

PUBLIC HISTORY TO PUBLIC POLICY:  
USING HISTORIC RESOURCES TO INFORM PARK  
INTERPRETATION AND COMMUNITY PRESERVATION

by

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This project has proven far more multi-dimensional than I could have imagined on that chilly day in October 2015 when I first walked into the Moore farm bungalow. Certainly the house was tantalizingly full of “stuff,” but what emerged from beneath the layers was a quantity, and quality, of historically informative material that I still find mind-boggling. For over a year and a half I have been swimming in this artifactual wellspring, and it has been a deep and satisfying dive. First and foremost I would like to express my gratitude to my mentor and guide, Dr. Carroll Van West, who has cultivated, so to speak, my natural inclination toward rural and agricultural history. Without Dr. West I would never have known the Moores, their kinfolk, and their neighbors who together populate a remarkable narrative. Dr. West has applied order to the mass of data and guided me in connecting the dots. To my calls of “Marco” he could be counted on to respond “Polo.” My sincere thanks as well to Dr. Mary Hoffschwelle who sparked a new fascination with early twentieth-century history and women’s history, which proved invaluable in this endeavor. I am also deeply appreciative of the many others who contributed their information, memories, time, and enthusiasm to this investigation of local history: Shain Dennison, Angela Goddard, the staff at the Center for Historic Preservation, my fellow MTSU Public History graduate students, and members of the Cane Ridge community, particularly Twana Chick, president of their community club. Finally, to Mary Moore, thank you, thank you for preserving, protecting, and sharing your family’s heritage, which will enrich the lives of others far into the future.

## ABSTRACT

The creation of a new public park containing the intact cultural landscape of the Moore farm prompted Metro Parks of Nashville and Davidson County to engage the Center for Historic Preservation to assess the historical significance of the property and offer recommendations for preservation and interpretation. The project engendered deep research and analysis into the history of the farm complex, the family who owned it, the park landscape as a whole, and the associated community of Cane Ridge. This thesis places the farm and park property within several contexts: the historical background and current situation of the park system in Davidson County; the historical, cultural, and geographical framework of Middle Tennessee as well as of the specific locality; and the current preservation climate in the region. Utilizing the assembled information, including documents, material culture, cultural landscape artifacts, and personal contacts, the Moore family is employed as a paradigm, illustrating a regional, rural-urban history across a two-century period. This chronicle will inform the park's interpretation, enabling a narrative unique in the region for its chronological breadth and content depth, and guide local preservation efforts in the face of extreme development pressure.

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CHAPTER ONE:  
A HISTORY OF PUBLIC SPACES  
IN NASHVILLE AND DAVIDSON COUNTY

In May 2015, Metro Parks of Nashville and Davidson County announced plans for a large anchor park in the southeast quadrant of the county (Figure 1). The result of cooperative efforts and investment by Metro Parks, the Joe C. Davis Foundation, the Conservation Fund, and multiple landowners, the nearly 600-acre site represents a crucial component in decades-long master planning for county parks and greenways intended to preserve open space and provide places for recreational and educational enrichment at key locations. The summer 2015 issue of *Greenprint*, the newsletter for the non-profit organization Greenways for Nashville, touted the property as a “history-making open space acquisition project,” showcasing the successful collaboration of diverse private and public entities and individuals.<sup>1</sup> Initiated by Angela Goddard, executive director of the non-profit Joe C. Davis Foundation, the procurement of the property began with a charge to locate and fund a health-and-wellness project, and evolved into the creation of a significant county park through an alliance between Metro Parks and the Foundation. The latter subsequently became the contributor of one of the largest single investments in a public park by a non-profit organization in Nashville’s history.<sup>2</sup> This private-public

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<sup>1</sup> “Stars Align for Antioch!,” *Greenprint* no. 17 (Summer 2015): 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

partnership exemplified a new model for the region, one championed by Mayor Megan Barry, who took office in fall 2015.<sup>3</sup>

Key players in the park's development, including Davis, Metro Parks Greenways and Open Space Assistant Director Shain Dennison, and Metro Council Member Jacobia Dowell, were keen from the outset to ensure that the park preserved and interpreted local and regional history, in addition to its role as protected greenspace and its prospective utilization for passive and active recreation. These representatives wished to evaluate the condition, merit, and interpretative potential of the historical elements of the future Southeast Park, particularly as relates to the park's linchpin property, the 179-acre intact farm landscape that once belonged to the Moore family.

In fall 2015 Metro Parks requested the assistance of the Center for Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State University. Center director, and Tennessee State Historian, Dr. Carroll Van West and this thesis's author met with Dennison and Goddard in October to discuss the research needs and goals. The Center subsequently launched intensive research and analysis conducted by staff and graduate students, led by West. This effort culminated in the Center's "Moore-Sanford Farm Draft Assessment and Recommendations" completed in May 2016, followed in spring 2017 by an online Story Map and a Heritage Development Report intended for presentation to Southeast Park's master-planning committee and utilization by Metro Parks. The ultimate configuration, functions, and interpretation of Southeast Park remain to be seen, but the groundwork has

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<sup>3</sup> Angela Goddard, Executive Director, Joe C. Davis Foundation, personal communication with author, January 20, 2017.

now been laid for a sensitive treatment of the property and a deeply layered, multi-century historical narrative of the site as it relates to the local community and the region.



Figure 1. Boundaries of Southeast Park.  
Image courtesy of Metro Parks.

Metro Parks' reports and media stories contemporary with the announcement of Southeast Park tend to start the clock with twenty-first-century initiatives. These include the 2002 Metro Parks' master plan, updated slightly in 2008; Nashville's Open Space Plan, also called Nashville: Naturally, unveiled by Mayor Karl Dean in 2011, which initiated an ongoing collaboration between the mayor's office and the Land Trust for Tennessee; NashvilleNext, begun in 2012 and presented in 2015, which represents an overall plan for the future growth of the county; and Plan to Play, a countywide park-

system master-plan project that partnered Metro Parks, the Trust for Public Land, and the Nashville Parks Foundation. In development since 2015, Plan to Play was completed in 2016 and presented to the public in early 2017.

Yet the planning that has fostered Southeast Park is in fact the latest iteration or phase of a much longer process that has evolved over the course of the past century-plus. This chapter will present this longer trajectory, to provide a more comprehensive context for the development and import of Southeast Park within the grand scheme of the city and county park system. The wider perspective also offers insight into the mindsets of governing bodies as to the park's perceived use and purpose, and suggests ways to effectively communicate to park officials the value of the park as a historic landscape worthy of protection and interpretation. This understanding and communication are especially timely, with master plans for both the entire park system and Southeast Park on the verge of finalization, approval, and implementation, beginning in fall 2017.

As in many American cities, throughout the nineteenth century Nashville's residents sought open spaces for relaxation, exercise, inspiration, and socializing, a carry-over of the ancient concept of a town "common."<sup>4</sup> Lacking dedicated locations created specifically as parks, early Nashville urbanites took advantage of what greenspaces they had available, including nearby rural areas, the gardens of Belmont Mansion, Watkins Grove (later Watkins Park), and cemeteries such as City Cemetery (1822), Mount Olivet

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<sup>4</sup> John Brinckerhoff Jackson, "The Origin of Parks," *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), referenced by Amalie Wright in *Future Park: Imagining Tomorrow's Urban Parks* (Collingwood, Victoria, Australia: CSIRO Publishing, 2013), 22.

(1856), and Mount Ararat (1869).<sup>5</sup> Well-known systems of designed parks were constructed during the mid and late nineteenth century in cities like Boston, Buffalo, and New York, principally the work of Frederick Law Olmsted, credited as the father of the field of landscape architecture. In Nashville it was not the city government but real estate developers and companies associated with streetcar lines that initiated the earliest public-park spaces, employing “trolley parks” to promote residential land sales. For example, in 1887 the Nashville Land Improvement Company dedicated a ten-acre parcel on Charlotte Turnpike named Richland Park. In 1889 this same company sold property to the Nashville and West Nashville Railway that contained Cherokee Park on Richland Creek. After serving their real-estate-promotion purpose, such parks were generally also developed. Originally twenty-five acres, Cherokee Park was down to just two acres, the site of a sulfur spring, by 1909 and that was soon lost to the growing subdivision as well.<sup>6</sup>

Nashville finally established its own city-managed, racially segregated parks at the turn of the twentieth century. The oldest official parks in the city are Watkins Park, which opened in 1901, and Centennial Park, dating to 1902 (Figure 2). After the city charter was amended in 1909, making it mandatory for the City Council to levy taxes for the purpose of funding city parks, other properties were added to Nashville’s young park system. Shelby Park in East Nashville, another popular streetcar destination, is one

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<sup>5</sup> “The Family of Belmont Mansion,” [belmontmansion.com/people](http://belmontmansion.com/people), accessed February 22, 2017; Christine Kreyling, *The Plan of Nashville: Avenues to a Great City* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005), 17; Katherine M. Merzbacher, “Centennial Park, Nashville: The Evolution of Urban Parks as Civic Public Space, 1897-1970” (Master’s Thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2009), 8.

<sup>6</sup> William Waller, ed., *Nashville, 1900-1910* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972), 13-14; Kreyling, 17-18.

example, though it nearly suffered the same outcome as Cherokee Park. Edgefield Land Company had acquired the acreage containing the park in 1890 but defaulted on its purchase obligations. With access to funds from tax revenue thanks to the 1909 charter, the city was able to purchase the property, as well as adjacent tracts, together totaling 250 acres.<sup>7</sup> All of the parks described above opened as segregated facilities. The first city-managed public park available to African-Americans, Hadley Park, opened in 1912.



Figure 2. Centennial Park, 1930s.

*Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

While Metro Parks of Nashville and Davidson County touts a 2002 schema as its “first-ever parks and greenways master plan,” previous governmental bodies and individuals, starting in at least 1901, also attempted to devise a blueprint for a metropolitan assemblage of public spaces via a series of strategies and long-range plans.<sup>8</sup> Historian Leland Johnson in *The Parks of Nashville* outlines three periods of municipal

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<sup>7</sup> Waller, 16-17.

<sup>8</sup> Metro Parks of Nashville and Davidson County, “Plan to Play: The Nashville Parks & Greenways Master Plan, Draft Plan,” February 2017, 2.

park advancement. The first, the late-nineteenth-century “formulative period,” came on the heels of the successful 1897 Centennial Exposition, and capitalized on both a national urban-parks movement and the popularity of Nashville’s trolley parks, including Glendale, Cherokee, and Spring.<sup>9</sup> The second or maturation period is bookended between the 1901 establishment of Nashville’s municipal park system and the 1962 passage of the Metro Charter that unified city and county governments into a single entity, the first merger of its kind in the United States. During this middle period the Board of Parks Commissioners formed and the number of Nashville parks rose from one to thirty-three.<sup>10</sup> In the third or “modern period,” which began in 1963, the Metropolitan government appointed the first Metropolitan Board of Parks and Recreation, the Open Space Land program launched, the number of parks rose to seventy-two, and both the environmental and historic preservation movements became influential factors in park priorities and policies.<sup>11</sup>

Comparing early park-planning efforts to modern-day strategies, there are a number of similarities. The first endeavor, the two-point plan adopted by park commissioners in 1901, bears a striking resemblance to certain Plan to Play goals in 2017, though the former was focused on city parks and the latter on parks in both city and county. The 1901 plan called for a system of four to five large parks of fifty acres or more, strategically sited in each quarter of the metropolitan area to minister equally to the

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<sup>9</sup> Leland R. Johnson, *The Parks of Nashville: A History of the Board of Parks and Recreation* (Nashville: Metropolitan Nashville and Davidson County Board of Parks and Recreation, 1986), xii, 33, 42.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, xii.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, xii, 163, 167, 200, 173.

citizenry, though with emphasis on the white population. In addition to these large parks, a complementary system of smaller parks would be scattered throughout the city.<sup>12</sup> By 1916 most of this plan had been accomplished: Centennial Park in the western sector of the city, Shelby Park in the east (Figure 3), and the African-American Hadley Park in the north, accompanied by a number of smaller public spaces in various locales. The main shortcoming was the lack of a large park in the southern sector, though that area did have small parks as compensation.<sup>13</sup>

In comparison, the 2017 master-plan report for Plan to Play also acknowledged the accomplishment of many goals laid out in a prior (2002) plan. Like the 1901 plan, one of the 2002 objectives had been an equitable arrangement of park facilities: large parks located in the primary sectors of the county to serve as “anchors,” accompanied by a range of smaller parks. Plan to Play did revise the park “typologies” from the 2002 plan, defining each park type by characteristics like size: a “regional park” being one hundred-plus acres, a “community park” twenty to one hundred acres, a “neighborhood park” three to twenty acres, and a “pocket park” three acres or less.<sup>14</sup> Another commonality between the 1901 and 2017 plans is the concept of equity, geographically and socially. In the 1901 plan, the primary stated rationale behind the distribution of parks was “that no section of the city would be neglected.”<sup>15</sup> One of the “Guiding Principles” of Plan to

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<sup>12</sup> Johnson, 47, citing Minutes of the Board of Parks Commissioners, 1901-1985, I, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 83.

<sup>14</sup> “Plan to Play: Draft Plan,” 125.

<sup>15</sup> Johnson, 47, citing Minutes of the Board of Parks Commissioners, 1901-1985, I, 3.

Play, reinforced repeatedly in the “Draft Plan” presented in February 2017, is that the network of parks be “open to all,” enjoining the park system to “distribute resources throughout Nashville to ensure equitable access and inclusion for everyone.”<sup>16</sup>



Figure 3. Shelby Park, 1935, one of Nashville’s early anchor parks.  
*Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

The concept of equity relates not only to physical distribution of the parks within the county but also to audience diversity. Leland Johnson cites Nashville as one of the first southern cities, if not the first, to have a public park specifically intended to serve its African-American residents, which is Hadley Park in North Nashville.<sup>17</sup> Other Nashville parks at the time, including Centennial and Shelby parks, excluded blacks. While establishing a separate park based on race is clearly symptomatic of the racial divide and segregation practices in play across the South during the first half of the twentieth

<sup>16</sup> “Plan to Play: Draft Plan,” 117.

<sup>17</sup> Johnson, 73, 78. Johnson, Katherine Merzbacher, and Bobby Lovett note an older African-American park in Nashville, Greenwood Park, founded in 1905 by Preston Taylor, owned and managed by African Americans, not the city of Nashville.

century, it is also an indication that the city acknowledged, at least in a limited way, its heterogeneous population during the park-planning process in the early 1900s.

Metropolitan Nashville and Davidson County desegregated its park system in the 1960s.

Plan to Play, too, recognizes Nashville's diverse demographics, though to a much greater degree, and directly addresses the need for Metro Parks to practice egalitarianism. The "Draft Plan" states that the park system should be "a shared space for ALL, regardless of economic status, age, race, or religious or political affiliation."<sup>18</sup> The planners acknowledge that the Antioch community, which will be a primary population center served by Southeast Park, is a highly diverse part of the county. This area averages 40% white and 60% non-white, the latter category including residents identified as African American, Asian, Hispanic and Latino, Native American and Alaskan Native, and Pacific Islander.<sup>19</sup> Data collected in 2014 for Cane Ridge High School, which is directly adjacent to Southeast Park, reveal a student body that is more than twice the diversity average for Tennessee schools in general, with a minority enrollment of 82%. Data for the nearby Cane Ridge Elementary School indicate similar demographics.<sup>20</sup> Behind the scenes (though not directly addressed in Plan to Play) Metro Parks officials have envisioned collaborative educational programming between Southeast Park and both of these schools, which makes the ethnic makeup of their student bodies, as well as

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<sup>18</sup> "Plan to Play: Draft Plan," xvi.

<sup>19</sup> Data found on [factfinder.census.gov](http://factfinder.census.gov), accessed March 1, 2017. 2010 Demographic Profile and 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, zip code 37013.

<sup>20</sup> Data found on [publicschoolreview.com](http://publicschoolreview.com), accessed March 1, 2017. From 2014 National Center for Education Statistics, Tennessee Department of Education. Tennessee's average minority enrollment is 35%.

the community at large, a consideration in planning for the park's functions and interpretation.<sup>21</sup>

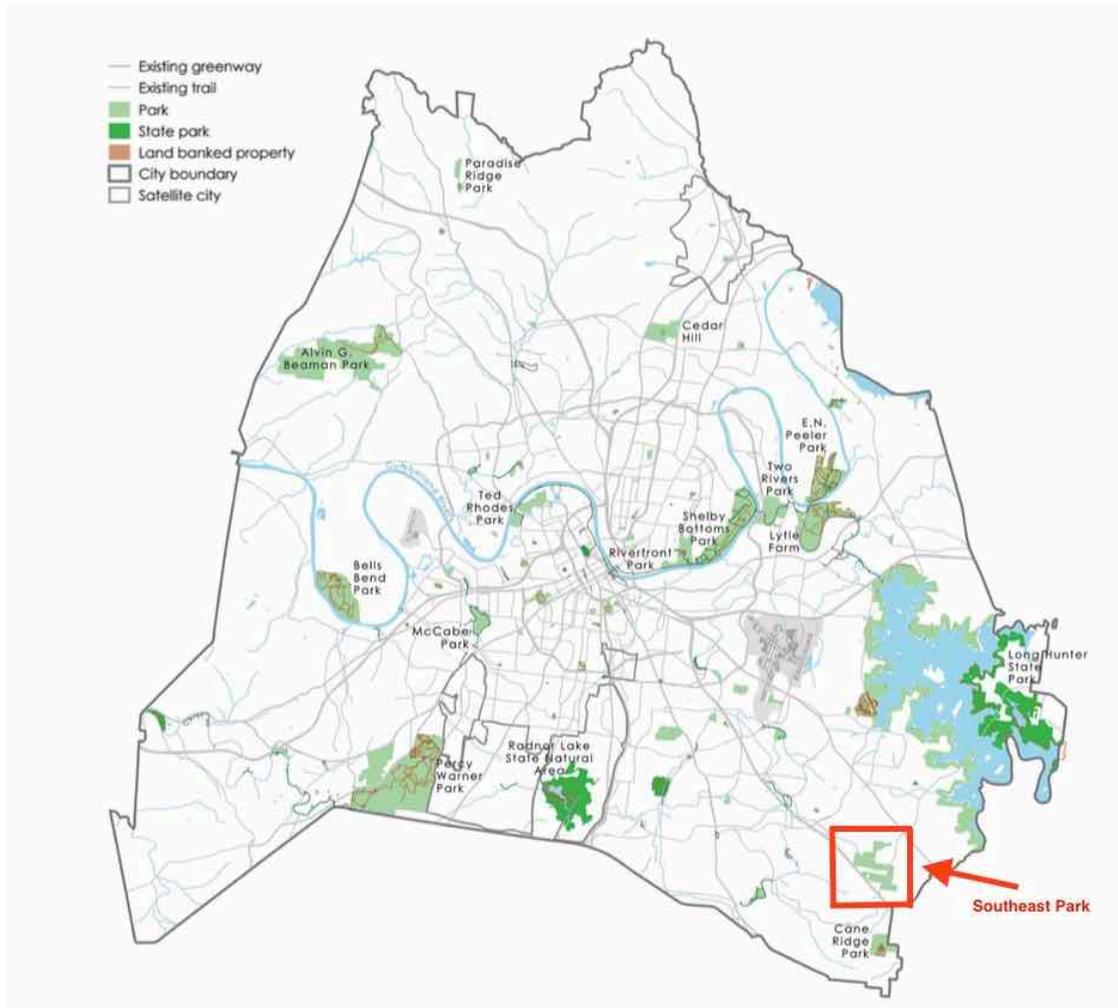


Figure 4. Map of Davidson County Parks and Greenways System, 2017.  
*Source:* “Plan to Play: Draft Plan,” 28. Image courtesy of Metro Parks.

In 2015, as plans for Southeast Park began to form, the main gap in the system for the expanding metropolitan area was still a large park available to residents in the southeastern quadrant. By the early twenty-first century, the county's anchor parks were

<sup>21</sup> Shain Dennison, Assistant Director, Metro Parks Greenways and Open Space Division, and Angela Goddard, personal communications with author.

positioned further from the urban core than the original city-quadrant parks of Centennial, Shelby, and Hadley. In the southwest were the Warner Parks, in the east Ravenwood and Lytle Farm, in the northeast Cedar Hill and Crooked Branch, and in the west/northwest Beaman and Bells Bend (Figure 4).<sup>22</sup> In the southernmost portion of the county there are several small parks: Mill Creek Park, created between 2007 and 2014; Cane Ridge Park (initially named Battle Road Park), which opened in the late 1980s; Cecil Rhea Crawford Park, which is on land donated in 1971, then reconfigured, renamed, and opened by Metro Parks in 1982; and Antioch Park. Yet the amenities and acreage of these smaller spaces have failed to compensate for the lack of a large-scale public site, especially given the recent, rapid, and intensive population growth in the southeast quadrant. In a 2014 press release Mayor Karl Dean stated, “Southeast Davidson County is our fastest growing area where there is a need for more parks and greenways.”<sup>23</sup> Shain Dennison notes that a key factor in the phenomenal, and largely unanticipated, growth in the southeastern section was Nashville’s funding of an expansion of water and sewer systems. According to Dennison, the growth in the Antioch area thus proceeded at such an accelerated pace that many open-space parcels with park potential, including farmland, were lost to development before Metro Parks, or other governmental or private non-profit entities, recognized the urgency to procure and protect

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<sup>22</sup> “Stars Align for Antioch!”

<sup>23</sup> Karl F. Dean, quoted in “Mayor Hosts ‘Walk 100 Miles’ at Mill Creek Greenway at Mill Creek Park,” press release by the Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County, Office of the Mayor, August 16, 2014. Found on website for the Land Trust for Tennessee, [landtrusttn.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/press-release\\_Walk-100-Mill-Creek.pdf](http://landtrusttn.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/press-release_Walk-100-Mill-Creek.pdf), accessed February 22, 2017.

the landscape.<sup>24</sup> For Metro Parks the growth pattern further underscores the merit of Southeast Park. *The Tennessean* published articles in May 2015 that referred to Southeast Park as the “long-awaited anchor park” and the “long-sought park.”<sup>25</sup>

In 2006, Metro Parks engaged landscape architecture firm Hawkins Partners as the principal consultant in preparation for Plan to Play. In similar fashion, in the 1920s the Board of Parks, chaired by Percy Warner, enlisted the St. Louis-based landscape engineering firm of Harland Bartholomew & Associates as consultant for a three-year study to culminate in a thorough strategy for a county-wide park system. Johnson calls the resulting 1926 initiative Nashville’s “first professional plans for comprehensive park system development.”<sup>26</sup> Harland Bartholomew’s main recommendation in 1926 was land acquisition, specifically of large natural areas at the periphery of the city. To connect these spaces Harland Bartholomew envisioned an encircling grand boulevard and a series of smaller linking boulevards, like a wheel with the city center at the hub.<sup>27</sup> Elements of this concept did come to fruition, including the procurement of large tracts of land for parks, and the creation of several boulevards, such as Belle Meade Boulevard.

While the wheel arrangement of boulevards was not fully realized as presented to park board members in 1926, it can be viewed as a precursor to Nashville’s greenways. Greenways specialist Robert Searns in fact calls the “axes, boulevards and parkways”

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<sup>24</sup> Shain Dennison, personal communication with author, February 1, 2017.

<sup>25</sup> Joey Garrison, “600 Acres in Southeast Nashville Planned for Park Space,” *The Nashville Tennessean*, May 14, 2015; Jill Cowan, “Southeast Park Would Bolster Nashville’s Open Space,” *The Nashville Tennessean*, May 15, 2015.

<sup>26</sup> Johnson, 99.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-100.

created by communities throughout the long period from pre-1700 to the 1960s the first generation of greenways, or “ancestral greenways.”<sup>28</sup> Davidson County’s Greenways system has been promoted by mayoral initiatives for decades, officially beginning in the 1990s under Mayor Phil Bredesen, and reiterated and amplified in the 2002 parks master plan presented by Mayor Bill Purcell. This program subsequently created eighty miles of connective corridors of protected land in Davidson County, often incorporating pedestrian and bike trails.<sup>29</sup> In 2017, greenways again featured prominently in Metro Parks’ long-range planning: Plan to Play’s vision for the future recommends acquisition of an additional 130 acres of land for greenways by 2026, and the creation of 53 more miles of paved multi-use trails as multimodal transportation routes connecting parks, communities, and other resources and destinations.<sup>30</sup> One of the anticipated new corridors is intended to tie Southeast Park into the Metro Parks’ Greenways network. So, while a twenty-first-century “matrix” of nature-friendly protected corridors and non-automobile pathways supplanted the Olmsted-esque early twentieth-century concept of a wheel of formal, landscaped boulevards intended as automobile routes to parks, one principal motivation for both ideas was the same: to provide public access to open spaces.<sup>31</sup>

Architect and landscape architect Amalie Wright, who terms greenways “linkage parks,” takes this further, attaching historical and social components to such routes, calling them

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<sup>28</sup> Robert M. Searns, “The Evolution of Greenways as an Adaptive Urban Landscape,” in *Greenways: The Beginning of an International Movement*, ed. Julius Gy. Fabos and Jack Ahern (New York: Elsevier, 1995), 65, 66.

