American Residential Districts in Nashville, Tennessee, 1946–1975

B. Associated Historic Contexts

Nashville's African American Subdivisions, 1946–1975

C. Form Prepared by

Name/Title: Robbie D. Jones, Sydney Schoof, and Mary Cate Mosher
Organization: Richard Grubb & Associates, Inc. Date: March 5, 2026
Street & Number: 204 Rivergate Parkway Telephone: 615–237–1001
City: Nashville State: TN Zip Code: 37072

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title Date

Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, Tennessee Historical Commission
State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

State or Federal agency and bureau

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Primary location of additional data:

☒ State Historic Preservation Office
☐ Other State Agency
☒ Federal Agency
☒ Local Government
☐ University
☐ Other

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E. Statement of Historic Contexts:

This Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) documents the history and resources related to "African American Residential Districts in Nashville, Tennessee, 1946–1975." The MPDF provides a comprehensive historic context and chronological time frame for the development of residential subdivisions in Nashville between 1946 and 1975. It provides a historical overview of pivotal factors that impacted the development of residential housing in the post-World War II period, including urban renewal, highway development, suburban growth patterns, consolidated government, and federal housing policies.

The following section contains a historical overview of Nashville's African American history between the Civil War and World War II. This introductory section sets the stage for the historic context associated with the African American Residential Districts in Nashville, Tennessee, from 1946 to 1975. It should be noted that when known, birth and death dates are provided for people referenced in the text. Additionally, properties in the text that are listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) or designated as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) are cross referenced with the year of their listing and/or designation (i.e., NRHP 1988; NHL 2002). This introductory overview utilized information from the MPDF prepared in 2024 for "The Civil Rights Movement in Nashville, Tennessee, 1942–1969."[1]

Introduction: Origins of Residential Segregation in Nashville, 1866–1944

Founded in 1779 when present-day Tennessee was part of North Carolina, Nashville served as the seat of government for Davidson County when the State of Tennessee was created in 1796. The Tennessee General Assembly designated the city as the permanent capital in 1843. Located in a border state in the slave-holding South, Nashville owed much of its prosperity to the 14,790 enslaved Black people who made up nearly a third of the county's population in 1860 as well as 1,209 free Blacks. That year, there were 2,153 enslavers in Davidson County including the City of Nashville's government which enslaved at least 60 people. In downtown Nashville, near the Public Square, Black people were bought, sold, or traded at an active slave market as a central part of the city's economy. In 1860, as the country neared civil war, Nashville was a well-

[1] Robbie D. Jones and Carolyn Brackett, "The Civil Rights Movement in Nashville, Tennessee, 1942–1969," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior. National Park Service, 2024).

established and growing city with nearly 16,998 residents; another 30,057 people lived in the county outside the city limits.[2]

During the Civil War, Tennessee was the last state to secede from the U.S. and join the Confederate States of America. Following the war, Tennessee was the first state to rejoin the United States of America. In April 1865, as the nation entered the Reconstruction Era, Tennessee became the twentieth state to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which abolished slavery. In July 1866, Tennessee was the first former Confederate state to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment which granted citizenship to formerly enslaved people and specified that no state could "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."[3]

In January 1865, a few months before the Civil War ended, a group of African American men convened to issue the "Nashville Petition," asking for suffrage and the rights of citizenship. From August 7–10, 1865, the State Convention of Colored Men gathered at St. John's African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in Nashville to make plans to pursue those rights as the institution of slavery dissolved. Among the many speakers was Major General Clinton B. Fisk (1828–1890), a white Civil War veteran and Tennessee's commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands—a federal agency known as the Freedmen's Bureau. President Abraham Lincoln signed the Freedmen's Bureau into law on March 3, 1865. The bureau operated many programs between 1866 and 1872, including the establishment of schools. In February 1866, Congress voted to extend the legislation; however, President Andrew Johnson (1808–1875)—Tennessee's military governor during the war—vetoed the bill. In July 1866, Congress voted to override Johnson's veto for a revised version of the bill.[4]

Fisk began his talk at St. John's AME Church by observing, "You could not do this four years ago, could you? A great change has taken place since that day. You are no longer slaves." Declaring his friendship and

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[2] Bobby L. Lovett, *The African-American History of Nashville, Tennessee, 1780–1930: Elites and Dilemmas* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999), 5–6; U.S. Population Census, Davidson County, Tennessee, 1860; U.S. Slave Census, Tennessee, 1860; "The Nashville Slave Market," Historical Marker, Tennessee Historical Commission, 2018.
[3] Robert Tracy McKenzie, "Reconstruction," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/reconstruction/; "14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Civil Rights (1868)," National Archives.
[4] McKenzie, "Reconstruction," 2018; "The Nashville Petition of 1865 and the Promise of Reconstruction: Part II," *Emerging Civil War*, https://emergingcivilwar.com/2022/12/16/the-nashville-petition-of–1865-and-the-promise-of-reconstruction-part-ii/; "Freedmen's Bureau Acts of 1865 and 1866," United States Senate, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/FreedmensBureau.htm.

the commitment of the federal government to aid African Americans, Fisk told the crowd, "The passing away of slavery has opened a new era, and it becomes necessary that the government should do something to aid you in passing from slavery to freedom. And therefore, the Freedmen's Bureau was established by an act of Congress on the 3d [third] of last March."[5]

In response to the Confederacy's loss, the end of the institution of slavery, and the passage of laws to aid African Americans, on December 24, 1865, a group of former Confederates formed the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in Pulaski, Tennessee. Devoted to white supremacy, the KKK grew quickly throughout the former Confederate states. For decades, the KKK would use terror, racial violence, and murder against African Americans who attempted to establish schools, vote, or pursue their civil rights.[6]

Although the Tennessee General Assembly passed a law in 1867 giving Black men the right to vote, they could not hold office. Additionally, legislators refused to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which guaranteed that right. The Fifteenth Amendment became law in February 1870; Tennessee did not officially ratify the amendment until 1997. Black men first voted in a statewide election in 1867, electing an African American man to Nashville's Board of Aldermen; however, he could not assume office until 1868 when a law prohibiting Blacks from holding office was overturned. In 1868, ten aldermen and five members of Nashville City Council were African American men.[7]

During these years, the first Black residential areas were established in Nashville. These neighborhoods grew out of Civil War-era contraband camps at Edgefield in East Nashville, Edgehill in South Nashville, and near Fort Gillem and the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad Rail Yard in downtown Nashville. Black neighborhoods were also formed downtown at Black Bottom and Trimble Bottom in South Nashville. Additionally, the Bass Street neighborhood near Edgehill was settled by formerly enslaved people who had

[5] "Proceedings of the State Convention of Colored Men of the State of Tennessee: August 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th, 1865," Daily Press and Times Job Office, 1865, 1–36.
[6] Mark V. Wetherington, "Ku Klux Klan," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/ku-klux-klan/; "Confederate Veterans Establish the Ku Klux Klan," Equal Justice Initiative, https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/dec/24. Wetherington claims the KKK was established in May or early June 1866.
[7] "Jim Crow and Disenfranchisement of Southern Blacks," Tennessee State Library and Archives, https://sharetngov.tnsosfiles.com/tsla/exhibits/aale/jimcrow.htm; McKenzie, "Reconstruction," 2018.

been forced by the Union Army to build Fort Negley (NRHP 1975) during the Civil War. From 1867–1869, the KKK held secret meetings in the fort's blockhouses.[8]

Progress in African American civil rights continued when Sampson W. Keeble (1833–1887), a Nashville barber, became the first Black Tennessean elected to the Tennessee General Assembly in 1872. Keeble was a civic activist and participated in the August 1866 State Colored Men's Convention in Nashville where attendees lobbied the state legislature for the right to vote.[9] Despite these gains, Tennessee soon followed other former Confederate states in enacting "Black code" laws intended to give white men control of the government and to segregate Black people, ensuring their inferior status in society. Between 1866 and 1955, the Tennessee Legislature enacted a total of 23 segregation laws, including 6 mandating school segregation, 3 mandating separate accommodations on railroads, 2 segregating public accommodations, 1 for segregating seating on streetcars, and 4 outlawing marriages between Black and white people.[10]

Collectively the Black code laws were known as "Jim Crow laws." The name originated in the 1830s from a performance by Thomas Dartmouth "Daddy" Rice (1808–1860), a white man from New York. Painted in blackface and wearing shabby clothing, Rice performed "Jump, Jim Crow," a song and dance he claimed was modeled on an enslaved person. Rice performed the "Jim Crow" song-and-dance routine at theaters around the world. White audiences were receptive, and Jim Crow was commonplace at minstrel shows. The popularity of the minstrel shows led to the use of Jim Crow as a racial slur for African Americans.[11]

Passage of Jim Crow laws increased in the former Confederate states following the U.S. Supreme Court's overturn of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. In March 1875, three weeks after Congress passed the Act, the Tennessee General Assembly voted, in defiance of the Act, to permit hotels, public transportation, and amusement parks to refuse admission to any person for any reason. In 1883, the Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875—which guaranteed all citizens access to schools, theaters, churches, and other public accommodations—to be unconstitutional. In 1896, the Supreme Court further supported segregation in the

[8] Lovett, *African-American History*, 1999, 73; "Reconstructing a Lost Neighborhood: MTSU-Vanderbilt Collaboration Unearths African American History at the Base of Fort Negley," https://news.vanderbilt.edu/2021/10/20/mtsu-vanderbilt-collaboration-unearths-african-american-history-in-nashvilles-bass-street-neighborhood/.
[9] Lovett, *African-American History*, 1999, 217; Kathy B. Lauder (KBL), "Sampson Wesley Keeble," Tennessee State Library and Archives, 2012, https://sharetngov.tnsosfiles.com/tsla/exhibits/aale/keeble.htm; Linda T. Wynn, "Sampson W. Keeble," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/sampson-w-keeble/.
[10] "Jim Crow Laws: Tennessee," *Americans All*, 2023, https://americansall.org/legacy-story-group/jim-crow-laws-tennessee.
[11] "Origins of Jim Crow," Jim Crow Museum, Ferris State University, 2023, https://jimcrowmuseum.ferris.edu/origins.htm.

case of *Plessy v. Ferguson,* finding that "separate but equal" facilities for Black and white people were constitutional.[12]

In Tennessee, additional Jim Crow laws included a public accommodations statute in 1885, transportation laws in 1891 and 1905, and statutes mandating segregated schools in 1901 and 1925. By the end of the nineteenth century, white legislators in the Tennessee General Assembly passed laws designed to restrict Black men's voting rights, including a poll tax and a literacy test.[13]

More threatening was the rise of lynching as a tool of control to re-establish white supremacy following the abolition of slavery. In Tennessee, there were 233 lynchings between 1877 and 1950. Although most occurred in the western section of Tennessee, at least six lynchings took place in Davidson County. In Nashville, in April 1892, a white mob lynched two Black men, Ephraim Grizzard (1847–1892) and his younger brother Henry Grizzard (1864–1892). The brothers were accused of assaulting two white girls in the Goodlettsville community near the Sumner County line. Seized during a manhunt before being charged or tried, Henry Grizzard was lynched on April 27 from a tree in Goodlettsville. Ephraim Grizzard was taken to jail in downtown Nashville. On April 28, before he could be charged or tried, a white mob pulled Ephraim Grizzard from the jail and hung him from the nearby Woodland Street Bridge. The mob then riddled his body with bullets as thousands of spectators watched. Ephraim Grizzard's body was taken back to Goodlettsville and burned publicly to further terrorize local Black residents.[14]

The last documented lynching in Nashville occurred on December 14, 1924, along Nolensville Pike at the Williamson County line. A mob of white men abducted 15-year-old Samuel Smith from Nashville General Hospital, while he was in police custody for an alleged robbery and shooting. The mob took Smith to a site

[12] The Civil Rights Act became law on March 1, 1875. It required: "That all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement; subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude." The second section provided that any person denied access to these facilities on account of race would be entitled to monetary restitution under a federal court of law. "Tennessee Legalizes Racial Discrimination in Public Spaces Three Weeks After Federal Civil Rights Act is Enacted," Equal Justice Initiative, https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/mar/23; "Landmark Legislation: Civil Rights Act of 1875," U.S. Senate.

[13] "Jim Crow Laws: Tennessee," *Americans All*, 2023.

[14] Gloria McKissack, "Lynching in Davidson County, Tennessee (1892–1924)," in Bobby L. Lovett, Linda T. Wynn, and Caroline Eller, eds., *Profiles of African Americans in Tennessee*, Second Edition (Nashville, TN: Tennessee State University, 2021), 172–174; "Lynching in America," Equal Justice Initiative, https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/. In 2019, the Equal Justice Initiative's Community Remembrance Project erected historic markers in downtown Nashville to commemorate the sites of the lynching of the Grizzard brothers, David Jones, and Joe Reed.

near the alleged robbery in Nolensville, hung him from a tree, and shot him multiple times. No one was ever charged with the murder.[15]

Emergence of the Black Middle Class

Nashville's African American population grew rapidly in the last half of the nineteenth century, reaching 36,523—or 36 percent—of the city's total population by 1910. In the late nineteenth century, many Black residents relocated from Nashville to western and northern states seeking better economic opportunities. By 1930, African Americans made up 28.5 percent of the population, a percentage that remained steady for the next 70 years. In 2025, the African American population is 25.2 percent.[16] Many of Nashville's African American population were impoverished, living in crowded areas such as the downtown neighborhoods known as Hell's Half Acre (near the former contraband camp) and Black Bottom, so named because periodic floods left the streets covered in mud. As white residents fled these areas in the 1880s, landlords rented substandard housing to African Americans who labored in menial jobs.[17]

While many African Americans struggled in poverty during the post-war period, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also saw the emergence of a thriving Black middle class in Nashville. Through advocacy and leadership, as well as support from some areas of the white community, African Americans engaged in building a new society through the establishment of schools, churches, and businesses. Social life grew through new fraternal organizations and clubs and lively entertainment venues for music and dancing. African American leaders also became politically active in demanding the rights of citizenship including suffrage and an end to Jim Crow laws. Black middle-class neighborhoods developed at Edgehill and Trimble Bottom in South Nashville and Edgefield in East Nashville, all of which were along streetcar routes. Trimble Bottom attracted an elite class with professors, administrators, and physicians employed at Central Tennessee College and Meharry Medical College, both established in 1876. During Reconstruction, a prosperous neighborhood developed downtown along Cedar Street (renamed Charlotte Avenue in 1910). Concentrated on the east side of the Tennessee State Capitol (NRHP 1970, NHL 1971), this "Capitol Hill" neighborhood contained Black

[15] Darren Jefferson Clay, "Racial Terror Lynchings in America: Lynching of Samuel Smith." *The Historical Marker Database*, 2025. https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=220683.
[16] Bobby L. Lovett, "Black Bottom," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/black-bottom/; U.S. Population County Population Estimates, 2025.
[17] Lovett, *African-American History*, 1999, 73–75; Lovett, "Black Bottom," 2018.

businesses, hotels, stores, theaters, funeral homes, schools, churches, restaurants, and other services as well as the homes of Black prominent residents and the professional class.[18]

Among the most active groups in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were African American women's clubs, operating in what became known as the Colored Women's Club Movement. The clubs engaged in multiple programs to improve the lives of the city's Black population. The first of these was the Phillis Wheatley Club, founded in 1895 by the wives of Nashville's Black leaders. Affiliated with the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, the club engaged in charitable works in Nashville and supported missions in Africa. In 1897, the club hosted the first gathering of the National Association of Colored Women. In January 1907, Nettie Langston Napier (1861–1938) founded the Day Home Club, a day care center where employed mothers could leave their children. A skilled fundraiser, Napier solicited financial support that allowed the club to provide meals, health care, and education at no cost.[19]

Education Leads the Way

In the years immediately following the Civil War, the establishment of schools was a top priority for the City of Nashville. With aid from the Freedmen's Bureau, schools opened in Nashville and across the state including day schools for children, night schools for adults, and Sabbath schools. Instruction focused on reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography.[20]

In Nashville, several African American universities and colleges were established between 1864 and 1940. Initially scattered throughout the city, by the 1930s, all were centered in North Nashville. African American universities and colleges had a significant impact on the development of residential neighborhoods in North Nashville. These neighborhoods served as the home of professors, administrative leaders, and support staff. Some institutions, such as Roger Williams University, relocated to other cities. Founded 1864 as a freedman's school by a white Baptist minister from Massachusetts and renamed in 1883 for Roger Williams (c.1603-1683), this university operated from a former Union Army barracks in South Nashville from 1874 until 1905 when its campus was destroyed by two fires of suspicious origins, which led to its closure; the university

[18] Lovett, *African-American History*, 1999, 74–78.
[19] Tara Mitchell Mielnik, "Phyllis Wheatley Club," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/phillis-wheatley-club/; Learotha Williams Jr., "Nettie Langston Napier," in Lovett et al., *Profiles*, 2021, 198–200. Named for Phillis Wheatley (1753–1784), an enslaved woman in Boston who became a well-known published poet, the club was originally located at 618 4th Avenue South.
[20] "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the State of Tennessee, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1870," Smithsonian Institution, 2023, https://sova.si.edu/record/NMAAHC.FB.M1000.

reopened in North Nashville in 1908 and relocated to Memphis in 1929.[21] The following section contains a historic overview of the extant colleges and universities, which were often mentioned in newspaper advertisements by realtors for marketing residential subdivisions in their vicinity.

Fisk University

In January 1866, the American Missionary Association (AMA) financially supported the establishment of Fisk University, a college with all-white faculty and staff that provided a liberal arts education to formerly enslaved persons. The institution was initially known as the Fisk Free Colored School, named in honor of Clinton B. Fisk (1828–1890). Located at the abandoned site of Fort Gillem, a Union Army military fort constructed in 1862, enrollment quickly reached 900 students. In 1867, the Tennessee General Assembly passed legislation to support free but segregated public education. As the number of schools increased, the need for teachers became critical. To meet this need, the Fisk Free Colored School changed its mission to teacher training, and in August 1867 the school was renamed Fisk University. When it opened, Fisk's coeducational student body was integrated with both Black and white students; however, in 1901 Tennessee's Jim Crow laws made it illegal to enroll white students. The university became known for its liberal arts programs and the Jubilee Singers, an a cappella ensemble formed in 1871, toured the world to help raise funds for Fisk University. In 1873, Fisk established a campus on a hilltop at Jefferson Street and 18th Avenue North and built Jubilee Hall (NRHP 1971; NHL 1974) from 1873–1876 with funds raised by the Jubilee Singers.[22]

By the early twentieth century, Fisk University added African Americans to the faculty and staff. In 1947, Dr. Charles Spurgeon Johnson (1893–1956) became Fisk's first African American president. Located about two miles northwest of downtown, the 40-acre campus was crowned by Victorian Gothic-style architectural landmarks—such as Jubilee Hall, Fisk Memorial Chapel (NRHP 1978), Bennett Hall, and Livingstone Hall—with lofty spires visible from across the city. In the 1920s and 1930s, Fisk attracted professors and students who helped give rise to an African American cultural renaissance that produced leading Black scholars and artists such as social philosopher W.E.B. Du Bois (1868–1963), sociologist E. Franklin Frazier (1894–1962), historian John Pope Franklin (1915–2009), poet James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938), and renowned painter

[21] Bobby Lovett. "Roger Williams University (1866-1929), in Lovett et al, *Profile*s, 2021, 228-229.
[22] Lovett, *African-American History*, 1999, 73, 159; Reavis L. Mitchell Jr., "Fisk University," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/fisk-university/; Berle Pilsk and Percy Looney, "Fisk University Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1977). Fisk reutilized the military hospital barracks on 12th Street at Fort Gillem, which the Union army abandoned in 1865 after the war ended. One of the barracks was relocated to the current campus in 1873 and later reutilized as the performing arts department's "Little Theater."

Aaron Douglas (1899–1979). Some of Fisk's programs were on par with the nation's leading universities, solidifying its elite stature among the country's historically Black universities. This momentum continued in the mid-twentieth century when many of the liberal arts students at Fisk University played a pivotal role in the Civil Rights Movement by leading nonviolent protests in opposition to the segregation of public accommodations.[23]

In the years following Fisk's founding, four more institutions of higher education for African Americans were established in Nashville, which was also home to several universities and colleges for white students. The numerous institutions of higher learning gave rise to Nashville's nickname, "Athens of the South." Many of the students and professors at these universities, both Black and white, participated together in the nonviolent protests for civil rights in the mid-twentieth century.

Meharry Medical College

In 1876, Meharry Medical College was founded as the medical division of Central Tennessee College, a Nashville school established by the Freedmen's Aid Society and the Freedmen's Bureau of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Named for the Meharry family, white Methodist donors, the college added a School of Dentistry in 1886 followed by a Pharmacy Department in 1889. Independently chartered in 1915 as a private, nonprofit school, Meharry was the first medical college for African Americans in the South. In 1931, Meharry merged with Hubbard Hospital (opened in 1917). Hubbard Hospital was named in honor of Dr. George W. Hubbard (1841–1924), a white faculty member who led the creation of the hospital. Located in South Nashville, the Meharry campus included the President's House (NRHP 1973) where Dr. Hubbard lived.[24]

[23] Lovett, *African-American History*, 1999, 159; Mitchell, "Fisk University," 2018; Pilsk and Looney, "Fisk University," 1977. Fisk Memorial Chapel is part of the Fisk University Historic District. Bennett Hall and Livingstone Hall are no longer extant. Fisk Memorial Chapel is within the Fisk University Historic District.

[24] Reavis L. Mitchell Jr., "Meharry Medical College," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/meharry-medical-college–1876/; Albert G. Berry and E. Michael Fleener, "Hulda Margaret Lyttle Hall of Meharry Medical College," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington. DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1998); Reavis L. Mitchell Jr., "George Whipple Hubbard," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/george-whipple-hubbard/; May Dean Eberling, "Hubbard Home," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1973); Sandra Martin Parham, *Meharry Medical College* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2021). Central Tennessee College grew out of Clarke Chapel, renamed Clark Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church in 1899. The president's house is the only extant building from the original campus.

In 1931, Meharry Medical College and Hubbard Hospital relocated from Trimble Bottom in South Nashville to a new shared facility on a 22-acre campus adjacent to Fisk University in North Nashville. The campus included Lyttle Hall (NRHP 1998), a nurse's building later named for Hulda Margaret Lyttle (1889–1983), a nurse at Meharry who became the first Black dean of a nursing school in the U.S. The main building featured an auditorium and Public Health Lecture Hall. By the mid-twentieth century, Meharry had become the nation's leading instructional college for training African Americans in the medical profession. Many aspiring Black physicians obtained their undergraduate and premedical education at Fisk University and later graduated with medical degrees from Meharry Medical College.[25]

Tennessee State University

In 1909, the Tennessee General Assembly created Tennessee State University (TSU)—initially known as the Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial (A&I) State Normal School for Negroes—as the first and only state-funded historically Black university in Tennessee. Davidson County leaders made it clear they wanted the school in Nashville. In April 1910, the Quarterly County Court of Davidson County considered issuing bonds to enable a bid for the school. James Carroll "J.C." Napier (1845–1940), an attorney and civic leader who had been born into slavery, told the court, "We want to go out in Davidson County and build you a Tuskegee," referencing the famed institute in Alabama. The court responded with a unanimous vote to appropriate $60,000 in bonds. The *Nashville Globe*, the city's leading Black newspaper, proclaimed the act "the greatest piece of work ever done for the Negroes in the state. Never before has any county in the state showed that amount of interest in its Negro citizens."[26]

The Tennessee A&I State Normal School for Negroes campus was built in North Nashville at the end of Jefferson Street about one mile west of Fisk University. When the school opened in 1912 with 247 students, an article in the *Nashville Globe* described the campus "on high ground, commanding magnificent views. The buildings are brick, with stone trimmings, substantial in structure, heated by steam, lit by electricity and supplied with other modern conveniences. The whole plant, including campus, five buildings, farm and

[25] Mitchell, "Meharry Medical College," 2018; Berry and Fleener, "Hulda Margaret Lyttle Hall," 1998; Parham, *Meharry Medical College*, 2021, 35, 40–42.
[26] "Negro Normal: County Gives $60,000 for Its Establishment," *Nashville Globe,* April 8, 1908, 2.; Bobby L. Lovett, "Tennessee State University," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/tennessee-state-university/.

equipment, covers one hundred sixty-five acres and represents an estimated valuation of nearly two hundred thousand dollars, which the state is investing for the education of its colored young men and women."[27]

In 1922, the school became a four-year teachers' college, and its name was changed to Tennessee Agricultural & Industrial State College, commonly known as Tennessee A&I. In the 1920s and 1930s, a multi-year building campaign resulted in the construction of a traditional collegiate quadrangle (NRHP 1996) surrounded by Collegiate Gothic Revival-style buildings and structures, including science and engineering buildings, classrooms, administrative buildings, dormitories, library, and recreational facilities. Students at Tennessee A&I worked with livestock on the adjacent nearly 200-acre riverside farm. The name of the institution was changed to Tennessee State University in 1968.[28]

American Baptist College

In 1924, American Baptist Theological Seminary (NRHP 2013) opened as Nashville's fourth college for Black students. Plans for a seminary to train ministers began in 1913 through a partnership of the National Baptist Convention serving Black Baptists and Southern Baptist Convention serving white Baptists. The seminary held its first classes in 1916 in Memphis, before deciding in 1918 to relocate to Nashville. In 1921, the convention purchased 53 acres for a rural, riverside campus along Whites Creek Pike in North Nashville near the campus of Roger Williams University which had relocated there in 1908 from South Nashville. (Roger Williams University closed in 1929 and relocated to Memphis.) Construction at American Baptist was initiated in 1923 for the first building, Griggs Hall, named after Dr. Sutton E. Griggs (1882–1933), the Black president of the seminary, and his father Dr. Allen R. Griggs, a former enslaved person who helped found the

[27] "Many Teachers and Visitors Present," *Nashville Globe,* June 12, 1912, 2; "About TSU: An HBCU Legacy," Tennessee State University, https://www.tnstate.edu/about_tsu/history.aspx.