<sup>29</sup> “Plan to Play: Draft Plan,” 25.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 139, 145.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

the descendents of the primordial pathways forged between significant places, as well as “a response to an increasingly fragmented and disconnected world.”<sup>32</sup>

Policy initiatives laid out in the mid-twentieth century also impacted later park planning in the era of Metro government. In the 1960s Metro Nashville Mayor Beverly Briley promoted the Open Space Land program, a three-point park-system strategy that again called for acquisition of large open spaces to ring the city as a counterbalance to urbanization. Briley’s plan included increased recreation programs in the suburbs, and collaborative partnerships between parks and schools.<sup>33</sup> Over fifty years later, the successful acquisition of substantial tracts of land fostered by Briley, as well as other leaders, particularly Mayor Karl Dean, engendered a remarkably high percentage of acreage in large regional parks when compared to peer cities like Austin, Charlotte, Denver, Louisville, and Portland.<sup>34</sup> Plan to Play calls this “a unique and defining strength of Nashville’s park system.”<sup>35</sup> Yet, while Metro Parks asserts that such large land acquisitions will continue to be a priority, Plan to Play notes that the past emphasis on

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<sup>32</sup> Wright, 320.

<sup>33</sup> Johnson, 163.

<sup>34</sup> On August 21, 2015, Gene Johnson and Brian Skoloff authored “Nashville Mayor Continues to Increase Parkland,” published in *Associated Press Regional State Report—Tennessee*, announcing Mayor Karl Dean’s addition of 568 acres to Beaman Park. The article credits Dean with adding over 4,500 acres of park land to Davidson County’s park system during his eight-year tenure, an increase of more than 25%, including fourteen new parks and six park expansions; and with increasing greenways by 50%, with forty new trail miles. Planners participating in Plan to Play determined the peer-city selection.

<sup>35</sup> “Plan to Play: Draft Plan,” 111.

passivity and preservation also resulted in a shortage of developed spaces designed for active recreation, as well as a lack of smaller urban parks.<sup>36</sup>

Metro's Plan to Play does not specifically mention collaboration between Metro Parks and public schools, even though school-group visitation and associated programming have become common at many local non-profit-administered sites, such as the Hermitage, Cheekwood, and Glen Leven. However, Plan to Play does recommend utilizing input from public schools concerning the locations of future park facilities, and notes the importance of after-school and summer programs for children.<sup>37</sup> Again, representatives of the Metro Parks staff have assumed relationships will form between Southeast Park and nearby public schools, particularly as relates to educational programming and school-group visitation.

Metropolitan growth has been a significant impetus for park planning across the decades, beginning with the first Nashville parks. In *A Plan of Nashville*, architectural historian Christine Kreyling points out that the creation of early Nashville parks like Centennial and Shelby "was an implicit acknowledgement that the open, rural land surrounding Nashville was rapidly vanishing, and that if the citizens were going to have access to nature, the city was going to have to provide it."<sup>38</sup> Harland Bartholomew's 1926 evaluation of contemporary and future park needs resulted in the observation that Nashville's park system was neither keeping pace with the growing population, which went from 100,000 in 1901 to 136,000 in 1926, nor with changing trends, particularly the

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<sup>36</sup> "Plan to Play: Draft Plan," 111.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxiv, 177.

<sup>38</sup> Kreyling, 19.

increasing use of automobiles.<sup>39</sup> Gary Hawkins, in the Plan to Play public presentation in February 2017, noted an even more dramatic increase in the Davidson County population by nearly 100,000 people between 2002 and 2016, bringing the total to over 660,000. He predicted continued growth, with the addition of another 100,000 people by 2027.<sup>40</sup> Davidson County parks multiplied between 2002 and 2016, from 153 to 185 parks and from 9,483 acres to more than 15,000, but Hawkins noted the growth of park facilities has still not kept pace with population booms. The Plan to Play recommendation is to add another 4,541 acres of park land (the bulk of which, 3,187 acres, would be large regional parks like Southeast Park) over the next decade to accommodate the burgeoning population and its accompanying metropolitan sprawl.<sup>41</sup>

The public benefits of parks in metropolitan areas like Nashville have held certain constants over the years, such as respite, inspiration, health, and edification. The physical, psychological, and social rewards of getting in touch with nature and participating in outdoor activities have been touted since significant numbers of people began to move from rural to urban locations, and cities became increasingly urbanized and congested. In a booklet entitled *Nashville Parks & Playgrounds at the Turn of the Century*, a caption beneath a photo of Morgan Park marks it as a place “Where factory folk find rest,” while another proclaims that Cave Spring in Shelby Park offers “Good cheer to town-tired

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<sup>39</sup> Johnson, 99.

<sup>40</sup> Gary Hawkins, Plan to Play presentation, February 13, 2017, conducted at the Nashville Public Library.

<sup>41</sup> “Plan to Play: Draft Plan,” xxvi.

rebels.”<sup>42</sup> Today’s parks might offer visitors a more diversified array of activities and amenities than their nineteenth-century counterparts, from art classes to community gardens, soccer fields to “spraygrounds,” but the essential benefits are the same.

Yet inherent in the rewards and popular functions of public parks a tension exists between protective appreciation and landscape-altering recreation that has impacted park planning through the decades. Environmental designer Kerry Dawson in *Greenways: The Beginning of an International Movement*, characterizes this as a balancing act between “intrinsic value” and “extrinsic value,” the percentage of each value determining the “pressure” on a site; the greater the perceived “extrinsic value,” or the potential for active use, the more difficult it is to protect the land from modification and overuse.<sup>43</sup> Leland Johnson points out that almost immediately after Nashville’s Board of Parks Commissioners formed in the early twentieth century it faced a dilemma: what should be the primary function of Nashville’s city parks, as places for passive communing or active recreating? The board’s solution at that time was to try to do both.<sup>44</sup> This strategy was in keeping with the general national trend toward blending play and conservation that characterized open-space strategies throughout much of the twentieth century.<sup>45</sup> But harmonious integration of the two has often been a challenging task. Dawson admonishes

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<sup>42</sup> *Nashville Parks & Playgrounds at the Turn of the Century* (Nashville: Blue and Gray Press, 1971).

<sup>43</sup> Kerry J. Dawson, “A Comprehensive Conservation Strategy for Georgia’s Greenways,” in *Greenways*, ed. Julius Gy. Fabos and Jack Ahern, 37, 39.

<sup>44</sup> Johnson, 63; Merzbacher, 25.

<sup>45</sup> Julius Gy. Fabos, “Introduction and Overview: The Greenways Movement, Uses and Potentials of Greenways,” in *Greenways*, ed. Julius Gy. Fabos and Jack Ahern, 6.

both planners and the public to craft strategies for “protecting and preserving that which we both admire and threaten.”<sup>46</sup> Southeast Park, too, could face contention over the balance between passive recreation and preservation, and active recreation. Thus the analysis of the site by the Center for Historic Preservation, as well as regional naturalists, has been of critical importance in discovering the historical, cultural, and natural components of Southeast Park before specific plans are fully developed.

That environmental conservation and natural-area appreciation have played key roles in Davidson County’s park system is evident in several locations, including Radnor Lake and Beaman Park. Plan to Play’s “Draft Plan” notes that the Parks department recognized early in its development that Davidson County’s natural topography, coupled with its city-county governmental system, “presents a unique opportunity to protect rural and forested land within the county.”<sup>47</sup> A case in point is Nashville’s pair of Warner Parks, which for decades has been considered a living laboratory for environmental fieldwork, and staked out an identity as “a sanctuary of historical and ecological significance.”<sup>48</sup> The catchphrase appearing on the Warner Parks website in 2017 is “Preserving our sanctuary in the city.”<sup>49</sup> Nashville’s Open Space Plan, launched in 2011 and promoted via the slogan “Four Corners, Nine Bends, and a Heart of Green,” advocates a countywide connected system of conserved green spaces, going so far as to promote acquisition of land adjacent to existing parks in order to protect viewsheds and

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<sup>46</sup> Dawson, *Greenways*, ed. Julius Gy. Fabos and Jack Ahern, 42.

<sup>47</sup> “Plan to Play: Draft Plan,” 135.

<sup>48</sup> Johnson, 180.

<sup>49</sup> warnerparks.org, accessed February 25, 2017.

more-comprehensive habitats. NashvilleNext, a 2015 plan produced by the Metro Planning Department, promotes protection of the region's "rural character and natural resources."<sup>50</sup>

Plan to Play, which devotes considerable space in its "Draft Plan" to the management and future of the county's natural areas, acknowledges the success of these foundation-building strategies in acquiring large swaths of acreage intended as passive spaces to preserve rural and natural landscapes.<sup>51</sup> As the next generation of master planning for the county, Plan to Play defines its "Triple Bottom Line" as "economic, social and environmental value." It also emphasizes "recreation, conservation, and community" in its mission statement, and lists "Green" as one of its nine "Guiding Principles."<sup>52</sup> Among Plan to Play's "Goals and Objectives" are continued acquisition of natural areas, and the implementation of "best practices in environmental stewardship and natural resource management."<sup>53</sup> In early press coverage of Southeast Park, the emphasis was primarily on its value as a natural area, a characterization that also appeared in Plan to Play's "Draft Plan." Research and fieldwork conducted on Southeast Park by the Center for Historic Preservation has affirmed that the property holds considerable value as wild habitat for plant and animal species, as well as an example of an intact Davidson County rural landscape.

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<sup>50</sup> "Plan to Play: Draft Plan," 15, 133.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 123.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., xlv, 116, 117.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 119.

Metro Parks' preservation and promotion of historical elements have perhaps been less obvious than of its natural landscapes. Betsy Phillips, author of a series of reviews of local park sites appearing in the *Nashville Scene*, includes a category for "Incorporation of Local History," which invariably reports findings like, "None, not so much as a whisper" (Antioch Park and Mill Creek Greenway) and "Do I even have to say? None" (Cane Ridge Park).<sup>54</sup> While Leland Johnson's analysis of Davidson County parks does not indicate a particular emphasis on historic-site acquisition, preservation, or interpretation in early planning strategies, history has been an important component of city and county parks in and around Nashville. One of the city's earliest public spaces, Centennial Park, with its signature Parthenon designed to replicate a feature of the 1897 Centennial Exposition, has interpreted local and state history, albeit sometimes in disjointed fashion, as in its hodgepodge of monuments, artifacts, and landscape features. Johnson points to Sunnyside Mansion, an antebellum house in Sevier Park, as the first coherent historic preservation undertaking by Metro Parks.<sup>55</sup> In the 1940s the city acquired and renovated the mansion, and completed a more thorough restoration in 2004. Next came Two Rivers Park and its two McGavock homes, acquired by Metro Parks in the 1960s. Johnson calls the work on the 1859 McGavock mansion and the 1802 house "the most successful historic preservation project completed by the Park Board."<sup>56</sup>

Additional historic sites listed on the Metro Parks website, some more effective

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<sup>54</sup> Betsy Phillips, "Antioch Park, Maybe, and Mill Creek Greenway, Definitely: A Review," *Nashville Scene*, January 3, 2011; Phillips, "Cane Ridge Park: A Review," *Nashville Scene*, June 2, 2010.

<sup>55</sup> Johnson, 178.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 178-179.

preservation projects than others, include City Cemetery, Fort Negley, Hodge House at Warner Park, and Stone Hall. Metro Parks today counts more than fifty historic sites under its stewardship, including landscapes and structures, eighteen of which are Historic Landmark Districts.<sup>57</sup>

Nashville: Naturally's "Nashville Open Space Plan" of 2011 included "Preserve Historic and Iconic Resources" among its primary themes, stating that the more than 11,000 historic districts in the county "are the places that tell the story of Nashville—from the prehistoric times through the founding of the city, the Civil War, all the way to the present."<sup>58</sup> The plan also stressed the imminent threat that development poses to historic sites. The strategies proposed in 2011 included assembling a thorough inventory of sites through the Metropolitan Historic Zoning Commission, installing interpretive signage, identifying funding sources, and expanding resource protection mechanisms.<sup>59</sup>

Plan to Play's public-survey results indicate a public desire for increased incorporation of history into Metro Parks facilities and programming, though the "Draft Plan" addresses historic resources in few places. One of the nine "Guiding Principles" of Plan to Play is that the Metro Parks system be "Uniquely Nashville," meaning: "Through community spaces, stewardship, and education, we promote the natural, cultural, and

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<sup>57</sup> "Plan to Play: Draft Plan," 33, 152. The "Plan to Play: Draft Plan" states on page 152 that Metro Parks stewards over fifty historic sites and structures. However, on page 153 Metro claims a collection of historic properties with over thirty-five designated sites. A reference on page 33 cites eighteen Historic Landscape Districts owned or operated by Metro Parks. It is unclear how these numbers, and locations, relate to each other.

<sup>58</sup> Nashville: Naturally, "Nashville Open Space Plan: Creating, Enhancing and Preserving the Places that Matter," March 2011, 24.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

creative character of our community.”<sup>60</sup> Presumably the “cultural” character includes history, since the brief chapter on “Regional Context” stresses the essential role of history in forming the identity of Nashville and Davidson County, and expresses pride in the county’s one-hundred-plus properties listed on the National Register of Historic Places.<sup>61</sup> Plan to Play also notes that the fourteen individual “Community Plans” developed for Nashville and Davidson County, which set goals, priorities, and roles for specific communities within the metropolitan area, asserted in a 2011 vision plan for the county’s open spaces that protecting historic and scenic places from development is vital.<sup>62</sup> Indeed the feedback and input garnered from more than 9,000 people during the research process for Plan to Play revealed a wish by the public for increased programming activities related to history and improvement of historic-site facilities (including better maintenance).<sup>63</sup> “Historic Sites” ranks third in a graph of “Most in Need Facilities,” and “Historic Resource Preservation” ranks high in “Priorities for Spending” (Figure 5).<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> “Plan to Play: Draft Plan,” 117.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, xxviii.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 62. Ranking first in “Most in Need Facilities” is paved multiuse trails, second is unpaved/hiking trails. Ranking first in “Priorities for Spending” is greenways and trails, second is natural and open space preservation, third is fitness classes and workout facilities.

When survey participants were asked what type of greenways programs they would engage in, 46% said history walks.<sup>65</sup>

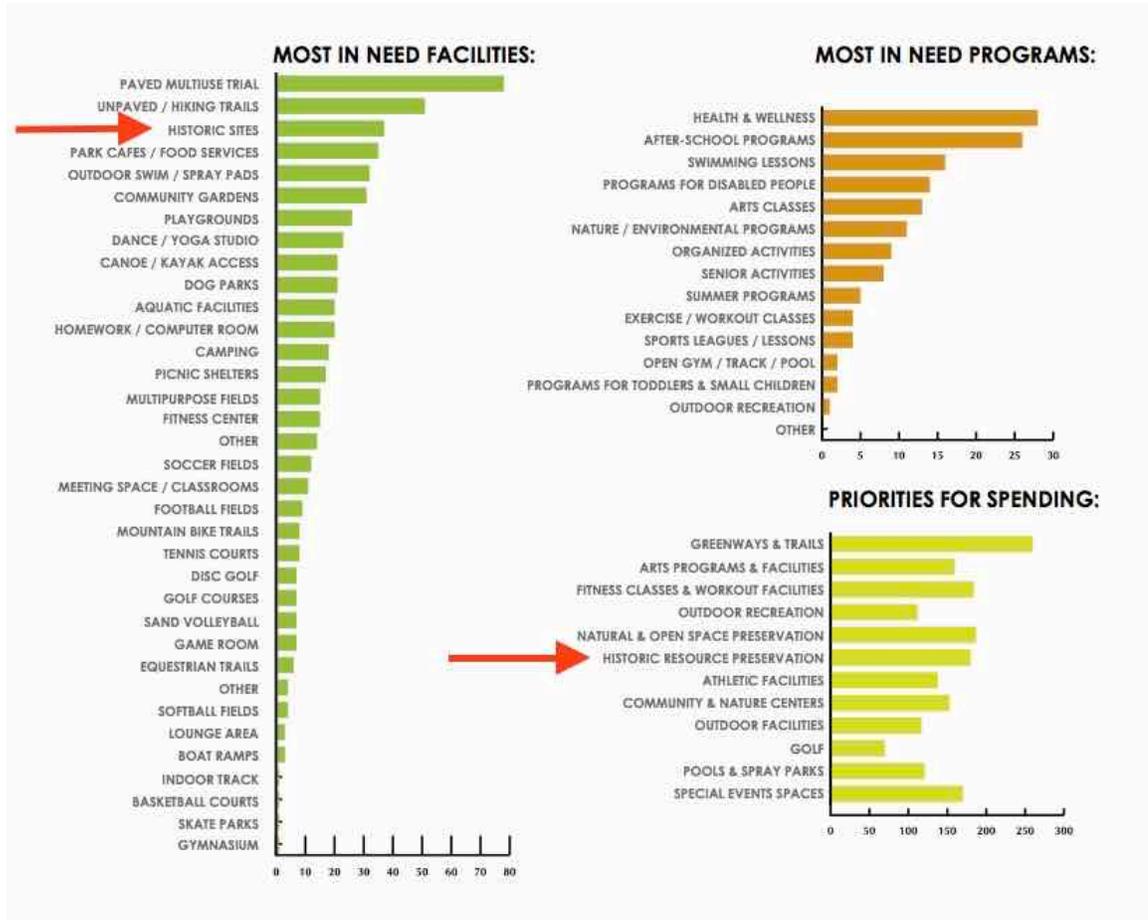


Figure 5. Graph of results from public survey for Plan to Play.  
 Source: “Plan to Play: Draft Plan,” 62. Image courtesy of Metro Parks.

Yet the “Draft Plan” for Plan to Play appears uneven when addressing historic sites specifically. It does advocate the pursuit of funding sources and implementation of preservation goals presented in earlier master plans for locations like Two Rivers Mansion and Centennial Park. Even so, Plan to Play often lumps historic resources with other categories. For example, the “Goals and Objectives” for “Land Acquisition and

<sup>65</sup> “Plan to Play: Draft Plan,” 60. Fifty-six percent said they would engage in environmental walks and 39% said fitness or health programs.

Development” lists “Acquire natural areas and other environmental and cultural/historic resources.”<sup>66</sup> “Key Recommendations” for facilities includes a catch-all grouping: “Improve other key facilities such as historic sites, community gardens, blueways, park cafes, golf facilities, and Wave Country.”<sup>67</sup> While Metro Parks anticipates procuring additional historic sites, this goal appears to be ancillary rather than deliberate, occurring as a consequence of land acquisition.<sup>68</sup>

Overall, Metro Parks’ 2017 recommendations in Plan to Play for capital improvement and programming as relates to historic sites within parks appear limited in scope. Citing potential “high maintenance costs” and “no obvious contemporary use” for some historic buildings, Metro Parks’ chief suggestion is to repurpose historic buildings into park cafes and restaurants. Thus these sites could “earn their keep” and satisfy the lack of food services, another issue Metro Parks seeks to rectify.<sup>69</sup> Repurposing historic buildings into dining establishments, according to Plan to Play, “creates a rationale for investment in their preservation,” with the implication that preservation in itself is not budget-worthy.<sup>70</sup> Another recommendation for adaptive reuse of historic structures, as nature centers, is not listed under “Historic Sites” in Plan to Play, but does appear under

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<sup>66</sup> “Plan to Play: Draft Plan,” 119.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxi.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

“Nature Centers.”<sup>71</sup> An additional reuse, not mentioned in the “Draft Plan,” could be as visitor centers. Plan to Play stresses financial concerns regarding historic structures also in its “Findings and Observations” for facilities, pointing out that historic buildings compete with other park needs for finite funds, though the plan simultaneously acknowledges Metro’s record of deferred maintenance on historic properties.<sup>72</sup> Notably, the results of Plan to Play’s public survey show a desire for improved maintenance at historic locations.<sup>73</sup>

As for meeting the recognized need for increased history-related programming, Plan to Play’s recommendation is to treat Metro Parks historic sites more systematically by creating a “new management section” to oversee them, and approaching such sites as a collective when developing programs and interpretation.<sup>74</sup> Plan to Play notes that the reliance by regional and neighborhood centers on facility-specific nature, history, and cultural arts programs “limits their countywide benefit,” which seems to discourage programming developed on a site-by-site basis.<sup>75</sup> The better alternative, according to Plan to Play, is to formulate a strategy that capitalizes on relationships among multiple locations.<sup>76</sup> A comprehensive historical narrative and cross-promotion of sites could indeed communicate a more nuanced, cohesive regional history, raise awareness of

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<sup>71</sup> “Plan to Play: Draft Plan,” 159.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, xxviii.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxv.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

locations that might be less well known, and utilize park staff and budgets more efficiently. However, developing programming that successfully incorporates Metro Parks' thirty-five to fifty historic sites could make for a complicated narrative, especially if an attempt is made to also connect Metro Parks' historic sites to the many non-Metro Parks historic resources in the county. By necessity some park sites might thus get short shrift, and reliance on a collective strategy could also obscure the unique histories of some locations.

Southeast Park receives specific mention in the Plan to Play "Draft Plan" and is listed among the greenway system's "Corridor Priorities," intended to benefit underserved areas.<sup>77</sup> Plan to Play planners twice couple Southeast Park with another large park site, Ravenwood/Lytle Farm, and they note both locations are slated for individual master planning in 2017. Plan to Play's only facility "opportunity" mentioned for Southeast Park is unpaved trails, and the only immediate challenge is management of Southeast Park as a natural area, including removal of invasive exotic species and minimizing the physical impacts of overuse.<sup>78</sup>

A separate master plan specifically for Southeast Park is under development in 2017. Its planning committee includes consultant Thomas Woltz, principal of the noted Virginia-based landscape architecture firm Nelson Byrd Woltz, as well as other members of the firm; Nashville landscape architect Tara Armistead as project manager; and Nashville landscape architecture and urban-design firm Hodgson Douglas. The role of the Center for Historic Preservation in the master-planning process has been to enlighten and

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<sup>77</sup> "Plan to Play: Draft Plan," 141.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 146, 182.

engage Metro Parks and the planning committee with a summary of its research findings as relates to the history of the park property and the site's context within the wider community, and to present professional recommendations for the future treatment, interpretation, and ongoing research needs of the site. Hodgson Douglas assigned a dedicated staff person, Ashley Braquet, to collect data on the history of both Southeast Park and Ravenwood/Lytle Farm. Braquet and the author of this thesis subsequently forged a synergistic collaboration and have continued to furnish master-planning team members with historical information for incorporation into master-plan recommendations (Figure 6).



Figure 6. Members of master-planning team on fieldwork in Southeast Park.  
*From left:* Seth Crawford, Chris Mantle, and Ashley Braquet  
of Hodgson Douglas Landscape Architecture.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

While there is no mention in Plan to Play of Metro Parks' intention to preserve and interpret historical and cultural resources at Southeast Park, press coverage at the time the park was announced by Mayor Dean in 2015 alluded to former landowner Mary

Moore's vision for the property, which is to conserve the memories of those who once lived and farmed on the land.<sup>79</sup> Moore's vision is expected to be the springboard for future preservation and interpretation efforts. Moore took steps to insure those goals, by making the sale of the property to Metro Parks contingent on its protection under a conservation easement, and on its use for educational purposes. The stability of the Moore property is fortunate, since it will secure the role of history in the future of the park. The wealth of historical information and artifacts uncovered by the Center for Historic Preservation, and summarized and presented to Metro Parks, portends a substantial utilization of the Moore farm, as well as the park as a whole, as a historic resource for the county.

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<sup>79</sup> See Jill Cowan, "Southeast Park Would Bolster Nashville's Open Space," *The Tennessean*, May 15, 2015; Karen Apel, "Mayor Dean Announces Plans for 591 Acres in Southeast Park," WSMV, May 15, 2015; "Stars Align for Antioch!," *Greenprint*, no. 17 (Summer 2015), 6.

## CHAPTER TWO:

## THE DEEP HISTORY OF SOUTHEAST PARK

Understanding Southeast Park’s geographical, temporal, and social context is a must in order to decipher and present the history of its landscape and to guide future preservation and interpretation by Metro Parks. Situated near the center of a state topographically and politically divided into three distinct regions, proximal to transportation routes that have long offered access to distant destinations, and close to a city that has served as a regional crossroads for centuries, the park’s landscape and its surrounds were part of the backdrop and stimulus for a remarkable rural-urban community. At a locus where cultural, even environmental, traits of east and west, north and south merge, the “heartland” of Middle Tennessee, uncommon even in its geology, cupped within an elliptical bowl called the Central Basin, developed an identity that historian Stephen Ash calls “a singular Southern domain.”<sup>1</sup>

Southeast Park lies within a section of Davidson County known generally as Antioch, less than twenty miles to the southeast of Nashville proper. Today a suburban enclave of an expanding metropolitan area, Antioch has also been a separate, though somewhat amorphous, township since the early nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Those who lived on

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen V. Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Frank Burns, *Tennessee County History Series: Davidson County*, ed. Robert B. Jones, (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1989), 79; Christine Cole Marshall and Joy Marshall, *With Good Will and Affection ... for Antioch: Reminiscences of Antioch, Tennessee* (Franklin, TN: Hillsboro Press, 2002), 3. Settlers first applied the name Antioch (a city in ancient Syria mentioned in the biblical book of Acts) to a Baptist

the landscape of Southeast Park over the course of two centuries often affiliated themselves with Antioch. Even in the twenty-first century, Antioch is the proper mailing address for the area. After completion of the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad (later the Nashville, Chattanooga, & St. Louis Railroad) in the 1850s, residents living close to the line also identified with the local depot stop of Kimbro Station.

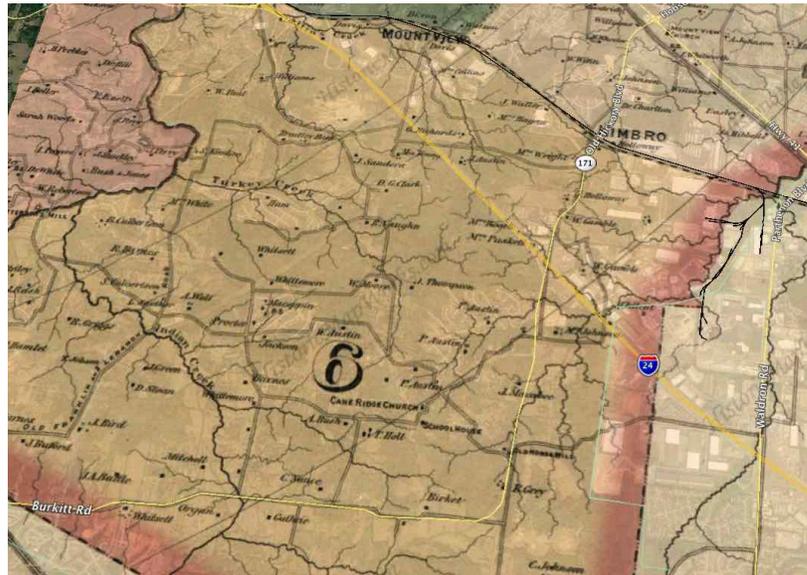


Figure 7. 1871 Wilbur F. Foster Map of District 6, Davidson County, showing Cane Ridge/Antioch, with modern map overlay.

*Sources:* Foster map from Library of Congress (loc.gov), modern map from 2016 Google Maps, overlay by Center for Historic Preservation.

More often, however, inhabitants within and near the future park property felt closely bound to the community of Cane Ridge, traversing back and forth across the rural landscape to attend churches and schools, conduct business, and visit friends and kin.

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church built on land donated by wealthy local Charles Hayes on Mill Creek in the 1820s. Subsequently the name became associated with the emerging town as well. The two-story brick home of Charles Hayes on Reeves Road in Antioch, known as the Hays-Kiser House, built in 1795, is extant and listed on the National Register of Historic Places since 1974.

Construction of Interstate 24 in the late 1960s, now a chasm running through what was once continuous farmland, disrupted the physical connection and today the highway demarcates the eastern boundary of modern-day Cane Ridge (Figure 7). As with several communities, including Mt. View, Una, Tusculum, and Bakertown, Cane Ridge evolved in the rural countryside at the periphery of Antioch. While places like Una have essentially lost their coherence due to commercial and residential development, Cane Ridge has held onto a distinct identity through the last two centuries, and today signs along secondary roads greet drivers with “Welcome to the Cane Ridge Community.”

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Cane Ridge often served as a nexus for residents living in the southern-most civil district of Davidson County. In 1812 an early census record for the area, based then on militia companies, shows prominent Cane Ridge resident Benajah Gray, “Esquire,” taking the count in the district of Captain Kincade’s Company and listing nearly one hundred men qualified to vote.<sup>3</sup> In the 1800s, polling and voting sites for the area included at least two locations in the heart of Cane Ridge: the Cane Ridge Cumberland Presbyterian Church, chosen as a polling place by 1880, and a late-nineteenth-century school near the church, where elections were held

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<sup>3</sup> “1812 Davidson County Census: Enumeration of the Free Male Inhabitants of Davidson County,” transcribed by Debie Cox from microfilm reel 1605, pages 826-842, Tennessee State Library and Archives, December 30, 2004. Found on [nashvillehistory.blogspot.com](http://nashvillehistory.blogspot.com), accessed December 4, 2016. Among the men listed in 1812, several names persisted in community records, such as Isaac Johnson, John Johnston, Stephen Roach, John Wright, and Aquilla Noe. Some of these residents were directly associated with the Southeast Park landscape, including John Wright whose home stood near today’s Cane Ridge High School, and John Johnston, Jr., whose log house was once within park boundaries. Aquilla Noe was related to the Moore family; later census records list his county of residence as Rutherford.

upstairs.<sup>4</sup> Indeed several churches and schools (the first school for whites dating to at least 1826 and an African-American school begun in 1871) drew congregational members and students from throughout the area.<sup>5</sup> The proximity of Cane Ridge to Rutherford and Williamson counties also fostered a regular exchange of goods and services across those borders, and businesses such as blacksmith shops, mills, and stores served as hubs for an extended community.

When Davidson County adopted a numerical districting system in 1834, Cane Ridge fell within District 6, a designation that continued after redistricting in 1860. On the 1871 Wilbur F. Foster map of Davidson County, the boundaries of the district were the rail line on the northeast, Mill Creek to the northwest, and the county lines of Williamson and Rutherford to the south (a copy of Foster's map of District 6 is on page 196 of the Appendix). Into the twentieth century, census records continued to place residents of Cane Ridge and Southeast Park property within District 6, but by the 1910 census, District 6 had been reassigned as District 5. Today there are thirty-five council districts in Davidson County (up from twenty-six in 1860), which have rather convoluted boundaries. Most of Southeast Park now lies within District 33, with a small piece in District 32; Cane Ridge is subdivided into districts 31, 32, and 33.

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<sup>4</sup> W.W. Clayton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Philadelphia: J.W. Lewis & Co., 1880), 369; Lillian Brown Johnson, *Historic Cane Ridge and Its Families* (Nashville: Blue & Gray Press, 1973), 326.

<sup>5</sup> Lillian Brown Johnson, 8. Middle Tennessee State University's digital "Rutherford County Schools Collection" notes that an early Cane Ridge School, dating from 1826 to about 1893 (most likely the school near the Cane Ridge Cumberland Presbyterian Church), included students from Rutherford County; see [cdm15838.contentdm.oclc.org](http://cdm15838.contentdm.oclc.org).



Figure 8. Canebrake in Southeast Park.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

Cane Ridge gets its name from the once-plentiful colonies of a native bamboo known as river cane or giant cane (*Arundinaria gigantea*) encountered in the area when the first white settlers arrived (Figure 8).<sup>6</sup> French botanist François André Michaux, who took stock of the landscape and collected plants during a trip through the Southeast in 1802, remarked on the abundance of cane in Tennessee, saying that the stalks “grow so close to each other, that at the distance of ten or twelve feet a man could not be perceived was he concealed there.”<sup>7</sup> Today considered an endangered ecosystem throughout the Southeast as a result of livestock grazing, the clearing of land for crop fields, and fire suppression, canebrakes experienced negative impacts from agriculture even in the early nineteenth century. Michaux points out that cattle grazed the leafy shoots and hogs rooted out the underground rhizomes to such an extent that “in proportion as new plantations are

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<sup>6</sup> Marshall and Marshall, 34-35.

<sup>7</sup> François André Michaux, *Travels to the West of the Alleghany Mountains, in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Back to Charleston, by the Upper Carolines ... Undertaken, in the Year 1802* (London: D.N. Shury, 1805), 257.

formed, these canes in a few years disappear.”<sup>8</sup> Isolated canebrakes do persist in Middle Tennessee, including in Cane Ridge and Southeast Park.

The diminution of the once-abundant cane historically found in the Cane Ridge area is an example of the dramatic changes that occurred on Middle Tennessee’s natural landscape as it was settled and developed. Early arrivals in the region would also have found dense hardwood forests of more than 150 tree species, including oaks, hickories, tulip poplar, beech, and ash. Today sizable tree specimens are uncommon (though a few have been located in Cane Ridge and Southeast Park), but in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a tulip poplar could be over twenty feet in diameter and over sixty feet to the first limb.<sup>9</sup> A thick underbrush of vines, shrubs, and brambles required diligent effort to clear even small patches for growing crops, or to open a wagon-wide path for travel. Animal species, too, were more plentiful and varied. John Spence, who published a detailed account of nineteenth-century life in neighboring Rutherford County, remarks that in the early days there was “Game of every variety and class, from the Buffalo down to the Squirrel.”<sup>10</sup> In the late eighteenth century, salt licks also attracted elk, deer, wolves, and panthers, and species desirable for their pelts like otter, beaver, and mink could be found near waterways.<sup>11</sup> In Antioch, what was a similarly biodiverse natural verdure in the early days of Middle Tennessee settlement is today a landscape dominated by

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<sup>8</sup> Michaux, 257.

<sup>9</sup> Kenneth Madison McDonald, “Milling in Middle Tennessee, 1780-1860” (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1938), 5-7.

<sup>10</sup> John C. Spence, *The Annals of Rutherford County: Volume One, 1799-1828* (Murfreesboro, TN: Rutherford County Historical Society, 1991), 24.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 10, 24.

suburban tract houses, strip malls, industrial warehouses, and busy highways, interspersed with fragmented farmland and woodland tracts that still occasionally afford a sighting of a red fox, bobcat, or flock of wild turkeys (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Flock of wild turkeys in Cane Ridge.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

The cane is also a reminder of the Native presence in the region, which should not be overlooked in any discussion of Middle Tennessee history. Native Americans utilized river cane for numerous purposes, from baskets to arrow shafts, and for hundreds of years Indigenous peoples intentionally encouraged the growth of canebrakes using controlled burning as part of their agricultural and land management practices.<sup>12</sup> Along with a scattering of canebrakes, deposits of flint, too, have been discovered in Southeast Park (Figure 10), and given the other natural qualities of that landscape, including fresh-water

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<sup>12</sup> John R. Finger, *Tennessee Frontiers: Three Regions in Transition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 13-14; [inaturalist.org/taxa/121747-arundinaria-gigantea](http://inaturalist.org/taxa/121747-arundinaria-gigantea).

sources and the historically diverse range of plant and animal species, it is likely that Indigenous peoples had a protracted history on the site.



Figure 10. Flint found in Southeast Park.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

Europeans long assumed that Native peoples only used Middle Tennessee as hunting grounds and not as a location of permanent Indian settlements. However, they failed to make the connection between post-contact modern Indians and the archaeological evidence of prehistoric inhabitants discovered as they cleared land for agriculture and construction. According to state archaeologist Aaron Deter-Wolf, “in the bad-old days of heavily Euro-centric scholarship,” Indigenous inhabitants of long ago were viewed as “somehow separate from Native Americans, rather than being their ancestors.”<sup>13</sup> The Tennessee Division of Archaeology has recorded more than 1,300 prehistoric sites in the counties of Davidson and Williamson, including gravesites,

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<sup>13</sup> Aaron Deter-Wolf, personal correspondence with author, September 10, 2015.

mounds, and village locations.<sup>14</sup> As commercial and residential development has proliferated in Davidson County, such sites continue to be discovered and impacted, sometimes destroyed. It remains to be seen if Southeast Park will yield any archaeological evidence of an Indigenous presence, but further investigation is warranted, especially prior to significant alterations to the landscape.

Though Middle Tennessee in its early settlement history is often referred to as the “Vacant Quarter” by archaeologists and historians, the landscape was never actually “vacant.”<sup>15</sup> During the historic period there were indeed few and sporadic Indigenous occupations in Middle Tennessee as multiple tribes, including Cherokees, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Iroquois, opted instead to share the region primarily for hunting purposes, and for travel via a network of trails and waterways; the Nashville area, in fact, was what historian John Finger calls a hub of “aboriginal travel.”<sup>16</sup> Historian Tyler Boulware refers to such shared intermediate spaces as “territorial buffers,” which tribes such as the

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<sup>14</sup> Michelle Willard, “Archaeological Field School Digs on Eagleville Property,” *The Daily News Journal*, June 23, 2014. Found on [rutherfordtnhistory.org](http://rutherfordtnhistory.org), the website of the Rutherford County Historical Society, accessed August 18, 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Robbie Ethridge, “Chapter 1: European Invasion and the Transformation of the Indians of Tennessee, 1540-1715,” in *Before the Volunteer State: New Thoughts on Early Tennessee, 1540-1800*, ed. Kristofer Ray (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2014), 4; Jack Masters and Bill Puryear, *Thoroughfare for Freedom, Vol. II: The Second Atlas of the Cumberland Settlements, 1779-1804, Showing Who Came, How They Came, and Where They Put down Roots* (Gallatin, TN: Warioto Press, 2011), 49, 8, 25.

<sup>16</sup> Finger, 4.

Cherokee considered an essential part of their territory, providing safe distance between groups and fostering peaceful intertribal coexistence.<sup>17</sup>

Prior to the contact period, Middle Tennessee was the site of established Indigenous cultures living in village communities, as evident in the projectile points, stone-lined graves, mounds, and other artifacts found throughout the region. Finger maintains that long before the region's European frontier period, Native peoples in Tennessee experienced a sequence of their own frontier periods, characterized by times of migration and exploration, alternating with long spans of stable habitation lasting for thousands of years.<sup>18</sup> Even after European contact, small bands of Shawnees occupied the Central Basin into the mid-1700s before Cherokees and Chickasaws drove them out.<sup>19</sup> "Tennessee's native inhabitants," says Finger, "had a long and diverse history before they ever encountered whites."<sup>20</sup> For much of the eighteenth century, he notes, Indians outnumbered whites in Tennessee.<sup>21</sup>

Thus for generations Indigenous peoples had used the land and believed that use to be their natural right. Decades of conflict ensued as Euro-Americans sought to claim such "vacant" terrain and impose a European concept of property ownership,

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<sup>17</sup> Tyler Boulware, "Chapter 3: 'It Seems Like Coming Into Our Houses': Challenges to Cherokee Hunting Grounds, 1750-1775," in *Before the Volunteer State*, ed. Kristofer Ray, 65-66. Other terms for shared open space where different groups interacted are "borderlands" and Richard White's "middle ground."

<sup>18</sup> Finger, 7.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-28.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

precipitating what Robbie Ethridge has termed a “shatter zone” where stable Native systems were disrupted.<sup>22</sup> A comparison of Tennessee maps from the late eighteenth century through the early nineteenth century reveals the steady displacement over time of Indigenous peoples, particularly Cherokees and Chickasaws. A map of this chronological and geographical presumption of Native lands, accomplished treaty by treaty over the course of several decades, beginning with the Treaty of Lochaber in 1770, appears in *History of Tennessee*, published in 1905 by William Garrett and Albert Goodpasture (Figure 11).<sup>23</sup> In Middle Tennessee, wedge-shaped portions were ceded early in the process, including in the 1775 Treaty of Sycamore Shoals (also called the Transylvania Purchase), whereby Cherokees sold a central section of Tennessee, along with much of Kentucky.<sup>24</sup> Eight years later, per the 1783 Treaty of Nashville, Indigenous peoples, in theory, could no longer claim any white-occupied land in Middle Tennessee, though other treaties followed and altercations continued.<sup>25</sup> The 1794 massacre of Chickamauga Cherokees at Nickajack was what historian Anita Goodstein calls the “last Indian ‘battle’” of the Tennessee frontier.<sup>26</sup> Subsequent to the 1830 Indian Removal Act and the 1835 Treaty of New Echota, thousands of Cherokees who had resisted white efforts to

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<sup>22</sup> Ethridge, *Before the Volunteer State*, ed. Kristofer Ray, 3.

<sup>23</sup> William Robertson Garrett and Albert Virgil Goodpasture, *History of Tennessee, Its People and Its Institutions, from the Earliest Times to the Year 1903* (Nashville: Brandon Company, Publishers, 1905), 128-129.

<sup>24</sup> Harriette Simpson Arnow, *Flowering of the Cumberland* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1963), 9.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>26</sup> Anita Shafer Goodstein, *Nashville, 1780-1860: From Frontier to City* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1989), 10.

extricate them from their lands were forced to march west on the Trail of Tears, a route that generally follows Murfreesboro Pike, not far from Cane Ridge.

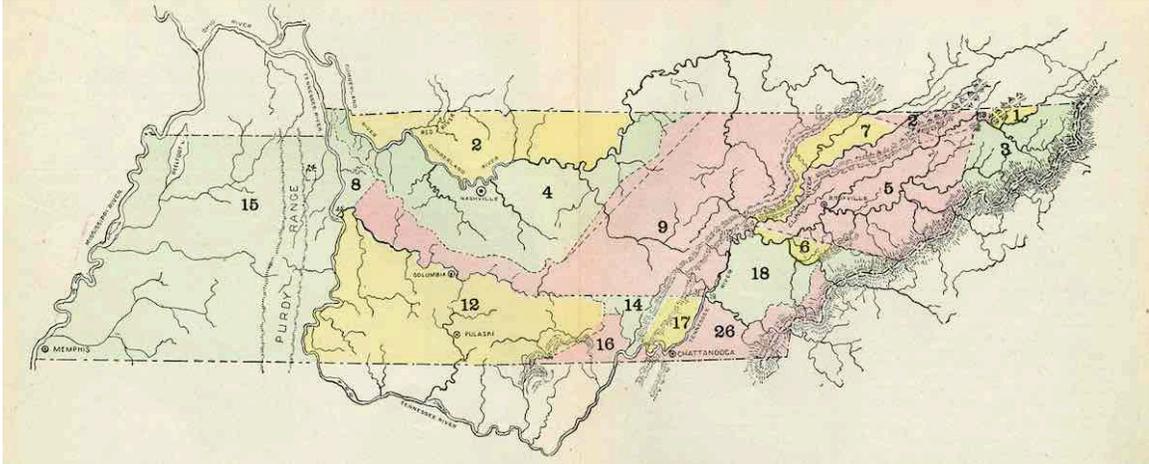


Figure 11. Map of “The Indian Treaties.”

Key: 2: Transylvania Purchase, 1775; 4: Treaty of Hopewell, 1785;

9: Third Treaty of Tellico, 1798; 12: Dearborn’s Treaty, 1806.

Source: William Garrett and Albert Goodpasture, *History of Tennessee*, 128-129.

Initially whites entering Middle Tennessee were perhaps more interested in products than property. By at least the mid-eighteenth century, in what Thomas Freeman designates as the first wave of Tennessee settlement, European longhunters, trappers, and fur traders were present in the region, often conducting business with Native peoples.<sup>27</sup> The same abundance of wild game that drew Indigenous peoples to the region for centuries also attracted these white hunters. Jack Masters and Bill Puryear call the longhunters “the vanguard of American civilization.”<sup>28</sup> They portended Freeman’s

<sup>27</sup> Thomas H. Freeman IV, *An Economic History of Tennessee* (Nashville: Site Planning Office, September 1965), 9.

<sup>28</sup> Masters and Puryear, 43.

second wave, the agriculturists, whose main objective was land.<sup>29</sup> At first, farm-minded colonizers moved into Middle Tennessee in an “in-migration” trickle, selecting parcels, marking trees with their initials to establish boundaries, and creating rough homesteads. But the trickle transformed into a flood as the threat of Indian attacks lessened, roads became more traveled, and word spread about the availability of cheap land.<sup>30</sup> John Solomon Otto refers to the influx as a “mass migration of Southern agriculturalists.”<sup>31</sup> The first significant permanent settlement of Euro-Americans in Middle Tennessee, at Fort Nashborough on the Cumberland River, began in 1779 with less than a thousand people.<sup>32</sup> Three decades later, the population started to escalate: between 1810 and 1820, the population in Tennessee jumped by over 61%, and between 1820 and 1830 it increased by another 61%.<sup>33</sup> A map by cartographer John Melish recorded Davidson County with a population of 15,608 as of 1810.<sup>34</sup> Says southern agricultural historian Donald Winters, by 1830 “all regions of the state had passed beyond the pioneer stage of

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<sup>29</sup> Freeman, 9.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.; Masters and Puryear, 7.

<sup>31</sup> John Solomon Otto, *Southern Agriculture During the Civil War Era, 1860-1880* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 3.

<sup>32</sup> Masters and Puryear, 26.

<sup>33</sup> Freeman, 9.

<sup>34</sup> John Melish and John Strothers, Jr., *Map of Tennessee* (Philadelphia: John Melish & Samuel Harrison, 1818).

settlement,” and by 1840 Tennessee’s population had grown to more than eight hundred thousand.<sup>35</sup>

Concurrent with population growth, construction of homes, shops, and institutions proliferated. James Patrick in *Architecture in Tennessee* notes that even by 1799 “Nashville was already a city.”<sup>36</sup> Hundreds of businesses came online in and around Nashville during the first half of the nineteenth century and the city became a center for regional, national, and international trade. Construction of a system of hard-surface turnpikes began in the region during the 1830s, designed to replace rough dirt roads that were virtually impassable in bad weather. The primary routes, some of which shadowed ancient Native American and buffalo traces, led to the commercial, governmental hub of Nashville. Waterways, too, connected Nashville and Middle Tennessee to cities like Philadelphia in the Northeast and New Orleans in the South. In the 1850s a railroad line was laid from Nashville to Chattanooga, eventually supplanting river traffic as the dominant means of transporting goods.

Large-scale industries, such as flour and textile mills, soon appeared in the region, as well as other enterprises. As Anita Goodstein summarizes, “Nashville was a stockade fortified against hostile Indians in 1780, a boomtown after the War of 1812, and a political, shipping, and banking center during the decades preceding 1860.”<sup>37</sup> After the Civil War, Nashville continued to develop as a center of commerce, and came to

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<sup>35</sup> Donald L. Winters, *Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmers: Antebellum Agriculture in the Upper South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 11; Freeman, 9.

<sup>36</sup> James Patrick, *Architecture in Tennessee, 1768-1897* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 3.

<sup>37</sup> Goodstein, ix.

distinguish itself also as a powerhouse in the banking, insurance, entertainment, publishing, and medical-care industries, as well as education (Figure 12). The city's reluctance to commit to "smokestack" industrial development to the extent Birmingham, Alabama, did helped position it to take the lead in a service economy that flowered in the twentieth century.<sup>38</sup>

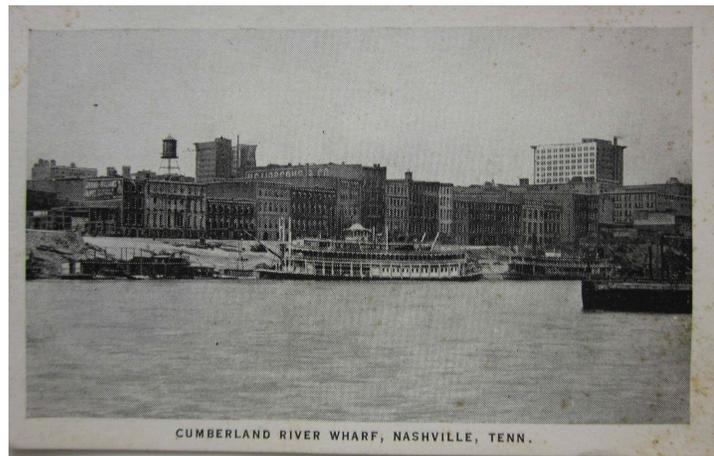


Figure 12. Nashville in the 1930s.

*Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

Yet Middle Tennessee and indeed much of Davidson County remained primarily rural and agricultural well into the twentieth century. To make farming operations function of course requires developable tracts of land. Official, state-sanctioned individual ownership of property in Tennessee began with land grants, a system that persisted from 1770 to the 1830s.<sup>39</sup> There were various types of grants, including purchase grants whereby set amounts of acreage were offered for sale by the state, and

<sup>38</sup> Don H. Doyle, *Nashville Since the 1920s* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 108-109, 262.