[28] In the 1940s, the college added a graduate school and built more academic and recreational facilities to accommodate the growing enrollment. In 1951, the school achieved university status, although its name stayed the same until 1968 when it was changed to Tennessee State University (TSU). In the 1950s, the university's enrollment was around 4,000 students, and TSU claimed the third highest total number of graduates among historically Black universities. Until the name change to TSU took hold, the university was nearly universally known as Tennessee A&I. "About TSU: An HBCU Legacy," Tennessee State University, https://www.tnstate.edu/about_tsu/history.aspx; Lovett, "Tennessee State University," 2018; Bobby L. Lovett, *A Touch of Greatness: A History of Tennessee State University* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press 2012); Harrison Stamm and Carroll Van West, "Tennessee State University Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1996).

school. Griggs Hall housed a dormitory, dining hall, classrooms, and a library. The seminary officially opened on September 14, 1924.[29]

Addressing the audience at the dedication of Griggs Hall, Lacey Kirk (1871–1940), president of the National Baptist Convention, noted "the gift of this seminary will constitute the greatest contribution the white Baptists of the South could possibly make to their Negro brethren…in providing a better trained ministry for the Negroes, the white Baptists are paving the way for a more intelligent, cooperative, appreciative and religious people." Additional buildings were later constructed on the campus, including the J.B. Lawrence Administration Building in 1947 and the T.L. Holcomb Library in 1954. Although the seminary's enrollment was less than 100 students in the 1950s and 1960s, several students at the seminary under the tutelage of Rev. Kelly Miller Smith Sr. (1920–1984) became leaders of Nashville's Civil Rights Movement. When the seminary was fully accredited in 1971, it changed its named to American Baptist College.[30]

Nashville Christian Institute

In 1940, well-known African American evangelist Marshall Keeble (1878–1968) opened the Nashville Christian Institute (NCI) in North Nashville to provide African Americans with a Christian education and to train young men for the ministry. The NCI was the nation's only Church of Christ-associated school for Black children and young adults. Enrollment at the coeducational institution grew through the 1940s and the small campus expanded to include a dormitory and Gymnasium/Auditorium (NRHP 2005).[31]

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[29] Steve Hoskins, "American Baptist Theological Seminary," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/american-baptist-theological-seminary/; Carroll Van West, Elizabeth Humphreys, Amber Clawson, Jessica French, and Abigail Gautreau, "American Baptist Theological Seminary Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2013); Brian D. Page, "Sutton E. Griggs," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/sutton-e-griggs/; Lovett 2018.

[30] "A Rich History," https://abcnash.edu/about/history/#1532528092256-5a7c9f42-4f98; "Baptist Theological Seminary for Negroes Dedicated Sunday," *Nashville Banner,* September 15, 1924, 14.

[31] Carroll Van West, *Nashville Architecture: A Guide to the City* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2015), 79; Jaime Woodcock and Laura Stewart Holder, "Nashville Christian Institute Gymnasium," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2004). Although NCI students were prohibited from becoming involved in the Nashville Student Movement, several of the school's alumni went on to become involved in the Civil Rights Movement, including attorney Fred Gray (b.1930) of Alabama. Bobby Richey, a high school student at NCI, was nearly expelled in 1960 for being arrested during a sit-in. The school was chronically plagued with financial difficulties and closed in 1967. The gymnasium is the only remaining building on the former NCI campus.

Public Schools

In the years following the Civil War, public schools for Nashville's Black elementary through high school students were also established. Located in the downtown Black Bottom neighborhood, Pearl High School was built in 1883 to serve students in first through eighth grades, and in 1887, Meigs Colored School opened in East Nashville for ninth through eleventh grade classes. Classes for these grades at Meigs were transferred to Pearl High School in 1897. A new Pearl High School building was constructed in 1915 in North Nashville near Fisk University.[32]

In 1920, Nashville became the headquarters for the Rosenwald Fund, a multi-state program to build schools for African Americans in the South. The program began with funding from Julius Rosenwald (1862–1932). Born to Jewish immigrants, Rosenwald amassed a fortune as head of the retail giant Sears Roebuck and Company, headquartered in Chicago. In 1912, Rosenwald joined the board of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and began providing funds to aid educational opportunities for African Americans. Tuskegee was headed by Booker T. Washington (1856–1915), a member of the Fisk University board of trustees who partnered with Rosenwald to develop plans and to build schools for African Americans throughout the South. In 1917, the Rosenwald Fund was created and operated on a requirement that communities provide matching funds.[33]

Previously headquartered in Chicago where Rosenwald lived, in 1920 Samuel Smith (1875–1956) became director of the school building program and established a southern office for the Rosenwald program in Nashville. The southern office was on the campus of George Peabody College for Teachers (NRHP 1966; NHL 1965) where Smith studied rural school architecture with Fletcher B. Dresslar (1858–1930). By 1928, one-third of schools for Black students in the South were Rosenwald schools. When the program ended in 1932, 4,977 schools had been built in 15 states (including 354 in Tennessee), and 600,000 students attended Rosenwald schools. In 1928, the Rosenwald Fund inaugurated programs that resulted in major gifts to Fisk, Meharry, and Tennessee A&I. The fund's fellowship program supported hundreds of promising Black leaders, including sociologist professor Dr. Charles S. Johnson (1893–1956) and librarian Arnaud Bontemps (1902–

[32] Lovett, "Black Bottom," 2018.
[33] Mary S. Hoffschwelle, "Julius Rosenwald Fund," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/julius-rosenwald-fund/; Oliver Arney, "Rosenwald Schools and the Importance of Preserving History," Tennessee State Museum, https://tnmuseum.org/Stories/posts/rosenwald-schools-and-the-importance-of-preserving-history?locale=en_us.

1973) at Fisk and Robert E. Clay (1875–1961), director of the Sunday School at Tennessee A&I. Clay served as the "Negro" state agent for Rosenwald schools in Tennessee from 1917–1937.[34]

New Black Neighborhoods

In the early twentieth century, Nashville had four distinct Black neighborhoods, including the downtown Black Bottom and Capitol Hill areas and the Trimble Bottom and Edgehill-Fort Negley areas in South Nashville. Poor and working-class residents also lived at Edgefield in East Nashville.[35]

As the city's African American colleges and universities were established, new streetcar suburbs for the elite class surrounded the educational campuses, creating thriving centers of commerce, entertainment, and worship, with much of the development concentrated along the Jefferson Street corridor in North Nashville. In 1907, the Abraham Lincoln Land Company (ALLC) platted the Fisk University Place subdivision in North Nashville. Located just west of the campus and about three blocks south of the streetcar line along Jefferson Street, the subdivision boasted views of Fisk University with the downtown skyline in the distance. Managed by Noble Merwin Stewart (1872–1939), the ALLC was a white-owned real estate company with offices in the Nashville Arcade (NRHP 1973).[36]

"It was the intention of the movers of this new suburb addition to Nashville, to open a strictly first-class colored sub-division," claimed a reporter for the *Nashville Globe*. "Not, however, with any intent at discrimination or Jim Crowism but for the purpose of giving every Negro in Nashville an opportunity to become a property owner at prices within reach and on such terms as would not embarrass their financial condition regardless of how small their salary is…Every one should have a place called home."[37]

Lots for the "Colored Only" subdivision cost $175 to $300. Individual buyers were limited to two lots. The Realty Savings Banks and Trust Company provided interest-free financial loans with a $1 down payment and $2 monthly payments. On Friday, February 22—in celebration of George Washington's birthday—the AALC held the initial land sale, which was attended by 3,000 people. By the end of the day, the AALC had sold real

[34] Hoffschwelle, "Julius Rosenwald Fund," 2018; Bobby L. Lovett, "Robert E. Clay," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/robert-e-clay/.
[35] Lovett, *African-American History*, 1999, 88–89.
[36] Lovett, *African-American History*, 1999, 88–91; Reavis L. Mitchell Jr., "Jefferson Street," in Lovett et al, *Profiles*, 2021, 137–140; "Fisk University Place," *Nashville Globe,* February 15, 1907, 5; "Returned from Texas," *Nashville Globe*, July 12, 1907, 4. A native of Ohio, Noble M. Stewart was a real estate developer who lived in Nashville for a short time before moving to San Diego, California by 1910. Stewart worked for both the ALLC and the Realty Savings Bank and Trust Co. in 1907.
[37] "Fisk University Place," *Nashville Globe,* February 15, 1907, 5

estate valued at some $42,000. The demand was so great that the AALC decided to purchase additional land to expand the subdivision's boundary. On March 23, the AALC held a second land sale for Fisk University Place No. 2, which was attended by hundreds of Black residents. The AALC sold property valued at $30,000 (Figure 1). "More Negroes now own homes from the results of these two land sales than any city in the South," reported the *Nashville Globe*. Lots at Fisk University Place continued to be sold through 1911. The following year, Tennessee A&I opened on the west side of Fisk University Place. By the 1920s, over 30 percent of Nashville's Black residents lived in North Nashville.[38]

Figure 1. Advertisement for Fisk University Place, 1907.[39]

[38] "Like Forest Fire: Geo. Washington's Birthday Profitably Celebrated, Negroes Purchase Land in New Fisk University Place," *Nashville Globe*, March 1, 1907, 1; "Another Tremendous Land Sale," *Nashville Globe*, March 29, 1907, 3; Lovett, *African-American History*, 1999, 89.
[39] "Fisk University Place," Advertisement, *Nashville Globe*, March 15, 1907, 3.

In the early twentieth century, suburban neighborhoods were improved with the creation of parks with recreational facilities for use by residents of nearby subdivisions. In 1905, the city's first private park for Black residents opened in southeast Nashville. Developed by businessman and civic leader Preston Taylor (1849–1931), the Greenwood Recreational Park offered a variety of amusements including a ballpark, swimming pool, and picnic facilities. The park provided a setting for the Tennessee Colored Fair Association's annual fair. The park operated until 1949.[40]

In 1912, the City of Nashville opened Hadley Park, a 34-acre public park on the west side of Fisk University Place in North Nashville. The park was served by the streetcar line along Jefferson Street. At the park dedication on July 4, 1912, master of ceremonies Benjamin J. Carr told the crowd "As far as I know, this is the first instance in this country where a park of this size has been purchased for the exclusive use of the colored citizens of the municipality, and it goes to say that in all the Southland there is no such city nor state that there is such good will and brotherly interest as exists between the black and white people of Nashville and Tennessee."[41]

With the development of automobiles, commercial development increased along Jefferson Street, which included grocery stores, pharmacies, hardware stores, clothing stores, gas stations, restaurants, bakeries, insurance agencies, dry cleaning establishments, barbers, beauty shops, tourist homes, and motels. By the 1930s, Jefferson Street entered what became known as its "Golden Age" (1935–1965) when it was home to some 80 percent of Nashville's Black-owned businesses. During these decades, "Jeff Street," as the corridor was commonly referred to, was buzzing with nightclubs pulsing with live music by famous entertainers such as B.B. King, Nat King Cole, Duke Ellington, Etta James, Jimi Hendrix, Diana Ross, among many others. Jefferson Street became a popular destination for Black tourists and travelers. The *Negro Motorist Green Book* advertised many roadside businesses on Jefferson Street such the Delmar Hotel, Cozy Corner Tavern, Ebony Hut Restaurant, and Brown's Dinner Club.[42]

In 1910, the Wheeler Realty Company platted the Brooklyn Heights subdivision along Whites Creek Pike opposite the campus of Roger Williams University. The Brooklyn Heights subdivision contained 302 lots on

[40] Lovett, *African-American History*, 1999, 124–125; "Tennessee Colored Fair Association: Second Annual Fair," *Nashville Globe,* July 23, 1909.
[41] Lovett, *African-American History*, 1999, 125–126; "Hadley Park," https://www.tclf.org/hadley-park; "Hadley Park Dedicated July Fourth," *Nashville Globe,* July 12, 1912, 2.
[42] Reavis L. Mitchell Jr., "Jefferson Street," in Lovett et al, *Profiles*, 2021, 137–139; Amie Thurber and Learotha Williams Jr., eds., *I'll Take You There: Exploring Nashville's Social Justice Sites* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2021), 78.

a grid for "for Colored People Only." Lots cost $75 to $200 with a nominal down payment, no-interest loans, and no taxes incurred for three years (Figure 2). In 1912, the Riverview Realty Company and the Savings and Realty Company sold lots near the new Tennessee A&I campus. By 1915, Nashville's Black residents owned more than 15,000 homes throughout the city and its suburbs.[43]

Figure 2. Advertisement for the Brooklyn Heights Subdivision, 1910.[44]

From the earliest days of freedom, African Americans established numerous Nashville churches which served spiritual needs and as anchors in residential neighborhoods. Some of the notable congregations include Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church (NRHP 1980), organized in 1866, which met in several locations before the congregation constructed a Victorian Gothic-style church on Jefferson Street in 1905. The First Baptist Church's origins pre-date the Civil War when the white congregation at downtown's First Baptist Church

[43] Lovett, *African-American History*, 1999, 90–91, 98; "Buy A Lot At Brooklyn Heights," *Nashville Globe*, December 23, 1910, 7; "$1.00 Buys a Lot in Brooklyn Heights For Colored People Only," *Nashville Banner,* December 31, 1910, 12.
[44] "$1.00 Buys a lot in Brooklyn Heights," *Nashville Globe*, December 16, 1910, 8.

welcomed free and enslaved Blacks to worship as early as 1834. Following the Civil War, African American members formed the First Colored Baptist Church of Nashville, later renamed Spruce Street Baptist Church. In the 1880s and 1890s, congregation members broke away and founded Mount Olive Missionary Baptist Church and First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill. In 1866, formerly enslaved Randall B. Vandavall (1832–1898) established the First Baptist Church East Nashville.[45]

Other influential Black churches include Clark Memorial Methodist Church (NRHP 2024), established in 1865 in the downtown Black Bottom neighborhood before the congregation relocated in the 1930s to a site near Fisk University. St. John's African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church was the first AME congregation in Tennessee, established in 1863 as part of AME Church Bishop Daniel Payne (1811-1893) to scatter AME churches throughout the state. The congregation of Capers Memorial Colored Methodist Episcopal (NRHP 1985) built a sanctuary off Charlotte Avenue in 1925. The First Independent African Methodist Community Church (NRHP 2024) congregation completed a sanctuary at 1815 Knowles Street in 1941, and Lee Chapel AME congregation built a sanctuary on Scovel Street in 1947.[46]

Great Depression and the New Deal

The onset of the Great Depression greatly affected Nashville's African American community as workers lost their jobs and Black-owned businesses closed in the downtown Cedar Street area, the heart of the African American business district. By 1934, some 25 percent of Black male heads of households were unemployed. By 1940, nearly 15 percent of the city's Black residents were unemployed, twice the rate of white residents. Despite these challenges, the Jefferson Street area continued to grow since it was patronized by more affluent, middle-class Black residents in the Fisk and Meharry neighborhoods.[47]

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[45] Linda T. Wynn, "First Colored Baptist Church," in Lovett et al, *Profiles*, 2021, 89–91; "Mount Zion: About Us," Mount Zion Nashville, https://www.mtzionnashville.org/about-us/. First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill, relocated in 1972; the original building was demolished soon thereafter. Mount Zion MB Church is within the Buena Vista Historic District (NRHP 1980).
[46] Thurber and Williams, *I'll Take You There*, 2021, 66–67; "The Black Church Digital Mapping Project," WPLN-FM, https://www.wnpt.org/the-black-church-map/; "St Johns AME Church," https://stjohnamenashville.wordpress.com/contact/; Carmelia D. Gregory, "Capers Memorial Christian Episcopal Church (1832)," in Lovett et al, *Profiles*, 2021, 51–53. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was renamed the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in 1956. Capers Memorial CME Church was founded in 1832 as the McKendree African Mission and renamed Capers Chapel in 1851.
[47] Robert G. Spinney, *World War II in Nashville: Transformation of the Homefront* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 2–4.

Beginning in the mid-1930s, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal agencies provided relief funding for the construction of public projects including new schools, public housing, recreational facilities, parks, infrastructure, and government buildings. Funding was provided primarily by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and Public Works Administration (PWA). Despite high unemployment rates of Black workers, most of the New Deal funded projects utilized white workers. Downtown Nashville was heavily impacted by the PWA, which funded the demolition of urban townhouses surrounding the Capitol and the historic courthouse and city hall on the Public Square. At the Capitol, the PWA funded construction of the John Sevier State Office Building (NRHP 2011) and Tennessee State Supreme Court Building (NRHP 2014) and at the Public Square, a City Market, and the Davidson County Public Building and Courthouse (NRHP 1987). The Public Square projects cost over $2.6 million. The PWA also provided $1.6 million for construction of the downtown U.S. Post Office (NRHP 1984). These PWA Moderne-style buildings transformed Nashville's civic landscape.[48]

In 1935, the WPA provided $148,183 to Tennessee A&I for facilities including 2 residence buildings, recreational facilities such as a football stadium and tennis courts, and a stone fence at the campus entrance. Local Tennessee A&I supporters raised another $75,000 to support the WPA projects. Also, that year, the college announced dedication plans for 5 new academic buildings and a residence hall valued at more than $1 million. The dedication announcement stated that the structures "represent the completion of a building program which was formulated in 1927."[49] The announcement did not indicate if federal funds were provided for the buildings, but they may have received funding from the Public Works Administration (PWA).[50]

In 1936, the PWA provided $336,000 to build a new Art Deco-style building for Pearl High School (NRHP 2002) to replace the existing overcrowded school. Designed by McKissack and McKissack, a prominent Black architectural firm in Nashville, to accommodate 1,500 students, the school was located near Fisk, Meharry,

[48] West, *Nashville Architecture*, 2015, xxx-xxvi, 9–10, 24, 30–32, 46–47; Mitchell, "Jefferson Street," 2011; Carroll Van West, *Tennessee's New Deal Landscapes: A Guidebook*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 14–17, 29–36, 55–56, 81–82; The Colonial Revival-style City Market, designed by local architect Henry C. Hibbs (1882-1949), was later converted into the Nashville police department and jail.
[49] "Plan Dedication of Six New Buildings," *Nashville Banner*, April 14, 1935, 28.
[50] West, *Nashville Architecture*, 2015, 84–85; West, *Tennessee's New Deal Landscapes*, 2001, 103; "Tennessee State University Improvements," Living New Deal, https://livingnewdeal.org/us/tn/nashville-tn.

and Tennessee A&I. At the time, the $2 million Pearl High School was considered one of the finest Black high school complexes in the South.[51]

In 1939, the PWA funded construction of Cameron Junior High School (NRHP 2005), a segregated school for Black students, in South Nashville. The school was designed by local architect Henry C. Hibbs (1882–1949) who designed many buildings in Nashville including Fisk's Cravath Library and several academic buildings at Vanderbilt University and Meharry. In 1954, McKissack and McKissack designed a large addition for Cameron, when the school transitioned to serve as a senior high school.[52]

Public Housing

These federal New Deal projects reinforced the city's segregation practices and policies as facilities were specified for Black or white occupants. In 1935, as plans for Pearl High School were underway, U.S. Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes (1874–1952) announced the construction of two segregated model public housing developments in North Nashville: Cheatham Place for white residents and Andrew Jackson Courts for Black residents. Funded by the PWA, the Andrew Jackson Courts public housing development included two, three, four, and five-room rowhouse apartments (Figure 3), housing nearly 400 families.[53] Located adjacent to Fisk University, sociologist professor Dr. Charles Johnson referred to the 22-acre project as "a rare opportunity to introduce enlightened social planning and guidance" into the neighborhood; however, many residents opposed the public housing project since it required demolition of middle-class housing and Black churches.[54] Upon completion in May 1938, an announcement invited visitors to tour Andrew Jackson Courts, "Nashville's New Modern Housing Project for Negroes," noting "White People Also Invited."[55]

[51] Mary S. Hoffschwelle, "Public Education in Tennessee," in *Trials and Triumphs: Tennesseans' Search for Citizenship, Community, and Opportunity*, Middle Tennessee State University, 2014, https://walker.mtsu.edu/trials/dsi.mtsu.edu/trials/hoffschwelle.html; "New Pearl High School for Negroes Nears Completion," *The Tennessean,* April 14, 1937, 9; West, *Nashville Architecture*, 2015, 76–77; West, *Tennessee's New Deal Landscapes*, 2001, 102.
[52] West, *Tennessee's New Deal Landscapes*, 2001, 100; "Cameron High School," Living New Deal, https://livingnewdeal.org/us/tn/nashville-tn/; James Hoobler, "Henry Clossen Hibbs," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/henry-clossen-hibbs/.
[53] West, *Tennessee's New Deal Landscapes*, 2001, 136–137; West, *Nashville Architecture*, 2015, 68–69.
[54] "Work to Start at Early Date, Cost $1,482,000, Payroll $411,000," *Nashville Banner,* June 21, 1935, 1.
[55] "Visit Andrew Jackson Courts," *Tennessean,* May 15, 1938, 6.

Figure 3. Photograph of Andrew Jackson Courts public housing, circa 1940.[56]

The WPA and PWA also funded the Fisk University Social Center, which Johnson founded in 1937 for students to complete fieldwork and community outreach with the "People's College." Located in the former Bertha Fensterwald Social Center, a Jewish social center that operated from 1909 to 1937, the Fisk center supported educational, health, social services, and recreational programs for working class Black residents. The WPA offered an "Adult School" at its downtown facility with free classes open to the public. The classes were taught by students from the People's College. The Fisk social center operated a daycare with a nursery, Boys' and Girls' clubs, and a playground with a gym. Fisk also partnered with the city's health department to offer weekly well-baby clinics and health demonstrations for Black mothers.[57]

[56] MDHA Photograph Collection, Nashville Public Library, Special Collections.
[57] Charles Johnson Papers 2004, 4; West, *Tennessee's New Deal Landscapes*, 2001, 101*; Nashville Banner*, November 4, 1938, 28; *Nashville Banner*, January 6, 1939, 20; Jean Roseman, *Shalom Nashville: A Jewish History* (Nashville, TN: Eveready Press, 2010), 427–428; *Tennessean*, April 6, 1938, 18.

Federally Subsidized Housing and Redlining

Prior to the Great Depression, private organizations like commercial banks, life insurance companies, and savings and loan organizations were the only mortgage loan providers available to Nashville home buyers. These loans often required large down payments, typically between 30 and 50 percent of the purchase price, short repayment periods, and a final payment that was typically much larger than previous payments, known as a balloon payment. In 1933, the federal government estimated that as many as one quarter of all mortgage loans had defaulted. That year, President Roosevelt signed into law the Home Owners' Loan Act which created the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC). The purpose of this New Deal agency was to refinance existing mortgages with fixed interest rates and without burdensome balloon payments.[58]

In June 1934, President Roosevelt signed into law the National Housing Act (NHA), which created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), another New Deal agency, and "began a new chapter for American single-family housing and government involvement in the housing market." The FHA provided mortgage insurance for loans granted by approved lenders with the objective of making funds available for home construction while providing jobs and improving the country's economic condition during the Great Depression. The insurance incentivized lenders to provide loans to approve more applicants, knowing that should the applicant default on their loan, the lender would receive an insurance payout and not lose money. It was these policies that influenced home ownership and residential development patterns well beyond the 1930s, especially during the housing boom that followed World War II.[59]

Redlining

The HOLC decided which mortgages to refinance based on the risk of default, a metric based on which neighborhoods the organization determined were "desirable," therefore a lower risk. From 1935 to 1940, the HOLC in collaboration with local banks and real estate professionals conducted a "City Survey" that resulted in the creation of maps of towns and cities throughout the country. The maps used a four-color map-coding system that designated residential areas: First Grade (Best) in blue, Second Grade (Better) in green, Third

[58] Office of the Inspector General, "A Brief History of the Housing Government-Sponsored Enterprises," Federal Housing Finance Agency, 1–2. Marie Justine Fritz, "Federal Housing Administration (FHA)," 2021.
[59] Office of the Inspector General, "A Brief History of the Housing Government-Sponsored Enterprises," Federal Housing Finance Agency, 2; Emily Pettis, Amy Squitieri, Christina Slattery, Christine Long, Patti Kuhn, Debra McClane, and Sarah Groesbeck, *NCHRP Report 723: A Model for Identifying and Evaluating the Historic Significance of Post-World War II Housing*, National Cooperative Highway Research Program and Transportation Research Board, prepared by Mead & Hunt of Madison, Wisconsin, and Louis Berger Group, Inc. of Washington, DC, 2012, 54.

Grade (Definitely Declining) in yellow, and Fourth Grade (Hazardous) in red. For lend purposes, the HOLC judged First Grade neighborhoods as low risk, Second Grade as relatively low risk, Third Grade as moderate risk, and Fourth Grade as high risk. [60]

The HOLC would not take on loans for areas shaded in red, leading to the phrase "redlining." Affluent and all-white neighborhoods received the highest rating, while lower-income households and the presence of Black and immigrant families rendered an area hazardous and undesirable. Neighborhoods where African Americans lived, including those that were middle class, were automatically rated as "hazardous" and highlighted in red on the maps. The FHA and private lenders adopted the redlined maps and refused to guarantee housing loans in racially mixed or Black neighborhoods.[61]

The HOLC created color-coded maps for cities throughout Tennessee, including Memphis, Nashville, Knoxville, Chattanooga, Greeneville, Erwin, Elizabethton, and Johnson City. The HOLC map for Nashville showed First Grade and Second Grade neighborhoods in suburban south and southwest Nashville and Third and Fourth Grade neighborhoods primarily in southeast and northwest Nashville. All neighborhoods within Nashville's urban areas were redlined (Figure 4).

The NHA required the FHA to create additional standards for appraisal and risk assessment. In their *Underwriting Manual*, published in 1938, the FHA presented its rules for determining safe investment. The New Deal agency looked for neighborhoods where property values were all within a narrow range, favoring neighborhoods that were homogeneous in both race and the size and scale of the homes.[62]

The FHA published several technical bulletins and circulars that provided guidance on the standards for house construction, subdivision layout, and lot development. These publications included *Property Standards* (1936), *Principles of Planning Small Houses* (1936, revised 1946), *Planning Neighborhoods for Small Houses* (1938), *Planning Profitable Neighborhoods* (1938, revised 1939), *Subdivision Standards for Insurance of*

[60] Todd M. Michney, "How and Why the Home Owners' Loan Corporation Made Its Redlining Maps," *Mapping Inequality, Redlining in New Deal America*, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/howandwhy; Matthew D. Lassiter and Susan Cianci Salvatore, *Civil Rights In America: Racial Discrimination In Housing. A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2021), 30; Russell Fowler, "The Ugly History of Redlining: A Federal Policy 'Full of Evil'," *Tennessee Bar Journal*, 4 (January/February 2023), 23.
[61] Isabella Jones, Paula Jimeno Lara, and Agustin Tornabene, "Housing Segregation in Nashville: Exploring the legacy of de jure segregation in Nashville," *StoryMaps*, November 12, 2020, https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/050e09fabed0474b9687525fbc4e4c9a. The Fair Housing Act of 1968 prohibited redlining.
[62] Fritz, "Federal Housing Administration (FHA)," 2021.