<sup>39</sup> Irene M. Griffey, *Earliest Tennessee Land Records & Earliest Tennessee Land History* (Baltimore: Clearfield Company, 2000), 2.

pre-emption grants to “squatters” who staked out property early.<sup>40</sup> Some of the first land acquisitions were military grants issued by cash-poor North Carolina to its Revolutionary War soldiers in lieu of monetary payment for military service. Many of these military-grant recipients did take possession of their land, farm it, and establish permanent residences. Over 2,400 Revolutionary soldiers or their heirs accepted land grants in Middle Tennessee.<sup>41</sup> Other grantees declined relocation to the western “wilderness.” Many of them could not afford to make the move, or chose not to risk the difficult journey. It became common practice for grantees to sell their acreage to land speculators, usually sight unseen, and wealthy individuals often acquired multiple, even widely scattered, properties, occupied what suited them best, and sold the rest.

Despite a façade of orderliness, the land-grant system fostered much confusion on the ground and became fraught with corrupt practices. Masters and Puryear politely refer to North Carolina and Tennessee land-grant operations as “tangled.”<sup>42</sup> Early settlers who had informally established homesteads could find their acreage granted out from under them by North Carolina and be forced to relocate and start again with the arduous process of clearing land, building homes, and planting crops. Land was also granted in violation of treaties with Indigenous tribes, and such grants extended well into Cherokee and Chickasaw territories. By the 1780s the Tennessee landscape was peopled with

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<sup>40</sup> Griffey, 21-22.

<sup>41</sup> Masters and Puryear, 26.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 137.

surveyors, grantees, and others engaged in efforts to stake out and lay claim to property.<sup>43</sup>

The business of speculation and buying and selling land warrants flourished, so that by

the late 1700s most of Davidson County had in some fashion been claimed.<sup>44</sup>



Figure 13. Map of land grants in Southeast Park.

Source: Masters and Puryear, *Thoroughfare for Freedom*, quadrant G9.

Among the names associated with early North Carolina land grants issued for acreage now within Southeast Park are Captain James Bradley, Minos Cannon, James Blair, and John Dixon (Figure 13).<sup>45</sup> Bradley (1763-1830) was born in Caswell County, North Carolina, participated in several battles during the Revolutionary War, later served in the War of 1812, was a signer of the Cumberland Compact, and in the 1790s settled in Dixon Springs in Smith County, Tennessee, where his two-story brick home, known as

<sup>43</sup> Masters and Puryear, 67.

<sup>44</sup> Burns, 12.

<sup>45</sup> Masters and Puryear, map quadrant G9.

Oaklawn, still stands. Cannon (1756-1832) was born in Maryland and moved to Rutherford (now Williamson) County, Tennessee, near the College Grove community in the 1790s with his wife Letitia Thompson; he is the father of Newton Cannon, eighth governor of Tennessee. North Carolina grantees of properties elsewhere in Cane Ridge include Jason Thompson, James Mulherin, Mourning Wheeler and Elizabeth Underwood, Samuel McMurry, and Lardner Clark, considered the first merchant in Nashville.

A few of the early deeds for the Cane Ridge area show the initial establishment of families who continued to have a presence in the community for the next century-plus; descendants of some of these families have persisted on the landscape into the twenty-first century. In 1789 John Johnston purchased more than five hundred acres from Lardner Clark and Minos Cannon, selling a portion to his son John, Jr., who built the home that later became the Austin place, near the Austin Cemetery in Southeast Park.<sup>46</sup> In 1800 Benajah Gray and his uncle Isaac Johnson acquired acreage from Isaac Lamasters.<sup>47</sup> Gray's two-story log home, built in 1805, still stands, listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1985. In 1830 Isaac Johnson's son Thomas constructed a nearby log home that is also extant.<sup>48</sup> Stephen Roach began buying large parcels in the

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<sup>46</sup> Lillian Brown Johnson, 159. To see a photo of the Johnston-Austin house, go to thesis page 89.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>48</sup> To see a photo of the Benajah Gray house, go to thesis page 64. A photo of the Thomas Johnson house is on page 137 of Paul Clements' *A Past Remembered*, vol. I.

Cane Ridge area at least by 1802. In the 1810s and 1820s Edwin Austin purchased multiple properties, some of them bounded by the lands of Roach and Johnson.<sup>49</sup>

Settlers such as these were drawn to Middle Tennessee for a number of reasons: by the promise of property ownership and making fresh starts, but also because the region was promoted for its ample natural resources like timber, wild game, fresh water sources, and fertile soil. Despite Benjamin Franklin's assessment of British land cessions as "waste land," longhunters in the eighteenth century had returned east with intriguing stories of the western wilderness, describing Tennessee's middle section as an ancient land of beauty and fertility.<sup>50</sup> Says John Finger, "The basin became a symbolic Garden of Eden."<sup>51</sup> An 1818 map of Tennessee by Scottish mapmaker John Melish includes in its "Remarks" that the "Face of the Country" is "Very Picturesque," the river navigation "Very good," and the soil suited to producing cotton, tobacco, wheat, and other crops "in great abundance."<sup>52</sup> During the antebellum period, says Donald Winters, "No other state ranked as high in so many different agricultural goods."<sup>53</sup> The primary motivation for Tennessee settlement was agriculture, which continued to dominate the state's economy for more than a century.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Lillian Brown Johnson, 59.

<sup>50</sup> Arnow, 18, 8.

<sup>51</sup> Finger, 4.

<sup>52</sup> Melish and Strothers, *Map of Tennessee*, 1818.

<sup>53</sup> Winters, 180.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, XI.

Tennessee developed as an intermediary state both environmentally and commercially, given its location within a transition zone where the semitropical Southeast and its staple-crop cultivation meet the continental Midwest and Northeast where grains and livestock predominate.<sup>55</sup> Goodspeed's *History of Tennessee* remarks on the unusual suitability of Tennessee for growing crops from both north and south, both Irish and sweet potatoes.<sup>56</sup> Middle Tennessee played an intrastate transitional role as well, blending small-farm agriculture common in East Tennessee with larger farming enterprises like those found in West Tennessee, and producing a greater diversity of crops than either of its sister regions.<sup>57</sup> Christine Kreyling calls Middle Tennessee's intersectional position, where north and south, east and west converge, a "midway geography."<sup>58</sup> An 1876 geological and agricultural map of the state shows the Antioch-Cane Ridge area in a prime location within "The Blue Grass Region," at a juncture of cotton-growing country and small grains.<sup>59</sup> Documents discovered at the Moore farm and agricultural census records reveal that in the nineteenth century the Moore family practiced a diversified agriculture, growing cotton, corn, oats, wheat, Irish potatoes,

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<sup>55</sup> Winters, XII.

<sup>56</sup> *History of Tennessee: From the Earliest Time to the Present* (Nashville: Goodspeed Publishing, Co., 1886), 233.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 231; Finger, 316.

<sup>58</sup> Kreyling, 5.

<sup>59</sup> James M. Safford, *Agricultural and Geological Map of Tennessee: Showing Also Topographical Features, As Well As Railroads, County Boundaries, County Towns, Etc.* (Nashville: Tavel, Eastman & Howell, 1876).

sweet potatoes, legumes, and occasionally tobacco, and raising cattle, hogs, chickens, and sheep. Neighbors also had orchards of apples and pears, and kept bees for honey.

A culture of community self-sufficiency was firmly established in rural Tennessee beginning with the first settlements, but the state also played a critical role in a wider economy, shipping agricultural goods to other states and even Europe.<sup>60</sup> According to Winters, most Tennessee farmers recognized that security and progress for themselves and their families entailed thinking beyond their farm boundaries and participating in larger commercial endeavors.<sup>61</sup> John Finger dates the establishment of a true market economy in Tennessee as early as 1840, when almost half the population of the state resided in Middle Tennessee.<sup>62</sup> Sited within a few miles of Nashville, Cane Ridge could thus simultaneously craft an independent agricultural economy while also participating in regional, state, and interstate commerce.

One reason for Middle Tennessee's agricultural prosperity is the natural lay of the land. Nashville and its surrounds are unusually situated within an elliptical geological configuration called the Central Basin, a low-lying area of gently rolling terrain, five hundred feet below the encircling Highland Rim. Dominated by a limestone substrate, apparent in numerous rocky outcrops throughout the region, the soils in the basin are calcareous loamy clay, rich in humus and phosphate, ideal for both woodlands and meadows, as well as a wide range of crops and livestock. Winters notes that the Central

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<sup>60</sup> Winters, 30, 190.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>62</sup> Finger, xix, 315-316. Finger states that in 1840 the population of Tennessee was 829,210, of which 411,710 lived in Middle Tennessee.

Basin is often referred to as the “garden” of the state.<sup>63</sup> Kreyling credits the configuration of the horseshoe-shaped Highland Rim with creating this garden situation, noting its role in buffering cold air from the north even as it captures warm humid air from the south, and hosting numerous waterways that lift friable, rich silt along their courses to deposit in the basin downhill.<sup>64</sup>

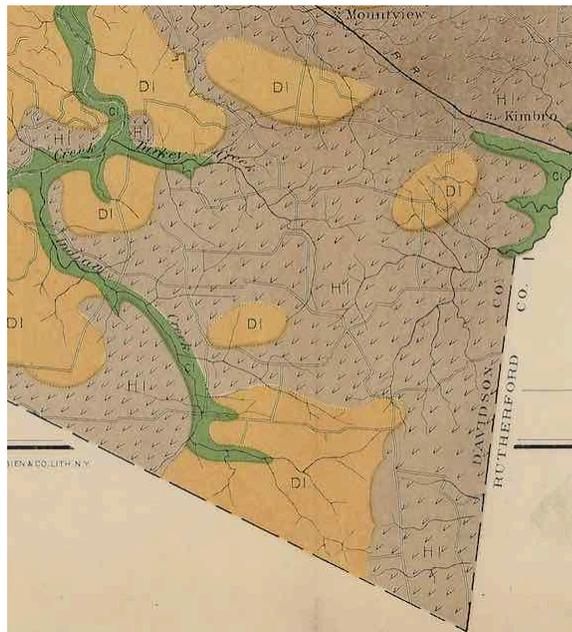


Figure 14. Detail, 1903 Davidson County Soil Map, from Division of Geology, showing Cane Ridge Area. Key: yellow = Davidson loam; brown = Hagerstown loam; green = Clarksville loam, along waterways; checkmarks = rough rocky areas.

As British astronomer Francis Baily made his way to Nashville during his 1790s sojourn along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, he remarked that the “road lay through a

<sup>63</sup> Winters, 4.

<sup>64</sup> Kreyling, 6-7.

beautifully rich country, formed of a fine black mould, lying on a bed of limestone.”<sup>65</sup>

This choice zone of about 5,500 square miles in the center of the state is also referred to as the “Tennessee Bluegrass,” which Harriette Simpson Arnow asserts is “among the best [land] on earth.”<sup>66</sup> A 1903 soil map of Davidson County indicates that the Antioch-Cane Ridge area is predominantly loam with “rough rocky areas” (Figure 14).<sup>67</sup> But even the rocky areas, though not always usable for field crops, had other benefits, particularly the abundance of eastern red cedar trees often found in such habitats, which were highly valued as a timber resource.

Several waterways transect the Central Basin, the largest being the Cumberland and Stones rivers, tributaries of which crisscross the southeastern section of Davidson County, most notably Mill, Hurricane, Collins, and Indian creeks. Hurricane and Collins creeks both make their way into Southeast Park, one from the south and the other from the north. Mill Creek, historically the western boundary of the district, had water deep and consistent enough to allow for several mills along its course, including two very near Cane Ridge, Patterson’s and Prim’s (or Primm’s) mills, which are noted on the 1871 Foster map. The larger waterways formed the state’s “superhighway system” during the first half of the nineteenth century, whereby keelboats and steamboats transported goods and people to and from the Northeast via the Cumberland and Ohio rivers, and points

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<sup>65</sup> Francis Baily, *Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 & 1797* (London: Baily Brothers, 1856), 410.

<sup>66</sup> Masters and Puryear, 68; Arnow, 7.

<sup>67</sup> Division of Geology, *Davidson County, Tennessee, Soil Map* (New York: Julius Bien & Co., 1903).

south via the Cumberland and Mississippi. The first steamboat in Nashville, the *General Jackson*, made its arrival in 1819.

Thus homesteading residents of the Antioch-Cane Ridge area stood a good chance of success in growing crops in the fertile valleys, harvesting timber for building, turning livestock into the wooded hills and canebrakes to forage, utilizing native limestone and sandstone for foundations and fences, obtaining fresh water from hand-dug wells and numerous springs, setting up mills on the creeks, and transporting goods via rivers and roadways. Being some miles from Nashville gave these settlers ample land to work and fostered a strong sense of community, but the relative proximity to a city center also provided access to modern goods and engendered a slightly cosmopolitan ethos. Though country folk living close to the land, Cane Ridge residents would also be aware they were just a short distance from a dynamic metropolis.

White immigrants to Tennessee were generally a homogeneous group, transitioning primarily from the Piedmont of Virginia and North Carolina, and mostly of English and Scots-Irish descent. But settlers also came from states like Georgia, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania, and with additional ancestries, including German and French. Overwhelmingly the immigrants were from rural farming backgrounds.<sup>68</sup> A glance through census records for District 6 in 1850, the first year to track nativity, shows most white residents in the Cane Ridge area hailing from Tennessee, with a fair number born in Virginia and North Carolina, a smattering from Kentucky, Alabama, and Georgia, and a few outliers, including a cigar maker from Pennsylvania, an elderly woman from “Europe,” a sheriff from New Hampshire, and a stone cutter from Ireland.

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<sup>68</sup> Winters, 13.

Typical of Middle Tennessee through the nineteenth century, the overwhelming percentage of adult white male residents in District 6 in 1850 were farmers, sometimes in households with younger males, usually sons, participating in the family farming operation as laborers. But there were a surprising number of community residents claiming other professions as their primary pursuits, including physicians, millwrights, preachers, blacksmiths, carpenters, teachers, and coopers. Also offering their services to the community in 1850 were a gunsmith, a surveyor, and craftspeople producing chairs, bellows, saddles, wagons, and shoes. Historian Stephen Ash points out, however, that even residents who self-identified with other professions to census takers also farmed. In 1860, two-thirds of free families in the region garnered at least part of their income from agriculture.<sup>69</sup>

Into the mid-twentieth century, farming was still the principal occupation in the district, as shown in the 1940 census. By then dairy farming had become the primary focus, and professions like secretary, truck driver, and electrician had replaced coopering and blacksmithing. Agriculture continued to power the economy and character of the community, and even in the twenty-first century, though most residents do not actively work the land, the deep history of farming still influences the local identity.

The other significant demographic group coming into Tennessee was people of African ancestry. Free blacks immigrated to the western “wilderness” for essentially the same reasons as whites, seeking new opportunities and land to cultivate.<sup>70</sup> About 20% of

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<sup>69</sup> Ash, 13.

<sup>70</sup> Bobby L. Lovett, *The African-American History of Nashville, Tennessee, 1780-1930: Elites and Dilemmas* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999), xv.

settlers in Fort Nashborough were black and historian Bobby Lovett says the fort “truly was a biracial settlement.”<sup>71</sup> But the majority of blacks who came west did not do so of their own free will, including those in Fort Nashborough. Slaves were among the first settlers of the region, and the suffering of forced separation from loved ones compounded the discomforts of pioneer existence.<sup>72</sup> The number of slaves continued to grow as Middle Tennessee developed, from less than one-sixth of the population in 1791 to more than one-fourth by 1801.<sup>73</sup> Between 1810 and 1840, as farms focused more and more on labor-intensive commercial crops, the slave population in the state surged by more than 300%.<sup>74</sup>

During the pioneering years, slaves often lived in the houses of their enslavers, and blacks and whites worked alongside one another, even attended the same churches.<sup>75</sup> “To be sure,” says Lester Lamon, “whites assigned the duties and roles, but in practice frontier conditions often blurred the distinctions.”<sup>76</sup> This pattern of close interaction continued on small farms in the region well into the nineteenth century, in many cases until Emancipation, as did biracial church membership (most often in Baptist and Methodist denominations), though blacks and whites typically sat in separate spaces in

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<sup>71</sup> Lovett, xv, 3.

<sup>72</sup> Goodstein, 91.

<sup>73</sup> Arnow, 94.

<sup>74</sup> Lester C. Lamon, *Blacks in Tennessee, 1791-1970* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 16.

<sup>75</sup> Masters and Puryear, 121; Lamon, 6, 17.

<sup>76</sup> Lamon, 6.

the sanctuary.<sup>77</sup> A few slaves were able to purchase their freedom over the years, and freedmen were allowed to vote in their districts, yet early census records for Davidson County rarely list a “free man of colour,” such as Isaac Scott in 1812 and Walter Harris in 1820. Between 1806 and 1818 seventy free blacks were recorded in Davidson County, most from Virginia and North Carolina.<sup>78</sup> Nashville fostered a tiny community of free blacks during the antebellum years, which afforded some measure of autonomy and flexibility, though concurrently the city played a role as a slave-trading center.<sup>79</sup>

Despite the “informality” of relationships between masters and slaves during the early settlement period, blacks in general were not as free as whites in Tennessee. Participation was often restricted in social functions, commerce, and government, and even free blacks experienced widespread discrimination by whites. Among Nashville elites, slaves became a type of currency, hired out, sold, and resold, disrupting black families.<sup>80</sup> By 1860 slavery and its concomitant racism were firmly established in the economy and racial ideology of Middle Tennessee. As Lamon notes, “Whites defended slavery not only for its economic importance, but also for the control it offered to race relations.”<sup>81</sup>

Most residents of District 6 and Cane Ridge did not own slaves, but several did, though just a handful owned more than a few. This pattern was in keeping with regional

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<sup>77</sup> Ash, 35; Lamon, 17-18.

<sup>78</sup> Goodstein, 79.

<sup>79</sup> Ash, 61; Lovett, xvi; Lamon, 23.

<sup>80</sup> Goodstein, 74-75.

<sup>81</sup> Lamon, 25.

norms. According to Steven Ash, in the Central Basin by 1860, enslaved persons made up about 40% of the population and 43% of white farm families owned slaves, but only 5% owned twenty or more (twenty slaves being the minimum for a “plantation”).<sup>82</sup> The 1839 tax list for District 6 enumerates 144 slaves; in 1850 the census total for all black residents in the district was 466, eight of them free; and in 1860 the slave count was 339. Of the people who lived on Southeast Park property, W.H.B. Gambill, James Holloway, John Wright, Jason Austin, William Hagans, and James Waller were all slave owners; in 1850 James Holloway owned 32 slaves, qualifying him as a member of the planter class (Figure 15).<sup>83</sup> The Austin Cemetery on Southeast Park’s property includes a number of enslaved peoples’ graves. It is not yet known if there are other slave gravesites within park boundaries, though it would not be surprising, given that some of the enslavers and their families owned a number of slaves over the course of several decades.

Enslaved workers were essential to the functioning of about half the farms in the region, and they often had specialized skills as well.<sup>84</sup> Slaves also made up a considerable portion of their owners’ financial wealth.<sup>85</sup> For example, in District 6 in 1839, total acreage was worth \$105,206, and enslaved persons were not far behind, valued at \$91,000. Still, the pattern in Middle Tennessee differed from other parts of the South in that it was, according to Harriette Simpson Arnow, “basically a land of well-to-do

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<sup>82</sup> Ash, 14, 10; Otto, 47; Frank Lawrence Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949), 201.

<sup>83</sup> Owsley, 201.

<sup>84</sup> Ash, 52; Arnow, 92.

<sup>85</sup> Ash, 10. Ash states that slaves made up about 55% of Middle Tennessee property value.



As has been described above, Middle Tennessee and its Central Basin possess particular traits, geographically, geologically, commercially, and demographically. The region also had a particular experience during the Civil War. The Union Army occupied Nashville and much of Middle Tennessee from 1862 until the end of the war and beyond. As Stephen Ash points out, “No other major Southern region, except northern Virginia, endured enemy occupation during the Civil War for as long as Middle Tennessee.”<sup>88</sup> Positioned not far from Union-held Nashville, and near the Nashville, Chattanooga, & St. Louis Railroad line and the major thoroughfares of Murfreesboro Pike and Nolensville Pike, residents of District 6 would have witnessed troop movements as well as military forays into the countryside in search of supplies and food by both Federals and Confederates, especially as the two sides vied for control of the railroad. The location of District 6 and Cane Ridge likely resulted in devastating effects on the landscape, particularly farms. According to Ash, the dual roles of Middle Tennessee “as breadbasket of the Federal army and strategic gateway to the Deep South brought down upon it the full wrath of war.”<sup>89</sup> Recovering the local economy, repairing damage to the landscape, mourning the loss of loved ones, and adjusting to the dramatic social and cultural changes precipitated by the end of slavery would have been challenging for members of the community, both black and white.

The nearness of the Union Army also meant that Middle Tennessee slaves saw an opportunity to seize their freedom. Yet, while many did run away from their enslavers, many others stayed, perhaps, as Lester Lamon suggests, out of loyalty or familiarity;

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<sup>88</sup> Ash, 85.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

some who stayed used the shortage of labor to bargain for better treatment.<sup>90</sup> After Emancipation many who sought independence did not go far. In the post-war years African Americans in Cane Ridge succeeded in establishing their own Olive Branch School (1871) and Olive Branch Church (1875), and census records through the nineteenth century and into the mid-twentieth century continued to show a mixed population of white and black, with many examples of shared surnames. While most African Americans rented their property (historian Lester Lamon reports that by 1883 over 90% of former slaves in Middle and West Tennessee did not own land), others achieved property ownership, such as former slave Laura Gooch Wilson, born in about 1853, who owned her own farm by 1910.<sup>91</sup>

Census records from the early twentieth century show most black residents of the community working in low-paying support jobs, primarily laborers and laundresses (Figure 16). Even these jobs disappeared as new technologies made manual farm labor nearly obsolete. In the mid-twentieth century a number of African Americans moved from Cane Ridge into Nashville and other nearby towns, seeking job opportunities. Yet even today Cane Ridge remains racially diverse and residents include descendants of African Americans with a long history in the area.

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<sup>90</sup> Lamon, 28.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.



Figure 16. African-American farm laborers in Cane Ridge.  
*Left:* Courtesy of Harry Burkitt. *Right:* Courtesy of Sue Burkitt Clark.

Given the distinctive regional and local history surrounding Southeast Park, a question arose during the early phase of research into the property: what physical evidence of that history has survived into the twenty-first century to potentially guide and inform the park's future interpretive narrative? The Moore farm's two houses, built in 1931 and 1945, multiple outbuildings, and intact farm landscape are obvious artifacts. The material culture and document collection discovered in the Moore and Sanford homes are also invaluable components of the historic resources. The Moore family and Moore farm are discussed in detail in Chapter Three. Here evidence relating to other former residents of the park landscape, as well as of the larger community of Cane Ridge, will be examined.

The 1871 Foster map suggested locations of several non-extant dwellings within the boundaries of the park, which were the homesteads of earlier families who lived and farmed on the landscape. These homes include those of James and Martha (Gray) Holloway, William H.B. and Mary (Gray) Gambill, Jason and Lusinai (Johnston) Austin, George and Fanny (Rogers) Richards, John and Sarah (Thompson) Wright, William and

Jerusha (Alexander) Hagans, James and Sarah Waller, William and Hibernia Winn, and possibly Green and Annie (Richards) Moore.<sup>92</sup> The Holloway and Gambill families, in fact, previously occupied the Moore farm property, the twentieth-century Moore and Sanford houses now standing in the approximate locations of the nineteenth-century Holloway and Gambill dwellings, with Holloway and Gambill family cemeteries nearby. There is also evidence to suggest that the Holloways purchased at least some their property from the Wrights; the Wright cemetery is also within the park. The 1907 E.M. Gardner map contains additional names of pertinent homeowners, including B.P. (Baylee Payton) Austin and J.H. (Jason “Jace”) Austin. Harry Burkitt, who grew up on the park’s landscape, added the home sites and names of William Gray Burkitt and Robert Bonds to the list.<sup>93</sup> Fieldwork excursions into the park succeeded in locating several cultural landscape resources, including ruins of structures, gravesites, stone walls, plantings of daffodils and daylilies, and possible middens. One of the most significant features is the Austin family cemetery, near the former site of the Austin house, containing markers dating to the early nineteenth century and graves of former slaves (Figure 17).

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<sup>92</sup> The location of a house is indicated on the 1871 Foster map to the northwest of the Richards’ house, but without a homeowner’s name assigned. Given the persistent listing in census records of Green and Annie Moore near the Austins and Richards, to whom they were related, it seems plausible the unnamed house belonged to the Moores.

<sup>93</sup> Harry Burkitt, personal communication with author, April 25, 2017.



Figure 17. Austin site in Southeast Park. *Left*: ‘Van Scion’ daffodils near house site. *Right*: Slave grave fieldstone markers in Austin Cemetery. Photos by Jenny Andrews.