Mortgages on Properties Located in Undeveloped Subdivisions (1938), *Minimum Property Standards* (1938, revised 1958), and *Successful Subdivisions* (1940).[63]

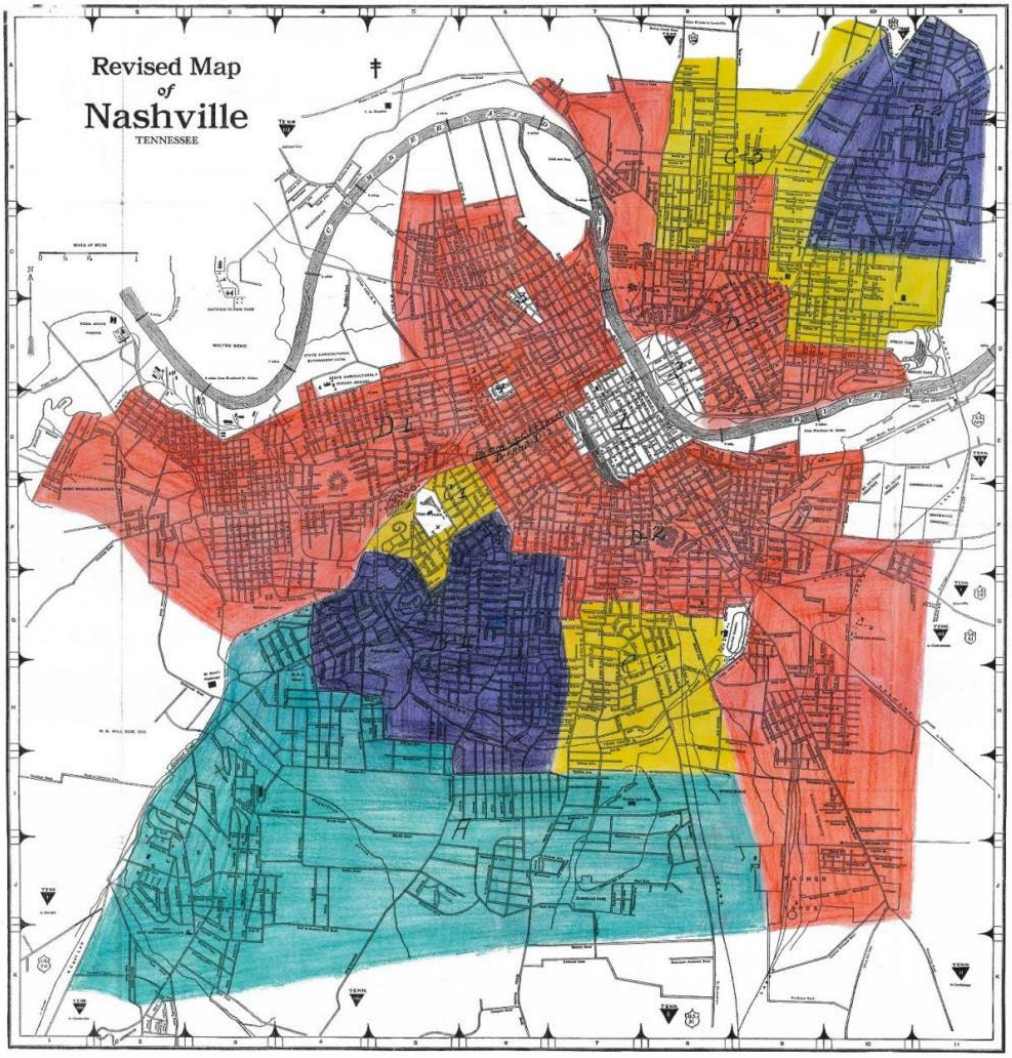

Figure 4. Map showing redlined neighborhoods in Nashville, circa 1940.[64]

[63] Pettis et al, *NCRHP Report 723*, 2012, 56.
[64] American Panorama. *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America*, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/data.

In 1938, the FHA recommended that developers include eight protective covenants in new residential developments. Modeled after the technical bulletins and circulars, the covenants were intended to create a uniform subdivision appearance and homogenous character. The covenants included regulation of land use, placement of buildings using side yard and setback regulations, prohibition of subdivided lots, prohibition of multiple dwellings per lot, design control through approval of qualified committees, prohibition of nuisances and temporary dwellings, prohibition of occupancy of properties by inharmonious racial groups, and appropriate provisions for enforcement. These restrictions were to be recorded within the plat and last a minimum of 25 years. By 1940, the FHA added two additional suggested covenants: limitation of permitted improvement costs and dwelling floor areas and reservations of public utility easements.[65]

Near the end of World War II, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944—better known as the GI Bill—created the Veterans Administration (VA) mortgage insurance program. The program offered veterans long-term, low-cost mortgage loans.[66] The VA followed the guidelines and policies created by the FHA, including redlining. Together, the NHA, FHA, HOLC, and GI Bill increased national home ownership from 44 percent in 1940 to 62 percent in 1960.[67] Still, while the FHA insured 98 percent of private mortgages issued between 1930 and 1950, only 2 percent of those borrowers were non-white.[68]

Racial Covenants

In the early twentieth century, racial covenants became increasingly used throughout the U.S. Covenants were racially restrictive clauses within property deeds and other legal documents that prevented people of certain races from owning or renting property. Beginning in 1934, the FHA actively supported and promoted the use of racial covenants, which were designed to maintain racially segregated neighborhoods. by developers, property owners, and lenders for financed properties. The FHA's 1938 *Underwriting Manual* provided an example of a racial covenant to include on deeds: "No persons of any race other than _____ [race to be inserted] shall use or occupy any building or any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by

[65] Pettis et al, *NCRHP Report 723*, 2012, 65–66.
[66] Office of the Inspector General, "A Brief History of the Housing Government-Sponsored Enterprises," Federal Housing Finance Agency, 2.
[67] Lassiter and Salvatore, *Civil Rights in America*, 2021, 30.
[68] Amanda Tillotson. "Race, Risk and Real Estate: The Federal Housing Administration and Black Homeownership in the Post World War II Home Ownership State," *DePaul Journal for Social Justice* 8 (2014), https://via.library.depaul.edu/jsj/vol8/iss1/329, 29.

domestic servants of a different race." In theory, this could apply equally to neighborhoods occupied by any race, provided the community and property values were stable.[69]

On May 3, 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a unanimous 6–0 decision in *Shelley v. Kraemer* that while racial covenants between individuals did not violate the tenets of the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause, their enforcement by federal or state courts did. Two weeks later, FHA commissioner Franklin D. Richards announced that the decision would not affect the agency's home ownership programs since it was the property owners' right to dispose of property as they saw fit. However, in December 1949, the U.S. Solicitor General Philip Peran announced that the FHA could no longer insure mortgages with restrictive covenants of any kind. While the landmark decision resulted in racial covenants being unenforceable by state courts, it did not prevent the practice, which continued into the 1950s.[70]

The FHA also preferred white neighborhoods that were physically separated from Black neighborhoods, usually by a highway. The FHA *Underwriting Manual* claimed that "incompatible racial groups should not be permitted to live in the same communities." While not a matter of law, the FHA published this preference in its underwriting manuals, therefore it was a matter of *de jure* government regulation. The FHA continued to accept unwritten agreements with restrictions based on race or religion until the passage of the 1968 Civil Rights Act.[71]

Financing

During the 1950s, white-owned banks and lenders often refused to loan funds to Black people for purchasing homes. When they did make loans to Black customers, they often charged higher interest rates. These business practices resulted in another form of discriminatory lending. In response, Black businessmen opened banks that provided homeownership loans to Black people with more competitive interest rates. One such bank was the Community Federal Savings and Loan founded in Nashville in 1959 by six African American community leaders—Alfred Galloway, a contractor; Dr. Harold D. West, president of Meharry Medical College; Austin G. Swett, grocery store operator; Jasper D. Martin and Hobart T. Martin, funeral home operators; and Dr. Walter S. Davis, president of Tennessee A&I—along with white attorney J. Victor Barr Jr. Nashville's only Black-owned federally insured savings and loan institution, the bank served as an investment in North Nashville's Black community. "When we first opened, black people couldn't get loans to build houses, and

[69] Lassiter and Salvatore, *Civil Rights in America*, 2021, 31.
[70] Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York, NY: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017).
[71] Jones, et al, "Housing Segregation," 2020; Pettis et al, *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 66.

they couldn't get loans to buy existing houses unless it was in an established black neighborhood," explained Galloway. The company established its headquarters in 1962 on Jefferson Street.[72]

Historic Context: Nashville's African American Residential Districts, 1946–1975

In the post-war era, the pent-up demand for housing was finally addressed and a residential building boom ensued. Soldiers returned home from the battlefields started families and transitioned into family life. Construction of freeways facilitated suburban growth away from city centers. Throughout the nation, a "distinctive landscape emerged comprised of large-scale, self-contained subdivisions with single-family homes often aligned along curvilinear streets." As one of the largest cities in the Mid-South and with a strong manufacturing-based economy, Nashville was positioned for explosive post-war growth.[73]

The agencies created during the Great Depression and World War II resulted in an increase in national home ownership from 44 percent in 1940 to 62 percent in 1960. In Nashville, the New Deal-funded public projects resulted in the creation of new agencies such as the Nashville Planning and Zoning Commission (NPZC), Nashville Housing Authority (NHA), and Nashville Electric Service (NES). Working in coordination with the Nashville City Planning Commission, formed in 1925, and the Davidson County Planning Commission (DCPC), formed in 1953, these city agencies played a pivotal role in shaping the development of post-war housing in Nashville and Davidson County.[74]

From 1940 to 1963, the development of residential subdivisions was constructed under the jurisdiction of the joint Nashville City-County Planning Commission, directed by William Anderson Pitts (1907–1964). A native of Wartrace in Bedford County, Tennessee, Pitts' family moved to East Nashville in the 1920s. He worked as a civil engineer with the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Trenton, New Jersey, before returning to Nashville where he worked as a civil engineer and planner with the City of Nashville from 1940 until 1963. After the consolidation of Nashville and Davidson County governments in 1963, the Nashville City-County Planning Commission evolved into the Metropolitan Planning Commission.[75]

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[72] Claudette Stager, "Alfred C. Galloway and Community Federal Savings and Loan" (2025), *Profiles/Papers for the Nashville Conference on African American History and Culture,* 81, https://digitalscholarship.tnstate.edu/conference-on-african-american-history-and-culture/81/.
[73] Pettis et al, *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 3.
[74] Spinney, *World War II*, 1998, 13–16; Lassiter and Salvatore, *Civil Rights in America*, 2021, 30.
[75] "William Pitts Rites Slated," *Tennessean*, September 18, 1964, 41; U.S. Census 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.

Urban Renewal

In the 1950s and 1960s, urban renewal had an enormously destructive impact on Nashville's African American community and shaped or limited where these communities could grow. The concept of urban renewal emerged after World War II as the local, state, and federal government agencies across the country embraced plans to demolish entire sections of cities to make way for new developments. Urban renewal encompassed a complicated array of strategies to accomplish its aims, including planning and capital grants, loans, and mortgage insurance. Actions included the use of eminent domain to enable the government to take and demolish private property to clear it for new public uses, such as roads, public housing, and recreational parks, as well as private developments. Many urban renewal projects focused on clearing not only slums but historic neighborhoods and commercial districts in favor of new, modern buildings. Urban renewal planners justified demolition of entire neighborhoods without acknowledging that these areas were often home to African Americans who did not have the political clout to combat the plans.

Nashville was among the first cities in the country to embrace and enact urban renewal. With Congress's passage of the Housing Act in 1949, local governments had the power of eminent domain, which the NHA and State of Tennessee used to implement the Capitol Hill Redevelopment Project, the nation's first federally funded urban renewal project. This project leveled all buildings on the northern semi-circular swath of land surrounding the Tennessee State Capitol. A portion of the area in the northern side was once a red-light district known as "Hell's Half Acre" (Figure 5). The Tennessee Legislature had determined in 1945 that the area was a slum and blighted under state law, in anticipation of urban renewal redevelopment projects.[76]

The redlined area surrounding the Tennessee State Capitol was also primarily home to hundreds of African Americans who lived in wood-frame shacks with outdoor privies. The city had not installed plumbing or paved the streets, and a lack of drainage resulted in flooding during heavy rains. Despite the city government's neglect of the area for decades, city and state officials considered the area's slum conditions to be the fault of the residents.[77]

After learning of the availability of federal funds in 1949, Nashville planning director Charles Hawkins and representatives from Governor Gordon Browning's administration quickly developed plans to raze all

[76] Christine Kreyling, "Nashville Past and Present," Urban Design, Policy Brief, Nashville Civic Design Center, n.d.: 18; Bill Carey, "A City Swept Clean: How urban renewal, for better or worse, created the city we know today," *Nashville Scene*, September 6, 2001.
[77] Carey, "A City Swept Clean," 2001; Ansley T. Erickson, *Making the Unequal Metropolis: School Desegregation and Its Limits* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2016), 39.

buildings and structures, both residential and commercial, from a 97-acre swath of land along the northern and western sides of the State Capitol, along with all commercial buildings on the east side. The city hired Clarke & Rapuano, a planning and landscape architecture firm based in New York, to design the Capitol Hill Redevelopment Project. Clark & Rapuano was formed in 1934 by Gilmore D. Clarke (1892–1982), a professor of architecture at Cornell University, and Michael Rapuano (1904–1975), the dean of the College of Architecture at Cornell. Working closely with the prominent urban planner Robert Moses (1888–1981), the firm designed urban parks, housing projects, and expressways throughout New York City. Examples of the firm's high-profile highway projects include the Henry Hudson Parkway (1934–1937) in New York and the Garden State Parkway (1956) in New Jersey.[78]

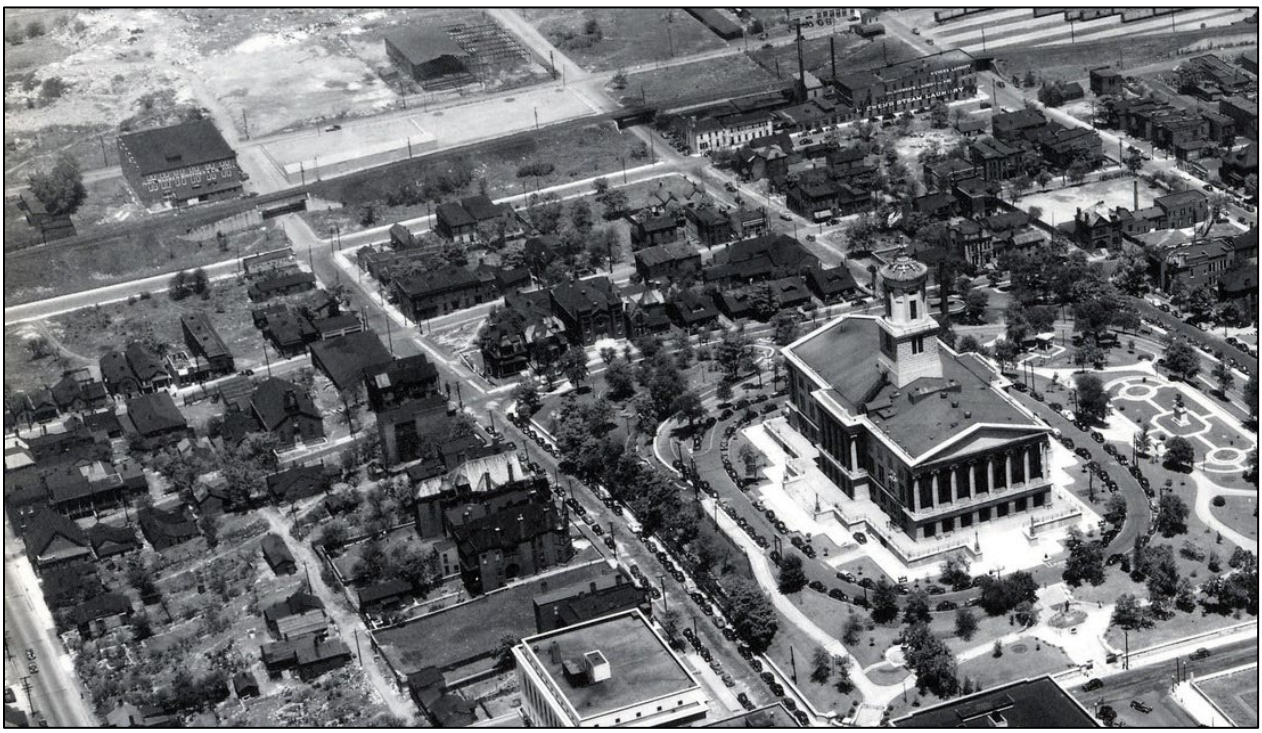

Figure 5. Aerial photograph of Hell's Half Acre surrounding the north side of the Capitol, circa 1950.[79]

[78] Carey, "A City Swept Clean," 2001; Erickson, *Making the Unequal Metropolis*, 2016, 40; "Clarke & Rapuano, 1939–1993," The Cultural Landscape Foundation, 2023, https://www.tclf.org/pioneer/clarke-rapuano, Clarke & Rapuano Landscape Architecture Collection, New-York Historical Society, https://findingaids.library.nyu.edu/nyhs/pr080_clarke_rapuano/.
[79] Metro Archives, Nashville Public Library Digital Collections, Tennessee, unpublished.

The Clarke & Rapuano design called for state-owned green space and parking on the northern side and a four-lane boulevard (later named James Robertson Parkway) around the base of the hill with space for new office, residential, and commercial buildings. Much of the land was reserved for new office buildings and parking areas for state employees.[80] After neglecting the area when it was home to hundreds of African Americans, the city's plans for redevelopment included storm and sanitary sewers, street paving, sidewalks, curbs, streetlights, traffic control signal, "and all city utilities in the entire development area."[81]

Absent from the Capitol Hill Redevelopment Project's plan were provisions for rehousing residents whose homes were to be demolished. Realizing the outcome of the plan, newly elected City Council members Z. Alexander Looby and Robert Lillard—the first African Americans elected to the City Council since 1911—joined by three other council members, voted against the project while 15 members voted in favor at an April 1952 Council meeting. During the five-hour session, Looby proposed two amendments to the resolution—to delay the final vote until May 7 and to require that the NHA give special preference to displaced property owners so they could repurchase their land. City planners responded that state and federal law forbade giving preference to prospective purchasers, but the law also required the NHA to provide for relocation to public housing projects or other housing for the area's 400 residents. As the proposal to delay the vote failed, Looby told the Council, "I want to leave this thought with you: You have just sold the Negroes of Nashville down the river, and they will not forget it."[82]

The redevelopment project ultimately demolished more than 400 homes and displaced more than 1,500 people (Figure 6). Nearly 94 percent of the people displaced were Black. Legal challenges in local courts mounted by St. John AME Church failed. Even as the redevelopment project's use of eminent domain was legally required to be for the public good, a billboard announcing the project in 1958 listed as a benefit of the project "New Building Sites for Private Enterprises."[83] By 1969, the NHA had relocated only 20 percent of the displaced families into public housing and 9 percent into private housing. Others were left to find their own housing, with many relocating to new residential subdivisions in North Nashville.[84]

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[80] Carey, "A City Swept Clean," 2001; Erickson, *Making the Unequal Metropolis*, 2016, 40.
[81] "City Seeks Tracts for Capitol Hill Project," *Tennessean,* March 11, 1956, 7.
[82] "City Paves Way for Project: Capitol Hill Plan Approved," *Nashville Banner,* April 30, 1952, 1.
[83] Capitol Hill Redevelopment Project Sign," City Beautiful Scrapbooks, Vol. 2, p.30, Metro Archives, Nashville Public Library Digital Collections, Nashville, Tennessee. Electronic document, https://digital.library.nashville.org/digital/collection/nr/id/12008/rec/30.
[84] Carey, "A City Swept Clean," 2001; Erickson, *Making an Unequal Metropolis*, 2016, 38–41; Jones et al., "Housing Segregation," 2020; Tommie Morton-Young, *Nashville, Tennessee* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2000), 99.

One of the first downtown Black facilities demolished through urban renewal in Nashville was the Fisk University Social Center (razed July 1950). Many of the area's roughly 150 businesses were demolished, including the Masonic Temple in 1955 and the Bijou Theater in 1957. The following historic Black churches were also demolished through urban renewal: First Baptist, Gay Street Christian, Mt. Olive Methodist Baptist, St. Andrew's Presbyterian, St. Luke CME Church, Spruce Street Baptist, and St. John's AME Church. Most of the churches built new facilities in North Nashville, and many residents moved to new subdivisions in the northwest suburban area of Bordeaux or older Black neighborhoods in East and South Nashville. Although Alfred Starr and H.G. Hill Jr.—owners of the Bijou Theater and a H.G. Hill grocery store, respectively—fought the taking of their property by eminent domain all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, in 1957 the justices ruled that the NHA had the authority to take their property. Demolitions continued through 1957. In 1959, the NHA began selling lots lining James Robertson Parkway for redevelopment (Figure 7).[85]

Figure 6. Photographs of the Capitol Hill urban renewal project along Charlotte Avenue, 1956.[86]

For unknown reasons, urban planners intentionally decided not to demolish the Morris Memorial Building (NRHP 1985), an important African American landmark at the intersection of Charlotte Avenue and 4th Avenue North near the edge of the Capitol Hill redevelopment area. Completed for the National Baptist Convention in 1925, the five-story Classical Revival-style office building housed some of the city's most

[85] *Tennessean*, July 2, 1950, 12; Carey, "A City Swept Clean," 2001.
[86] Scores of dwellings were demolished for state employee parking lots and the James Robertson Parkway. The right image shows the St. John's AME Church (right), demolished in 1957, and First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill (lower left), demolished in 1972; photographs held in the Metro Archives, Nashville Public Library Digital Collections, Nashville, Tennessee, unpublished.

renowned Black businesses, including the studios of the McKissack and McKissack architectural firm that had designed the building. The city constructed the new Municipal Auditorium in 1962 adjacent to the Morris Memorial Building.[87]

Figure 7. Aerial photograph showing the Capitol Hill urban renewal area looking south towards the Capitol (center).[88]

Urban renewal often led to further residential segregation as displaced Black residents relocated to other urban neighborhoods as well as suburban areas. The shifting racial dynamics deepened racial divisions, particularly in white neighborhoods that saw an influx of Blacks. In North Nashville, displaced Black residents constructed new churches, homes, and businesses or purchased older buildings from white owners who relocated to the predominantly white suburbs, a phenomenon commonly known as "white flight." Between 1952 and 1961, several Black congregations relocated from the downtown urban renewal area to North Nashville, including

[87] West, *Nashville Architecture*, 2015, 11–13.
[88] Lot No. 14 is shown in Figure 5. *Tennessean*, August 31, 1958, 3.

the Fifteenth Avenue Baptist Church, Howard United Church of Christ, St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, Spruce Street Baptist Church, and St. John AME Church.

Urban renewal projects also resulted in significant impacts to Black neighborhoods in East Nashville, South Nashville, and near Vanderbilt and Music Row. In May 1962, the Nashville Community Relations Council, appointed by the mayor, hosted a meeting to discuss the impact of urban renewal on Nashville. At the meeting, Dr. Herman Long, director of the Race Relations Institute at Fisk, explained that many Black residents were moving into North Nashville from East Nashville because of the urban renewal projects. "To meet this condition…developers are erecting multi-unit structures in North Nashville in almost every vacant lot," explained Dr. Long. Participants also discussed when subdivisions and public housing would be desegregated. At that time, residents were waiting for the NHA or a private developer to desegregate housing. Dr. Vivian Henderson, a professor of economics at Fisk, concluded that it may require President John F. Kennedy to issue an executive order to ban discrimination in federally supported housing.[89]

Highway Development

In the post-World War II period, development of highways, from local expressways to cross-country interstates, had a significant impact on development and decimation of residential neighborhoods in cities throughout the U.S. Highways were often planned in conjunction with urban renewal projects, which disproportionately affected African American neighborhoods. In Nashville, during this period, city and county planners worked with the Tennessee Highway Department (THD) to design and build federally funded expressways and interstates.

In June 1956, Congress passed the Federal-Aid Highway Act, which called for a nationwide interstate and defense highway system. Championed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the high-speed, limited-access interstate highway system was intended to cut down on traffic fatalities, propel the national economy, and assist with national defense if the country were attacked during the Cold War. The federal highway department proposed funding I-40, a 2,554-mile east-west interstate stretching from Barstow, California, to Wilmington, North Carolina. Once completed, a cross-country automobile trip was cut down from two weeks to five days.[90]

[89] "Urban Renewal Problems Aired," *Tennessean*, May 25, 1962, 19. The Race Relations Institute operated at Fisk University from 1942-1969; the institute's interracial workshops in the 1940s set the stage for the city's nonviolent direct action training workshops in that 1950s that transformed Nashville into an epicenter for young civil rights leaders.
[90] "Brief History of TDOT," TDOT Centennial, https://www.tn.gov/tdot/100years-home.html. The Tennessee Highway Department was renamed the Tennessee Department of Transportation (TDOT) in 1972.

In Tennessee, I-40 follows U.S. 70 for 455 miles, the longest section in any state. Local planning for limited-access highways, also known as parkways or expressways, in Nashville began in the 1940s through the office of William A. Pitts, the director of the Nashville City-County Planning Commission (NCCPC). In 1945, the NCCPC partnered with the THD and hired two Chicago-based engineering and planning firms—H.W. Lochner & Company and De Leuw, Cather & Company—to develop a comprehensive highway and transportation plan to relieve Nashville's congested streets and parking issues. The city had recently replaced its electric streetcars with buses in 1941.[91]

In January 1946, Harry W. Lochner (1906–2000) shared the preliminary 20-year, $24 million plan with the Nashville chamber of commerce. Lochner's plan called for a four-lane depressed downtown loop, realigned and widened arterial roadways, and four-lane depressed expressways, including a west expressway located along U.S. 70S (West End Avenue) through predominantly affluent, white areas, including Belle Meade, Vanderbilt University, and Centennial Park. Three other expressways were proposed to parallel Gallatin Road, Granny White Pike, and connect Murfreesboro Road with Lebanon Road. City planners never implemented the proposed expressways; instead, they focused on downtown parking issues.[92]

In 1955, it became evident that funding would soon be available through the Federal-Aid Highway Act, which would provide 90 percent of interstate construction funds. The NCCPC hired Clarke & Rapuano of New York to develop a formal interstate routing plan that could be submitted to the state and federal highway department for funding.[93]

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[91] Sabre J. Rucker, "The Highway to Segregation" (master's thesis, Vanderbilt University, 2016), 17–18; "Harry W. Lochner To Outline Local Traffic Program," *Nashville Banner*, January 7, 1946, 8; Tom Flake, "$24,000,000 Road Program Needed Here, C. of C. Is Told," *Nashville Banner*, January 16, 1946, 3; Bill Holder, "No Instant Relief," *Tennessean*, February 9, 1947, 14–15, 22–23.

[92] Rucker, "The Highway to Segregation," 2016, 17–18; "Harry W. Lochner To Outline Local Traffic Program," *Nashville Banner*, January 7, 1946, 8; Tom Flake, "$24,000,000 Road Program Needed Here, C. of C. Is Told," *Nashville Banner*, January 16, 1946, 3; Bill Holder, "No Instant Relief," *Tennessean*, February 9, 1947, 14–15, 22–23. Lochner was the chief transportation planner for Chicago until 1944, when he opened his own consulting firm and designed expressways for Atlanta, Louisville, and Nashville.