But maps, census records, Moore family documents, and conversations with local residents made it apparent early in the investigation that the park property should not be examined in isolation. The generations of people who lived and worked there were intrinsically connected to a wider community, and thus the fieldwork and research expanded outward, with a particular focus on Cane Ridge. A surprising number of features dating to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including log buildings, are still present on the land as of 2017, several of them even owned by descendants of early residents. The surviving percentage of the historic cultural landscape fabric is especially significant given the relatively small size of the community and the degree of development and suburban sprawl that has occurred in that part of Davidson County.

Examining in concert the full range of house types in Cane Ridge, from two-story I-houses to modest cottages to rough shacks, is the best means of getting at the layered,

diverse history of the community. Going further, rather than confine the investigation of the historical and cultural landscape to dwellings, the exploration and community survey also took stock of cemeteries, dependencies, churches, schools, fences, wells, old roads, ruins, interstitial spaces, and other artifacts. As historian Sally McMurry counsels, looking only at individual buildings is in fact “ahistorical” given the complex integrative nature of rural community life.<sup>94</sup> During onsite investigations, clumps of daffodils, which are non-native and not spread by seeds or wildlife, frequently functioned as signposts, drawing attention to home and grave sites. Experiences of locals, who have traversed the fields and woods of Cane Ridge for decades, also served as pointers. Residents’ insights led to house ruins, such as the chimney and foundation of the John Jackson house; relics, like a “buck scraper” rusting in the forest; and burial sites, like three fieldstone-marked graves near the home of Twana Chick, president of the Cane Ridge Community Club.



Figure 18. Benajah Gray Log House, c. 1805.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

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<sup>94</sup> Sally McMurry, *From Sugar Camps to Star Barns: Rural Life and Landscape in a Western Pennsylvania Community* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 34.

At least five homes visibly of log construction still stand in Cane Ridge. The oldest, the Benajah Gray Log House (c. 1805), was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1985 (Figure 18). The other four belonged to nineteenth-century owners Thomas Johnson, B. Barnes, Francis Waller, and Andrew Wolf. All of these buildings are pictured and described in Paul Clements's two-volume *A Past Remembered: A Collection of Antebellum Houses in Davidson County* (1987). These houses also appear to be present on the 1871 Foster map. Though today log homes are often associated with rusticity and even poverty, in Middle Tennessee in the early 1800s they could be respectable abodes even of the well-to-do. Michaux reported of Nashville in 1802 that of about 120 houses all but a handful were log or frame.<sup>95</sup> In 1831, according to James Patrick, there were still at least twenty-one log homes within the city limits.<sup>96</sup> John Rehder asserts that throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, log construction was the basic building method in much of the state, particularly East and Middle Tennessee.<sup>97</sup>

At least four other homes stand in Cane Ridge that have early log sections, some sheathed in board siding, and incorporated into dwellings built later in the nineteenth century or in the early twentieth century: the Gillespie-Culbertson house, Daniel Gray Clark house, Burkitt house, and Whitsett house. The Clark house is interesting in that it is the only substantial nineteenth-century brick home identified in the community thus far.

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<sup>95</sup> Arnow, 384.

<sup>96</sup> Patrick, 17.

<sup>97</sup> John B. Rehder, *Tennessee Log Buildings: A Folk Tradition* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012), 41.

All of these home sites are illustrative of change over time, modified as the makeup and needs of their occupants altered. No less important than the dwellings are their former occupants: Clark's son Daniel, Jr., founded Clark Hardware in Nashville; Andrew Jackson Burkitt was one of the first graduates of Nashville Medical College and a physician in Cane Ridge; and William Whitsett was pastor of Concord Church. The Benajah Gray family, one of the first to settle in Cane Ridge, operated a blacksmith shop and a mill. Clements describes Thomas Johnson as a "master carpenter."<sup>98</sup>

Though the 1860 slave schedule indicates there were at least one hundred slave dwellings in District 6, only one confirmed slave house reportedly still stands in Cane Ridge, associated with the National Register listing for the Benajah Gray Log House. This dwelling today is within the boundary of Cane Ridge Park, near the Gray house, but its condition is unknown. Quarters for enslaved workers were typically constructed cheaply and thus less permanent than the homes of slave owners, but these dwellings also suffered from neglect in the post-Civil War, post-Reconstruction South as African Americans moved and established their own home places. The impetus to erase the stain of slavery or ignore its presence altogether also led to the collapse or intentional destruction of many slave houses in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. While interest in preserving and studying such buildings has increased significantly over the last several decades, this effort has come too late to save most slave quarters in the region. Potentially there are other such dwellings in Cane Ridge, or their ruins, and a few buildings do hint at either enslaved or later African-American sharecropper occupation

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<sup>98</sup> Paul Clements, *A Past Remembered: A Collection of Antebellum Houses in Davidson County*, vol. I (Nashville: Clearview Press, 1987), 136.

(Figure 19). Archaeological investigations at selected properties could also discover artifactual evidence of the enslaved population in the community. It would be intuitive to use the 1871 Foster map in conjunction with the 1860 listing of slave dwellings to determine likely sites. Queries made of longtime residents, particularly among the African-American community, could also uncover clues.



Figure 19. Small cabin in Cane Ridge.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

Like the Moore bungalow and the Moore-Sanford ranch house there are a number of middle-class homes dating to the first half of the twentieth century in Cane Ridge. At the times of their construction, the Moore homes would have been the epitome of modern architecture, and those two styles, bungalow and especially ranch, as well as other styles of modest farmhouses can be found sprinkled throughout the community. There are also humble structures likely occupied by renters and laborers, including African Americans.

In addition to dwellings, there are a plethora of outbuildings on the Cane Ridge landscape, some functioning and others derelict. Some are associated with homes, while

others stand alone in a field or forest. The categories include barns, horse stables, milk buildings, corncribs, smokehouses, equipment sheds, garages, outhouses, chicken coops, detached kitchens, well houses, and silos. These utilitarian buildings and structures paint a picture of everyday life in a rural farming community through decades of change. The largest dependency structures are likely the trio of enormous twentieth-century silos of the Carothers farm, formerly part of an extensive dairy operation (Figure 20); the smallest perhaps is a tiny chicken coop behind the Whitsett house. The Moore farm alone contains two barns, a milk house, well house, outhouse, smokehouse, garage, chicken coop, and equipment sheds, plus evidence of previous structures, including a third barn and a silo. Another barn and a log corncrib lie elsewhere in Southeast Park, near the Austin Cemetery.



Figure 20. Silos of Carothers farm.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

Cemeteries are another key component of the home-farm cultural landscape in Middle Tennessee. A map of named cemeteries, presented in *The Upland South* by

cultural geographer Terry Jordan-Bychkov, indicates that Tennessee has the highest number of named graveyards in the eastern half of the U.S., which Jordan-Bychkov posits could be due to the frequency of small family cemeteries. He asserts that cemeteries of the Upland South are a vital part of its regional distinctiveness.<sup>99</sup> Thus far, twenty family cemeteries had been scouted in the Cane Ridge area; four of them—belonging to the Holloway, Gambill, Austin, and Wright families—are within Southeast Park. But there are certainly others, not yet examined, in the community, some recorded and others forgotten. In some cases gravesites are well marked, as with the relatively extensive Battle-Gooch Cemetery; at other sites, there are only two or three graves, sometimes only identified with rough fieldstones. In addition, two cemeteries accompany churches in the community: Cane Ridge Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which includes the graves of Revolutionary War soldiers, and Olive Branch Church, an African-American church with an African-American cemetery (Figure 21).



Figure 21. African-American cemetery at Olive Branch Church.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

<sup>99</sup> Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, *The Upland South: The Making of an American Folk Region and Landscape* (Santa Fe: Center for American Places, 2003), 75.

Churches as well as schools have played critical roles in rural communities throughout the history of the region. Over the course of two centuries, from the early 1800s until the twenty-first century, several churches and schools serviced the Cane Ridge community. Two antebellum church buildings still survive today, the Cane Ridge Cumberland Presbyterian Church and Concord Church. The original deed for a Baptist church site in the heart of Cane Ridge dates to 1826 and the first building was log. Acquired by the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1837, the early building burned and the congregation replaced it in 1859 with the extant brick building (see Figure 62). The fact that they built with brick reflects the membership's economic stability on the eve of the Civil War. Still in use for church services, it was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1976. Similarly, the first Concord Church was a log building constructed on Mill Creek northeast of the town of Nolensville in about 1804, established as part of missionary outreach by Nashville's Mill Creek Baptist Church. Later, in 1844, a new brick church, which is extant though altered, was constructed across the creek.

Typical of nineteenth-century rural Tennessee churches, the sanctuaries of both Concord and Cane Ridge Cumberland Presbyterian have a simple rectangular footprint and are relatively unadorned. Jordan-Bychkov suggests this simplicity stems from the "dissenter Protestant's view" of the primary function of a church building as "a place of assembly, not an abode of God or the scene of ritual miracle."<sup>100</sup> This characteristic also explains why church buildings were multi-purpose and utilized as schools and polling places. Based on personal accounts and old photographs, the first iterations of other churches in the area, no longer extant, had a similar footprint and proportions, though

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<sup>100</sup> Jordan-Bychkov, 73.

they were frame structures. These include the Olive Branch Church (1875), Mt. View Baptist Church (1896) (Figure 22), and Gilroy Church of Christ (1904). On these three sites, congregations later replaced the earlier buildings with twentieth-century versions.<sup>101</sup>



Figure 22. Original Mt. View Baptist Church in 1943.  
Courtesy of Mt. View Baptist Church.

The churches discussed above were associated with schools at one time or another, in some cases utilizing the same building and in other instances with separate buildings for religious and educational functions. In the case of the community's African-American school and church, the Olive Branch School building was constructed c. 1871 and served a dual purpose for a time after the Olive Branch Church was founded in 1875, followed some years later by construction of a separate church building. The school buildings in Cane Ridge seem to have mirrored the standard layout of the churches, rectangular with a single room. Other schools in the community included Shady Grove and a "schoolhouse" near the southernmost border of District 6, marked on maps dating

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<sup>101</sup> Mt. View Baptist Church and Gilroy Church of Christ continue to own their church sites. The Olive Branch Church was sold in 2016 to a Coptic Orthodox church.

to 1871, 1898, and 1900 but whose name has been lost to time. Given the ubiquity of the one-room schoolhouse in rural communities during the nineteenth century and even into the twentieth, as presented by education historian Jonathan Zimmerman in *Small Wonder*, it is likely all of these schools were single-room buildings.<sup>102</sup>



Figure 23. Cane Ridge School, built 1908.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

One school building, though not associated with a church, is extant in Cane Ridge—the Cane Ridge School, built c. 1908 for all grade levels (Figure 23), later limited to lower grades after the 1933 construction of Antioch High School, no longer extant, on the current site of Antioch Middle School. Cane Ridge School ceased operating as a school in 1956, though it continues to serve other functions in the community. Its arrangement is slightly different from the one-room schoolhouse in that the footprint is more T-shaped and the interior classroom space could be divided into two sections using large sliding doors. Its façade is also more “dressed up,” with neoclassical columns at the

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<sup>102</sup> Jonathan Zimmerman, *Small Wonder: The Little Red Schoolhouse in History and Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 20.

entrance. This building, now within Metro Park's Cecil Rhea Crawford Park, is remarkably intact, including its interior (a portrait of George Washington and a framed copy of the Pledge of Allegiance still hang in the classroom space). Generations of white Cane Ridge children attended Cane Ridge School, and it remains a touchstone for the community. A few local residents also served as teachers, including Adelaide Battle Cochran, whose white frame cottage is located near the Moore bungalow.

In addition to dwelling, farm, and institutional buildings, examples of the evolution of transportation routes in Middle Tennessee can be seen in the community. The earliest roads, says Arnow, were "little better than bridle paths cut by the inhabitants themselves."<sup>103</sup> The rough nature of these byways meant that, according to John Spence, transporting a wagonload of cotton from Murfreesboro to Nashville in the 1820s could take six days roundtrip.<sup>104</sup> Widened with use and periodic maintenance by locals, several roads in Cane Ridge persisted through the nineteenth century, forming a connective web between farms, churches, schools, and popular businesses like blacksmith shops and mills. Some of these roads, or portions of them, were incorporated into modern routes, often straightened somewhat as machined paving became standard procedure. Defunct sections of old roads can still be located in Cane Ridge, overgrown with brush but with the wagon-wheel troughs still apparent. A concerted effort by the state to improve roads, thus facilitating both travel and trade, meant some of the more prominent routes were macadamized as early as the 1830s, a method which continued in use for decades.

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<sup>103</sup> Arnow, 18.

<sup>104</sup> Spence, *The Annals of Rutherford County: Volume Two, 1829-1870* (Murfreesboro, TN: Rutherford County Historical Society, 1991), 6.

Small local and farm roads, however, were not enough to get Middle Tennesseans everywhere they needed to go. In the 1830s a system of wider toll roads or pikes was launched in Tennessee, including major thoroughfares leading to Nashville from Franklin, Nolensville, and Murfreesboro. After the pikes were in place, the time it took to get a load of freight to Nashville was greatly diminished.<sup>105</sup> Like other routes in the state such as the Natchez Trace, Murfreesboro Pike, completed in 1837, loosely follows an ancient buffalo trace or Indian trail in use for centuries, ironic in that the pike also generally aligns with the 1838 path of the Trail of Tears. A log structure on Murfreesboro Pike near the intersection with Old Hickory Boulevard, known as Buchanan's Tavern (1810), is worth noting here, though it is beyond the boundaries of Cane Ridge. Visited by Andrew Jackson and later operating as a Civil War military headquarters, this structure served as a way station during the early nineteenth century and later offered a livery stable for railway passengers boarding at Kimbro Station. Another transportation-related nineteenth-century site that merits mention is the house that gave Mt. View Road, and the old Mt. View railroad stop, their names. Called Mountain View, this was the home of the Rucker family and reportedly a stagecoach stop during the 1830s.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Spence, *Volume Two*, 93.

<sup>106</sup> Marshall and Marshall, 35. Stagecoach routes are often overlooked as a significant means of transportation in Tennessee history. In Middle Tennessee this system was initiated in 1807, the first line extending between Knoxville and Nashville, primarily as a means of transporting mail. By the time of the Civil War, Nashville served as a hub for sixteen main stagecoach lines, according to Susan Douglas Wilson in "Transportation in Early Middle Tennessee," *Middle Tennessee Genealogy* vol. II, no. 4 (Spring 1994), 148-152, found on [rootsweb.ancestry.com/~tnsumner/mdtntran.htm](http://rootsweb.ancestry.com/~tnsumner/mdtntran.htm). Apparently stagecoaches were still in use in the late nineteenth century; a photo of the Nashville-to-Chapel Hill stagecoach, loaded with passengers, dated 1894, is featured on page 10 in *Nolensville*,

In the early twentieth century Tennessee experienced another roadway boom as part of the Good Roads Movement, prompted by an increasing use of gasoline-powered vehicles. The Dixie Highway, constructed between 1914 and 1927, extended from Ontario, Canada, to Miami, Florida. For decades, as Mary Hoffschwelle notes, this highway was “the nation’s premier north-south automobile route.”<sup>107</sup> One section ran from Springfield, Tennessee, to Chattanooga, passing close by Cane Ridge on the way from Nashville to Murfreesboro. Today U.S. Highway 41 and the Old Nashville Highway follow the Dixie Highway’s path. Beginning in the 1920s local farmers (including the Moores), vendors, and traders, as well as shoppers and tourists, relied on this accessible, well-paved thoroughfare to travel to Nashville and other regional markets.

Roadways in Middle Tennessee have continued to evolve, especially as a result of increased traffic due to a proliferation of multi-unit housing developments. Today asphalt roads thread their way through Cane Ridge, some still exhibiting quirky country-road twists and turns, and several bearing the names of early residents, like Burkitt, Battle, Whittemore, and Pettus. Based on maps, Old Hickory Boulevard, which bisects the Moore farm, was in place early in the community’s history, though its path has altered over the decades and its name has changed several times. The 1871 Foster map reveals a route winding through Cane Ridge roughly aligning with today’s Old Hickory Boulevard, which enabled nineteenth-century travelers to make their way between Nolensville Pike,

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*1797-1987: Reflections of a Tennessee Town*, compiled by Peggy Stephenson Wilson (Nolensville, TN: Nolensville Recreation Center, 1989).

<sup>107</sup> Mary S. Hoffschwelle, *Rebuilding the Rural Southern Community: Reformers, Schools, and Homes in Tennessee, 1900-1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 123.

Kimbrow Station, and Murfreesboro Pike. An old section of Old Hickory Boulevard, rendered obsolete when the road was straightened c. 1970, is near the Moore bungalow home. Evidence still exists of other long-unused paved roadways as well. For example a stretch of macadamized road, probably dating to the early twentieth century, led past the home of William H. and Allie Moore, which is now in ruins near the Moore family cemetery (Figure 24).



Figure 24. Section of macadamized road in Cane Ridge.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

Two other notable developments in transportation also occurred in and near Cane Ridge, a century apart. The Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad (later the Nashville, Chattanooga, & St. Louis Railroad) was constructed in the 1850s. Its first passenger train

ran as far as Antioch in 1851.<sup>108</sup> Later stops were added, and by the late 1850s there were fifteen regional depots along the line (Figure 25).<sup>109</sup> Being able to hop on the train at Kimbro Station near the railroad's intersection with Old Hickory Boulevard offered a far easier method than buggies, early cars, and bumpy roads for rural Cane Ridge residents to get to downtown Nashville, Murfreesboro, and beyond. Even after better roadways were built, Cane Ridge residents still sometimes chose to travel by rail.



Figure 25. Buggy with Antioch Depot in background, built 1891.  
*Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

The other significant construction project was Interstate 24, part of a superhighway initiative begun in the 1950s that lasted into the 1970s.<sup>110</sup> The interstate has been both a positive and a negative for southeast Davidson County. On the plus side,

<sup>108</sup> *History of Tennessee*, 345.

<sup>109</sup> Bonnie L. Gamble, "The Nashville Chattanooga and St. Louis Railroad, 1845-1880: Preservation of a Railroad Landscape" (Master's Thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 1993), 48.

<sup>110</sup> Leland R. Johnson, *Memphis to Bristol: A Half Century of Highway Construction: A History of the Tennessee Road Builders Association, 1928-1978* (Nashville: Tennessee Road Builders Association, 1978), 124, 126.

it provides a direct means for Middle Tennessee residents to access the Nashville metropolitan area and other locations in the region, state, and elsewhere. On the minus side, the interstate disrupts the once continuous landscape associated with Cane Ridge and has fostered residential and commercial development and increasingly heavy traffic.

As the accumulated evidence shows, Southeast Park is well positioned, physically and culturally, to present a depth of regional and local history. Its on-site components alone offer numerous entry points. Considered within the context of the wider community, the park has an unusually rich heritage from which to draw inspiration, and the potential to constructively engage local residents for ongoing input and collaboration. The stories the park can tell about individuals, the community, the region, and even the state are nearly endless, if the cultural resources are sensitively and creatively appreciated, explored, and interpreted.

## CHAPTER THREE:

## THE MOORE FARM AS A PUBLIC HISTORY LABORATORY

One of Metro Parks' primary goals for Southeast Park is to utilize the 179-acre portion that constitutes the Moore farm as an educational and interpretive tool, to showcase a history of rural agricultural life in Middle Tennessee. Indeed, this was Mary Moore's intention when she pursued the sale of her family's property and its protection under a conservation easement. In a May 2015 article in *The Tennessean*, Moore makes clear her anticipation that the farm, as part of the park, will preserve a century's worth of collected memories, as well as offer a space in which visitors can create their own enriching experiences.<sup>1</sup> Historian Jane Adams asserts that such rural landscapes are repositories for encoded memories, contributing to a "collective identity" that is essential to preserve.<sup>2</sup> Former Secretary of Agriculture Bob Bergland states, "The very existence of rural America has a vital function for America's psychic well-being."<sup>3</sup> In her speech given at the official announcement of Southeast Park, Moore proffered that she and sister Aileen Williamson, in conveying their property for use as a public space, "cannot think of a greater legacy a 'farm family' could leave to future generations."<sup>4</sup> This chapter will outline the history of the Moores, their agricultural pursuits, and their community

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<sup>1</sup> Cowan.

<sup>2</sup> Jane Adams, *The Transformation of Rural Life: Southern Illinois, 1890-1990* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), xvii.

<sup>3</sup> Bob Bergland, "Foreword," *American Rural Communities*, ed. A.E. Luloff and Louis E. Swanson (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), x.

<sup>4</sup> Mary Moore, copy of handwritten notes prepared for a speech given in May 2015.

connections in order to lay the groundwork for a narrative of agricultural social history useful for future interpretation at Southeast Park.

Three aspects of the Moore farm define its potential for public education. First, it presents an opportunity to explore local and regional history across two centuries. Other historic locations open to the public in Davidson, Williamson, and Rutherford counties, such as Belle Meade Plantation, Travellers Rest, Carnton Plantation, Oaklands, and the Sam Davis Home, focus on the antebellum period and do not extend their interpretation much beyond the Civil War. As economic historian Gavin Wright says, “we really have to tell the story of southern agriculture twice, once for the plantation areas and again for the small farm sections.”<sup>5</sup>

Second, the close interrelatedness of the Moores and their kin to the local community of Cane Ridge is a gateway into the history of an entire community, its people, patterns, and institutions. Other public history sites in the area generally define their narratives within the boundaries of singular homesteads.

Third, there is a shortage of public interpretation addressing places in the Mid-South like Cane Ridge, positioned in a borderland where Tennessee’s urban life and rural life overlap. Indeed some scholars specifically reject a stated, or implied, dichotomy between urban and rural. Craig Thompson Friend in *Along the Maysville Road* asserts that urban centers and farmlands are complementary, “symbiotic” rather than “inimical.”<sup>6</sup> In her examination of Tennessee’s rural Upper Cumberland region, historian Jeanette

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<sup>5</sup> Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), 82.

<sup>6</sup> Craig Thompson Friend, *Along the Maysville Road: The Early American Republic in the Trans-Appalachian West* (Knoxville; University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 58, 56.

Keith notes that, “the relationship between urban and rural in America is not a one-way street, with influence running from the cities out to the countryside. Rather, urban and rural participate in a dialogue.”<sup>7</sup> Based on the records of their activities and purchases, it appears that for the Moores, and perhaps for many of their neighbors, being rural or urban was indeed not a binary choice. They chose what was for them a natural third option, which was to operate comfortably within both spheres.



Figure 26. Moore family at their bungalow, 1930s.  
From left: Mary, Bill, Aileen, John, Audrey, and Evelyn.  
Source: Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

Fortuitously, the Moores conveyed to Metro Parks far more than acreage, leaving an invaluable collection of material at the farm site to be discovered, analyzed, and interpreted (Figure 26). Among the cultural landscape artifacts are two houses, including

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<sup>7</sup> Jeanette Keith, *Country People in the New South: Tennessee's Upper Cumberland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 4.

a 1930s bungalow, several farm dependencies, fields, farm roads, ponds, fences, and two cemeteries belonging to previous landowners. Both houses were found to contain an abundance of material culture, such as furniture, kitchenware, mementoes, textiles, books, decorative items, appliances, tools, and toys (Figure 27). Also found within the homes were historically valuable caches of documentary evidence, totaling well over a thousand pieces and dating as far back as the mid-nineteenth century, including store receipts, promissory notes, ledgers, letters, photos, diaries, legal documents, maps, deeds, tax receipts, and other records. Taken together these resources can serve as the foundation for deeply layered interpretive endeavors and future scholarly research projects, as well as supportive evidence for local preservation initiatives. In a word, the Moore farm is a public history laboratory.

The following discussion incorporates these resources, as well as others such as census records and oral histories, into an examination of the Moore family, their farm, and their community to reveal how these people and their places can serve as exemplars of rural Middle Tennessee history as well as reflectors of larger social and economic patterns. As historical archaeologist Mark Groover points out, farmsteads manifest both “the details of daily rural life” as well as the “large-scale processes that transpired across America.”<sup>8</sup> Indeed the cultural landscape, documentation, and artifacts related to the Moore farm, Southeast Park, and Cane Ridge illustrate the evolution of this farming community from early settlement through the antebellum period, post-bellum industrialization, and the Progressive Era.

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<sup>8</sup> Mark D. Groover, *The Archaeology of North American Farmsteads* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 5.



Figure 27. Moore house interior, dining and living rooms.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

In many ways the Moore family and their kin mirror typical patterns of Middle Tennessee settlement and the evolution of rural life in the region. They came to the western frontier in the early nineteenth century from states to the east, acquired acreage in the countryside, operated farms that produced crops and products consistent with other farms in the area, were active participants in churches, sent children to nearby schools, conducted business with neighbors and in proximal towns, sought treatment from local physicians, and reacted to national and international events and trends. As agricultural historian Donald Winters outlines, over time, Tennessee farmers displayed a range of responses to new information, tools, and techniques, adopting or rejecting them based on practicality, affordability, and entrepreneurial disposition; similarly the Moore family took advantage of changing technologies even as they maintained rural traditions.<sup>9</sup> Often adult sons worked on the family farms as laborers, and later took over management. A

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<sup>9</sup> Winters, 178.

few Moore ancestors owned one or two slaves, though most owned none. Post Civil War and well into the twentieth century, they irregularly employed non-family members as additional labor, including African Americans, to assist with seasonal tasks.