[93] Hubert James Ford, "Interstate 40 Through North Nashville, Tennessee: A Case Study in Highway Location Decision Making" (Master's thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1970), 28–29; Rucker, "The Highway to Segregation," 2016, 17–18; Benjamin Houston, *The Nashville Way: Racial Etiquette and the Struggle for Social Justice in a Southern City* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 205; "Clarke & Rapuano, 1939–1993," The Cultural Landscape Foundation, 2023, https://www.tclf.org/pioneer/clarke-rapuano; Clarke & Rapuano Landscape Architecture Collection, New-York Historical Society, https://findingaids.library.nyu.edu/nyhs/pr080_clarke_rapuano/.

Local and state highway planners considered the 1946 Lochner expressway plan flawed since it did not satisfy federal highway guidelines regarding interchange configurations and routing around downtown business districts to avoid congestion. As a result, in 1955 Clarke & Rapuano rerouted the proposed west expressway (I-40) along U.S. 70N (Charlotte Pike) and Jefferson Street where it would intersect with a proposed a north-south expressway (I-65) connecting Nashville with Birmingham and Louisville. The revised interstate plans routed the I-40 and I-65 corridors around the downtown business district, forming an urban loop. The 1955 Clarke & Rapuano plan called for I-40 to bend sharply north from U.S. 70N (Charlotte Avenue) to cross 28th Avenue North near Tennessee A&I and then span Jefferson Street near Fisk and Meharry.[94]

According to research by James Hubert Ford, an urban planner at the University of Tennessee, Clarke & Rapuano routed expressways through "soft spots" as part of redevelopment projects to revitalize blighted neighborhoods. Alexander Koltowich (1925–1985), an engineer with the Nashville branch office of Clarke & Rapuano, stated that no scientific cost-benefit analysis was completed for routing I-40 through North Nashville, "since the routing through the black community was the only feasible alternative."[95] Koltowich claimed that land acquisition was more expensive along the Charlotte Avenue corridor due to the number of commercial and railroad properties. By endorsing this plan, city and state planners seemingly agreed with Clarke & Rapuano that Jefferson Street was a suitable "soft spot" for redevelopment as part of the I-40 corridor.[96]

The city and state highway planners submitted Clarke & Rapuano's proposed I-40 routing plan to the federal highway department in 1957 and held a single public hearing on May 15, 1957, as mandated in the 1956 Federal-Aid Highway Act. The public hearing in the city council chambers at the downtown courthouse was advertised with single-page notices posted in six post offices in primarily white neighborhoods. The hearing date on the flyers was incorrectly listed as May 14, 1957, and the hearing was not advertised in local newspapers. Nonetheless, a predominance of Black residents attended, based in part on an article in the *Tennessean* about I-40 published two weeks prior. In the article, the city and county planning director, William

[94] Ford, "Interstate 40," 1970, 31–33, 99; Rucker, "The Highway to Segregation," 2016, 18–20; Houston, *The Nashville Way*, 2012, 205.
[95] Ford, "Interstate 40," 1970, 33.
[96] Ford, "Interstate 40," 1970, 31–33, 99; Rucker, "The Highway to Segregation," 2016, 18–20; Houston, *The Nashville Way*, 2012, 205. The term "soft spot" was used in a Clark & Rapuano quote, as published in Ford, "Interstate 40," 1970:32. A native of New Jersey, Koltowich held a master's degree in civil engineering from Columbia University (1950) and became a vice president of Clarke & Rapauno, where he managed its Nashville branch office. He was involved in designing the Capitol Hill Redevelopment Plan, I-40, I-65, Briley Parkway, Central Loop urban renewal area on Music Row, and University Center urban renewal area at Vanderbilt.

A. Pitts, warned developers "not to build in areas that will be taken up as right-of-ways [sic] for the new federal highway program" and provided a description of the route along the Jefferson Street corridor along with a route map.[97] A hearing transcript reveals that planners did not mention that I-40 would demolish hundreds of buildings in North Nashville, nor were any right-of-way plans on hand to review. Instead, Michael Rapuano, who traveled from New York to attend the hearing, claimed land values increased along interstate corridors, as evidenced in New York by a report prepared by Robert Moses, and that expressways were good for the local economy.[98]

The federal highway department approved the I-40 routing plan in 1958. However, the THD waited seven years to initiate the purchase of right-of-way in North Nashville while construction of I-40 in East and West Nashville progressed first. In the early 1960s, reporters published a handful of articles about the proposed route of I-40 along Jefferson Street; however, the details of the plans were not clear, and records indicate local and state officials held no additional public hearings. At the time, Nashville residents were focused on planning and construction of I-40 in East Nashville and I-65, which were occurring simultaneously. In 1964, developers began offering to buy property in North Nashville based on rumors of the looming construction of I-40 near Tennessee A&I.[99]

After I-40 was completed from Memphis to West Nashville in 1966, federal funding was sought for completing the unfinished six-mile-long segment through North Nashville. In August 1967, elected officials announced that construction of the unfinished segment of I-40 would soon commence. Although the THD had already spent $10 million on right-of-way acquisition and construction contracts were to be let on October 31, professors from Fisk and Tennessee A&I quickly formed the I-40 Steering Committee, chaired by Dr. Flournoy Coles (1915–1982), which soon counted many African American community leaders as members. Dr. Coles was chair of the Economics Department at Fisk. In October 1967, Dr. Edwin Mitchell of Meharry represented the group at a meeting of the Nashville Chamber of Commerce. Characterizing Nashville as a place where "super highways form concrete moats between Negro and white communities," Mitchell

[97] "Builders Warned Highway Coming: Advised to Avoid Areas on U.S. Roads in Planning Stages," *Tennessean*, April 28, 1957, 58.
[98] Ford, "Interstate 40," 1970, 27, 41–43, 135, 137–154; Linda Wynn, "Interstate 40 and the Decimation of Jefferson Street," in Lovett et al, *Profiles*, 2021, 133–136; Houston, *The Nashville Way*, 2012, 205; Rucker, "The Highway to Segregation," 2016, 17–24; Charles Fontenay, "Highway Push Shifts to City," *Tennessean*, August 31, 1961, 1, 10.
[99] Ford, "Interstate 40," 1970, 41–43; Rucker, "The Highway to Segregation," 2016, 17–24.

declared, "you of the chamber, the city, and state administrations endorsed this program. You did not speak for us!"[100]

On behalf of the I-40 Steering Committee, attorney Avon N. Williams Jr. filed a legal suit in U.S. District Court in Middle Tennessee, located in the Estes Kefauver Federal Building (NRHP 2016). The committee noted the opposition of the area's residents on the grounds that "it will segment the area, increase ghettoization and cause 'irreparable damage' to Negro-owned businesses, Negro colleges, universities, churches and residential areas."[101] In addition to the I-40 Steering Committee, others urging delay of construction included Alexander Heard (1917–2009), chancellor of Vanderbilt; John M. Claunch, president of Peabody; D. Dillon Holt (1899–1983), president of Scarritt; and more than 100 university faculty members and representatives from the three colleges as well as Fisk and Tennessee A&I. The I-40 Steering Committee commissioned Yale Rabin (1928–2016), an African American urban planner at the University of Pennsylvania, to create an alternative I-40 route that hugged the Cumberland River; however, this route was rejected since it was in the floodplain and went through a municipal park (Figure 8).[102]

On November 2, 1967, in the U.S. District Court of Middle Tennessee, Judge Frank Gray (1908–1978) stated that the planned construction of I-40 would adversely impact the African American community in North Nashville. Nevertheless, Gray ruled against the I-40 Steering Committee's request to stop the project, finding that "most of the evidence presented by the plaintiffs goes to the wisdom and not the legality of the highway department's decision."[103]

Following Judge Gray's decision, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense and Education Fund joined the fight as Williams filed an appeal with the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals. In a telegram, NAACP fund attorney Jack Greenburg asked Alan Boyd, secretary of the U.S. Department of Transportation, to "bar letting of contracts pending full disposition of the issues." Greenberg noted that "80 percent of all Negro-owned businesses in Davidson County are located on or adjacent to the proposed route" and that these businesses would either be "taken by the route [or] cut off from the residential area which they serve and effectively destroyed.[104]

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[100] Wynn, "Interstate 40," 2021; Houston, *The Nashville Way*, 2012, 205; Rucker, "The Highway to Segregation," 2016, 23–26; Ford, "Interstate 40," 1970, 45–47. From 1951–1963, Dr. Cole served as an economist with the U.S. Department of State. In 1969, he became the first tenured Black faculty member at Vanderbilt.
[101] Tom Ingram, "NAACP Fund Joins Fight to Stall I-40," *Tennessean,* November 5, 1967, 19.
[102] Ford, "Interstate 40," 1970, 36–37.
[103] Linda Wynn, "Interstate 40 and the Decimation of Jefferson Street," Lovett et al, *Profiles*, 2021, 135–138.
[104] Ingram, "Stall I-40," November 5, 1967, 19.

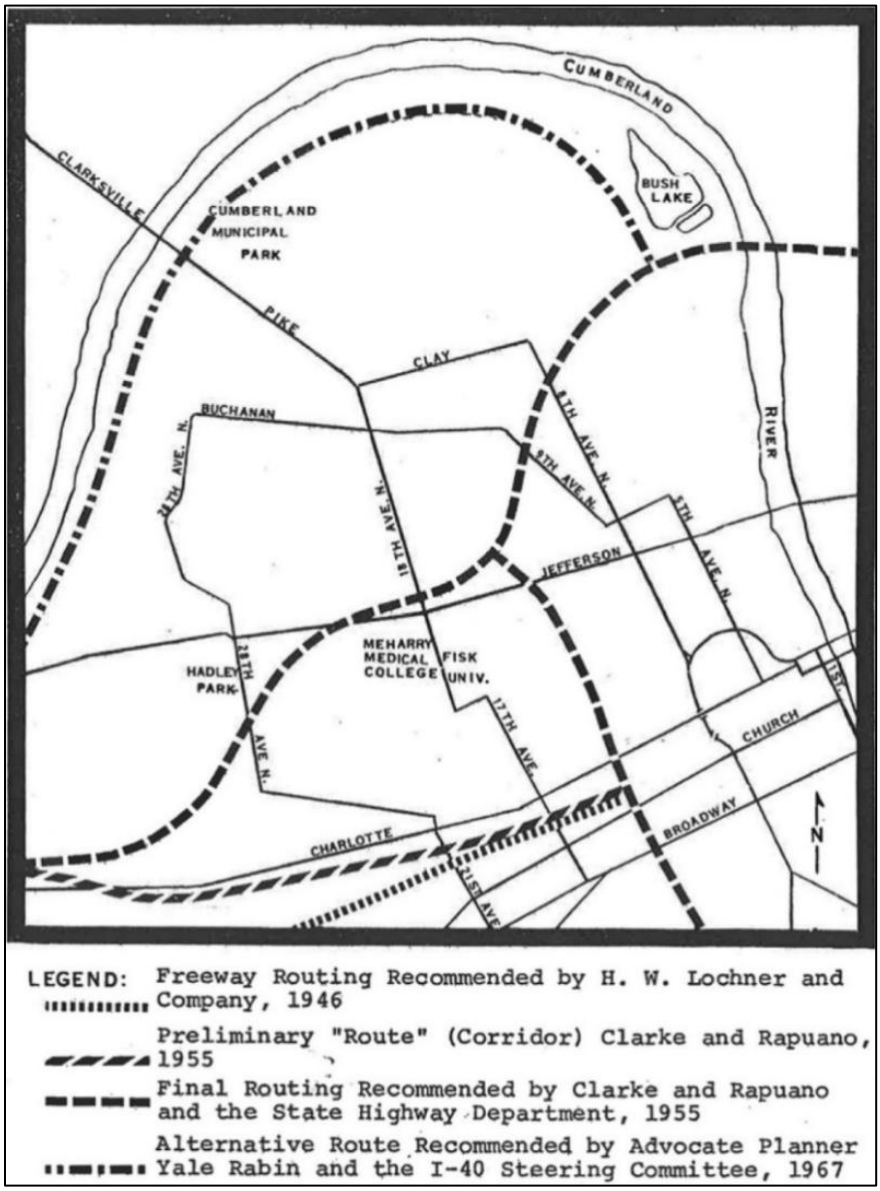

Figure 8. Illustration showing the various routes of the limited-access expressway that became I-40 in North Nashville, 1970.[105]

[105] Ford, "Interstate 40," 1970, 30.

Mrs. Curlie E. McGruder, president of the Nashville chapter of the NAACP, mobilized I-40 protest marches along Jefferson Street. Kenneth Peters, a student at Fisk, participated in four or five marches opposing I-40 "because it was displacing people and places along the main thoroughfare through the business district of historic Black Nashville." Peters recalled that protestors continued to march even after contracts had been executed and construction fences were installed.[106]

The Sixth Circuit Court upheld the lower court's decision, and the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review the case, sealing the area's fate. In February 1968, Federal Highway Administrator Lowell Birdwell (1924–1986) approved plans with the requirement of modifications, including: three additional underpasses to allow access to businesses; a pedestrian overpass at 27th Avenue North; to reroute traffic away from Fisk and Meharry; and to allow some businesses to remain. Concessions included future development of air rights for capping the area above the depressed interstate. Completion of the interstate was "a bitter thing which tore the community apart," noted Rev. Smith.[107] In addition to bifurcating the Jefferson Street corridor, construction of I-40 demolished 100 square city blocks, including 128 businesses, 626 dwellings, 27 apartment houses, and 6 churches, including the St. Luke CME Church, which had hosted Nashville Christian Leadership Council (NCLC) mass meetings during the local civil rights movement. Virtually all the affected properties were owned and/or occupied by Black people (Figure 9). The five-mile section of I-40 through North Nashville opened on March 15, 1971.[108]

[106] Kenneth Peters, telephone interview with Natalie Bell, August 3, 2023, on file at the Metro Historical Commission; interview conducted as part of the Nashville Civil Rights Movement Documentation Project.
[107] "I-40 Approval Stipulates 5 Modifications," *Tennessean,* February 27, 1968, 1.
[108] Wynn, "Interstate 40," 2021, 136; Ford, "Interstate 40," 1970, 39–69; "Interstate Sections To Open Monday," *Tennessean*, March 12, 1971, 1, 12.

Figure 9. Aerial photograph of the I-40 interchange under construction at Jefferson Street, c. 1969.[109]

Suburban Growth Patterns

After World War II, the housing backlog that originated in the Great Depression and accelerated during the war years left some 3.6 million families without homes in the U.S. In 1946, more than 1 million new homes were built. In the period from 1946–1975, over 40 million new homes were constructed. Simultaneously, Nashville and its suburbs entered a period of considerable and rapid growth, becoming one of the largest cities

[109] Metro Archives, Nashville Public Library Digital Collections, Nashville, Tennessee, unpublished.

in the Southeast. In the 1940s, the population of Nashville grew from 167,402 to 174,307 while suburban growth in the county expanded the population by 25 percent from over 257,000 to nearly 322,000. Although Nashville annexed several areas in the late 1950s, between 1950 and 1960, the city's population decreased to 170,874 as residents relocated from urban areas to suburban communities in Davidson County such as Inglewood, Madison, Donelson, Berry Hill, Forest Hills, Oak Hill, Old Hickory, Green Hills, and Belle Meade. From 1950 to 1960, the population of Davidson County grew by 24 percent to nearly 400,000, making it the seventh most populous county in the Southeast. The population growth slowed to 12 percent in the 1960s as suburban communities in surrounding counties—such as Brentwood, Franklin, Hendersonville, and Smyrna—saw rapid growth.[110]

In the post-World War II period, Nashville's economy diversified with growth driven by the manufacturing, banking, insurance, printing, and music industries. Nashville was also an educational hub with nearly a dozen colleges and universities. In the 1950s and 1960s, as suburban areas expanded, new shopping centers were constructed in Madison, Green Hills, and Berry Hill. The city's largest employers in the 1950s included the Life & Casualty (L&C) Insurance Company, which built the 31-story L&C Tower in 1957, the tallest in the Southeast at the time. Other significant employers included Alladin Industries, May Hosiery Mill, Genesco, and Dupont, which operated a rayon plant in Old Hickory.

Beginning in the late 1940s, real estate developers constructed hundreds of residential subdivisions for military veterans and homeowners utilizing FHA and VA loans throughout Nashville's burgeoning suburbs. Most were for segregated white subdivisions, such as Parthenon Courts (1947), Belmont Courts (1947), and Miro Meadows (1949).

In September 1952, the *Tennessean* reported that 72 new subdivisions were planned or under construction. "On the hills of a one-time sheep farm west of Nashville, bulldozers leveled trees while ditching machines grubbed out roots to make way for asphalt streets and underground sewers," reported Gene Graham. "The whirling machinery foretold a story of residential streets curling through an area that planning experts say is destined to become a part of perhaps the largest home development area in the county's history." The reporter described several former farms that were part of a 2,350-acre subdivision at West Meade and Hillwood in

[110] Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 1; U.S. Census, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970.

West Nashville. Elsewhere, "new 'subs' dotted the map and blossomed in vales previously devoted solely to agricultural purposes" throughout South Nashville as well as Madison and Donelson (Figure 10).[111]

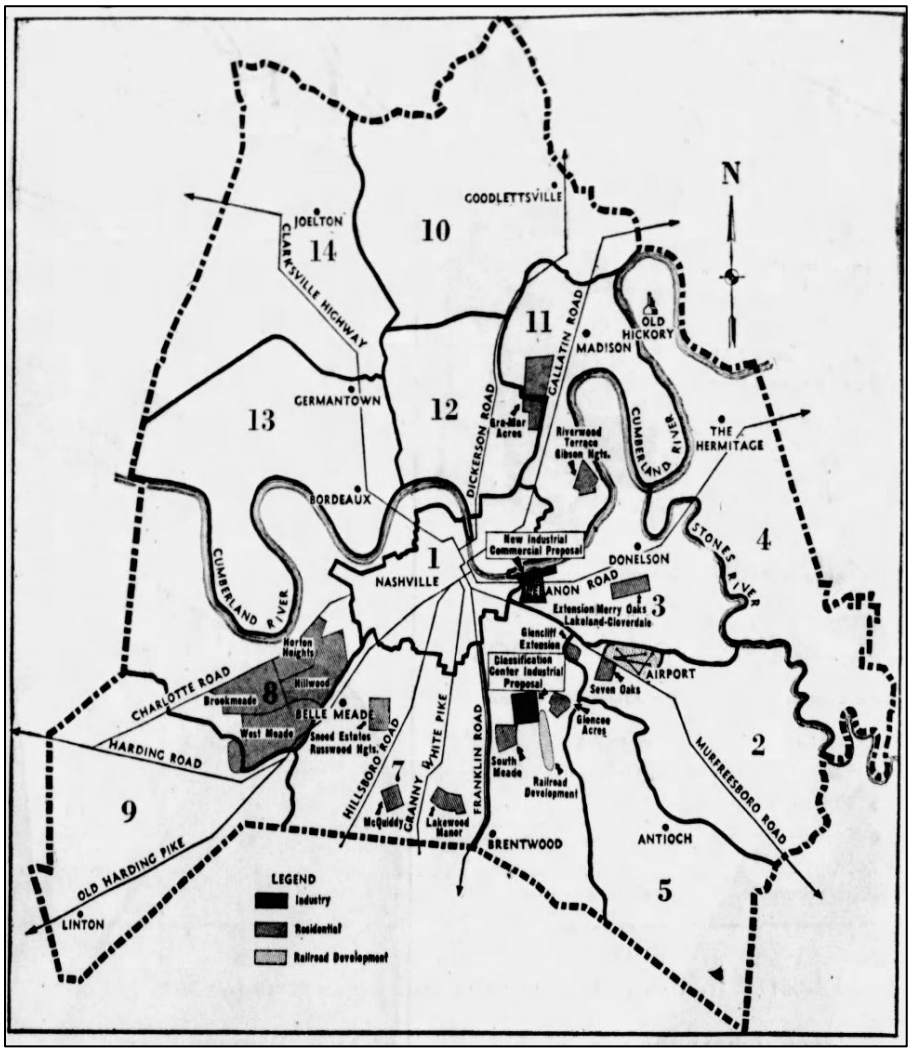

Figure 10. Map showing new subdivisions in 1952.[112]

[111] Gene Graham, "Industrial, Residential Building Soars in Nashville Area," *Tennessean*, September 14, 1952, 10.
[112] Graham, "Residential Building," September 14, 1952, 10.

The Davidson County Planning Commission approved another 72 subdivisions in the first half of 1953, a new record. These subdivisions are concentrated in Crieve Hall, Donelson, Hermitage, and Madison.[113] The commission continued to approve new subdivisions at a record pace in 1954, when 141 were approved. Between January and April in 1955, the commission approved 45 new subdivisions containing over 1,400 housing units.[114] The building boom continued through the late 1950s although other parts of the country saw decreased building due to increased interest rates. In 1959, the planning commission approved the construction of 2,500 new homes and was planning to announce two new developments, each containing 2,500 new homes. In June 1959, planning director William A. Pitts "expressed doubt that any tightening of the supply of home mortgage money can make its weight before Davidson County builders complete 'the largest number of homes ever built here in one year.'" Local developers, however, were not as optimistic. "While there will be an all-time record supply of good lots and building materials this fall, the home building boom is very likely to taper sharply," said Miller Kimbrough. "Tight money will take care of that."[115]

Developers gave the subdivisions pastoral names reflective of the former rural and agricultural nature of the land that was developed. Subdivision names often include the name of a property owner, developer, or family member. The county was peppered with new residential communities. Berry Hill and Woodbine contained Sterling Heights (1949), Glenrose (1950), Raymond Heights (1950), and Whispering Hills (1955). Inglewood had Dalewood (1949), Gra-Mar Acres (1952), and Maplewood Heights (1958).

Donelson boasted of Eva-Mor Heights (1950), Donelson Meadows (1950), Merry Oaks (1950), Maplecrest (1950), Cloverdale (1952), Walnut Grove (1953), Donelson Hills (1955), Sunny Acres (1957), and Stanford Estates (1959). Other subdivisions in Donelson included Hickory Bend (1962), a 1,600-lot subdivision near the Percy Priest Reservoir, built by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and I-40, then being planned

Madison was developed with Stratton Heights (1950), Marlin Meadows (1952), Pleasant Acres (1953), Haven Acres (1955), Kemper Heights (1956), and Alta Loma Acres (1961). The area in North Nashville along Dickerson Road (US 41) between Madison and Bordeaux was developed with Bellshire Estates (1955) and Parkwood Estates (1961), a huge development that anticipated 10,000 residents.

[113] Bob Battle, "Seven New Subdivisions, Recreation Area Face Consideration Tuesday," *Nashville Banner*, July 9, 1953, 46.
[114] Etha Green, "County's Building to Top $29 Million," *Nashville Banner*, December 2, 1954, 1, 6; "Board Approves 14 Subdivisions," *Nashville Banner*, April 6, 1955, 10.
[115] Nat Caldwell, "New Homesites Record Forecast," *Tennessean*, June 28, 1959, 1, 12.

West Nashville was peppered with subdivisions such as Harpeth Acres (1955), West Meade (1955), Hillwood, and Hillwood Heights. South Nashville had Oak Hill (1950), Battlewood (1950), Brookhaven Estates (1951), and Thompson Place (1955).

In 1959, Miller G. Kimbrough of the Kimbrough-Phillips Company purchased a 442-acre tract of farmland in Hermitage where he developed Hermitage Hills, a subdivision with 1,100 lots and 12 miles of new streets. At the time, it was the largest subdivision ever constructed in Davidson County and the first in which the sewer and water infrastructure was constructed by the county's new public works department and not by the private developer. The Hermitage Hills development featured its own water reservoir and pumping system.[116]

Consolidated Government

In the post-war period, explosive suburban growth resulted in a population shift from the city to the county, which impacted segregated neighborhoods and schools as well as race relations. "The 1951 local elections in Nashville, Tennessee signaled a turning point in race relations in a city that prided itself on being a progressive southern city," declared Dr. Carole Bucy, the Davidson County Historian. "A new generation of leadership had emerged within the African-American community of the city during World War II and now that generation was about to step forward." Throughout the 1950s, white residents of Nashville moved to the suburbs outside the city limits. While the county judge, Beverly Briley (1914–1980), struggled to provide services to the newly built suburbs, Nashville mayor Ben West (1911–1974) and the city council began exploring ways to increase tax revenue. The two municipal governments formed a joint commission of 15 citizens to study the needs of local government and make proposals for improvements, including consolidation. In 1952, the city-county commission published a report called "A Future for Nashville" with recommendations that led to the creation of a charter for a unified government serving both Nashville and Davidson County. As the city experienced a post-war boom in population and suburban growth, the consolidation was seen as an efficient method of avoiding duplicated services like schools, libraries, sewer and water systems, fire protection, and garbage collection.[117]

In 1957, Mayor West appointed five residents, including councilman Z. Alexander Looby, to a charter commission. Judge Briley appointed Dr. George S. Meadors, a well-known Black community leader and businessman to the commission. These appointees gave the Black community a 20 percent representation on

[116] Jim Scott, "Subdivision with Sewers, Water Planned in County," *Nashville Banner*, February 4, 1959, 6.
[117] Carole Bucy, "Metro Consolidation and Nashville's Afro-American Community," in Lovett et al., *Profiles*, 2021, 189–191.

the 10-member commission. The initial effort in June 1958 to consolidate the city and county governments with a 21-member council failed due to resistance in the county. As a result, Mayor West and the city council began annexing suburban communities and implemented a wheel tax for county residents who drove into the city to work and shop. In two years, the city annexed 82,000 residents. In 1958, the town of Goodlettsville was incorporated to avoid annexation. In 1960, local white supremacists circulated handbills around Nashville entitled "Annexation Means Integration—Your White Schools Will Be Mixed." The handbills were signed by John Kasper (1929–1998), a leader of the Ku Klux Klan and anti-desegregation agitator.[118]

City and county residents pushed for a second referendum during the racially charged efforts to integrate schools and public accommodations. The second charter included a 35-member council with 5 additional at-large members. The larger council was intended to provide more representation for the communities outside the city limits. Looby fought to ensure that six of the 35 council districts would be drawn to preserve majority Black representation. On June 28, 1962, citizens of Nashville and Davidson County voted to consolidate the city and county government, forming the Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County, the first fully unified government in the U.S. The new unified "Metro" government was led by a mayor and 40-member metropolitan council. A handful of incorporated communities such as Belle Meade, Forest Hills, and Goodlettsville retained their status as satellite cities within Metro.[119]

The African American community, which made up around one-third of Nashville's population, was divided over the long-term benefits of consolidation since they had gained political power in city government in recent years. However, community leaders such as Looby, Fisk professor Vivan Henderson, and Civil Rights attorney Avon Williams supported the consolidation since it would create an expanded 40-member council, which they felt would increase opportunities for electing African Americans. Black city councilman Robert E. Lillard staunchly opposed the idea. In the end, about 45 percent of Black voters voted in support of consolidation, enough to push the measure through. In November, voters elected Beverly Briley, the former judge of Davidson County, as mayor and five Black members of Metro Council, including Mansfield Douglas, John Driver, Harold Love Sr., Robert E. Lillard, and Z. Alexander Looby. The new form of consolidated city-county government was implemented on April 1, 1963.[120]

[118] Bucy, "Metro Consolidation," 2021, 189–191; Cassandra Stephenson, "Nashville historians: Metro is a 'bold experiment' rooted in race-related compromise," *Tennessean,* March 1, 2023; FBI files for John Kasper.
[119] Bucy, "Metro Consolidation," 2021, 189–191.
[120] Bucy, "Metro Consolidation," 2021, 189–191; Stephenson, "Nashville historians," March 1, 2023.