As with most early immigrants to the region, the first Moore ancestors came from Virginia, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania. For example, John Johnston, Jr., (1770-1857), father of Amanda Johnston Moore (1822-1903), hailed from Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Nicholas Baker, father of Johnston's wife Elizabeth, came from North Carolina, as did Andrew Jackson Owens (1823-1902), husband of Emaline Foster (1825-1897), who were the parents of Allie Owens Moore (1865-1947).<sup>10</sup>

The first direct ancestors with the surname of Moore to arrive in the region seem to have been William Moore (1792-1870) and his wife Elizabeth, parents of Amanda Johnston's husband William Green Moore (1821-1902), who moved from Virginia to Tennessee prior to the 1815 birth of their first child, Lucinda. Several early land records in Rutherford County show acquisitions by persons named William Moore, though it is unknown which, if any, are pertinent. Rutherford County census records for 1820 and 1830 list household members for a William Moore that seem to be correct for William and Elizabeth's family. Later the Moores took up residence in District 3 of Davidson County and then District 6, putting down their deepest roots in the latter district, where Cane Ridge is located. There William and Elizabeth's descendants bought, sold, and inherited various tracts of property, and established several home sites. William and Elizabeth alternated between homes in District 3 and District 6, though in neither location

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<sup>10</sup> Lillian Brown Johnson, 159-160, 125.

is William listed as owning significant real estate.<sup>11</sup> A likely site of their home in District 3 is captioned “W. Moore” on the 1871 Foster map; today that location appears to be within the Four Corners Recreation Area associated with Percy Priest Lake (the 1871 Foster map of District 3 of Davidson County appears on page 197 of the Appendix).

Whether or not the Moores held land in Rutherford County in the early 1800s, they did later establish property connections there. In 1889 William and Elizabeth’s son William Green purchased 245 acres in District 2 near the Stones River from George P. Finney and 16 acres from neighbor Mary Neal.<sup>12</sup> This large farm became a home site and also provided income insurance for the next thirty years. The 1900 census lists William Green and his wife Amanda in District 2 of Rutherford County, presumably at the Finney farm. William Green and Amanda died in 1902 and 1903, respectively, and the 1910 census indicates William and Amanda’s son Green, his wife Annie, and other family members had moved from Davidson County to District 2 of Rutherford County. Known as River Farm (also River Place and “the Home Place”), and referred to in one document

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<sup>11</sup> The 1850 census lists William and Elizabeth Moore and seven children in District 3; the 1860 census lists the couple and two children in District 6. The 1870 census lists William Moore with son Henry in District 3. Records for 1840 have not been found.

<sup>12</sup> The 1878 D.G. Beers & Co. map of Rutherford County notes the location of two homes in District 2 belonging to G.P. (George Penn) Finney along the Stones River, one of them substantial enough to have the estate name “Oak Hill.” Found among the Moore papers, a 1903 chancery sale notice announced the upcoming sale of 320 acres in District 2 of Rutherford County, with boundaries consistent with the Finney property. The sale was likely associated with the death of William Green Moore in 1902. It appears that only a portion of this land sold at that time since the family continued to own acreage there. A legal document found among the Moore papers, dated 1906, outlines the holdings of William Henry Moore and their dispensation after his death in 1905, including River Farm in Rutherford County, which then encompassed “148 (137)” acres. Receipts found in the Moore house show property taxes paid on 137 acres, more or less, from 1904 to 1919.

as “the old Finney place,” this holding grew to about 320 acres, based on the 1902 will of William Green Moore. During the 1910s Benjamin F. Moore, William Green’s grandson, also lived on and managed the property. The family sold this farm in 1919 following Benjamin’s death in 1918 at age thirty.<sup>13</sup>

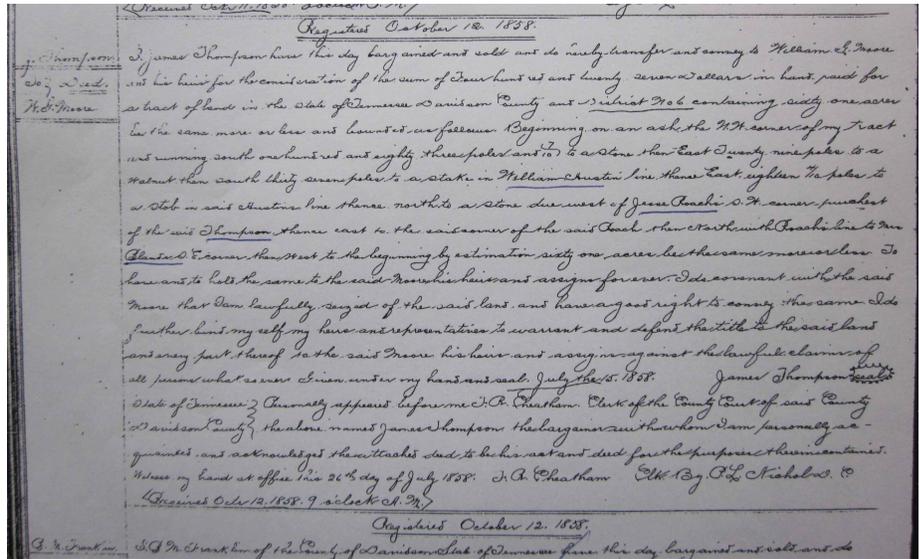


Figure 28. 1858 deed, James Thompson to William Green Moore, sixty-one acres in District 6 of Davidson County.  
Source: Davidson County Register of Deeds, Book 28, Page 344.

Davidson County deeds show several generations of Moores acquiring land in the Cane Ridge area. In a deed dated 1858, William Green Moore, who by then had a growing family, purchased sixty-one acres in District 6 from James Thompson (Figure 28). Based on neighboring property owners listed in the deed as well as proximity on census-record listings, it is presumably this location, just to the west of Cane Ridge Road, to which Wilbur Foster assigned the name “W. Moore” on his 1871 map. Later deeds

<sup>13</sup> Allie Owens Moore, Benjamin’s mother, kept accounting notes of maintenance on River Farm, rental income, and its eventual sale, found in the Moores’ bungalow house.

show that in 1888 William Green and Amanda sold this property, with the “W.G. Moore old homestead,” to neighbor Daniel G. Clark, Sr., who in 1894 sold it to his daughter and son-in-law, Barbara and Wesley Chadwick Austin. Subsequent ownership has not yet been ascertained, nor has the exact location of the home site been discovered.

William Henry Moore (1845-1905), William Green and Amanda’s son, accumulated several tracts of land in Cane Ridge from the 1870s through the 1890s, a portion of them from family-estate transactions related to his second wife Leticia Roach (also spelled Lutitia, Letitia, and Louticia in censuses and other records). In 1894 William Henry purchased 116 acres from the heirs of W.H.B. Gambill that contained the Gambill “home place” and family cemetery, a property later owned by John Henry Moore, now part of the Moore farm landscape (see map in the Appendix, page 200). For a number of years a daughter of William Henry and Leticia named Nora and her husband James Hartman occupied the old Gambill home, which Mary Moore remembers as a two-story log dwelling.<sup>14</sup> W.H.B. Gambill seems to have purchased that tract in 1853 and his log house was likely similar in construction to other antebellum log homes still extant in Cane Ridge, such as the Andrew Wolf home, located near the current intersection of Old Hickory Boulevard and Pettus Road.<sup>15</sup> Today a brick ranch house built in about 1945 for newlyweds Evelyn Moore and Joe Burns Sanford occupies the Gambill home site. Tool-marked limestone foundation stones on the ranch house and tool-marked sandstone stones along one side of the Moore-Sanford barn could have been repurposed from

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<sup>14</sup> Mary Moore, personal communication with author, June 30, 2016.

<sup>15</sup> A photo of the Wolf log house can be found in Paul Clements’ *A Past Remembered*, vol. II, page 223.

Gambill structures; in the spring, heirloom varieties of daffodils can be seen in the landscape, which could also date to the earlier Gambill occupation.

At the time of his death in 1905, William Henry Moore owned almost 140 acres in Rutherford County and over 318 acres in Davidson.<sup>16</sup> Much of the latter property extended from what is now the west side of Interstate 24, where he, wife Allie, and their nine children had their home, to the western boundary of the current Moore farm, and north toward Hickory Hollow.<sup>17</sup> When William Henry and Allie's son John Henry Moore was a child he would likely have been familiar with the land he later owned, now the Moore-farm portion of Southeast Park, since his father's holdings included the Gambill tract and were adjacent to the Holloway homestead. John Moore might have known the Holloway and Gambill families as well. (A 1916 map of the Holloway land appears in the Appendix, page 199.)

The Moore bungalow house yielded little documentation related to William and Elizabeth Moore; most of the information pertaining to that generation of Moores has

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<sup>16</sup> The acreage owned by William Henry Moore at the time of his death in 1905 is stated as between 466 and 500 acres in an "amended bill" filed with the Chancery Court, dated December 10, 1906, a copy of which was found among the Moore papers.

<sup>17</sup> On the 1871 Foster map, the home site later occupied by William Henry and Allie Moore and their family seems to be marked as the home of "Mrs. Roach," which would have been Ellen Roach, mother of Leticia Roach, William Henry's second wife (see Appendix map, page 196). William Henry and Leticia married in 1869 and had three children who lived to adulthood; Leticia died in the mid 1880s. William Henry married Allie Owens in 1887. A handwritten note in Allie's handwriting states that William Henry purchased the dower homestead of Ellen Roach in 1890 and he and Allie moved there soon after. A house near the Roach house location is indicated as the home of "Miss Allie" on the 1907 E.M. Gardner map of Davidson County (see Appendix map, page 198). It is not known if this was the original Roach house. After William Henry's death at age 60 in 1905, Allie Moore went through several years of legal battles with the children of William Henry and Leticia concerning property ownership. Documents related to these legal issues were found among the Moore family papers in the Moore farmhouse.

been gleaned from census records. The couple had at least eight children between 1815 and 1836, four daughters and four sons. The 1850 census shows seven of the eight children unmarried and living in their parents' home in District 3 of Davidson County. At that time the only offspring who had married and established a separate household (in District 6) was William Green Moore, who married Amanda Johnston in 1840 with whom he had ten children. William Green Moore's name appears in only a handful of documents found in the Moore farmhouse, primarily promissory notes, and often in tandem with his son William Henry Moore. He died in 1902 and is buried in the Moore family cemetery alongside Amanda who died in 1903.



Figure 29. Johnston-Austin house.

*Source:* Lillian Brown Johnson, *Historic Cane Ridge and Its Families*, 63.

William and Amanda's union played a part in ongoing connections between the families of Moore, Johnston, Austin, and Richards, as well as ties to the landscape that is now Southeast Park. Amanda's father John Johnston, Jr., purchased acreage and built a

two-story log house on a site now within the park (Figure 29). This later became the residence of Amanda's sister Lusina and her husband Jason H. Austin, after which the home was generally referred to as the Austin house. Today the Austin Cemetery, where Lusina, Jason, Elizabeth Baker Johnston (Amanda and Lusina's mother), and other family members are buried, lies at the top of a knoll near the former location of the home. Old varieties of daffodils and a loose pile of stones mark the Johnston-Austin home site.

Living within sight of the Austin house was the family of George and Fannie Richards, who moved to Middle Tennessee from England in the mid-nineteenth century. Based on the 1871 Foster map, the Richards home site also lies within Southeast Park.<sup>18</sup> Moore, Austin, and Richards subsequently became joined via a series of marriages, two between offspring of the Austin and Richards families, and one between Moore and Richards when William Green and Amanda's son Green married Annie Richards. Census record listings suggest that Green and Annie lived near the Austin and Richards households, and an unnamed house site marked on the 1871 Foster map, located just outside the northern boundary of Southeast Park, could have been their home.

William Henry Moore, the son of William Green and Amanda Moore, seems to have been a "pillar of the community." His lengthy 1905 obituary calls him "an upright, wide-awake citizen," and remarks on his generosity to his neighbors and his close relationships with his family. A 1904 deed transferring a one-acre tract intended as the site of "a schoolhouse for the white children of Davidson County," names William Henry

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<sup>18</sup> The Richards family cemetery is today located just north of Southeast Park, at the end of Dana Way. According to the Davidson County Cemetery Survey, it was moved from its original location, not far to the south of its current site, to make way for construction of an industrial business complex.

Moore as a School Director for District 6 (along with G.W. Preston and R.H. Cochran).<sup>19</sup>

He was also an active church member. His obituary recounts that in 1866 at the age of twenty-one he joined the Concord Church, a Baptist church founded in 1804 just northeast of Nolensville; Davidson County marriage records show his union in 1869 to “Lutitia A. Roach” was “solemnized” by William Whitsett, a pastor at Concord Church.<sup>20</sup>

When Mt. View Baptist Church planned a new church on Old Hickory Boulevard in the 1890s, near the intersection with Murfreesboro Pike, William Henry transferred his membership. His obituary, written by Mt. View pastor S.C. Reid, states that he helped fund the new building and Mt. View Baptist Church records note that on his deathbed

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<sup>19</sup> The 1904 deed states that the site was to be used for a school for a period of six years and then revert back to the original owners, George W. and Virginia G. Johnson. This would have been the Gilroy School. At least one Moore family member attended this school, William Henry and Allie Moore’s son Ray; a page of homework was found among the Moore documents, with “Gilroy School” written at the top, dated 1909. Prior to the school, the Johnsons are said to have operated a store on or near the site, which briefly included a post office designated as “Gilroy.” The 1907 E.M. Gardner map notes a “Gilroy” post office location. Later the school site was purchased for the Gilroy Church of Christ, which used the school building for services beginning in 1914. That institution is still operating on the site, though the original white frame building was torn down and replaced with a modern structure in the 1970s. A notebook owned by Harry Burkitt, documenting the activities of the Cane Ridge Home Demonstration Club, includes a 1939 photo of the original Gilroy Church of Christ building, which the club painted that year during community volunteer work.

<sup>20</sup> The Concord Church blog ([historicconcordchurch.org](http://historicconcordchurch.org)) includes a list of early church members. The last name “Moor” appears on the list for the 1830s and “Moore” for the 1840s. No first names are given and the church staff has been unable to locate the physical church records in order to ascertain the exact identities of these Moore members. In 1866 when William Henry Moore joined Concord Church he would have been married to the first of his three wives, who died young as did several children of this union. The names of the wife and children have been lost to time, so locating the church records might shed light on their identities. The extant home of Concord Church pastor William Whitsett is on Burkitt Road in Cane Ridge.

William Henry left money in the care of his friend Jace Austin to pay off the church's debts.<sup>21</sup>

William Henry Moore was part of the late-nineteenth-century agricultural elite in Cane Ridge. As a recognized community leader Moore played the role of employer and investor. Promissory notes show him engaged in various business dealings with other prominent men in the community, such as Benajah Gray and Daniel Gray Clark (Figure 30). His obituary remarks, "he will be missed by many who sought advice and relied so implicitly on his wise counsel in business transactions."<sup>22</sup> Census records of his agricultural activities indicate he was primarily a farmer who managed a mix of subsistence and commercial crops and livestock, but receipts also reveal a penchant for acquiring finer things and purchasing items from Nashville stores. In 1876 he bought a gray Italian horse from R.T. Mason, in 1888 a "Brewster Top Buggy," whip, and lap robe from H.T Sinnott & Company, and in 1899 a Gramer upright piano from R. Dorman & Company. A list of his personal holdings made two months after his death, as part of a report to the court, includes a range of farm equipment, such as a mower, harrow, four sets of plow gear, three double-shovel plows, and a wagon, as well as crops and livestock, but also five feather beds, ten plates, a cooking stove, buggy, safe, ten chairs, bureau, clock, parlor lamp, sewing machine, and a piano worth \$150. William Henry appears also to have been educated and documents indicate he subscribed to several

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<sup>21</sup> Quotations from and references to William Henry Moore's obituary are taken from a copy, cut from a Nashville newspaper, found among the Moore documents, which does not contain the date of publication or the name of the newspaper, though on the back is a partial advertisement for a Nashville company/product.

<sup>22</sup> Quotation taken from a copy of William Henry Moore's obituary, found among the Moore documents, which was printed in a Nashville newspaper, exact source unknown.

publications, including *Missionary Baptist, Baptist & Reflector, Hall and School Building, The Weekly Toiler, The Nashville American, and The Nashville Banner*.

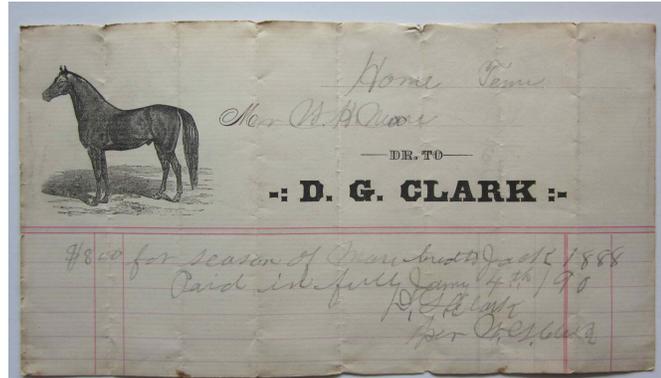


Figure 30. Receipt from Daniel Gray Clark to William Henry Moore, 1888.  
*Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

John Henry Moore (1889-1964), William Henry and Allie Moore's son, embraced the early twentieth-century Progressive farming movement, which took to new technologies and science-based farming techniques to improve agriculture. Assisting his mother with the family farm prior to his marriage to Audrey Williams in 1917, John's name appears on receipts for a disk cultivator from John Deere Plow Company in 1911 and a "Myers steel track outfit" (a hay barn pulley) in 1912. After marrying Audrey he acquired the Holloway property in 1919 and went about setting up his own family farmstead, first building a new board-and-batten barn with stalls for horses and mules, and pens for sheep and dairy cows. As the farm developed further, especially after John segued into the dairy business, he added such modern facilities as a milk house outfitted with electricity and a water pump. In 1931 John and Audrey contracted for a new home to be built, which would replace the antebellum Holloway house the family had lived in for a decade. The result was a state-of-the-art bungalow, with indoor plumbing,

electricity, an indoor bathroom, and telephone service. Over the years John (and later his son Bill) continued to acquire new farm equipment, such as a disc tiller, welder, bailer, mower, and tractor (Figure 31).<sup>23</sup>



Figure 31. Moore farm in the Progressive Era. *Left*: Massey Ferguson tractor. *Right*: Pedigree for a Milking Shorthorn bull.  
*Source*: Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

John also incorporated modern farming techniques, availing himself of expert scientific information. A 1942 document entitled “Farm Practice Plan and Request for Conservation Materials” shows that John participated in the soil-building program promoted by the U.S. Department of Agriculture that paid farmers for improving their soil; the recommendations for the Moore farm that year included liming and planting acreage in alfalfa, lespedeza, and winter cover and green manure crops. A 1946 document from the U.S. Department of Agriculture’s Agricultural Conservation Program

<sup>23</sup> This is a partial list of depreciated items as provided on the Schedule of Farm Income and Expenses of the 1960 federal tax return for John and Audrey Moore, found inside a “Day Book” ledger in the Moore house. The items on the tax-return list were purchased between 1948 and 1960.

summarized the Moore farm's crops and livestock and offered advice on fertilizer applications. A undated hand-drawn map of the farm with John's handwriting seems to show John following USDA advice, indicating acres sowed in clover, grass, and alfalfa, areas of crop rotation between corn and oats, and sections limed and fertilized (see Appendix, page 202). John also used purebred livestock in his breeding programs; he registered a Polled Milking Shorthorn bull named Favorite Defender in 1954 (Figure 31). Multiple documents and ledgers reveal that John pursued an avid avocation of breeding and raising Tennessee walking horses as well; he was a long-time member of the Tennessee Walking Horse Breeders' Association of America beginning in at least the 1940s and he owned several registered walking horses, including one named Walking Rockhorse, purchased in 1958.

Several farm ledgers found in the Moore house provide glimpses of the Moores' farm activities across four decades, from the 1930s through the 1960s, recording John (and son Bill) Moore's cattle- and horse-breeding activities, livestock purchases and sales, and farm income and expenses. Among the expenses are items William Henry Moore would have recognized—seed, plow points, blacksmithing—but others he might not, such as tire retreading, a water heater for the dairy, and a deep freeze. As reflected in the ledgers, during the first half of the twentieth century among the crops grown at the Moore farm were oats, hay, wheat, and corn; livestock included hogs, sheep, beef cattle, milk cows, horses, and mules; and farm products included wool and milk. Interestingly, the cattle-breeding lists show that John Moore assigned personal names to his cows, which Mary Moore remembers. In fact, Mary shares that her father named her for two of

his cows—Mary and Frances.<sup>24</sup> By the timeframe of the ledger entitled “Day Book,” 1951 to 1962, the names of specific breeds appear in the descriptions of cattle bought and sold, showing the Moores were obviously aware of the host of different breeds available, though they seem not to have favored particular ones. Holstein, Jersey, Hampshire, Angus, Aberdeen, Guernsey, and Milking Shorthorn all appear on the purchase-sale lists.

John and Audrey’s only son William Henry “Bill” (or Billy) Moore (1931-2008) continued in his father’s footsteps, co-managing the farm as he grew to adulthood and assuming primary control after John’s death in 1964.<sup>25</sup> Evidence indicates that Bill took to farming from an early age. In old photos Bill can be seen riding a toy tractor and standing alongside his father’s farm trucks; in one image he appears as a tiny toddler, no taller than the truck’s tire, with the handwritten caption “‘Car, Car’ and Billy.” A collection of toy trucks, tractors, and cars, which Mary Moore says belonged to Bill, was found in the Moores’ attic (Figure 32).<sup>26</sup> An undated placard shows that Bill competed at least one year in the Tennessee State Fair Hay Show, where entries were judged on such qualities as “leafiness” and “estimated digestible protein.” Two award ribbons, one for first place and the other sixth place, found in Bill’s room at the Moore house, mark Bill’s participation in the state fair in 1970 and 1972.

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<sup>24</sup> Mary Moore, personal communication with author, June 30, 2016.

<sup>25</sup> In the ledger entitled “Day Book,” which covers 1951-1962, notations indicate that certain expenses and income were split equally between John and Bill Moore.

<sup>26</sup> Mary Moore, personal communication with author, June 30, 2016.



Figure 32. Bill Moore 1930s, toy tractor, Hay Show poster.  
*Left, source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.  
*Middle and Right:* Photos by Jenny Andrews.

Bill seems to have shared his father's love of horses as well. Several photos of Bill as a child show him astride a horse, and in one image he is holding the reins of "Stonewall's Beauty" at the Brentwood Horse Show. In later years, Bill had a reputation among his neighbors as a solid farmer who excelled at raising cattle and growing pasture crops like clover and alfalfa.<sup>27</sup> His fascination with farm equipment apparently persisted throughout his life. An auction held in 2009 after Bill's death in 2008 offered a long list of farm machinery for sale, including a hay and grain elevator, grain drill, drag harrow, and round bale mover.

By the time Bill took over management of the farm it was focused mainly on raising and selling cattle, which Bill continued to document. If John Henry Moore made significant forays into Progressive-era and New Deal farming, Bill appears to have taken it to the next level. Though he did not pursue higher education in an agricultural program,

<sup>27</sup> Harry Burkitt, personal communication with author, April 25, 2017.

it was not unusual for farmers to equally value on-the-job training and being self-taught. Bill's collection of agricultural reference books and pamphlets hint at his efforts to stay up to date on expert information. His office space, with its meticulously labeled filing system, reflects the advice of progressives to approach farming as an organized business (Figure 33). As farmers, the Moore men appear representative of a continuum, of regional evolution from yeoman farmers William, William Green, and William Henry Moore to Progressive farmer John Moore to farm businessman Bill, as new farming technologies and practices, transportation improvements, and consumerism gradually replaced self-sufficiency with commercial farming.

A rather thorough collection of documentation for the year 1969 offers insight into Bill's farm-management practices, as well as the products utilized on the farm, including machinery, chemicals, and named plant varieties. A manila folder labeled "1969 Papers" holds pages of handwritten accounting, with tallies from an adding-machine attached, for farm purchases such as chicken feed and feed range cubes, supplies like Malathion and Permatix, seed such as Blue-Boy wheat and Blount oats, equipment such as a barbed-wire stretcher and corn planter, veterinary supplies, and labor expenses (which indicate an hourly rate of \$1.25 paid to workers that year). A tandem folder labeled "1969 Bills" holds receipts from a number of businesses. In keeping with the rural-urban proclivities of the Moore family, most of the receipts are from businesses in Nashville—R.L. Wiles Feed Mills, Dobson Hicks, Acme Farm Supply, Davidson Farmers Co-Op, Phillips & Quarles Hardware, Rock City Machine Company—with a handful of others from stores in Smyrna, La Vergne, Cookeville, and Murfreesboro. Check stubs and correspondence, including Conservation Plan maps of the Moore farm,

also show that Bill continued to participate in a program promoted by the USDA's Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (Figure 33). (A larger version of the Moore farm map shown in Figure 33 appears in the Appendix, page 203.)