With the consolidation of the city and county governments, the population of Metro Nashville expanded in 1970 to 448,000, making it the 4th largest city in the Southeast—behind only Memphis, Atlanta, and Jacksonville—and the 30th largest in the U.S.

Metro Nashville formed a new Metropolitan Planning Commission (MPC), with William A. Pitts as the director. Pitts resigned in August 1963 due to health issues. By October 1964, Metro had promoted Farris Anthony Deep (1923–2001) as the director of the MPC. A native of Birmingham who had earned a degree in engineering from the University of Alabama, Deep came to work with the Nashville City-County Planning Commission in 1959. Under Deep's leadership the MPC required that all new subdivisions throughout the county have sanitary sewers, which permitted Metro to better plan schools, parks, and roads.[121]

Integrated Housing

In the immediate post-war years, segregated subdivisions were ingrained in the policies of the FHA. Although segregation policies such as redlining and racial covenants were eliminated over time, many southern developers continued to refuse home sales to African Americans, resulting in protests, demonstrations, and sit-ins. On November 20, 1962, President John F. Kennedy issued the Equal Opportunity in Housing executive order, which prohibited using federal funds to support racial discrimination in housing, owned or funded by the federal government. This caused the FHA to cease financing subdivision developments whose builders openly refused to sell to Black buyers. The Civil Rights Act of 1964—the most comprehensive civil rights legislation since the Civil Rights Acts of 1875—mandated equality in access to public accommodations, provided for desegregation of schools and other public facilities, and made employment discrimination illegal. This was followed in 1965 with the Voting Rights Act which outlawed discriminatory voting practices adopted in southern states after the Civil War. [122]

By the spring of 1965, a handful of newspaper real estate listings in Nashville began to note that neighborhoods or subdivisions had been integrated. The listings often noted the proximity of homes to Black universities such as Fisk and Meharry. These listings increased in volume in 1967 when real estate listings noted integrated areas in neighborhoods throughout the city and surrounding suburbs.

[121] Charles L. Fontenay. "Sewers Help City Expand," *Tennessean*, October 5, 1964, 5.
[122] Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012: 61.

The Fair Housing Act of 1968 played a crucial role in the development of residential subdivisions in Nashville. On the day after the funeral of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the U.S. House of Representatives passed the Fair Housing Act in a 225-172 vote. The U.S. Senate had already passed the legislation in a 71-20 vote. President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the act into law on April 11, 1968. The Fair Housing Act of 1968 was a landmark in the civil rights struggle for racial equality. The main provision of the law outlawed public and private discrimination in the sale and rental of property based on race, color, religion, and national origin. The legislation also banned discrimination in mortgage and home improvement loans and prohibited real estate practices such as publishing advertisements that misrepresented the status of property for discriminatory purposes. The policy meant federal law prohibited the key forms of private racial discrimination. Simultaneously, the separate Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 expanded federal subsidies for low- and moderate-income housing constructed by private developers.[123]

A few weeks after the Fair Housing Act of 1968 went into effect, the U.S. Supreme Court issued an even broader ban on racial discrimination in housing in the *Jones v. Mayer* case. In 1965, the plaintiffs, Joseph and Barbara Jones, sued the Alfred H. Mayer Company which refused to sell "to Negroes" in Paddock Woods, an upscale subdivision in suburban St. Louis. The justices decided in a 7-2 vote that the 1866 Civil Rights Act barred "all racial discrimination, private as well as public, in the sale or rental of property." The decision also superseded the exemptions for owner-occupied dwellings contained in the Fair Housing Act of 1968. The *Jones v. Mayer* case concluded that "when racial discrimination herds men into ghettos and makes their ability to buy property turn on the color of their skin, then it too is a relic of slavery."[124]

Although the 1968 Fair Housing Act outlawed segregated housing, in southern cities like Nashville, the law was sometimes difficult to enforce when private property was involved. In August 1969, the *Tennessean* reported that Rev. John G. Corry, the Black superintendent of the Nashville-Franklin District of the United Methodist Church and former pastor of Clark Memorial United Methodist Church near Fisk, found it impossible to purchase a house for use as a parsonage in white neighborhoods of South Nashville. When white property owners discovered Rev. Corry was Black, they would change the listing to pending or no longer on the market. Some realtors told Rev. Corry candidly that "Nashville's housing market is not open and that they would not sell a Negro a house in a white community." Realtors working in subdivisions still under construction were "especially fearful that if a Negro purchased a home there, it would be difficult to sell the rest of the houses." When Rev. Corry was pastor at Clark, he had leased a house at 1708 Windover Drive in

[123] Lassiter and Salvatore, "Racial Discrimination in Housing," 2021, 66–67.
[124] Lassiter and Salvatore, "Discrimination," 2021, 67.

Gardner's Gold Coast, an all-Black subdivision in Bordeaux. Rev. Corry was "by no means a militant black seeking deliberately to integrate a white neighborhood. Nor is that he wants especially to live next door to whites," explained one reporter. "Rather, the problem is caused by the requirements of his job."[125]

The issue of segregated neighborhoods continued into the early 1970s. In October 1972, a trio of lawsuits came before the U.S. District Court of Middle Tennessee that alleged discrimination against Black people who tried to buy homes in the "lily-white suburbs."[126] The three cases were filed as violations of the 1968 Fair Housing Act. One of the plaintiffs was Mary Alice Brown, owner of the M.A. Brown Realty Company, who testified that she ran into problems when she tried to help Black families find homes in white neighborhoods.[127] "After they find out you're black, they make appointments and don't show up, or the person to show the house is not available, or they take the signs down and move other people in," she said.[128]

According to newspaper reporter Pat Welch, in cross examination, Wesley L. Kinser III—a white real estate broker—testified that "property values go down when a black family buys—but he couldn't cite any statistics or any studies to prove his point."[129] Kinser simply claimed "he just knew that, the same way he knows that the grass is green."[130] Kinzer claimed that "not a single black person had bought" in the Brenthaven, Royal Oaks, and Oak Hill subdivisions he worked in. [131] Brown was represented by Avon N. Williams, a prominent local Black attorney who specialized in civil rights cases. Williams asked Kinser, "You were hoping that she would just go away, weren't you?" Kinser replied yes "with a smile."[132] Kinser also agreed that if Brown had been white and offered $1,000 in earnest money, he would have signed a contract.[133]

The U.S. Court of Appeals formally banned racial covenants in its June 1972 *Mayers v. Ridley* decision, which determined that racial covenants were null and void since they violated the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. Moreover, the court determined that racial covenants violated the 1968 Fair Housing Act. The court concluded that the "evils emanating from governmental acceptance of housing discrimination permeate

[125] Frank Ritter, "White Suburbs Full To Black Man," *Tennessean*, August 17, 1969, 21, 23.
[126] Pat Welch, "Federal Beat," *Tennessean*, October 22, 1972, 30.
[127] Welch, "Federal Beat," October 22, 1972, 30; Pat Welch, "Broker Tells Court 'Didn't Want Black Buyer,'" *Tennessean*, October 14, 1972, 20.
[128] Welch, "Broker Tells Court 'Didn't Want Black Buyer,'" October 14, 1972, 20.
[129] Welch, "Broker Tells Court 'Didn't Want Black Buyer,'" October 14, 1972, 20.
[130] Welch, "Federal Beat," October 22, 1972, 30.
[131] Welch, "Federal Beat," October 22, 1972, 30.
[132] Pat Welch, "Home Not Shown; Broker 'At Sport'," *Tennessean*, October 13, 1972, 45.
[133] Pat Welch, "Price Brings Housing Case To Court Again," *Tennessean*, October 12, 1972, 30.

our entire society. Generations of governmental participation in racial zoning have yielded a bitter harvest of racially segregated schools, unequal employment opportunity, deplorable overcrowding in our center cities, and virtually intractable racial polarization."[134]

As noted in a national study of post-World War II suburban residential subdivisions:

> As soldiers returned home from World War II, started families, and settled into civilian life, a burgeoning demand for housing could finally be addressed and a residential building boom ensued. A significant rise in auto ownership to three out of every four families in the 1950s that occurred in conjunction with the rise of freeway development facilitated suburban growth away from city centers. Suburban expansion and home ownership continued in the 1960s and early 1970s, with 66 percent of the population owning their own homes in 1970, compared with 55 percent in 1950. The suburban environment that developed in the postwar period from 1946 to 1975 represents the fulfillment of the American dream of home ownership. A distinctive landscape emerged comprised of large-scale, self-contained subdivisions with single-family homes often aligned along curvilinear streets.[135]

Although segregated by race, the same principles applied to both white and African American residential subdivisions constructed in Nashville in the post-war period.

Builders and Designers

The design of residential subdivisions involved several parties, including builders and developers who established the site and the agencies that influenced legislation. Builders and developers were responsible for most new residences in subdivisions, although some homeowners took it upon themselves to construct a new house. The role of developers and builders changed in the post-war period due to the substantial demand for housing and large-scale developments. In the 1930s, the roles were clearly defined. Developers were responsible for the development of the land and infrastructure. They typically purchased large areas of land, platted lots, constructed streets, and installed sewer systems although some subdivisions were served by septic tanks. Then the developers sold the lots to builders who constructed homes for sale, or individuals who

[134] Benny L. Kass, "Erasing A Racist Covenant," *Washington Post*, October 9, 1987.
[135] Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012:3.

contracted with a builder to construct their own home. This pattern changed in the post-war period when government financing programs made residential development more lucrative, and developers realized they could increase profits by constructing the homes themselves.[136]

In the 1930s, typical builders constructed no more than four single-family homes annually and only a few builders had the capacity to build as many as 10 houses annually. Many families could not afford the required down payments and mortgage costs associated with a new home. As a result, developers undertook very little speculative home construction during this period. However, after the FHA was created in 1934, securing home loans was easier and combined with an increased demand. Consequently, there was a dramatic increase in the number of home builders. By the 1950s, a small number of large-scale builders constructed two-thirds of the houses built. These builders became known as merchant builders, who implemented mass production techniques, maintained large material inventories, prefabricated their own components offsite, and utilized precut lumber. To reduce construction costs, merchant builders limited the number of models and exterior variations, simplified the design, and eliminated extra features. Additionally, they aligned interior load-bearing walls, standardized window and door sizes, and grouped plumbing together. In contrast to large-scale merchant builders, many homes were built by small-scale builders and developers. They developed small subdivisions with up to several dozen homes.[137]

Developers and builders, both large and small, built homes for unknown but speculated clients. Known as "spec homes," these dwellings were often based on popular prototypes in the area. Developers and builders often built a prototypical model home for new subdivisions for speculative buyers to tour. Furnished, the model home became the developers' store front with well-executed interior design, novel appliances, fashionable furniture, and staged decorations. Furnished model homes were essential to marketing new subdivisions. The model home sometimes served as the temporary office for developers of the subdivision while under construction and would be sold last. By the late 1950s, the National Association of Home Builders in coordination with local home builders sponsored a "National Home Week," an annual media event geared around public participation in touring model homes. The event evolved into the popular "Parade of Homes," where the public paid an entrance fee to tour fully furnished model homes showcasing the latest fashions, appliances, paint colors, and upgrades.[138]

[136] Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 66.
[137] Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 67.
[138] Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 67, 69–70.

Local and regional real estate companies were actively involved in the post-war housing boom. They worked directly with individuals interested in buying a house and builders who were constructing houses speculatively. Some real estate companies served as brokers in the early stages of development and aided in the sales of undeveloped land to investors, developers, or builders. Upon completion of construction, real estate companies often worked with builders to sell finished homes at a flat rate or commission.[139]

In the post-war period, newspapers and popular magazines published a plethora of advertisements for new subdivisions, model homes, kitchen appliances and cabinetry, electronic conveniences, and mail-order house plans. The national popular press proved essential to the country's movement to post-war suburbia. Advertising photographs perpetuated the popular theme of domesticity and reinforced gender roles.[140]

Most of Nashville's mid-century African American residential subdivisions were platted and designed by local developers, who constructed standardized houses from mail-order plan books. Exceptions included College Hill, which was planned by McKissack & McKissack, a prominent Black architectural firm in Nashville with the first licensed Black architects in Tennessee. Local engineering firms assisted in the design of College Hill and Cumberland Gardens.

Moses McKissack III (1879–1952) founded the McKissack & McKissack firm in 1905. Trained as a builder, in 1922 became first licensed Black architect in Tennessee. Moses McKissack III was later joined by his brother Calvin McKissack (1890–1968), the second licensed Black architect in Tennessee. Securing many large contracts for Black businesses and educational institutions throughout Tennessee by the 1920s, the firm became known and respected for their designs nationwide. The firm designed several prominent African American landmarks in Nashville such as the Capers CME Church (NRHP 1985), Morris Memorial Building (NRHP 1985), Hubbard House (NRHP 1973), and Pearl High School (NRHP 2002). The firm also designed the College Hill development.[141]

[139] Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 69.
[140] Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 70.
[141] Cheryl McKissack Daniel, *The Black Family Who Built America: The McKissacks, Two Centuries of Daring Pioneers*, (New York: Black Privilege Publishing/Atria Books, 2025), 38–49.

Real Estate Developers

In the post-war period, a variety of real estate developers, representing the construction and financial industries, invested in the construction of residential subdivisions in Nashville. The development of African American residential subdivisions was supported by both Black and white real estate developers. Sometimes subdivisions were developed by an integrated team of developers. The following is a description of some of the people and companies that played a significant role in the development of Nashville's African American residential subdivisions in the post-war period.

W. L. Bainbridge Company

The W.L. Bainbridge Company is a multi-generational real estate and development firm in Nashville. The company's roots date from shortly after the Civil War when William Lafayette Bainbridge (1838–1905), a white Confederate veteran and merchant, established a construction company, which grew into a real estate business in the late nineteenth century. William Lafayette Bainbridge Sr. (1886–1957) took over the family business following his father's death in 1905. He acted as president of the company and was eventually joined in a partnership with his son, William L. Bainbridge Jr. (1910–1990). William L. Bainbridge III (1936–2019) joined his father in the business in the 1950s. The W. L. Bainbridge Company became one of Nashville's leading builders and developers of affordable housing during that period. Some of their subdivisions for Black residents include Normal Heights (1955), Fisk Park (1955), and Cumberland Gardens (1959).[142]

N. H. Barker Company

The N. H. Barker Company was owned and operated by Neil Herman Barker Sr. (1913–1968), a white real estate developer with an office located at 1205 Eighth Avenue South. Homes built by Barker typically featured all-electric appliances and state-of-the-art heating and air conditioning systems. Barker often partnered with Herschel L. Greer, a local banker, to develop residential apartments, duplexes, and subdivisions throughout Nashville. Some of the developments constructed by Barker and Greer included Parthenon Courts and Belmont Courts (1947), Miro Meadows (1949), Raymond Heights and West Meade (1950), Woodlawn

[142] "W.L. Bainbridge Dead," *Tennessean*, November 2, 1905, 2; John T. Rice, "William Lafayette Bainbridge Jr. (Memorial ID 195858472)," *Find a Grave* (online database), January 6, 2019, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/195858472/william_lafayette_bainbridge; "W.L. Bainbridge Dies; Rites Today," *Tennessean*, October 21, 1957, 18. William L. Bainbridge Sr., born in 1886, was known as "Sr." although his father, born in 1838, had the same name.

Homes (1952), and Walnut Grove (1953) in Donelson as well as Happy Hollow (1952) for Fort Campbell military personnel in Clarksville. In January 1954, Barker and Greer purchased a 127-acre farm and lake in Bordeaux for developing the Haynes Heights subdivision for African Americans. Barker also served as contractor for the Enchanted Hills subdivision in Bordeaux.

Kossie Gardner Sr.

Kossie "K." Gardner Sr. (1897–1990) was a prominent African American businessman and community leader. Gardner operated the K. Gardner Funeral Home on Jefferson Street. In 1953, Gardner initiated his venture into real estate development and platted Gardner's Gold Coast subdivision—the city's first subdivision exclusively for African Americans—on Ashland City Highway (US 41) in Bordeaux. Containing 24 dwellings, the Gold Coast subdivision boasted low stacked-stone walls, driveway curbing, and culverts. From 1954–1960, Gardner developed several Black subdivisions in Bordeaux, including Clintondale, platted in 1954 near Hydes Ferry Road. In 1955, he assisted Barker and Greer in developing Haynes Heights. From 1958–1960, Gardner also developed the Gold Coast Addition and the adjacent Gardner Meadows. Gardner's subdivisions boasted traditional Ranch houses, Split-Level houses, and Contemporary-style houses. He simultaneously developed the Hills of Calvary Cemetery. Gardner utilized much of the design influences he utilized at Gold Coast at Haynes Heights.[143]

Herschel L. Greer

Herschel Lynn Greer (1906–1976) was a prominent white businessman, mortgage banker, and part-owner of the city's professional baseball team. Greer was president of the Guaranty Mortgage Company, which provided financing for residential subdivisions throughout Nashville and the surrounding area, including

[143] Natalie Neysa Alund, "'Parks Bring All People Together': Park Ceremony held for Kossie Gardner Sr. to honor Nashville entrepreneur," *Tennessean*, January 9, 2020; Find a Grave, Memorial page for Kossie "K." Gardner Sr. (1897–1990), Find a Grave (Memorial ID 198842831), Find a Grave (online database), May 3, 2019, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/198842831/kossie-gardner; Caroline Eller, "Kossie Gardner Sr. (1897–1990)" (2022), *Profiles/Papers for the Nashville Conference on African American History and Culture*, 63, https://digitalscholarship.tnstate.edu/conference-on-african-american-history-and-culture/63; Etha Green, "Subdivision Requests Hit New Record," *Nashville Banner*, September 30, 1954:12; Etha Green, "Planning Commission, At Peak Activity, Starts 16th Year of Community Service," *Nashville Banner*, October 7, 1954:13; Etha Green, "County's Building to Top $29 Million," *Nashville Banner*, December 2, 1954, 1, 6.

Rolling Meadows (1949) in East Nashville and Marlin Meadows (1952) in Madison. Greer co-owned the Haynes Heights subdivision in Bordeaux with Neil H. Barker.[144]

Murphree Realty Company

A native of Hendersonville, Tennessee, John Williamson Murphree Sr. (1912–1975) attended Vanderbilt University and worked with the George I. Waddey Realty company in the 1930s. In 1939, he established Murphree Realty Company, which also offered home loans. He served in the U.S. Navy during World War II. After the war, Murphree's real estate firm became very successful and by 1950, he had moved to Belle Meade, Nashville's most affluent suburb. He retired from real estate development in 1966 but continued real estate and mortgage investments until 1973. In 1963, the Murphree Realty Company developed Bordeaux Hills, a Black residential subdivision north of the city center.[145]

Otey Development Company

The Otey family owned several businesses in North Nashville. In the early twentieth century, Flem B. Otey Jr (1903–1963), a graduate of Tennessee A&I, founded Otey's Grocery, associated with Cee Bee wholesale grocers. He later established Otey Enterprises, comprised of a laundromat, realty company, and other businesses. He served on several civic boards and was a stockholder in the Citizens Savings Bank. Upon his death in 1963, his son Inman Edward Otey Sr. (1937–2016), a graduate of TSU, took over operations of the Otey businesses, including the Otey Development Company. In 1964, Inman Otey, the first Black realtor in Nashville, developed the Haynes Manor subdivision in Bordeaux, the Silverdean Apartments, and the Phyllis Wheatley Home for the Aged. Inman Otey was a licensed minister and community leader. He also helped organize the Community Federal Savings and Loan Association. Otey operated the Cumberland Park Shopping Center and Otey's Quality Grocery.[146]

[144] Robbie D. Jones, "Marlin Meadows: Antebellum Farm to Mid-Century Subdivision in Nashville," *Tennessee Architecture*, March 11, 2024, https://tennessee-architecture.com/marlin-meadows-antebellum-farm-to-mid-century-subdivision-in-nashville/. In 1978, the municipal baseball stadium at Fort Negley Park was named Greer Stadium in his honor.
[145] "J. W. Murphree Sr. Dies Here at 63," *Tennessean*, October 9, 1975, 13; U.S. Census, 1940, 1950.
[146] "Flem B. Otey, Grocer, Dies," *Tennessean*, January 24, 1963, 35; "Reflecting on the Life of Rev. Dr. Inman E. Otey, Sr.," *Tennessee Tribune*, November 22, 2017; Brenda Gilmore, Tennessee House Resolution 369.

Subdivision Design

In the post-World War II era, the design of residential subdivisions was heavily influenced by the FHA and its underwriting manuals. The FHA provided neighborhood and home design guidelines that virtually mandated the plan of suburban subdivisions. Developers who met FHA guidelines were able to more easily secure private financing insured by the federal government and buyers could receive low-cost mortgages. FHA approved developments had appropriate utilities and improved streets; access to public transportation and highways to schools, employment, and shopping; and prescribed setbacks, lot sizes, and minimum dwelling size or construction cost. FHA regulations also mandated that subdivision plans adapt to existing topography, feature long blocks, winding roads without sharp corners, no dead-end streets, and "generous and well-shaped house sites."[147] Subdivisions were to also have parks, natural spaces, and playgrounds. The FHA also offered handbooks with detailed guidance on amenities such as parks, utilities and infrastructure, streets designed for automobiles with turnaround cul-de-sacs, pedestrian sidewalks, entrances with decorative signage, perimeter markers, and plantings and landscaping.[148] By the end of the 1940s, the curvilinear streets were well established in the minds of government officials, developers, and home buyers as the best practice for neighborhoods and symbols of good investments.[149]

Additionally, the FHA encouraged large-scale development of new homes which were financed and completed under the direction of a single developer. Developers purchased land, designed the subdivision plat, and designed and constructed the houses. Properties developed as part of a subdivision were relatively uniform, lending themselves to more stable loans. The FHA also mandated that homes had sufficient and convenient electrical outlets, that kitchens had windows, and that bathrooms be located near bedrooms. These demands were much easier to meet in new construction.[150]

Subdivisions with single-family homes were built across the country between the late 1940s and early 1970s. The standards instituted by the FHA resulted in a standardized suburban landscape that was repeated over and over outside large and small communities across the nation. As regional builders became more prevalent and

[147] David L. Ames and Linda Flint McClelland, "Historic Residential Suburbs Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places," *National Register Bulletin* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2002), 48–49.
[148] Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012:73–79.
[149] Ames and McClelland, "Historic Residential Suburbs Guidelines," 2002, 51. Linda Flint McClelland and David L. Ames, "Suburbanization of Metropolitan Areas in the United States, 1830–1960," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service, 2002).
[150] Tillotson, "Race, Risk and Real Estate," 2014, 34.

increased their volume from a few houses a year to full subdivision development, similar housing in the form of standard models prevailed. Regional distinctiveness and individual custom designs became less common.[151]

Residential Design

In general, houses built after World War II were designed with one of three common forms which easily complied with FHA regulations: Minimal Traditional, Ranch, or Split Level. The form describes the general size, shape, and floorplan of a house. Stylistic details can be applied to these forms and some styles of house have a specific floorplan. Post World War II subdivisions rarely featured house styles with unusual forms. In Nashville, dwellings were typically one- or one-and-one-half stories tall, and some had a full basement, depending on topography of the lot. Early dwellings were typically clad in asbestos shingle or weatherboard siding; however, brick and sometimes stone veneers became more popular in the 1950s and 1960s. Roofs were usually gabled, but hipped roofs were also common. Early houses typically displayed minimal architectural detail and had very shallow eaves, while later buildings exhibited deep eaves and more complex facades.

Despite similarity and homogeneity in the post-World War II period, distinct regional variations and interpretations of styles are evident in material choices and selection of details. For example, in Nashville, developers and house builders preferred houses with brick and stone veneers with nods to Colonial Revival-style details such as molded door surrounds at the primary entrance. Residential subdivisions consisted of dwellings constructed in a variety of combinations of architectural forms and styles.

Typical House Forms

Minimal Traditional (1946–1955)

FHA guidelines in the 1930s limited the maximum sales price of a home and provided directions on how to design an efficient dwelling. In the 1940s, the FHA developed a standardized compact plan for a small, single-family home that embodied the major elements of the Minimal Traditional form. These guidelines stressed "simplicity," leading to dwellings that had a typically flat façade, gabled roofs with a shallow pitch and a lack of overhanging eaves, double-hung sash windows, and few architectural details. The simplicity of the Minimal Traditional form is considered its primary character-defining feature, though some Minimal Traditional houses had Colonial Revival-style door surrounds or wood shutters flanking the windows (Figure 11). In the

[151] Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012:49–50.

lead-up to and during World War II, developers constructed new housing for workers involved in wartime production with speed and efficiency that further developed in the immediate post-war housing boom. Minimal Traditional houses typically had asbestos shingle siding, flush eaves, side gable roofs with asphalt shingles, and modest porches or entrance stoops. Minimal Traditional homes typically do not have attached garages or carports.[152]

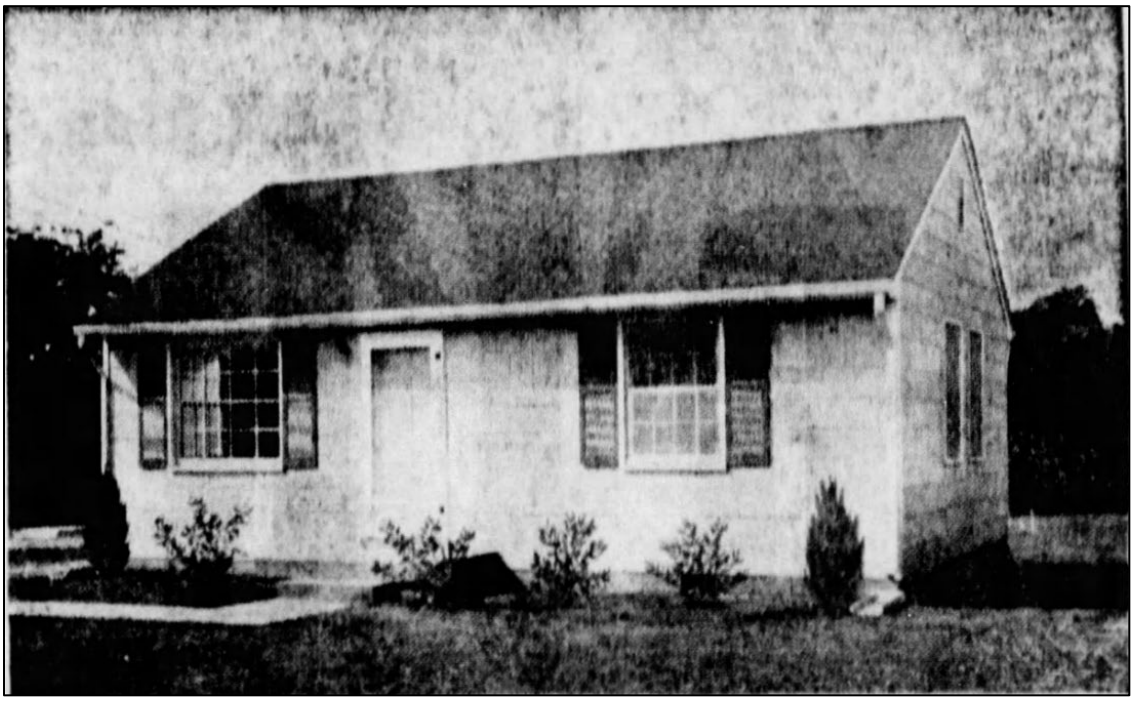

Figure 111. Photograph of a "typical" Minimal Traditional house at Fisk Park, 1956.[153]

According to the 1940 FHA publication *Principles of Planning Small Houses*, "simplicity of exterior design gives the small house the appearance of maximum size." A subset of the Minimal Traditional form is the Cape Cod form, which typically had steeper rooflines, attic dormers serving a half-story, boxy form, and modest Tudor Revival-style elements. The Cape Cod form was popular with large-scale merchant builders. [154]

[152] Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, revised ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2022), 587–589; Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 15–16, 99–100.
[153] *Tennessean*, June 10, 1956, 11G.
[154] Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012:99–100.