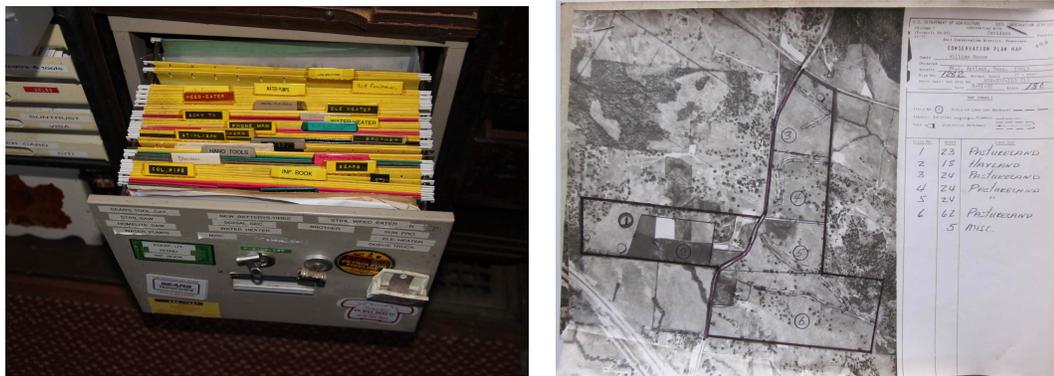


Figure 33. Bill Moore's farm-management practices.  
*Left:* Filing system. Photo by Dr. Carroll Van West. *Right:* 1972 USDA Soil Conservation Map. *Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

While government, legal, and business documents often emphasize male heads of households, the women in the Moore lineage are equally important to the narrative, playing key roles in family, farm, and community. What follows is an overview of the female Moore lineage in Tennessee, tracing the heritage of John Henry Moore, and coming forward to John Henry's daughters Aileen, Evelyn, and Mary. John Moore's wife Audrey Mai Williams was from Rutherford County and while her ancestry is certainly worthy of study, only Audrey is included in the discussion here.

As to the female ancestors of William Henry Moore, John's father, all that is known thus far about Elizabeth Moore (wife of William Moore and paternal grandmother of William Henry Moore) is that she was born in 1790 in Virginia, raised at least eight children, and died between 1860 and 1870; no records have been found that list her

maiden surname. There is a bit more information available about her in-law, Elizabeth Baker (wife of John Johnston, Jr., and maternal grandmother of William Henry Moore). She was born to parents Nicholas and Sara Baker in 1776 and died in 1836. She is buried beneath a limestone vault in the Austin Cemetery; the stone bearing her inscription is now broken into several pieces, so is in need of repair. But a transcription of the inscription appears in *Historic Cane Ridge and Its Families*, and photos were taken when the stone was more intact and readable.<sup>28</sup> Elizabeth (“Betsy”) married John Johnston, Jr., in 1796, as listed in the first marriage-record book for Tennessee. Their romance was sparked, per family lore, in Fort Nashborough where the two had taken shelter during an Indian attack. John Johnston is credited with building the two-story log home, later referred to as the Austin place (on a site now within Southeast Park), where he and Betsy and their family, including William Henry’s mother Amanda, lived.<sup>29</sup> Betsy’s father Nicholas appears in Middle Tennessee records beginning in the 1780s, which note that he received a preemption right of 640 acres in Davidson County, operated an “ordinary” at Heaton’s (sometimes spelled Eaton’s) Station, served on grand juries, and participated in laying out the early road system in the county. A transcription of his 1792 will, which includes a list of his possessions, appears in *Historic Cane Ridge and Its Families*.<sup>30</sup>

Few records have been located thus far on William Henry Moore’s mother Amanda Johnston Moore, save that she was born in 1822 in Tennessee and married William Green Moore in 1840 with whom she raised ten children, including five sons and

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<sup>28</sup> Lillian Brown Johnson, 160.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

four daughters (the gender of the tenth child is unknown). She had at least nine siblings: three brothers, named Guilford, John, and William, and six sisters, including Lusinai who married Jason H. Austin. Amanda passed away in 1903 about seven months after William Green, from “La Grippe” (a term for Spanish flu) and “old age,” according to her death certificate. She is buried beside her husband in the Moore cemetery.

As was true for William Henry Moore’s line, little is known about some of the first ancestors in Tennessee of Allie Owens Moore (1865-1947), John Henry Moore’s mother. Allie’s maternal grandmother Edith “Edy” Barnes was born in 1797 in Tennessee and married John Lovell Foster of Virginia in 1823.<sup>31</sup> Their daughter Emaline Foster, Allie’s mother, was born in 1825, one of at least seven children. The Foster family belonged to the Cane Ridge Church (which was Baptist until purchased by the Cumberland Presbyterians in the late 1830s); Allie and William Henry were married there in 1887.<sup>32</sup> Emaline married Andrew Jackson Owens of Virginia in 1853. Interestingly, Andrew Owens appears in the 1850 census as a laborer living in the home of John and Edy Foster and their 24-year-old daughter Emaline (Figure 34). Perhaps the Fosters were acquainted with Andrew prior to his residence in their home, or perhaps his residency initiated the romance with Emaline. Both Andrew and Emaline and a number of other family members are buried in the Foster-Owens Cemetery (Figure 34), within an off-ramp loop at Interstate 24 and Hickory Hollow Parkway. Andrew and Emaline are

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<sup>31</sup> A partial transcript of John Foster’s 1852 will appears on page 124 of *Historic Cane Ridge and Its Families* by Lillian Brown Johnson.

<sup>32</sup> Lillian Brown Johnson, 124. A transcript of Cane Ridge Church membership records lists John L., Edy, and Emaline Foster on page 18 of *Historic Cane Ridge and Its Families*. They appear to have been baptized and joined the church in 1840.

reported to have lived not far from there in the “old Foster home” later owned by the Turner family, which has been lost to development. Though a number of individuals with the surnames Owens and Owen appear in records for the region, definitive information on their possible relationships to Andrew Owens has not emerged, so the names of Andrew’s parents and siblings are as yet undetermined.

	114	Mathias W. Edmonson	5	F	
91		Adeline B. Edmonson	3	F	
92	115	John L. Foster	62	M	Farmer ✓
93		Edy Foster	59	F	
94		Emaline Foster	24	F	
95		John L. Foster	22	M	Labourer ✓
96		Caroline Foster	14	F	
97		Succinda Foster	12	F	
98		Marcy Caspar Foster	8	M	
99		Andrew Owens	27	M	Labourer ✓
100		George Boy	21	M	ditto ✓
101	116	James Brinker	33	M	Stone Cutter ✓
102		Joseph E. Brinker	25	F	



Figure 34. Emaline Foster Owens.

*Left:* 1850 Census, with Andrew Owens. *Source:* Ancestry.com.

*Right:* Gravesite in Foster-Owens Cemetery. Photo by Jenny Andrews.

One of the more significant players in the Moore narrative is the daughter of Andrew and Emaline, Alice August “Allie” Owens Moore. Born in 1865, she was the third wife of William Henry Moore. At his death in 1905, Allie was left widowed with nine children, one only thirteen months old. John Henry, age fifteen when his father died, was the second oldest child, with one older brother named Benjamin Franklin. Documents found in the Moore farmhouse reveal Allie handling farm and family business after her husband’s death, assisted by Benjamin and John.



Figure 35. Allie Moore and children, 1906. John Henry Moore at far right.  
*Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

William Henry's demise inaugurated several years of legal battles between Allie and the children of his second marriage, who attempted to deny Allie full inheritance of the estate and questioned her guardianship of her children. A published photo of Allie surrounded by her children (Figure 35), taken in January 1906, is said to have raised so much sympathy it swayed the case in Allie's favor, though some legal wrangling continued into the 1930s.<sup>33</sup> Allie was able to retain the homestead (the dower of Leticia Moore's mother Ellen Roach, which William Henry had purchased in 1890) and its adjoining acreage intact, in order to provide for her family. William Henry and Allie's house, which appears in a photo of John holding his first child Evelyn (Figure 36), is now in ruins on the west side of Interstate 24, near the small Moore cemetery where William

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<sup>33</sup> The photo, shown above, of Allie Moore and her nine children, taken a few months after her husband William Henry Moore's death, can also be found on page 164 of *Historic Cane Ridge and Its Families* by Lillian Brown Johnson.

Henry and other family members are buried.<sup>34</sup> Descendants recall family reunions held there at least into the mid-twentieth century.<sup>35</sup> Several photos of such family gatherings were found among the Moore items. One dates to the 1910s, possibly before John Henry's marriage to Audrey in 1917. Another, dated about 1946, a year or so before Allie's death in 1947, shows Allie seated in a chair and surrounded by descendants, watching her great-granddaughter Diane, daughter of Aileen Moore Williamson, at play.



Figure 36. John Moore and daughter Evelyn at Allie Moore's house, c. 1920.  
*Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

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<sup>34</sup> The other family members buried in the Moore cemetery are William Green Moore and his wife Amanda, Benjamin F. Moore, Bertha Moore Alley, and an unidentified person marked with fieldstones at head and foot. Additional graves are possible, based on soil depressions and daffodils. The death certificate for Amanda Moore states she was interred at the "Roach Place," which further verifies the home site once belonged to Ellen Roach, William Henry's mother-in-law from his second marriage. Several Moore family members are buried in Maplevue Cemetery in Smyrna, including John Henry and Audrey Moore. There are a number of relatives whose gravesites are unknown.

<sup>35</sup> Jim Moon, great-grandson of Allie Moore, personal communication with author, March 23, 2016.

Allie was identified as a “farmer” in the 1910 and 1920 census records, a vocation that tends to be associated with men, though, according to Marilyn Irvin Holt, at the turn of the twentieth century, farming in fact ranked sixth among women’s occupations.<sup>36</sup> Allie’s situation as a widow with nine children was different from many other farmwomen in her community who might have had more choice about how to use their time and energy. For Allie, concentrating all her efforts on being a homemaker was not an option, despite Progressive-era promotion of that role to rural women; managing home and farm simultaneously was a necessity for Allie. Most studies of farmwomen, the Progressive Era, and gender roles assume there are husbands engaged in much of the farm management. Further research on widows’ assumption of full responsibility for farm operations as well as maintenance of the domestic sphere would be a valuable addition to the literature.<sup>37</sup>

Allie was a progressive “modern” woman in several respects, holding bank accounts, purchasing life insurance, and enrolling some of her children in Nashville high schools such as Hume-Fogg and Wintrop. Granddaughter Mary Moore credits Allie with effectuating the extension of phone service into Cane Ridge from La Vergne.<sup>38</sup> Found among the Moore papers was a copy of a 1917 contract granting permission to “Cummins [Cummings] and Moore” to build a telephone line from Cane Ridge to La Vergne

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<sup>36</sup> Marilyn Irvin Holt, *Linoleum, Better Babies, and the Modern Farm Woman, 1890-1930* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 15.

<sup>37</sup> Among the widows associated with Cane Ridge during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in addition to Allie Moore, are Ellen Roach, Sarah Wright, Dorothea Young, Jerusha Hagan, Jane Chilcutt, Sarah Pasquett, Caroline Johnson, and Laura Gooch Wilson, who was African American.

<sup>38</sup> Mary Moore, copy of handwritten notes prepared for a speech given in May 2015.

through property owned by the Gambill family (Mary Moore identifies “Mr. Cummings” as a neighbor of Allie Moore).<sup>39</sup> Allie’s accounting notes, inscribed on odd pieces of paper and in small notebooks, sketch a picture of her life as a single parent managing a farm and large family in Cane Ridge. Among her careful tracking of expenses and income is a small notebook documenting her chicken-and-egg business (a traditional activity for farmwomen) that served clients from as far away as Shelbyville, Livingston, and Tracy City.<sup>40</sup>

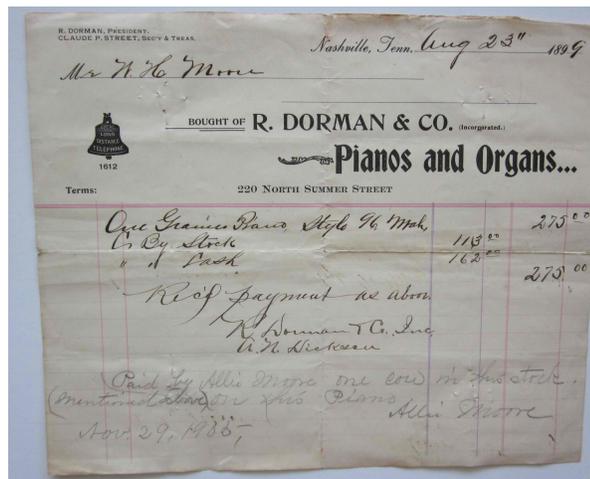


Figure 37. Receipt for Gramer piano. Allie Moore made final payment with a cow.  
*Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

Receipts accumulated over several years also show Allie purchasing a mix of consumer products, much like her husband William Henry, for pleasure as well as utility, such as a Victrola from O.K. Houck Piano Company, fire insurance for a barn and

<sup>39</sup> The 1920, 1930, and 1940 censuses list Walter Cummings and his family in District 5 of Davidson County, residing on Cane Ridge Road.

<sup>40</sup> Just as her son John named his cows, Allie named some of her chickens, which she called her “fine pen birds,” including Frenchy, Prince, Honolulu Boy, Caruso, and the “old rooster” Blue Jay. Found in a notebook tracking Allie’s chicken-and-egg business.

granary, ice (presumably for an icebox), clover seed, lumber, wallpaper, a Runabout car, sewing notions from the Cain Sloan department store, and a sewing machine. She paid the final installment due on a piano with a cow (Figure 37).

Allie also participated in the Cane Ridge Home Demonstration Club, based in the Cane Ridge School, opening her home for meetings and serving on committees. In 1939 her farm was one of seven to have been given a name, an initiative “stressed” that year by the club. (This naming project is reminiscent of a campaign launched in 1923 by the state extension office, entitled “Name Your Home,” intended to inspire rural women to take pride in their properties and generally upgrade the appearance of rural areas.)<sup>41</sup> While other Cane Ridge farm owners created lofty appellations like Cloud Crest and Cherry Valley, Allie chose a name that combined humor with reality: “Neadmore Farm.”<sup>42</sup> A photo of Allie’s new farm sign, mailbox, and roadside planting of flowers (Figure 38) is contained within a notebook documenting the club’s rather full agenda of activities in the early twentieth century, which ranged from classes in home décor and nutrition, to community clean-up activities, to bus trips to places like Washington, D.C.<sup>43</sup> Mary

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<sup>41</sup> Hoffschwelle, 118.

<sup>42</sup> It is unknown why Allie Moore named her farm “Neadmore” rather than “Needmore.” However, according to the website for The Emerald Isle ([theemeraldisle.org/irish-sayings/irish-phrase-2.htm](http://theemeraldisle.org/irish-sayings/irish-phrase-2.htm)), *nead* is apparently a Gaelic word for “nest” or “home,” as in the Irish saying “*Is leor don dreoilin a nead*,” meaning “The nest is enough for a wren.”

<sup>43</sup> Former Cane Ridge resident Harry Burkitt is the owner of the notebook documenting the Cane Ridge Home Demonstration Club. To see a 1949 map of club members’ homes, go to the Appendix, page 201.

Moore recalls her grandmother regularly walking down the hill from her home to tend the flowers planted at her mailbox.<sup>44</sup>



Figure 38. Sign for Allie Moore's farm, which she named "Neadmore."  
Courtesy of Harry Burkitt.

Allie's son John Henry seems to have married a woman with qualities similar to his mother, who combined rural practicality with an appreciation for urban conveniences (Figure 39). Audrey Mai Williams was born in 1895 in District 3 of Rutherford County, not far over the county line from Cane Ridge, the only child of farmer William T. Williams and his wife Annie Noe. John and Audrey's daughters Mary and Aileen do not recall, indeed claim to have never known, how their parents met.<sup>45</sup> It was unlikely it was at church, since John's family was Baptist and Audrey's helped found the La Vergne

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<sup>44</sup> Mary Moore, copy of handwritten notes prepared for a speech given in May 2015.

<sup>45</sup> Mary Moore, personal communication with author, June 30, 2016.

Presbyterian Church, an institution Audrey maintained strong connections with until her death in 1975.<sup>46</sup>



Figure 39. Audrey and John Henry Moore, probably photographed just after they married in 1917.  
*Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

Before her marriage to John in 1917, Audrey was a “career woman,” working as a teacher in a one-room school near her home after attending Middle Tennessee State Normal School in Murfreesboro.<sup>47</sup> A few of her college textbooks were found in the attic

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<sup>46</sup> A significant collection of documents and other material related to the La Vergne Presbyterian Church was found in the Moores’ bungalow. In spring 2016 Metro Parks signed a deed of gift transferring ownership of the collection to the Rutherford County Archives in Murfreesboro.

<sup>47</sup> Mary Moore stated on June 30, 2016, that her mother’s school, which Mary called the Tipperary School, was situated on Burkitt Road near the Robert Carothers farm. Davidson County maps from the late 1800s and early 1900s do show a school at this location, including the 1871 Foster map, the 1898 Gardner map, and the 1900 W.B. Southgate map. Queries to Cane Ridge community members have not prompted any memories of a school in that location. The website of the Rutherford County Historical Society, however, states that the Tipperary School (1915 to 1925) was in La Vergne and moved to Cannonsburgh Village in Murfreesboro (in the 1970s) where it was outfitted as a country church. A photo caption notes that the building was originally located south of Waldron Road “near Rock Springs (La Vergne)” and initially named the Gambill School.

of the Moore farmhouse. It is perhaps Audrey's educational background that helped foster an interest in higher education and careers off-farm among her three daughters, all of whom attended regional institutions post-high school and took urban jobs: Aileen Moore Williamson went to Nashville Business College and worked at the Methodist Publishing House until after her daughter Diane was born; Evelyn Moore Sanford attended Middle Tennessee State Teachers College then George Peabody College for Teachers, and subsequently taught at Donelson Elementary School until retirement; Mary Moore attended Peabody and worked for Northwestern Mutual insurance company.

Though Audrey Moore's occupation is indicated as "none" in the 1920, 1930, and 1940 census records, and she is listed as a "housewife" on the Moores' federal income tax joint return for 1960, other data belies these categorizations. Mary Moore recalls her mother working side by side with her father in the dairy business, engaged in the twice-a-day milking and the preparation of the milk for market, eschewing hired labor to assist in the tasks. Mary even remembers Audrey persisting in her milking duties when she was pregnant with Mary's brother Bill.<sup>48</sup> A diary kept by Audrey in the 1950s makes particular note of certain farm activities, such as hog killing, haying, and sheep shearing.

John's name appears on most of the receipts for purchase of supplies and equipment related to the farm, as well as records for selling the farm's products. However, despite this apparently patriarchal arrangement, Audrey seems to have

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The name of Tipperary Road in La Vergne could reflect the school's original site, though Rock Springs Road is a few miles to the west. (See [rutherfordtnhistory.org/the-old-tipperary-school-lavergne](http://rutherfordtnhistory.org/the-old-tipperary-school-lavergne).) Additional research is needed on the Tipperary School and the school that appears on the Davidson County maps.

<sup>48</sup> Mary Moore, personal communication with author, June 30, 2016.

maintained a level of independence, keeping her own checking and savings accounts, and purchasing her own car in 1958 from Jackson Bros. in Murfreesboro. Documents found among the Moore papers invite speculation that John and Audrey considered themselves equal partners in the farm enterprise. Audrey's name appears alongside John's on the 1931 contract with Woodall and Stewart for construction of the bungalow and, according to a 1960 deed, John sold Audrey one-half interest in 119 acres (the Holloway property John purchased solo in 1919) that made up the bulk of the farm.

While some aspects of Allie Moore's life and activities reflect a measure of Progressivism, including her participation in the home demonstration club, Audrey seems to more fully fit the mold of a Progressive farmwoman. Mary Moore recalls that it was her mother's desire for a more efficient home (especially one that was easier to heat) that initiated the replacement of the "drafty" antebellum Holloway house with the modern bungalow.<sup>49</sup> Receipts, product advertising, and instruction manuals dating to the early and mid-twentieth century found in the Moore house promote the image of the modern homemaker, and point to purchases of conveniences by the Moores—a Hotpoint range, a Maytag washer, a Kenmore Automatic Skillet (Figure 40). Mary Moore notes that one reason her father had a basement dug was to provide a place for laundry work, but Audrey quickly rejected that space as too small and dark.<sup>50</sup> An early photo of the bungalow shows a washing machine parked on the back porch, perhaps the Maytag.

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<sup>49</sup> Mary Moore, personal communication with author, June 30, 2016.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*



Figure 40. Mid-century product pamphlets, found in Moore house.  
 Source: Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

Yet Audrey persisted in blending a modern twentieth-century concept of a woman's role in the household with the traditional functions of women in rural areas—she was simultaneously homemaker and farmer. As historian Mary Hoffschwelle notes, rural women in the early twentieth century “moved closer to the urban homemaker ideal, not by substituting housekeeping for productive work but by expanding their roles within the home.”<sup>51</sup> Audrey was consistent with other farmwomen who, asserts women's studies scholar Katherine Jellison, generally rejected the Progressive concept of a domestic ideal, opting instead for “an alternative vision of modern farm life, one in which their work as farm producers was central,” taking pride, as Mary Neth notes, in the independence of rural people and the ways they diverged from middle-class models.<sup>52</sup> Hoffschwelle and

<sup>51</sup> Hoffschwelle, 108.

<sup>52</sup> Katherine Jellison, *Entitled to Power: Farm Women and Technology, 1913-1963* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), xxi; Mary Neth, *Preserving the Family Farm: Women, Community, and the Foundations of Agribusiness in the Midwest, 1900-1940* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 237.

others stress that farmwomen during the Progressive Era adopted home improvement ideas “on a sliding scale,” incorporating what suited their needs and rejecting what did not, all the while maintaining ties to tradition.<sup>53</sup> Farmwomen, says Marilyn Holt, “were not passive receptors,” rather they “molded the many plans of experts and their accompanying advice into usable options for meeting their own ‘basic realities of life.’”<sup>54</sup>



Figure 41. 1951 aerial photo of Moore farm, arrow points to large vegetable garden.  
*Source:* Historic Aerials.

Certain domestic functions allowed for a convergence of modernity and rural tradition. The Moore family undoubtedly purchased a variety of ready-made foods over the decades (a stack of early TV-dinner aluminum trays was found in the attic), but Audrey also canned and preserved produce, much of it grown in a vegetable garden behind the house. Mary and sister Aileen remember many summer hours spent helping their mother tend the garden, which was large enough to be visible in an aerial photo

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<sup>53</sup> Hoffschwelle, 106; Adams, 198; Neth, 123.

<sup>54</sup> Holt, 192.

from 1951 (Figure 41).<sup>55</sup> Paul Conkin notes that until 1930 farm households obtained most of their food for home use from the farm.<sup>56</sup> But even as readymade foodstuffs proliferated, the long tradition of self-sufficiency in rural communities continued, assisted by modern food-preservation technologies such as improved canning equipment and deep-freeze units. A sizeable collection of canning paraphernalia was found stored in the Moore attic, including canning jars dating back to the early twentieth century, stacks of canning lids, and oversized pots for water baths. In the twenty-first century, the Moore kitchen contained numerous commercial canned goods, accompanied still by a selection of home-preserved products. Deep-freeze units became standard equipment in rural homes as refrigeration technology improved and there are two such units in the Moore bungalow, on the back porch and in the basement, plus one on the back porch of the Moore-Sanford brick ranch house.

In addition to the traditional female roles of managing the kitchen garden and cooking, Audrey was also in charge of a flock of Rhode Island Red chickens, which supplied the family with fresh chicken and eggs.<sup>57</sup> Old photos of the farm show the chickens roaming free in the lot next to the barn, though by the early 1930s (based on photos) the chickens had a large, modern cinderblock chicken coop. Mary remembers her mother being a skilled seamstress as well, and her 1926 Singer treadle-operated cabinet sewing machine was stored in the Moores' attic. Also found upstairs were sewing

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<sup>55</sup> Mary Moore and Aileen Moore Williamson, personal communication with author, June 30, 2016.

<sup>56</sup> Paul K. Conkin, *A Revolution Down on the Farm: The Transformation of American Agriculture Since 1929* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2008), 4.