Ranch (1946–1975)

The post-war housing boom led to standardized construction techniques and many factories that had made war materials switched production to building materials. Prefabricated windows, for example, were a staple in new home construction. Developing new subdivisions became increasingly efficient and combined with the era's prosperity, led to a demand for larger homes. The earliest Ranch houses were not much larger than Minimal Traditional houses but usually had overhanging eaves and premanufactured windows such as picture windows, corner windows, or bands of awning or hopper windows in the upper façade (Figure 12).[155]

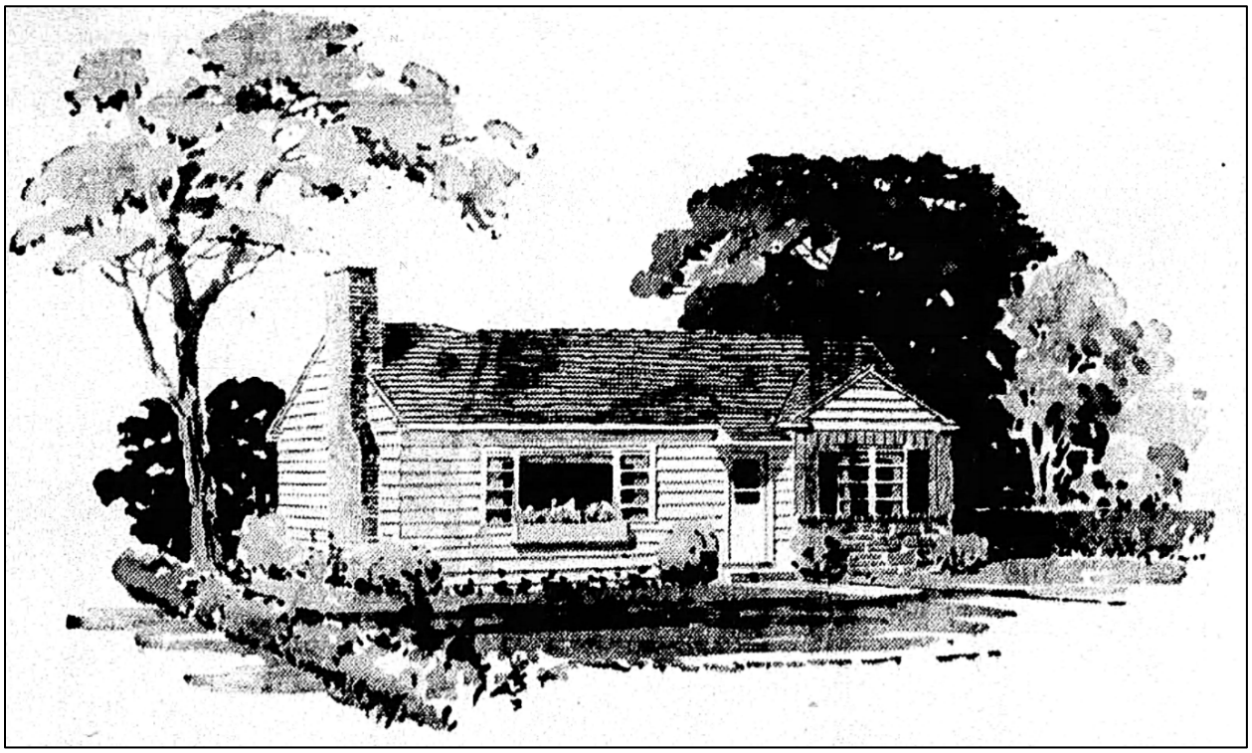

Figure 122. Illustration of an early Ranch-style house published in the *Tennessean*, 1951.[156]

As the Ranch style developed in the 1950s and 1960s, houses typically had low-pitched roofs, horizontal massing, a combination of siding materials including accent veneers, planters and patios, integrated

[155] McAlester, *Field Guide*, 2022, 600, 602.
[156] "Invitation to Better, Happier Living," *Tennessean*, April 15, 1951, 24.

wingwalls, breezeways, and wide or prominent chimneys. Attached garages or carports gradually became a hallmark of the Ranch. The increasingly deep eave overhangs gave the appearance of being very low to the ground. The FHA discouraged Modernist designs, so most houses had elements of the Colonial Revival style, such as prefabricated metal cupolas or decorative shutters, though some designs integrated slanted elements, usually at the gable ends or in structural pieces like porch supports. Styled Ranches, which consisted of elements of other styles, such as Colonial or Tudor revivals, were common throughout the period, but became increasingly popular in the 1970s. Styled Ranches had roofs that were often more steeply pitched. Some had dormers and other elements of a Cape Cod-style dwelling (Figure 13). The Ranch house was by far the most popular house type constructed in the U.S. during the post-war period. A Bi-Level Ranch house has a typical Ranch-style ground floor and, due to topography, a full, partially exposed basement.[157]

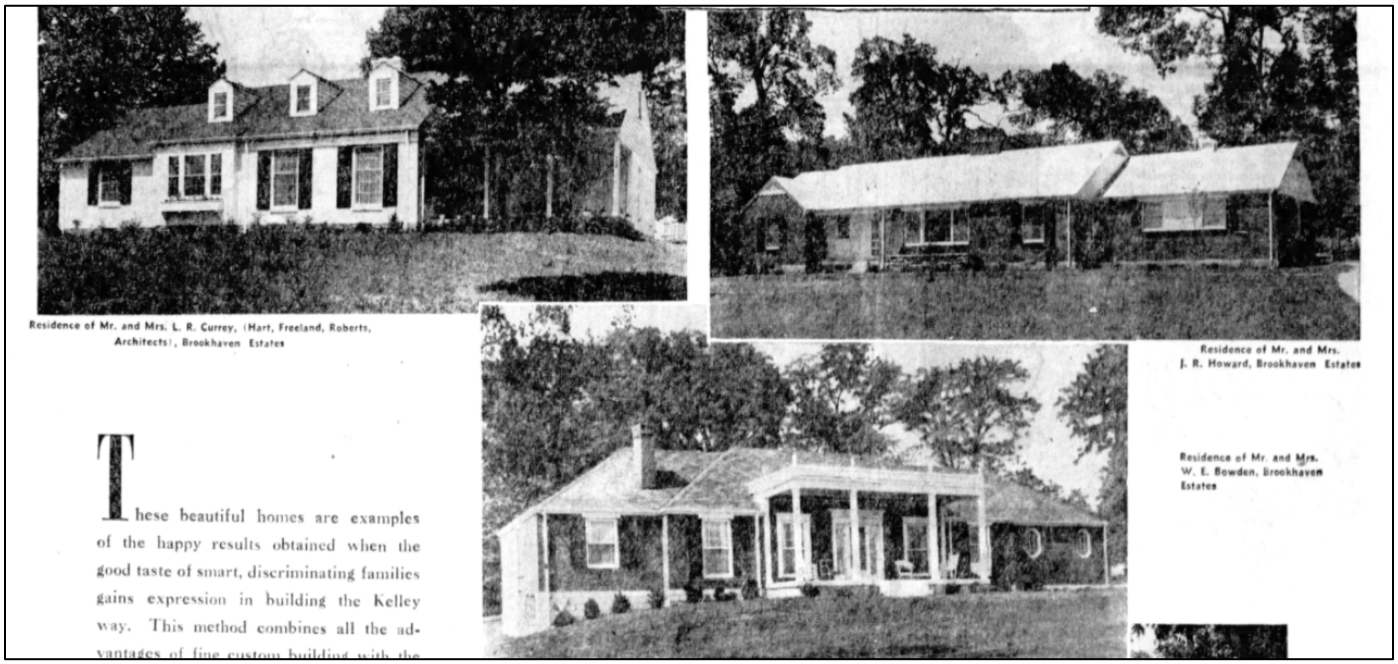

Figure 133. Advertisement showing a Ranch House (top right) and Styled Ranches in the Brookhaven subdivision in South Nashville, 1953.[158]

[157] McAlester, *Field Guide*, 2022, 600, 603; Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 102–103.
[158] "Visit Brookhaven Estates Today," *Tennessean,* March 1, 1953, 55.

Split-Level and Split-Foyer (1946–1975)

The Split-Level and Split-Foyer are simple forms that were constructed in large numbers during the post-war period. They were an extension of the Ranch house with a segregation of public and private spaces into zones or separate wings. The term "split-level" describes a specific floorplan, rather than a style. Popular after 1950, Split-Level houses have three or more floors that are staggered and separated by partial flights of stairs. The tri-level Split-Level house has two floors on one side of a façade and one floor on the other. The bi-level split plan, or a Split Foyer house, has two levels on each side of the façade and an entrance at an intermediate level. Split Foyers were most common from 1960–1975. Garages were commonly attached and integrated into the lower level. They also featured basement "rumpus" or recreational rooms. Cladding materials included clapboard, stone and brick veneer, and aluminum siding, which were often combined for visual interest. These houses could have applied architectural details from Colonial Revival and Contemporary styles (Figure 14).[159]

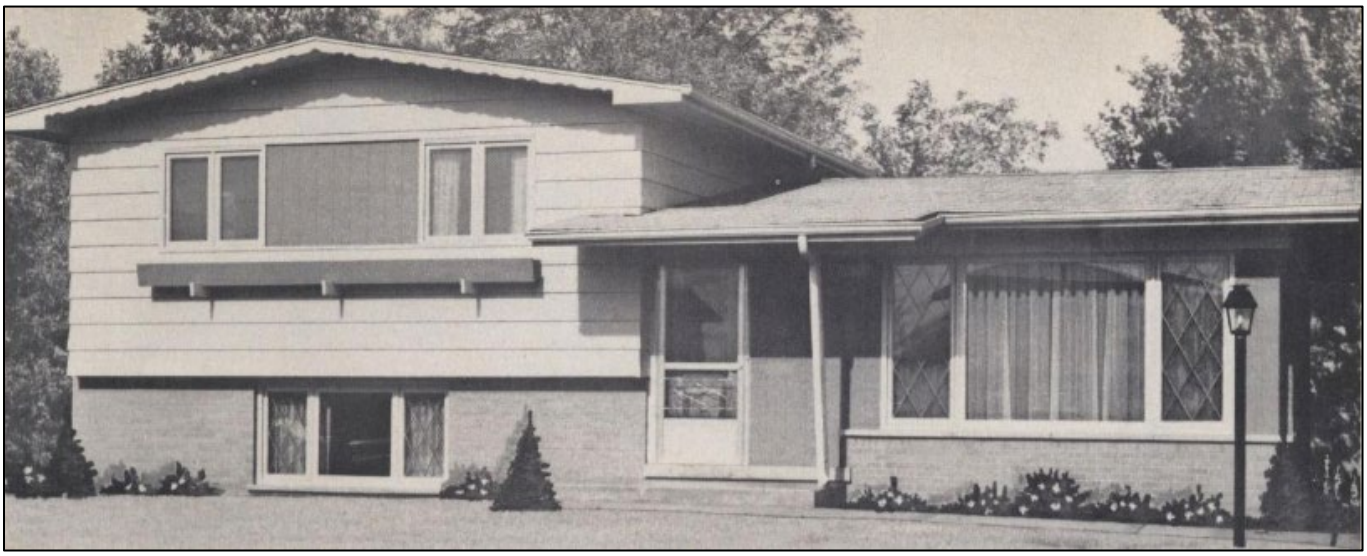

Figure 14.4 Photograph of a typical Split-Level dwelling, 1960.[160]

[159] McAlester, *Field Guide*, 2022, 613–614; Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 105–108.
[160] L. F. Garlinghouse Co., Inc., "Homes in Brick" (Topeka, KS: L. F. Garlinghouse Co., Inc., 5th ed., 1960), 38, https://archive.org/details/LFGarlinghouseHomesinbrick0001/page/n55/mode/2up.

Typical House Styles

Colonial Revival (1946–1975)

In the post-war period, the Colonial Revival style was one of the most widespread in the U.S., but especially on the eastern seaboard, in the Midwest, and in the South. The post-war version of the style displayed more restrained variations than its early twentieth century predecessor. These houses were typically two stories with a possible one-story wing that either housed an attached garage or a porch. Other character-defining elements included freely interpreted entrances, door surrounds, sidelights, cornices, and wide overhanging eaves. Main entrances were often off-center to accommodate large picture windows. Some examples had small porches or porticoes and second story overhangs. Other elements included red brick veneer, multi-light windows, faux louvered shutters, compass windows, fanlights, pediments, cornice boards, quoins, cupolas, and jack arches. Decorative elements of the style, such as door and window surrounds, window types, and porch detailing were often applied to houses with the Minimal Traditional or Ranch form.[161]

Contemporary (1946–1975)

Contemporary architecture broke from the past and reflected then-current design trends. Its architectural characteristics were applied to various post-war housing forms, such as Mid-Century Modern, Modernist, and Post and Beam. Unlike earlier styles that were generally defined by their exterior decorative details such as doors, windows, porches, and dormers, a Contemporary house was oriented towards interior spaces. Focus was also given to the relationship between the interior and the outdoors. The indoor-outdoor quality is achieved through view gardens and courtyards, taking heavy influence from houses of Ancient Greece and Rome and traditional building styles of China and Japan. The goal was to seamlessly integrate the dwelling with the natural landscape. Dwellings in the "true" Modern style were almost always custom designed by an architect. The features have its origins in the residential work of world-renowned Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959) and his pioneering Usonian houses of the 1930s through the early 1950s. They were also influenced by the international Bauhaus movement.[162]

Contemporary-style dwellings are characterized by low-pitched gabled roofs with widely overhanging eaves, exposed roof beams, windows present in gable fields, breezeblocks, and broad expanses of uninterrupted wall surfaces. Flat, slant, shed, and butterfly roofs are very distinctive roof configurations of the Contemporary

[161] McAlester, *Field Guide*, 2022, 408–414; Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 108–112.
[162] McAlester, *Field Guide*, 2022, 630; Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 112–114.

style, though less commonly used. The butterfly roof is an upside-down gable that creates a flat valley prone to leaking. The façades of Contemporary dwellings are typically recessed and reveal very little of the house itself. Less emphasis is given to the entrances, which are often recessed and obscured under a carport. Contemporary dwellings were also more adaptable to hilly terrains compared to the rigid forms of the Ranch and Split-level styles. Some simplified Contemporary-style dwellings have similar floorplans or façade projections to Ranch houses, but windows and roof designs differentiate the two designs (Figures 15–16).[163]

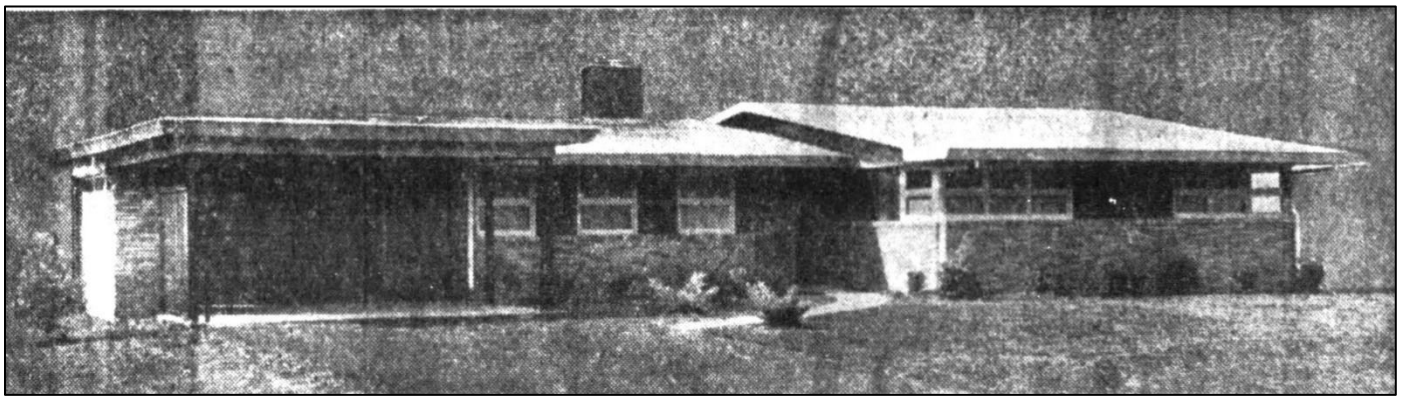

Figure 155. Photograph of the Modernist-influenced Dr. Carl A. Dent House in Haynes Heights, 1956.[164]

Contemporary-style houses were typically custom designed by architects and more expensive to build. The style was popular among American architects from about 1945–1965. Lending institutions, like the FHA, preferred to avoid financing more avant-garde designs such as the usual roof configurations of the Contemporary style. As a result, there are few Contemporary-style subdivisions in the U.S. Instead, examples of the style are peppered in among primarily Ranch-style subdivisions of the period.[165]

Other architectural forms and styles that appeared with less frequency include the A-Frame, Neo-Mansard, Geodesic Dome, and Earthen House. With its steeply pitched roof extending to the ground, the A-Frame gained popularity as an iconic vacation home in the 1950s and 1960s. The Neo-Mansard appeared in the late 1960s as a variant influenced by the Second Empire style of the nineteenth century. The Neo-Mansard house disguised Ranch and Split-Level forms with a faux mansard roof for dramatic effect. Geodesic Dome houses,

[163] McAlester, *Field Guide*, 2022, 629–630.
[164] *Tennessean*, September 9, 1956, 84.
[165] McAlester, *Field Guide*, 2022, 632–646.

popularized by Buckminster Fuller in the 1950s, are based on a structure of interlocking triangles that form a spherical shape. Popular in the 1970s, Earthen Houses used natural terrain to form the walls of the house as an energy saving design.[166]

Figure 166. Photograph of a typical Contemporary-style dwelling, 1960.[167]

Other common features of post-war subdivisions included garages, carports, yards and fences, patios and outdoor living spaces, swimming pools, tennis courts, driveways, sidewalks, and fallout shelters.

African American Subdivisions

During the post-World War II period, residential subdivisions were constructed for white residents throughout Nashville's suburbs. During this same period, African American subdivisions were constructed in northwest Nashville, primarily in the Bordeaux community north of the Cumberland River. A few all-Black subdivisions were constructed in North Nashville near TSU, Fisk, and Meharry and others in Edgehill, a historically Black neighborhood in South Nashville.

[166] Pettis et al., *NCHRP Report 723*, 2012, 114–115.
[167] L. F. Garlinghouse Co., Inc., "Homes in Brick," 1960, 54.

A handful of subdivisions for white residents were developed within Bordeaux. In January 1954, Herschel L. Greer and Neil H. Barker purchased the 249-acre Treppard Farm of Treppard Heights off Kings Lane. Treppard Heights was just west of Haynes Heights, which Greer and Barker were simultaneously developing as an all-Black subdivision. Due to litigation, Greer and Barker sold the land and development of Treppard Heights was delayed until 1957.

College Hill (1948–1959)

College Hill was the first residential subdivision developed exclusively for Black residents in the post-World War II period. The development contained primarily single-family houses, but also multi-family buildings, including apartments, duplexes, and quadplexes. Located on the southeastern edge of the Tennessee A&I campus, the development was intended to primarily serve residents employed at Tennessee A&I, Fisk, and Meharry. The single-family dwellings lined Geneva Circle on a hilltop overlooking Tennessee A&I to the west and the Fisk University Place neighborhood to the east. The development was initially planned in 1948; however, construction was delayed until 1950.

The local African American architectural firm of McKissack & McKissack served as architects, developers, and builders. The McKissack brothers—Moses and Calvin—hired Benjamin L. Mitchell (1923–1968), a graduate of Tennessee A&I, as executive director of College Hill Realty and Development Company, Inc. (Figure 17).[168]

McKissack & McKissack envisioned College Hill as containing 500 units of housing and a shopping center. The architects intended for the $10 million development to become a new modern center for the city's Black community with its "scientific planning, skillful engineering and attractive landscaping."[169]

[168] Linda T. Wynn, "McKissack and McKissack Architects," *Tennessee Encyclopedia* (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Society, 2018), https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/mckissack-and-mckissack-architects/; "B. L. Mitchell Rites Friday," *Tennessean*, February 9, 1968, 26. The father, Moses McKissack II, and grandfather, Moses McKissack, were both trained builders. The McKissack family was from Pulaski, Tennessee. Moses McKissack III opened an office in Nashville in 1907.
[169] Warren Gallenbeck, "$2,500,000 College Hill Apartments Will Replace Squalid Housing Conditions Here," *Nashville Banner*, February 24, 1951, 3.

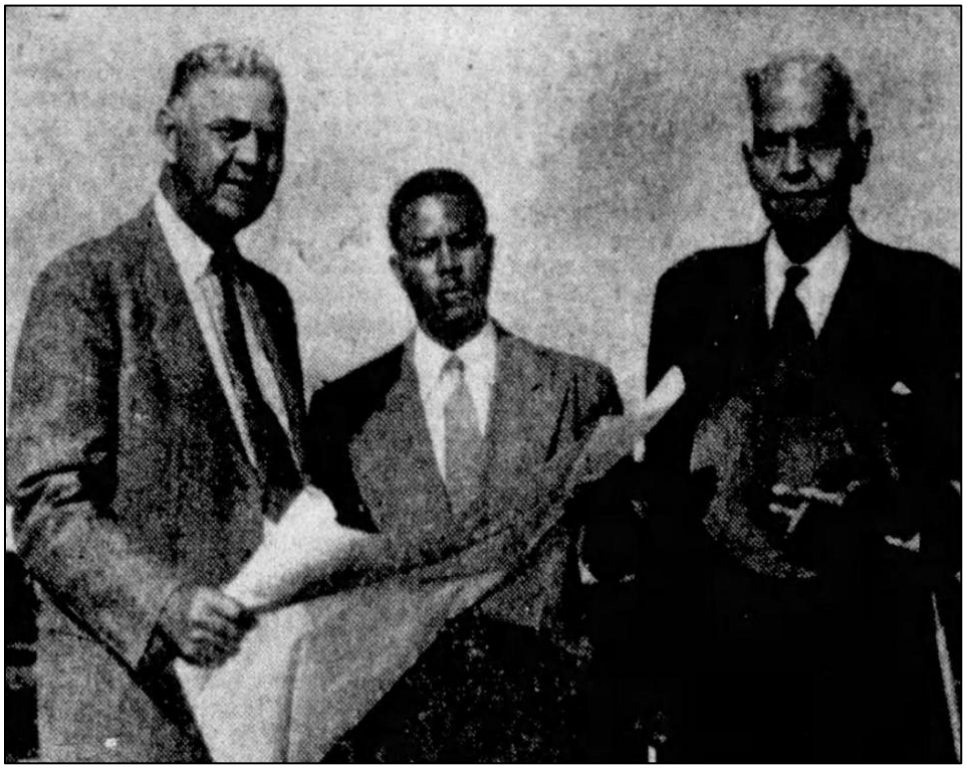

Figure 17. Photograph of B. L. Mitchell (center) and the McKissack brothers, 1952.[170]

Setbacks delayed the start of construction for two years and reduced the scale of the development. A groundbreaking ceremony was held on April 15, 1950. Officials from the FHA, the presidents of the three nearby Black universities, and the City of Nashville participated in the event. The $2.5 million development provided 216 housing units, including two- and three-bedroom apartments, which were furnished with hardwood floors, hot water tanks, kitchen ranges, refrigerators, and playground facilities. The city built the sewer and streets throughout the development. The project received $300,000 from the FHA for the construction of the initial 50 units.[171] When asked about the College Hill development Calvin McKissack stated, “We plan to provide space for teachers and others in an income bracket whose income would not allow

[170] *Nashville Banner*, May 15, 1952, 11.
[171] Warren Gallenbeck, “$2,500,000 College Hill Apartments Will Replace Squalid Housing Conditions Here,” *Nashville Banner*, February 24, 1951, 3; “Negro Project Work to Get Under Way,” *Nashville Banner*, April 19, 1950, 16. “Work to Begin on Negro Homes,” *Tennessean*, April 21, 1948, 5.

them to live in Federal Housing. We also want to encourage veterans and their families to move into the project" (Figure 18).[172]

Figure 18. Photograph of Calvin McKissack (left) and Moses McKissack III (right) at the College Hill development site, 1952.[173]

In 1951, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church was constructed in College Hill at 37th Avenue and Batavia Street. McKissack & McKissack deeded the land to the congregation and designed the brick Neoclassical Revival-style sanctuary. The funds for the church came from the sale of the congregation's previous property in downtown and $75,000 from the Synod of Tennessee of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. The congregation held its first service on May 3, 1953.[174]

[172] Gallenbeck, "$2,500,000 College Hill Apartments," February 24, 1951, 3.
[173] *Nashville Banner,* May 15, 1952, 11.
[174] "Funds Sought for New Church," *Nashville Banner*, April 7, 1951, 14.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, College Hill flourished as a community of African American professionals, including doctors, university faculty, and community leaders. The neighborhood expanded with construction of Sections III–VII between 1955 and 1959. These subdivision additions consisted of a variety of frame and brick single family Ranches, Split Levels, Minimal Traditional, and Modernist houses situated on curvilinear streets with minimal landscaping. The Modernist-style houses in the main sections of College Hill retain much of the original McKissack design. The hilltop houses also enjoy views of the surrounding area. The original College Hill Apartments were demolished in 1989 and replaced with surface parking for TSU. The original core sections of the subdivision contain approximately 120 dwellings.[175]

Several prominent leaders in the civil rights movement lived in College Hill, including Coyness L. Ennix (1898–1984) at 3407 Batavia Street. James M. Lawson Jr. (1928–2024), Rev. Will D. Campbell (1924–2013), and Rev. C. T. Vivian (1924–2020) lived in the multi-family rental section. Other prominent community members lived on Geneva Circle, including Dr. Lemuel Arthur Bowman (3514), Dr. E. E. Caldwell (3504), and Carl and Inez Crutchfield.[176]

Gardner's Gold Coast (1953–1960)

Kossie Gardner Sr. (1897–1990) developed Gardner's Gold Coast. The city approved the plans in June 1953. Platted in December 1953, the subdivision is on the west side of Ashland City Highway (US 41) in Bordeaux. The original site plan included 24 lots along Windover Drive, which formed a U-shaped circle (Figure 19). The affluent subdivision contained predominantly Ranch and Split-level style houses with brick veneer. A few Modernist examples stand out with bolder details like broad front-gable roofs, butterfly roofs, and variegated brick veneers. In October 1960, Gardner's Gold Coast was expanded with an addition to the north that added eight lots along Red Rose Court (Figure 20). The houses in this section are more modest examples of Ranch and Split-Level dwellings (Figure 21–22). Developer H. A. Vantrease also worked on the Gardner's Gold Coast subdivision.[177]

[175] Phil Williams and Alan Bostick, "HUD Tailored Housing Fund to Developer's Need," *Tennessean*, July 10, 1989, 1; "City Approves New Subdivision: 42-lot W. Nashville Location for Negroes; Acts on Capitol Hill," *Tennessean*, May 20, 1955, 49.
[176] Jones and Brackett, "Civil Rights Movement in Nashville," 2024.
[177] "Subdivisions For $5 Million Face Approval," *Nashville Banner*, June 9, 1953, 1–2; Linda Wynn, "Gardner's Gold Coast: Nashville's First African American Subdivision" (2023), *Profiles/Papers for the Nashville Conference on African American History and Culture*, 71, https://digitalscholarship.tnstate.edu/conference-on-african-american-history-and-culture/71/.

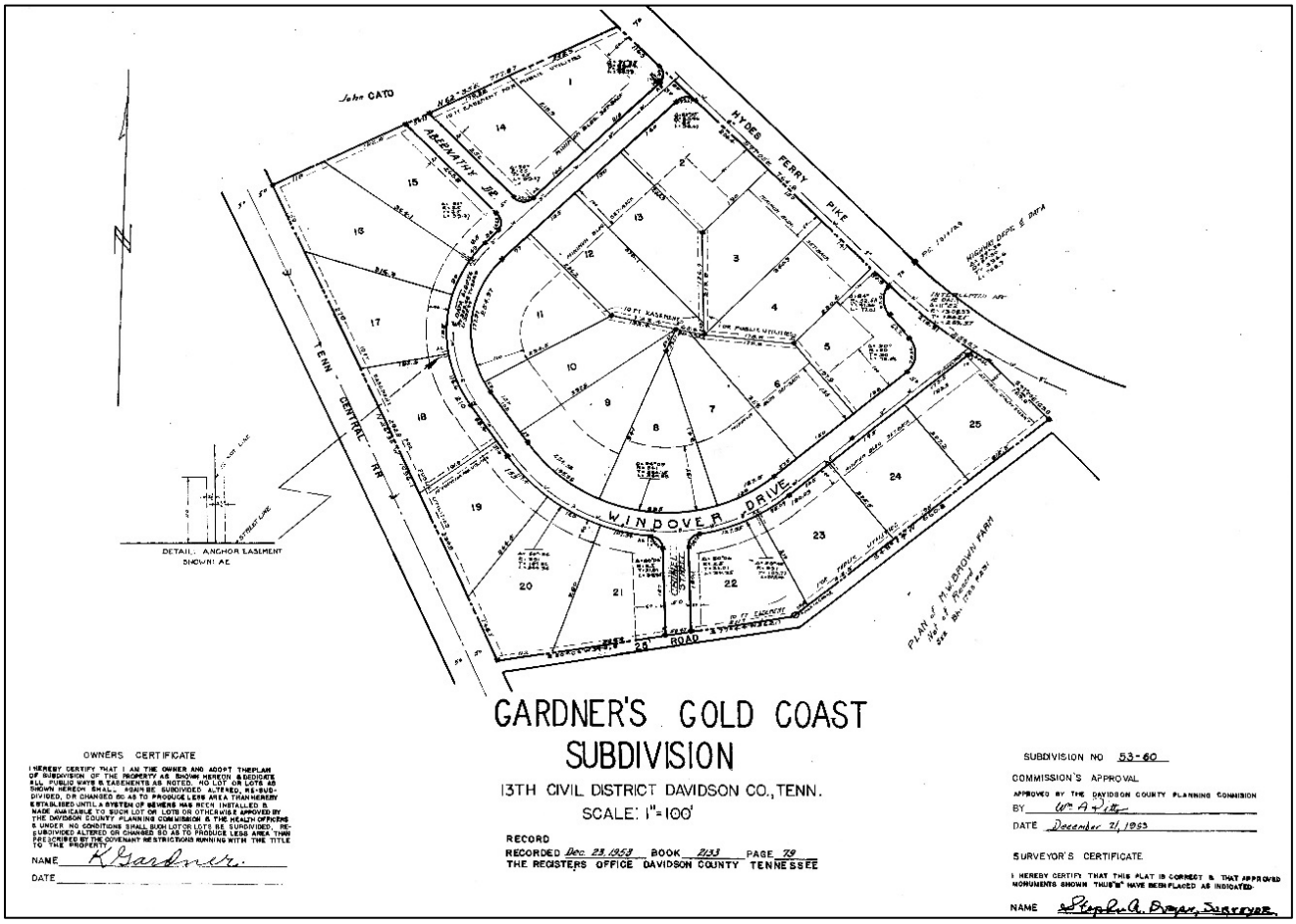

Figure 19. Plat map of the Gardner's Gold Coast Subdivision, 1953.[178]

[178] Davidson County Deed Book 2133 [1953], 79.

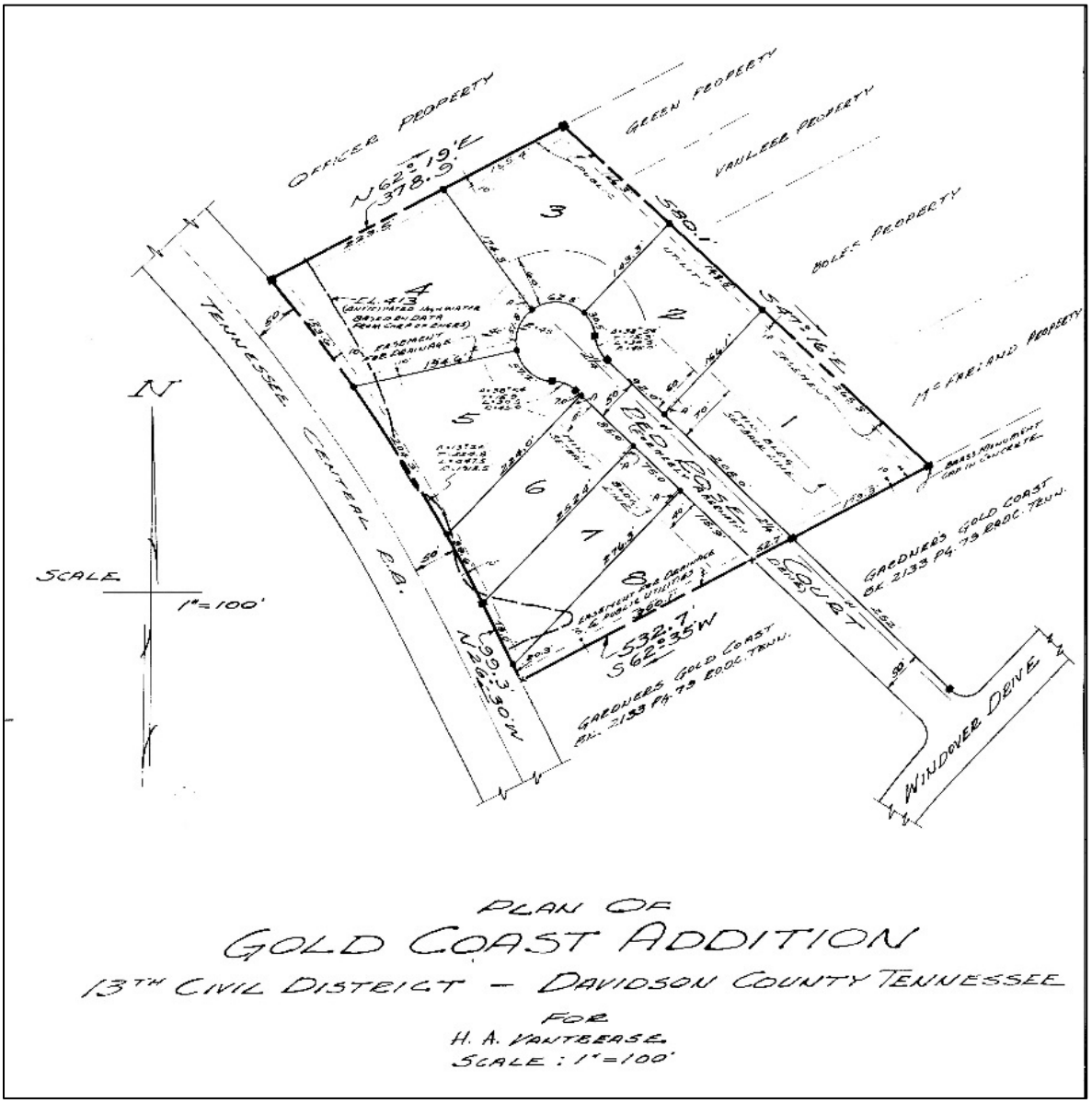

Figure 20. Plat map of the Gold Coast Addition, 1960.[179]

[179] Davidson County Deed Book 2854 [1960], 123.

Upon its completion, Gardner's Gold Coast was considered the most expensive African American subdivision in the city. The houses were marketed and sold to Black professionals including prominent physicians, attorneys, professors, university administrators, and schoolteachers. Rev. Joseph Echols Lowery (1921–2020), a prominent civil rights leader, lived in Nashville from 1961–1965. For part of that time, he lived with Lillie D. Bowman (1924–2022) at 1722 Windover Drive in Gardner's Gold Coast. Bowman was a local schoolteacher who was an active supporter of civil rights movement in Nashville. Rev. Lowery served on board of directors for the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC), the NCLC, and the mayor's Biracial Committee for Human Relations.[180]

Figure 21. Photograph of 1701 Windover Drive, looking west, 2024.

[180] Wynn, "Gardner's Gold Coast," 2023; Jones and Brackett, "Civil Rights Movement in Nashville," 2024, 116-117, 182, 204.

Figure 22. Photograph of 1716 Windover Drive, looking southwest, 2024.

Dr. Matthew Walker Sr. (1906–1978) lived at 1709 Windover Drive from its construction in 1955 until his death in 1978. Dr. Walker chaired the department of surgery at Meharry Medical College from 1945–1973 and served as the provost for external affairs from 1973–1978 and president of the National Medical Association. He was a professor of surgery and gynecology at Meharry from 1944 until his death in 1978. Walker was also the first vice president of the Metro Board of Hospitals and one of the first Black men to become a fellow of the American College of Surgeons.[181]

[181] Eva Botkin-Kowacki, "Dr. Walker was Health Pioneer," *Tennessean*, February 17, 2024, A4; "Walker, Matthew, M.D.," *Tennessean*, July 17, 1978, 25.

Haynes Heights (1955–1969)

Haynes Heights is a mid-sized, 155-acre subdivision developed at the former site of the Wilkinson Farm, established by a white family in the early nineteenth century, on the west side of Whites Creek Pike in Bordeaux. Local white developers Herschel L. Greer and Neil H. Barker purchased the original 127-acre tract containing farmland in 1954 for development of the all-Black subdivision. Containing 125 houses, the subdivision was platted in early 1955 and expanded in 1962, 1966, and 1969. The subdivision exhibits curvilinear streets with a five-acre centrally located lake that serves as a common area as well as open spaces and landscaping. It also contains a one-acre lot with an original family cemetery dating to 1818. Many of the residents held prominent positions such as physicians, engineers, medical leaders, pastors, and professors. Haynes Heights developed as an excellent example of a Ranch and Split-Level neighborhood with some notable examples of Modernist residential design created by local architects and designers such as Robert Bruce Draper (1927–2018) and Marion Alonzo Sowell (1934–1997) (Figure 23). Many of the Ranch houses were built by contractors such as Neil H. Barker and Kossie Gardner Sr. The subdivision is named for Rev. William Haynes (1850–1933), a local Black leader in the community.

Figure 23. Photograph of the Sowell-designed house at 2488 Walker Lane, 2025.

Gardner Meadows (1955)

The Gardner Meadows subdivision is a small enclave of six Ranch and Split-Level houses on the west side of Ashland City Highway (US 41), abutting Gardner's Gold Coast subdivision to the south. Kossie Gardner Sr. developed the lots between August 1955 and April 1957.

Normal Heights (1955)

Located on the south side of Buchanan Street in North Nashville, the Normal Heights subdivision contains 50 dwellings on Delk Avenue and 26th Avenue North. Owned by W.L. Bainbridge, the W.L. Bainbridge Company platted the 50-home subdivision in 1955. Normal Heights was one of the first large-scale Black subdivisions in which the home loans were insured by the FHA. The National Life Insurance Company of Vermont financed the Normal Heights development.[182] Bainbridge reported "the houses were sold as fast as they could be built" (Figures 24–25).[183]

Figure 24. Photograph of houses in Normal Heights, 1955.[184]

[182] Albert Cason, "2 Housing Projects for Negroes Started," *Tennessean*, April 26, 1955, 22.
[183] Albert Cason, "Bainbridge Grades for New Subdivision," *Tennessean*, October 27, 1955, 28.
[184] *Tennessean,* April 26, 1955, 22.

Figure 25. Photograph of 2620 Delk Avenue, looking east, 2025.

Fisk Park (1955)

On October 26, 1955, the Ajax Development Company, owned by the W. L. Bainbridge Company, began construction of the Fisk Park subdivision in North Nashville. Located three blocks north of Jefferson Street, the W.L. Bainbridge Company purchased the 15-acre tract of land from the City of Nashville. The subdivision contained 78 lots where 26 three-bedroom and 52 two-bedroom Minimal Traditional houses were built from 1955–1960 along 23rd Avenue North, 24th Avenue North, Underwood Street, and Hammond Drive. The plan was approved by the FHA and VA, which insured the loans. The total investment in the subdivision was $675,000. Most of the small, frame houses had asbestos shingle siding, concrete block foundations, and side-gable roofs (Figure 26).[185]

[185] Albert Cason, "Bainbridge Grades for New Subdivision," *Tennessean*, October 27, 1955, 28.

Figure 26. Photograph of 2433 Underwood Street, looking west, 2024.

Hillhurst Acres (1955–1959)

Richmond Homes, Inc., owned by the Richmond family, platted the 35-lot Hillhurst Acres subdivision in 1955 on the western side of Dickerson Pike (US 41) south of Ewing Drive (Figure 27). In November 1958, the Nashville City-County Planning Commission approved the construction of eight subdivisions including Hillhurst Acres. The subdivision was developed by Garner Robinson and Hillhurst Inc. in six sections between 1955 and 1959. Hillhurst Acres contains examples of Ranch and Split-Level houses lining Hillhurst, Ewing, Stanwyck, and Lyndale streets (Figure 28).[186]

[186] "Planners Give County Approval for 279 Homes," *Tennessean*, November 11, 1958, 1; "Residential Building Jumps $3 Million," *Nashville Banner,* November 11, 1958, 24.

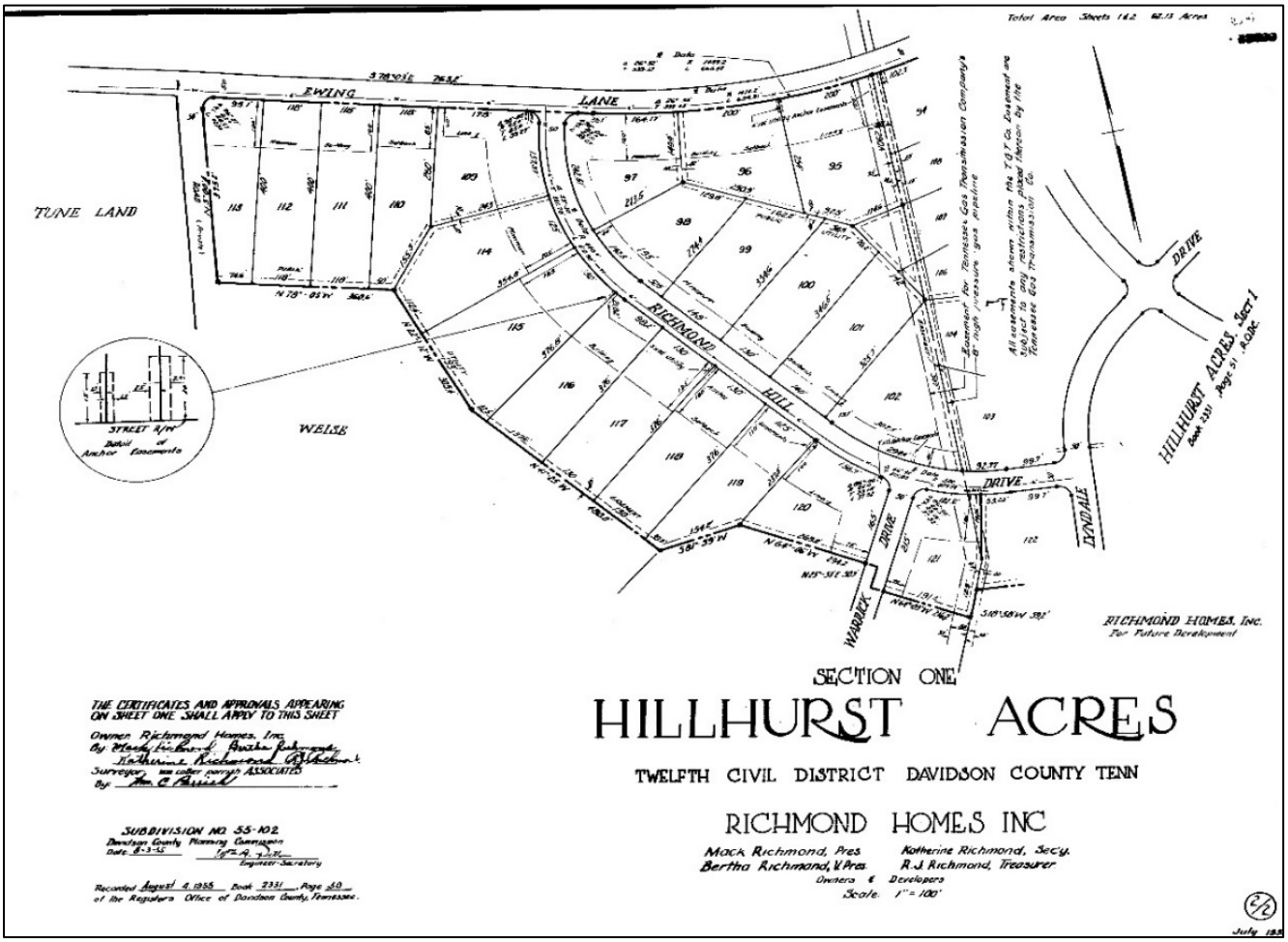

Figure 27. Plat map of Hillhurst Acres, Section One, 1955.[187]

[187] Davidson County Deed Book 2331 [1955], 50.

Figure 28. Photograph of dwelling in Hillhurst subdivision, 2025.

Clintondale (1957)

The Davidson County Planning Commission approved the preliminary site plan for the Clintondale subdivision in April 1955. L. H. Jordan, the owner and developer, officially platted the subdivision in 1957 (Figure 29). Located in Bordeaux on the east side of Ashland City Highway (US 41) across from Gardner's Gold Coast, the Clintondale subdivision contains 23 lots with brick Ranch houses and Split-Levels. The houses are about 2,000 square feet on average; some are larger with basements. The subdivision contains Jordan Drive, named for L.H. Jordan.

The Clintondale subdivision also contains a Modernist house at 2025 Jordan Drive. The largest in the subdivision at about 4,000 square feet, Dr. David Vernard Bradley (1908–1981) constructed this house in 1961. Dr. Bradley was a member of the faculty at Meharry Medical College from 1954 to 1977 and maintained

a private medical practice on Jefferson Street in North Nashville. The house stayed in the Bradley family until its sale in 2017.[188]

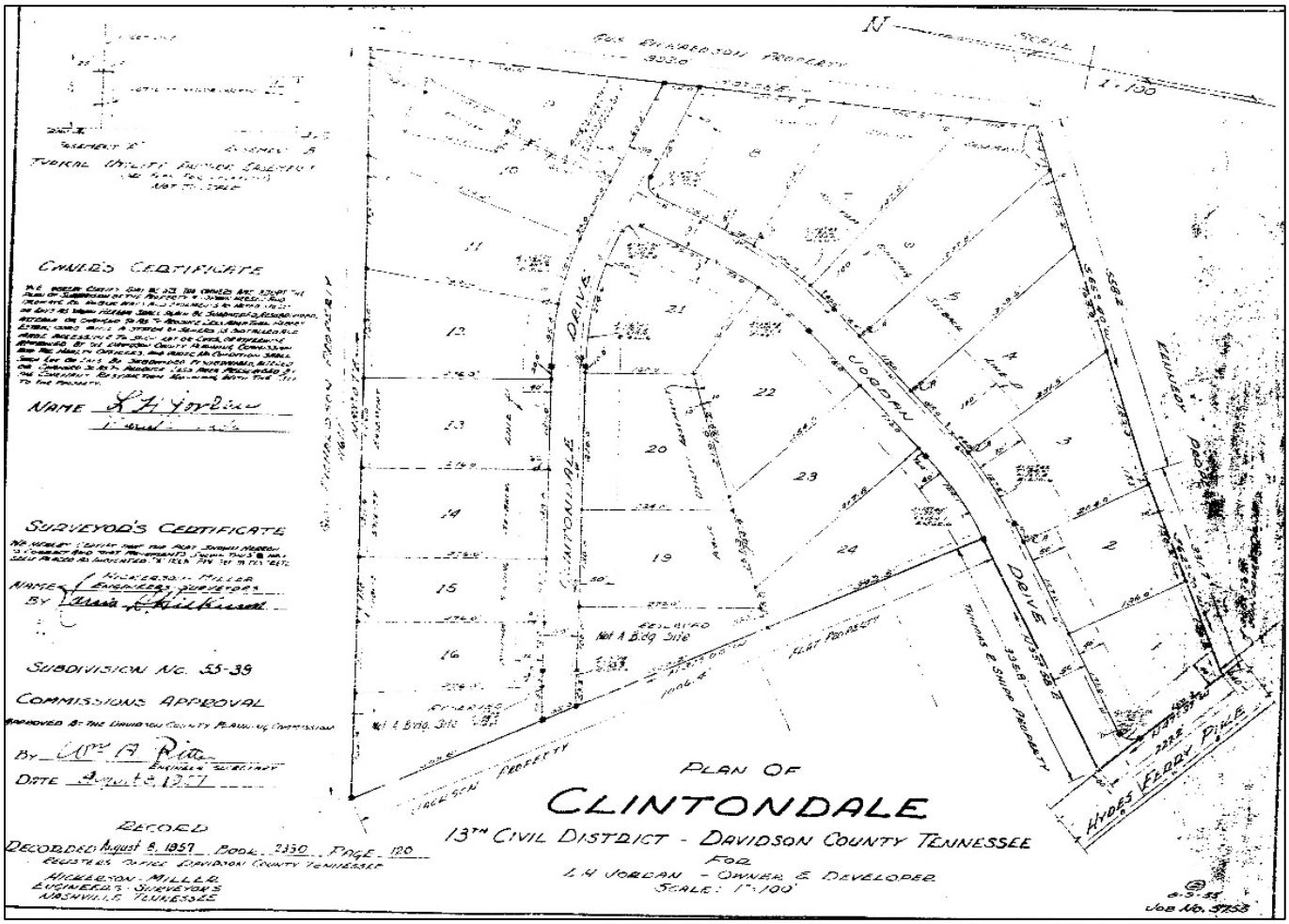

Figure 29. Plat map of the Clintondale Subdivision, 1957.[189]

[188] Wayne Whitt, "Approval Given 14 Subdivision," *Tennessean*, April 6, 1955, 1, 9; "Rites Set Wednesday for Dr. David Bradley," *Tennessean*, April 26, 1981, 20D.
[189] Davidson County Deed Book 2330 [1957], 120.

Cumberland Gardens (1959—1962)

The W.L. Bainbridge Company platted Cumberland Gardens in June 1959. Located in North Nashville between Buchanan Street and Clarksville Pike, the subdivision originally contained 104 dwellings. The small frame Minimal Traditional houses were nearly identical, featuring asbestos shingle siding, concrete block foundations, and side-gable roofs (Figure 30). In July 1959, the company reported that 60 houses "in this Negro subdivision have been sold to persons displaced by expressways." Other developers of Cumberland Gardens included Carl B. Turner, Stanley T. Snodgrass, William G. Greer, and Dodson Batson.[190]

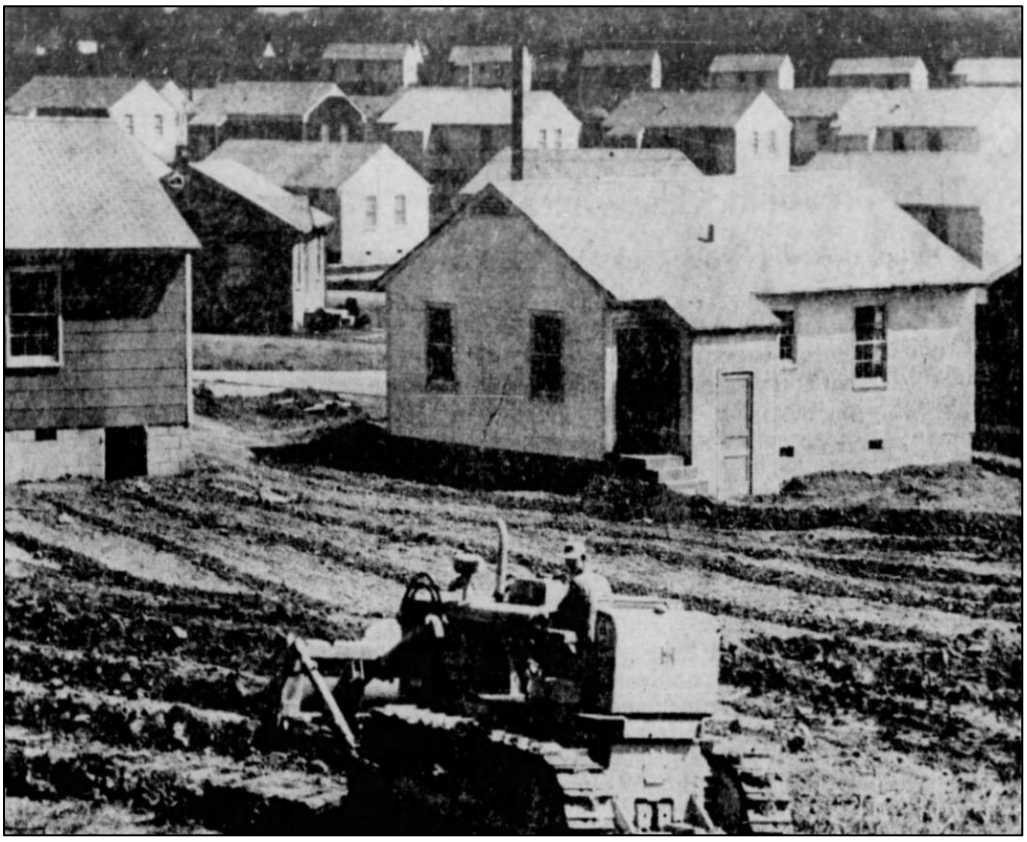

Figure 30. Photograph of dwellings in Cumberland Gardens under construction, 1959.[191]

[190] William Keel, "Shifting Policy May Hinder Relocation Here," *Tennessean*, July 19, 1959, 13A.
[191] *Tennessean*, July 5, 1959, 8E.

Seven sections were added to the subdivision from 1960–1962, including a small group on the south side of Buchanan Street, increasing the total number of lots to 268. The houses were built along 25th Avenue North, 25th Avenue North Court, 26th Avenue North, 28th Avenue North, Jenkins Street, Jenkins Court, Buchanan Street, Buchanan Court, Aspen Drive, Deerfield Drive, Oneal Drive, Salem Mason Drive, and Vance Drive. The newer houses had brick veneer walls and concrete block foundations. In 1961, Albert Morris and Associates constructed 27 three-bedroom houses in Section 3 of the subdivision. The houses in the additions were specifically built for Black families "who have been moved out of their homes because of urban redevelopment."[192]

The Cumberland Gardens subdivision contains several older Craftsman-style homes built in the 1920s, and houses on the east side abut the John Early School (DV-6533), built in 1925 at 2013 25th Avenue North. In 1967, the congregation of St. Luke CME Church purchased two parcels at the intersection of 28th Avenue North and Buchanan Street for construction of a Modernist sanctuary, now occupied by the Howard Congregational Church. The congregation's original sanctuary at 2519 Meharry Boulevard was demolished for construction of I-40.

Haynes Meade (1960)

The G. W. Allen & Company developed the Haynes Meade subdivision in 1960 on the east side of Whites Creek Pike across from the American Baptist College campus. The small subdivision contains 28 lots with brick Ranch houses and Split-Levels constructed from 1960–1964 along Haynes Meade Circle, Baptist World Center Drive, and Lock Road. Several administrators and professors at American Baptist College lived in Haynes Meade. Rev. Andrew N. White Jr., a cofounder of the NCLC and president of the Nashville chapter of the NAACP, lived at 1621 Haynes Meade Circle.

Enchanted Hills (1962–1989)

Neil H. Barker platted the Enchanted Hills subdivision in 1962 along the north side of Ashland City Highway (US 41) in Bordeaux. Harry H. Chitwood Sr. (1902–1987), a local attorney, was the primary co-investor. In 1965, the Otey Development Company sold lots in Enchanted Hills. In 1966, the newly incorporated Enchanted Hills, Inc. real estate and general insurance company platted Section III. By 1973, the subdivision had been expanded with 10 additions. The subdivision continued to be expanded until 1989. The expanded areas followed the same general pattern as the plats from 1962–1973. The original core of the subdivision

[192] "New Homes Planned," *Tennessean*, March 12, 1961, 7C.

encompasses Sections I–V with 175 parcels lining Drakes Branch Road, Drakes Hill Road, Hydesdale Lane, Enchanted Circle, Enchanted Court, Kings Lane, and West Hamilton Road. Besides Neil H. Barker, other developers of Enchanted Hills included H. H. Chitwood and J. E. Lineberger.

W.C. Allen, president of the Nashville-Middle Tennessee Home Builders Association, built the original homes in Enchanted Hills. Newspaper advertisements from the 1970s boasted that the homes were "architecturally designed." The subdivision boasts striking examples of Modernist architecture with unique roof structures showcasing projecting gables, butterfly roofs, broad front-gables, and flat roof designs (Figure 31–32).[193] The area historically served as one of Nashville's most prestigious Black neighborhoods. Realtors often referred to Enchanted Hills as the "Belle Meade of North Nashville." Residents included corporate executives and affluent upper-middle class professionals.[194] By January 1968, the subdivision had been integrated.

Figure 31. Photograph of 4200 Drakes Hill Drive, looking west, 2018.

[193] "Our Homes are Moving!" *Tennessean*, January 27, 1975, 39.
[194] Wynn, "Gardner's Gold Coast," 2023.

Figure 32. Photograph of 4320 Setters Road, looking east, 2018.

Haynes Manor (1964–1972)

The Otey Development Company platted the Haynes Manor subdivision in 1964 along Whites Creek Pike, north of Haynes Heights in Bordeaux. The subdivision served as a refuge for Black families that had been displaced by urban renewal and highway development projects. Streets were named for famous African Americans, such as Dubois Drive, Baldwin Court, and Augusta Drive, which were named for W.E.B. Dubois, James Baldwin, and Augusta Savage, respectively. Expanded until 1972, the subdivision contains around 500 lots. Other developers of Haynes Manor included W. L. Bainbridge and J. E. Lineberger.

Other residential subdivisions built for Nashville's African American residents include Riverview Gardens (1964), Haynes View (1966), Royal Crest (1966), Gold Key Estates, (1970), Haynes Acres (1970), and Haynes Estates (1970).

F. Associated Property Types

Introduction

The Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) for "African American Residential Districts in Nashville, Tennessee, 1946–1975" provides guidance on listing historic residential subdivisions that were platted between 1946 and 1975. The subdivisions are associated with the displacement of African Americans within Nashville due to urban renewal projects, highway development, and segregated housing policies, and spurred by the popularity of large plots and suburban living.

The development of these guidelines utilized previous studies undertaken by the National Park Service (NPS) through the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) Program, including the *National Register Bulletin: Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places* (2002) and the "Historic Residential Suburbs in the United States, 1830–1960" MPDF (2002). The document follows the NPS's *National Register Bulletin 16B: How to Complete a Multiple Property Documentation Form* (1991, revised 1999).

Recommendations are also based on documentation and research completed during preparation of the historic context. The development of descriptions and character defining features was also adapted from previous MPDFs associated with suburban subdivisions, including "Historic Residential Subdivisions and Architecture in Central Phoenix, 1912–1950" (1994) and the Transportation Research Board's *NCHRP Report 723: A Model for Identifying and Evaluating the Historic Significance of Post-World War II Housing* (2012).

The historic context documented in this MPDF provided a historical overview and description of Nashville's African American residential subdivisions from the 1946–1975 period of significance.

Properties may meet registration requirements if they possess sufficient character and integrity to retain their sense of time and place from their period of significance. In the case of properties associated with the Nashville's Post-World War II African American Residential Subdivisions, consideration of the effect of racial and ethnic discrimination in local, state, and federal policies, in mortgage and lending programs and housing practices; in employment; in education; and other forms of racial and ethnic discrimination must be considered when determining integrity.

As explained in a recent NPS best practices guidance document, "Historic places evolve, and these changes may be determined to be historic following National Register guidelines." The document further states that the "historic context developed in the nomination is essential in evaluating historic changes." This guidance conveys that traditional focus on integrity of design, workmanship, and materials, such as retention of historic exteriors to the exclusion of other aspects of integrity from the period of significance may be unsuitable. As documented in this MPDF, the desegregation process in Nashville oftentimes led to the transformation of the landscape of segregation and caused properties to experience change as they became part of an integrated landscape in the city.[195]

Any alterations to the exteriors of these properties must be evaluated within the context of the district's overall ability to convey the association and feeling related to its significance within the historic contexts established in Section E. This evaluation must occur before determining whether the district is eligible or ineligible for listing in the NRHP due to material or design changes outside the period of significance. As provided in the National Register Bulletin #15, How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, determining which of the aspects of integrity are most important to a particular property requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant. Historic properties either retain integrity—that is, convey their significance—or they do not. As the NPS notes, "The evaluation of integrity is sometimes a subjective judgment, but it must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance."[196]

Based on this documentation, previous studies, and the comprehensive resource inventory for Nashville, one property type was identified: Districts. This property type is described in depth below.

I. Districts

Property Type Description

Historic African American Residential Districts consist of historic residential subdivisions built exclusively for African Americans. The district boundaries are defined by the original subdivision platted by developers

[195] National Park Service, "Evaluating Non-Historic Exteriors," *Best Practices Review: A quarterly publication on National Register Bulletin guidance*, Issue 1, September 22, 2022, 1.
[196] National Park Service, "Evaluating Non-Historic Exteriors," 2022, 1.

and any expansions or other subdivisions that were recognized as part of the same neighborhood or community during the 1946–1975 period of significance. Character defining features of the district will include original circulation patterns, including streets and sidewalks, greenspaces, vegetation, hardscaping, and landscape features (or lack thereof); associated parks, pools, community buildings (or lack thereof); lot sizes, setbacks, and topography; and overall architectural styles, forms, and construction dates of houses. Districts will typically have the FHA-recommended curvilinear streets on the natural topography and dwellings that are one or one-and-one-half stories in height. Lot sizes and setbacks will vary in each subdivision.

The survey of Nashville's African American Residential Districts identified 12 districts from the 1946–1975 period of significance. Listed below are four inventoried resources recommended eligible by the Metro Historical Commission (MHC) and Richard Grubb and Associates (RGA) for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A and Criterion C under this MPDF. The properties identified in this MPDF as potentially NRHP-eligible are a starting point, based on the research documented in the historic context.

- College Hill
- Enchanted Hills
- Gardner's Gold Coast
- Haynes Heights

Significance

Historic African American Residential Districts in Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee will typically be eligible within the 1946–1975 period of significance under Criterion A for their association with Black Ethnic Heritage and/or Social History. A district will typically be eligible under Criterion C for its significance in Architecture and/or Landscape Architecture. Community Planning and Development can apply to both Criteria A and C. Criterion A applies when a subdivision was part of an important trend in the development and growth of a locality or metropolitan area; played a role in an important event or aspect such as the expansion of housing associated with African Americans; or was associated with a group of individuals such as business leaders or educators important in the history and development of a locality or metropolitan area. To identify relative importance among similar properties, refer to the historic context and consider whether

the subdivision is: a precedent-setting type, a model that influenced the development of other subdivisions, a subdivision that introduced a new concept, or its distinctive from others and why.

Community Planning and Development recognizes the contribution a subdivision makes to the historic growth and development of a city such as providing housing for residents displaced by urban renewal projects or by introducing a concept of community planning that influenced subsequent patterns. This includes the influence of local developers. It should be noted that Community Planning and Development is also an area of significance under Criterion C when it applies to areas reflecting important patterns of physical development, land division, or land use, as manifested in the design aspect and physical layout of a development.

Social History is the history of efforts to promote the welfare of society, the history of society, and the lifeways of its social groups. Ethnic Heritage is the history of people having a common ethnic or racial identity and recognizes the significant association of a historic neighborhood with a particular ethnic or racial group. This significance may be seen in trends in racial segregation through restrictive covenants, sales, or financing. In this case, Social History and Ethnic Heritage reflects the efforts to promote the welfare of Nashville's African American community as an extension of the American dream of suburban life and home ownership. As an area of significance, Social History often overlaps with Community Planning and Development.

Criterion C relates to the physical design or construction of a property. For a district to be considered eligible for the NRHP under Criterion C, it must meet one of the following criteria: embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represent the work of a master; possess high artistic value; or represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction. It is not necessary for districts to represent high-style forms or the work of noted architects. Rather, districts may be intact examples of post-war architectural styles and forms if they meet the criteria and integrity requirements. A subdivision may be eligible under Criterion C if it embodies high artistic values through its overall plan or the design of entranceways, streets, homes, and community spaces.

Districts may have significance at the local, state, or national levels.

A district will likely not be eligible for listing under Criterion B for its association with historically significant people, though individual resources associated with a significant person may be individually eligible for listing in the NRHP. Additionally, a district can be eligible under Criterion A if it has a sufficient number of prominent people to warrant historical significance as a group.

Registration Requirements

To meet Criterion A eligibility, the district must be directly associated with significant historical events and/or a pattern of events in the history of the African American Residential Districts in Nashville and the property must have been in existence at the time that the historical event took place. Properties must demonstrate significance in relation to the historic contexts, time periods, and themes outlined in Section E of this MPDF. They must retain sufficient integrity of location, setting, materials, design, workmanship, feeling, and association as defined by the National Park Service in *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*.

The extant districts must also meet registration requirements where they possess sufficient integrity of design, workmanship, and materials that evoke their period of significance. Although buildings evolve over time with advances in technology and uses, the districts should retain sufficient character defining features to maintain integrity from the 1946–1975 period of significance. When discussing the significance of a particular property under Criterion A, consider important dates, events, activities, persons, associations, and developmental forces, trends, and patterns relating the property type to its relevant context as well as any direct relationship of the property type to major stages of growth, pivotal events or activities, or personal associations characterizing the historic context.

Integrity

After determining if an individual subdivision has significance under the NRHP criteria, it is necessary to assess whether the district retains sufficient historic integrity to be considered eligible for listing. A district must be able to convey its significance. To do so, the district must retain most dwellings constructed during the period of significance, and circulation patterns, house lot size, setbacks, and hardscaping should be generally unaltered. Ideally, infrastructure such as street curbing, culverts, retaining walls, and other structures will be original or replaced in-kind.

Integrity of design is revealed through the combination of elements that create the form, plan, style, and spatial organization of a district. In a historic subdivision, the arrangement of houses, lots, yards, and streets comprise the design. Street plantings, parks, and other open spaces may be present as design features within a historic district. Design may have resulted from conscious planning decisions set forth in the historic plat map, project

specifications, building contracts or deed restrictions, or it may be the result of the personal tastes and individual efforts of homeowners to shape their domestic environment.

Individual buildings within a district will change over time, which can affect the integrity of design. Replacement windows and doors are acceptable if they do not change the size or location of the openings on the façade. Replacement siding is acceptable if it matches the pattern of the original siding (vinyl or aluminum may replace wood siding but not brick, for example). Small additions and outbuildings to the rear of the property will also have very little impact on the overall integrity of the district. New construction in keeping with the overall scale of the district will have a small impact (unless there are numerous instances) on the integrity of a district. The extent of changes and their cumulative effects in the case of a district must be weighed when evaluating integrity. For example, a subdivision that has experienced alterations to the original street patterns, subdivided lots, and infill development within the original green spaces no longer retains integrity of design.

Large additions, those that change the height or the size of a dwelling relative to the lot, will have an impact on the integrity of the district. Other activities that may diminish the integrity of feeling and association of a district include new construction outside the scale of the original buildings, subdividing original lots, commercial buildings or industrial facilities, and altering the design of an intersection.

Setting, feeling, and association are the three aspects of integrity that can often be reasonably assessed together. Setting refers to the physical environment of a district and the character of the place in which the district played its historical role. The aspect of feeling results from the presence of physical features that, when taken together, convey the district's historic period of significance. A district retains integrity of association if it continues to convey the important event or activity to an observer. Continued residential use can contribute to the integrity of association though change in use within a historic building is acceptable so long as the residential building remains and retains sufficient integrity. Historic subdivisions often have a semi-rural character that is reflected through their combination of urban amenities like streets and sidewalks and natural features including private yards and public parks. When present in a historic district, the retention of such a semi-rural character contributes to the integrity of setting, feeling, and association.

Since Criterion C relates to architectural significance of a district, the integrity of aspects of design, workmanship, and materials are typically more important when evaluating a district under this criterion. These

features allow a district to characterize its type, period, or method of construction. Location and setting may be important under Criterion C when the design responds to the immediate environment. Since Criterion A relates to significance gained through historical associations, the integrity of aspects of location, setting, feeling, and association weigh more heavily in evaluating a district. Integrity of design, workmanship, and materials are also important, but alterations that affect these aspects may not result in the same level of diminished integrity for districts found to be eligible under Criterion A.

Within a historic district, common alterations that typically do not result in diminished integrity include: exterior alterations to a small number of properties within the district boundary, including siding and alterations of garages carports; subdivision of a small number of lots within the district boundary; a small amount of infill construction, especially if similar in scale; loss of a small number of original buildings along the edges of the platted district; loss of original plant materials, especially where vegetation of similar scale and visual effect has been retained; maturation of trees that obscure original vistas; loss of a small number of features within the district, which may include residences, ancillary buildings, roads, or parks; maintenance of streets, paths, and sidewalks, including in-kind replacement of materials; and a small number of non-contributing properties.

Within a historic district, common alterations that compromise integrity include: changes to the size of housing lots through division or consolidation outside the period of significance; multiple infill properties that detract from the size and scale of buildings within the district; loss of entire sections of a planned subdivision; cumulative alterations and additions to a large number of houses; large number of non-contributing properties; alteration to an internal road network or access roads resulting in changed circulation patterns; redesign of park landscape and circulation features; or widespread changes of land use.

Historic boundaries of a district are defined by the extent of the original subdivision plat(s) and associated additions and/or re-plats. Boundaries are also defined by historic land use within the original subdivision, including formal recreational areas and green spaces. A boundary can be influenced by concentrations of non-contributing properties. Non-conforming properties at the edge of a subdivision can be excluded from the district boundaries. Boundaries can also be defined by fieldwork observations, including changes to the landscape, setting, and circulation patterns.

G. Geographical Data

The geographical limits of this MPDF are the municipal boundaries of the Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County (Metro). As established in 1963, the Metro municipal boundaries include the incorporated satellite cities of Belle Meade, Berry Hill, Forest Hills, Oak Hill, and Goodlettsville. The 1963 Metro municipal boundaries are justified as the appropriate boundary for the MPDF since the boundaries were legally established during the 1946–1975 period of significance.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The creation of this MPDF was funded in part by an Underrepresented Communities (URC) grant funded by the Historic Preservation Fund administered by the NPS and awarded to the Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County. The grant and matching local funds were administered by the Metropolitan Historical Commission (MHC), which commissioned cultural resources consulting firm Richard Grubb and Associates, Inc. (RGA) with the preparation of the MPDF and one accompanying NRHP nomination for the Haynes Heights Historic District. Primary members of the project team included:

- Caroline Eller, Historic Preservation Specialist and project manager, MHC
- Claudette Stager, Historic Preservation Specialist, MHC; retired Tennessee Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer and former National Register of Historic Places Coordinator
- Robbie D. Jones, Principal Senior Architectural Historian and project manager, RGA
- Sydney Schoof, Senior Architectural Historian, RGA
- Mary Cate Mosher, Architectural Historian, RGA

Other project team members at RGA's Tennessee branch office in Nashville included Damita Chavis-Fielder, a project-specific community engagement specialist, copyeditor Dr. Emma Durham, and GIS specialist Dave Strohmeier.

The historic context was based on primary research, property records, and other documentation available online and numerous secondary resources. Individual subdivision histories were based, in part, on research completed by Caroline Eller and Claudette Stager. Appendix A includes a master list of acronyms used and Appendix B contains the resource inventory data.

The historic contexts, themes, and inventory utilized previous studies undertaken by the National Park Service (NPS) through the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) Program, including *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (2002, revised 2008) and *Civil Rights in America: Racial Discrimination in Housing* (2021). The document format follows the NPS's *National Register Bulletin 16B: How to Complete a Multiple Property Documentation Form* (1991, revised 1999). This document also references the NPS's *National Register Bulletin: Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places* (2002) and the National Cooperative Highway

Research Program (NCHRP) and Transportation Research Board's *NCHRP Report 723: A Model for Identifying and Evaluating the Historic Significance of Post-World War II Housing* (2012).

This document follows current best practices in terminology and capitalization for documenting African American history, race, and ethnicity. The document follows journalism style guides, primarily the Associated Press and the National Association of Black Journalists, when addressing race and ethnicity by using lowercase for the term *white* and uppercase for the term *Black*. The terms *African American* and *Black* are used interchangeably. The terms *Colored* and *Negro* are used only if they appear in a historical quote or are part of the name of an organization or building. The use or nonuse of honorary titles such as *Rev*. or *Dr*. are utilized based on usage during the associated historic context. The authors utilized human-focused and inclusive language when addressing racially sensitive topics. Additionally, the document utilizes the names of institutions and agencies based on the usage during the associated historic context.

The commonly held names for primary resources were used for consistency. For example, *The Tennessean* was known as *The Tennessean* from 1907 to 1990, the *Nashville Tennessean* from 1909 to 1972, and *The Tennessean* from 1972 to the current day; however, it is most known as the *Tennessean*.

As part of the project's public engagement process, the project team communicated with community members and longtime residents of various residential subdivisions. Team members Damita Chavis-Fielder with RGA and Trevor Porter with MHC promoted the project with the distribution of flyers to over 40 churches, libraries, and community centers where they engaged with representatives at each facility. The project team distributed emails to over 100 stakeholders. Additionally, team members attended the Nashville Conference on African American History and Culture to promote the project. The team participated in a public meeting hosted by the MHC at the Bordeaux Public Library where team members discussed the Haynes Heights neighborhood and the overall project goals. Chavis-Fielder interviewed several longtime residents. A list of interviewees is included in Section I.

This MPDF was prepared by evaluating previous surveys and undertaking extensive original research, interviews, documentation, and a comprehensive survey of 12 extant districts containing hundreds of buildings. Most of the resources had not been previously surveyed by the MHC or TN-SHPO.

The intensive survey of 12 extant districts was completed primarily by Caroline Eller and Claudette Stager. The analysis of the surveyed properties in conjunction with the historic context research resulted in the

creation of the district property type identified in this document and the study list of four resources that were recommended eligible for listing in the NRHP by the MHC.

The period of significance for the MPDF is 1946 to 1975, which reflects the beginning of the post-World War II period and the 50-year cutoff for properties to be eligible for listing in the NRHP. This period of significance adequately covers the mid-twentieth century when all-Black residential subdivisions were constructed and developed in Nashville. Although federal laws banned discrimination in housing in the 1960s, subdivisions continued to be segregated through the early 1970s due to lack of enforcement in private real estate transactions after the 1968 Fair Housing Act, as revealed in a series of federal lawsuits filed from 1970–1972 in Nashville.

This MPDF justifies listing of historic resources under the following criteria: Criterion A for historical significance in the areas of Ethnic History as associated with Black history and/or Social History; and Criterion C for architectural significance as associated with the development of residential subdivisions. Properties may be significant at the local, state, or national levels. Individual properties may qualify for listing under Criterion B for their association with historically significant people.

Approximately 16 resources in Nashville are currently listed in the NRHP under Criterion A for Ethnic History as associated with Black history.

This MPDF recommends four districts that should be evaluated for listing in the NRHP. As part of this MPDF submission, the Haynes Heights Historic District in North Nashville was nominated for listing in the NRHP. Robbie D. Jones, Sydney Schoof, and Mary Cate Mosher with RGA prepared the NRHP nomination for the Haynes Heights Historic District, which contains 182 buildings and structures, including 121 dwellings.

This MPDF was reviewed by Caroline Eller and Claudette Stager at the MHC, Dr. Rebecca Schmitt and Dr. J. Ethan Holden at the TN-SHPO, and the Tennessee State Review Board (SRB), which includes prominent historians, architects, preservationists, and architectural historians. The document was also reviewed by an advisory committee comprised of Linda Wynn, Assistant Director for State Programs at the Tennessee Historical Commission and Chair of the Metro Historical Commission; Dr. Learotha Williams, Jr., Tennessee State University and director of the North Nashville Project; and Dr. Marisa Richmond, Middle Tennessee State University. Dr. Williams and Ms. Stager are on the SRB.

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Elam, Dr. Lloyd, and Clara

Jones, Clinton and Jeanette

Lytle, Erskine and Venetta

Martin, Quinta

Mayberry, Barbara

Streator, John and Wilma

Street, Pat

Appendix A—Document Acronyms

ABC	American Baptist College
ABT	American Baptist Theological Seminary
AMA	American Missionary Association
AME	American Methodist Episcopal
A&I	Agricultural & Industrial
CME	Colored Methodist Episcopal
FHA	Federal Housing Administration
HOLC	Home Owners' Loan Corporation
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
MHC	Metropolitan Historical Commission
MPC	Metropolitan Planning Commission
MPDF	Multiple Property Documentation Form
MTSU	Middle Tennessee State University
NCCPC	Nashville City-County Planning Commission
NCI	Nashville Christian Institute
NCLC	Nashville Christian Leadership Council
NHA	Nashville Housing Authority
NHL	National Historic Landmark
NRHP	National Register of Historic Places
PWA	Public Works Administration
THC	Tennessee Historical Commission
THD	Tennessee Highway Department
TN-SHPO	Tennessee State Historic Preservation Office
TSU	Tennessee State University
VA	Veterans Administration
WPA	Works Progress Administration

Appendix B - Resource Inventory Data

This section provides an inventory of the 12 districts that were surveyed as part of the creation of this MPDF. The districts are listed in chronological order from when they were initially platted. The districts that were not recommended NRHP-eligible appeared to lack sufficient integrity, historical significance, and/or architectural significance. These districts could be determined NRHP-eligible once additional research is completed.

Subdivision	Development Date	Location
College Hill*	1948–1959	North Nashville near TSU
Gardner's Gold Coast*	1953–1960	Bordeaux along Ashland City Highway
Haynes Heights*	1955–1969	Bordeaux along Whites Creek Pike
Gardner Meadows	1955	Bordeaux along Ashland City Highway
Normal Heights	1955	North Nashville along Buchanan Street
Fisk Park	1955	North Nashville, three blocks north of Jefferson Street at 23rd Avenue North
Hillhurst Acres	1955–1959	Northeast Nashville along Dickerson Pike at Ewing Drive
Clintondale	1957	Bordeaux along Ashland City Highway
Cumberland Gardens	1959–1962	North Nashville along Buchanan Street at 26th Avenue North
Haynes Meade	1960	Bordeaux along Whites Creek Pike
Enchanted Hills*	1962–1989	Bordeaux along Ashland City Highway
Haynes Manor	1964–1972	Bordeaux along Whites Creek Pike

*Recommended eligible for listing in the NRHP based on current research and survey