<sup>57</sup> Mary Moore, copy of handwritten notes prepared for a speech given in May 2015.

patterns from the 1940s to the 1970s reflecting the latest styles, including gloves, a turban hat, and a swing coat (Figure 42). One year, Audrey ordered a transfer pattern for needlework in a Pennsylvania Dutch motif from the publication *Progressive Farmer and Southern Ruralist* (a precursor to *Southern Living* magazine), found in its original (undated) envelope.



Figure 42. Sewing patterns and 1926 Singer sewing machine.  
Photos by Jenny Andrews.

Indicative of Audrey Moore’s perception of her multiple roles as farmwoman, homemaker, family member, and community member, are entries made in a small diary/daybook found in the Moore house. In this Audrey recorded brief notes for each day over a five-plus-year period in the 1950s. Typical of farmers across the centuries, she consistently remarks on the weather and often nothing else. Though interspersed are mentions of family visits, illnesses, trips, farm activities, deaths, births, home repairs, big purchases, and even world events. These quickly jotted summaries of the daily highlights make for some unusual pairings, such as “July 26, Sun.—warmer, fair, picnic at Cedar Forest, Korean truce signed.” Agricultural historian Mary Neth calls such farmers’ diaries

“integrative” in their blending of weather observations and life events, indicative of a worldview that linked all aspects of farm life as part of daily and seasonal rhythms.<sup>58</sup>

While Audrey’s entries about her granddaughter hunting for Easter eggs, the death of her mother, whom Audrey called “Two-Mas,” visits from neighbors, her husband’s hospital stay, purchase of a new stove, appointments at the hair salon for a permanent, and church socials represent her roles as wife, mother, kin, neighbor, and woman, entries about farm work and the steady drumbeat of the weather also reveal her self identification as a farmer.

As mentioned above, John and Audrey had four children, all of whom attended the nearby Cane Ridge School followed by Antioch High School. While post-high school, son Bill embraced life as a farmer under his father’s tutelage, all three daughters pursued higher education and careers (Figure 43), though Aileen later focused her attention on her own family and home in Smyrna, Tennessee, her husband Malcolm Williamson’s hometown. Mary and Evelyn continued to live on the Moore farm, Mary with brother Bill in the bungalow and Evelyn with her husband Joe Burns Sanford, the son of a farming family from Rutherford County, in the brick ranch house across the road. Both women appear to have felt strong connections to Cane Ridge and their family’s heritage, but they were neither farmers nor farmwomen as their grandmother and mother had been. Their identification with the farm was not primarily vocational or perhaps even avocational, but based on family, community, and memory.

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<sup>58</sup> Neth, 64.

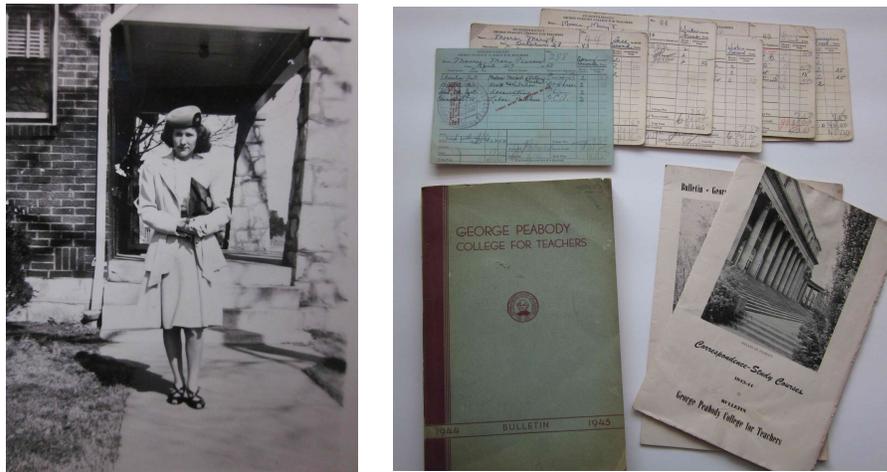


Figure 43. Mary Moore and her Peabody College records.  
*Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

Without additional data, the participation of Elizabeth Moore, Elizabeth Baker Johnston, Edy Barnes Foster, Amanda Johnston Moore, and Emaline Foster Owens in the operations of their homes and farms cannot be definitively known, though it is likely they were typical for their time periods, channeling their energies into raising children, tending to homemaking duties, overseeing certain aspects of the farm such as vegetable gardens, and maintaining personal connections in the community. Some of them could have been more directly involved in additional farm work, might have kept accounting books, or had particular skills, but at this time there is no evidence to show that. However, the three generations of Allie Moore, Audrey Moore, and sisters Evelyn, Aileen, and Mary are well represented in the documentation and material culture. They exemplify a continuum of change as rural women moved toward modernity, transitioning from farmer to farmwife/farmwoman to a woman who simply lives on a farm. What they hold in common is an attachment to the land and identification with a rural history. The stories of the Moore women must be primary subjects of interpretation in Southeast Park.

Another equally important layer of the region's narrative is the history of African Americans in Middle Tennessee. The accounting records kept by both Allie Moore and John Moore include numerous mentions of family and community members, illustrative of the "mutuality" common in rural economies, what Mary Neth calls "neighboring."<sup>59</sup> Among these notations are also references to individuals who provided hired labor, several of them African American, part of a black settlement in Cane Ridge that dates back to the early nineteenth century. A brief history of this community is reflective of trends throughout the region.

As outlined in Chapter Two, people of African descent were among the first settlers in Middle Tennessee. Enslaved and free, blacks constituted about a fifth of the population in Fort Nashborough in the late 1700s.<sup>60</sup> That percentage fluctuated by a few points over the next few decades, though the head count rose; by 1830 there were more than 97,000 slaves in Middle Tennessee.<sup>61</sup> In District 6, where Cane Ridge is located, the tally in the 1839 list of taxable property was 144 slaves, the 1850 slave census counted 458 enslaved and eight free blacks, and in 1860 the number was 339 slaves.

As mentioned previously, there were few slave owners in the Moore lineage. In 1840 and 1850 John Johnston, Jr., is listed with two persons, and in 1860 Andrew Owens is recorded as owning one ten-year-old boy. But several landholders who lived on the acreage that is now Southeast Park were enslavers, including James Holloway, W.H.B.

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<sup>59</sup> Neth, 40-41.

<sup>60</sup> Lovett, xv.

<sup>61</sup> Kristofer Ray, *Middle Tennessee, 1775-1825: Progress and Popular Democracy on the Southwestern Frontier* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 69.

Gambill, Jason H. Austin, John Wright, and William Hagens. Though most slave owners in the district owned less than twenty, a handful owned more, including the Battle and Gooch families, and James Holloway who owned thirty-two slaves in 1850. These latter families, according to Frank Owsley's determination that owning twenty or more slaves defined "planter" status, were among the area's most wealthy agriculturists.<sup>62</sup> These numbers were in keeping with Middle Tennessee in general. As covered in Chapter Two, on average, according to Steven Ash, 43% of farm families owned slaves, but only about 5% owned twenty or more; Harriette Simpson Arnow states that about half of Middle Tennessee property holders owned only one or two slaves.<sup>63</sup>

Nevertheless, slavery was a critical component of Middle Tennessee's economy and regional identity.<sup>64</sup> Steven Ash insists that slavery invaded every aspect of life in Tennessee's "heartland," feeding into an ideology among white society that integrated "slavery, race, ruralism, prosperity, and patriarchy."<sup>65</sup> While during the early settlement period black and white tended to work and live in tandem and face survival issues in common, as the area became more populated, the threat of Indian attacks lessened, and the need for a cheap labor force rose, enslaved persons came to be viewed more and more as property, with what Kristofer Ray terms "detached commoditization."<sup>66</sup> Yet on the

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<sup>62</sup> Owsley, 201; Otto, 47.

<sup>63</sup> Ash, 14; Arnow, 94.

<sup>64</sup> Ray, *Middle Tennessee, 1775-1825*, 151, 142, 58.

<sup>65</sup> Ash, 51.

<sup>66</sup> Ray, *Middle Tennessee, 1775-1825*, 71.

ground in small, interdependent rural communities like Cane Ridge, the relationships were undoubtedly more complex.

Arnow speculates that the number of slaves who were literate, as well as skilled craftspeople, might have been high in Middle Tennessee, given that the need for unskilled field workers was lower than in other parts of the South.<sup>67</sup> Yet written records for African Americans, during slavery as well as post-Emancipation, especially in their own words, can be scant. While such records might exist for Cane Ridge African Americans, little information has emerged thus far. Additional investigation is warranted, particularly through personal communications with members of the local African-American community. Below, a few individual stories have been pieced together using such available sources as conversations with Cane Ridge community members, information found among the Moore documents, census records, death certificates, marriage records, maps, and Nashville city directories.

Among the African Americans who appear in accounting notes kept by William Henry Moore in the early 1900s are James Guthrie and Alex Edmonson. Both appear in the 1900 census as black farm laborers in their twenties who rented their homes. James is identified on the same census page as William Henry and Allie, Alex on the same page as Green and Annie Moore. One name appears multiple times in accounting notes kept during the 1930s by both Allie Moore and John Henry Moore, and that is Isaac “Ike” Gooch (Figure 44). Mary Moore remembers Ike and his wife Janie well, recalling the work they did on the farm assisting with various tasks, including those associated with

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<sup>67</sup> Arnow, 99.

hog-killing time.<sup>68</sup> In John Moore's "Record" ledger, Ike is shown laboring in the garden, chopping wood, getting in the hay, and working in a thicket. Typical payments from Allie Moore to Ike were \$1.00 or less, often paid through John; one note on a loose bit of paper seems to indicate that Ike earned 50 cents a day working for the Moores. During the month of June in 1934 Ike garnered a total of \$14. Allie Moore made note of a period during one April when Ike spent several days working on her farm; at the end of each day she "gave him his dinner," perhaps merging her roles as employer and neighbor.

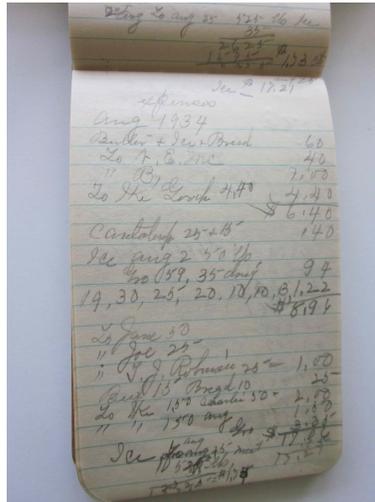


Figure 44. Allie Moore accounting notebook, 1934, showing payments to Ike and Janie Gooch for farm work.  
*Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

Ike and his wife Janie Battle Gooch can serve as exemplars of black life across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Middle Tennessee. Both grew up in the Cane Ridge community as descendants of former slaves. They married in 1904 and the 1920 census shows the couple with their four children, George Edward, Lula, Theodore

<sup>68</sup> Mary Moore, personal communication with author, June 30, 2016.



property owners, with at least 70% renting as sharecroppers or tenants.<sup>70</sup> Yet there are examples of African-American land ownership in Cane Ridge. Former slave Laura Gooch Wilson (1853-1936) (Figure 46), possibly the sister of Ike Gooch, is listed in the 1900 census as a widowed mother of ten children, five of them living at home and attending school, who owns her own home. In 1910 Laura is listed as a farmer who owns her own “general farm,” where her son, daughter-in-law, and grandson are working as “home farm” laborers.<sup>71</sup>



Figure 46. Laura Gooch Wilson.  
Courtesy of Sue Burkitt Clark.

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<sup>70</sup> Lamon, 37, 64.

<sup>71</sup> Cane Ridge resident Sue Burkitt Clark is in possession of a photo of Laura Gooch Wilson (Figure 46), as well as a photo of Laura’s son Otis Wilson; the photos appear to date to the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century. Clark’s brother Harry Burkitt recalls Otis having the nickname “Frog.” The home site identified by Burkitt as that of Otis Wilson and his wife Isabel King Wilson, not far to the southwest of the Old Hickory Boulevard-Interstate 24 interchange, today appears to contain the remains of a dwelling. The property is potentially still in the Wilson family, belonging to Raymond Wilson, according to the Davidson County property assessor’s website.

By the mid-1940s, Ike and Janie are well past middle age, with fewer local job opportunities due to changing farm practices, which utilized more technology and required less labor. It is also likely that the ready availability of washing machines for home use (such as the Moores owned) impacted the couple's laundry business. So Ike and Janie left rural life behind, like many other African Americans before them, moving to Nashville and living near their daughter Fannie, a maid in a private home, and her husband James Reed, a cook at a cotton-oil mill. City directories in the 1950s continue to list Ike as a laborer, as were sons Theodore and George. Janie's death certificate designates her working occupation as "Housekeeper." Throughout their lives Ike, Janie, and their extended family held laborer and menial jobs, a situation that, according to Bobby Lovett, was representative of the Nashville-area African-American population in general. In the 1920s, almost 90% of black women in the city were domestic workers, like Fannie in later decades.<sup>72</sup> Nashville city directories from 1947 to 1955 list Ike and Janie's residence as 1st Avenue South; at the time Janie's death certificate was issued in 1956, this address, where Janie and Ike lived for twelve years, had been changed to 49 Wharf Avenue, which was within an African-American neighborhood known as Trimble Bottom.<sup>73</sup> In death Janie returned home to Cane Ridge; her death certificate designates

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<sup>72</sup> Lovett, 92.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 142, map of "Black Nashville by 1930." Today the location of Ike and Janie Gooch's residence is a vacant lot. Across the street is Cameron College Prep school, formerly Cameron High School, built in 1940, one of two Nashville-area African-American high schools. The site of the home of Ike and Janie's daughter Fannie and her husband James Reed, no longer extant, was a few blocks away, across 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue South from the Nashville City Cemetery. This neighborhood does still contain a number of homes built in the early and mid-twentieth century, but the area is under extreme development pressure due to its proximity to downtown Nashville.

her place of burial as Olive Branch Church, though her gravesite has not been located.

The death certificates for Ike and Janie's two sons state they are buried there as well.

While tracing Ike's ancestry has been problematic (possibly due to a census-taker error), tracing Janie's line back to her enslaved ancestors has proven more successful.<sup>74</sup> Janie's death certificate indicates her mother's name was Angeline Holloway and her father's name Henry Battle. The 1870 census, in fact, lists Angeline as an eleven-year-old house servant living in the home of James Holloway on the site of the current Moore house, and Janie's father Henry as a teenager working on the farm of Samuel Battle. Also in the James Holloway household that year was Egbert Holloway. Egbert's 1919 death certificate lists his mother as Caroline Holloway and his father as John Paskett (also spelled Pasquet and Pasquett), and the informant as Angeline Holloway. Presumably Angeline and Egbert Holloway were siblings, or perhaps half-siblings. Caroline Holloway (age 50) does appear in the James Holloway household in the 1880 census as a black "servant," accompanied by five other black servants: Egbert Holloway (age twenty-one), Francis Holloway (thirteen), William Holloway (five), Jane Holloway (two), and

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<sup>74</sup> In the 1870 census there are two listings of an Isaac Gooch in the area. An eight-year-old named Isaac Gooch appears in District 17 of Williamson County as part of an African-American family headed by John and Lucy Gooch, living in the household of Mary Gaut (who was white). Later census records indicate Ike Gooch was born about 1865, so the age of the Williamson County Isaac Gooch is close, though it seems unlikely Ike grew up in Williamson County, despite the proximity of District 17 to Ike's longtime home district of District 6 in Davidson County. A second Isaac Gooch, 16 years old, is listed in District 6 of Davidson County in the African-American household of Matilda Gooch, along with six other children. Though the age of this Isaac is wrong, the location is more likely, the household being on the same census page as Benajah Gray, Caroline Johnson, and Jane Chilcutt, who were neighbors of the Moores. It is possible that the District 6 census taker confused Isaac with another child in the house, named John, who was seven years old in 1870. The Davidson County Isaac Gooch, son of Matilda Gooch, was a brother of Laura Gooch Wilson.

Davis Paskett (eighteen). Caroline, Egbert, and Davis are also categorized in that census as “laborers,” Francis as “at home.” By 1880 Caroline’s daughter Angeline had been married to Henry Battle for two years and they are shown in that year’s census living in the household of Sharpe and Jane Battle, Henry’s parents, with a six-month-old daughter whose initials are R.L. It is not known if the “Jane Holloway” living at the Holloway house in 1880 is actually Jane “Janie” Battle, but it is possible since she was listed as two years old at the time and her parents, Angeline and Henry, had wed in 1878.

It was not unusual for enslaved people to assume the surnames of their enslavers. The white Battles had a large extended family in the community and they owned numerous slaves, so a similarly large group of African-American Battles developed in the area, which therefore presents a challenge in connecting individual former slaves with particular white households. Holloway and Pasquett were less common names, each with only one household in District 6, thus the likelihood is high that the relatively few African Americans with those surnames relate to enslaved persons held by James Holloway and Henry Pasquett. The 1860 slave schedule lists a one-year-old girl owned by James Holloway, which could be Angeline, an eight-year-old boy who could be Egbert, and women aged 23 and 25, either of whom could be Caroline; a 35-year-old man owned by Henry Pasquett in 1860 could be Egbert’s (and perhaps Angeline’s) father John Paskett. The Holloway and Pasquett properties were nearly adjacent, so a union between two of their slaves would be plausible.

During the Civil War and post Emancipation many slaves and former slaves left the sites of their enslavement, seeking economic opportunities, reunion with family members, and escape from painful pasts. But Lester Lamon notes that most former slaves

in Tennessee stayed in the country; some did abide, at least for a time, in the households of their former enslavers, while many others remained close by within familiar territory.<sup>75</sup> During the years just after the war, blacks in the heartland, says Ash, “remained tied to their native communities by bonds of blood, faith, and custom.”<sup>76</sup> For decades after the Civil War, and even into the twentieth century, census records for Cane Ridge seem to show a significant black population, many sharing surnames with their white neighbors.

In Cane Ridge, black and white households, rich and poor, lived in close proximity and along the same roads. But African Americans, as Steven Ash has found in general for Middle Tennessee, succeeded in creating “a black world within a world.”<sup>77</sup> By 1870, Ash notes, more than 80% of African Americans in Middle Tennessee lived separately from whites.<sup>78</sup> One critical means of manifesting independence after the Civil War was to found separate black churches and schools, and according to Lamon, “Basic education ranked second only to economic independence among the early goals of newly freed blacks.”<sup>79</sup> By 1880 there were an estimated thirty black schools in twenty-five districts of Davidson County, with 1,563 students.<sup>80</sup> Cane Ridge, too, was part of this trend: in 1871 the common school commissioners of District 6, John G. Briley, Benajah Gray, and Jason H. Austin, purchased one acre of land for \$100 from James Thompson

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<sup>75</sup> Lamon, 37; Ash, 141.

<sup>76</sup> Ash, 142.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.

<sup>79</sup> Lamon, 37.

<sup>80</sup> Lovett, 135.

“for the purpose of a (Colored) school,” which became the Olive Branch School (Figure 47). The 1871 Foster map indicates the home site of James Thompson, very near the later location of the Olive Branch School on Cane Ridge Road.

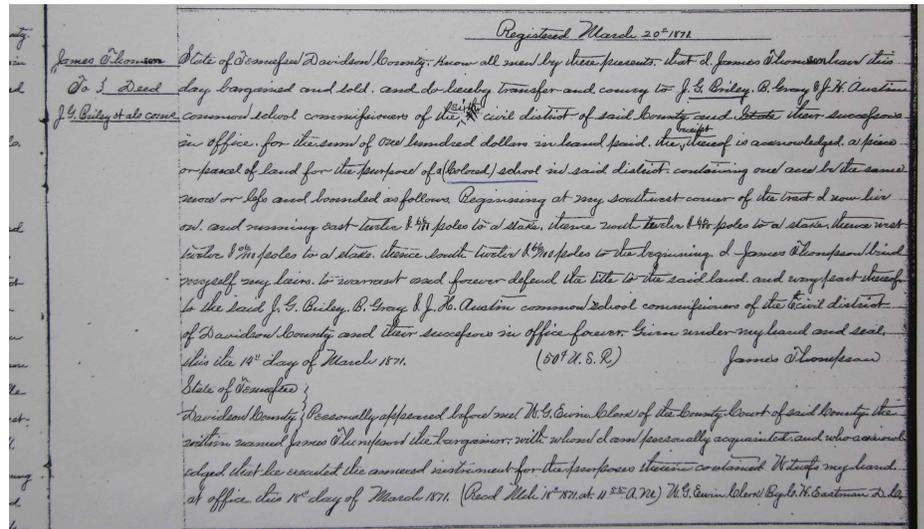


Figure 47. 1871 deed for African-American school in Cane Ridge.  
 Source: Davidson County Register of Deeds, Book 44, Page 545.

African-American residents in the Cane Ridge area and their descendants recall the school, where numerous black children pursued at least an elementary school education. Though census records indicate neither Ike nor Janie was literate, the 1920 census lists all of their four children “in school,” presumably at Olive Branch, and able to read and write. The 1940 census states that Ike and Janie’s son Theodore only attended through the second grade, but two of their grandsons, George Edward, Jr., and John Willie, were then in the seventh and sixth grades. For some years Olive Branch was the only educational institution readily available to local black residents, offering grades one through seven in its one-room building. Eventually other locations in the area offered

additional grade levels, such as Providence School on Nolensville Pike, associated with the Providence Church (now the site of Lake Providence Missionary Baptist Church).<sup>81</sup>

In 1875 the Olive Branch Church, which was Baptist, was founded at the same location as the Olive Branch School, utilizing the single-room building for dual purposes. Later a separate church building was constructed; a 1951 aerial photo clearly shows the two buildings (Figure 48). Eventually the old school building fell into such disrepair that it was taken down. The original church building suffered a more egregious fate. Despite the seeming insulation of rural places like Cane Ridge from urban tensions, during the Civil Rights Era the Olive Branch Church was burned in 1968 in an act of arson. Members of the white community quickly stepped forward to offer the use of the nearby Cane Ridge School for services until a new church could be constructed, which opened its doors in 1971.<sup>82</sup> Within recent decades several changes have been made to the church, though its basic footprint still reflects the 1971 building. By the early twenty-first century the church promoted a multiracial membership, which grew large enough to establish a second branch in Murfreesboro. In 2016 the original Olive Branch property was sold to a Coptic Orthodox church. The African-American cemetery remains behind the church, maintained by African-American community members. Several graves are marked with

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<sup>81</sup> Information on Olive Branch School history, Anissa Palmer, personal communication with author, January 7, 2017. Providence School on Nolensville Pike is included on a list of African-American schools in an online article entitled “African-American Public Schools in Nashville and Davidson County,” compiled by Debie Oeser Cox in 2006, posted on the [nashvillehistory.blogspot.com](http://nashvillehistory.blogspot.com) on September 3, 2012. Accessed July 15, 2016.

<sup>82</sup> Information on Olive Branch Church history was gathered from Anissa Palmer in a personal communication with the author, January 7, 2017. According to Palmer, a 1983 article appearing in *The Nashville Banner*, celebrating the church’s 108th birthday, recounts a history of the church.

inscribed headstones, denoting such surnames as Guthrie, Gooch, Wilson, and Estmond, some of whom are noted as veterans of World Wars I and II; other graves are marked with simple fieldstones.



Figure 48. 1951 aerial photo of Olive Branch School and Church.  
School building is on left, church on right.

*Source:* Historic Aerials.

Using individuals as a means of exploring local and regional agricultural history can prove extremely fruitful, especially when, as with the Moores and many of their Cane Ridge neighbors, there is documentary and material culture evidence to serve as illustration and verification. The landscape too can present entry points for historical analysis. The Moore farm's extant assemblage of cultural landscape features, discussed later, is a particularly useful tool for developing a historical narrative about the evolution of rural life and farming in the region. But where evidence on the ground is scarce or non-existent, documents such as census records can provide clues.

The household heads of the Moores and their close kin, both men and widowed women, were consistently identified in census records as farmers, as were most of their neighbors. In keeping with regional agricultural patterns, through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries farming operations in the area can be categorized as “general” farms, growing diverse crops, raising multiple types of livestock, and producing various products for sale and home use. The records reflect a combination of subsistence and commercial agriculture that was common practice for decades, particularly among small farmers in the South. As Sally McMurry puts it, “market participation blended smoothly with subsistence exchange.”<sup>83</sup>

Nineteenth-century agricultural schedules show three generations of Moores—William, William Green, and William Henry—with a variety of resources and engaged in a number of pursuits, owning horses, milch cows, cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry; growing corn, oats, wheat, apples, peas and beans, Irish potatoes, and sweet potatoes; producing butter, wool, and cotton for market; and buying and selling sheep and cattle. There were some slight variations in crop and livestock emphasis among the Moores over the decades, and between the Moores and other farmers in the community. Though the Moores’ agricultural endeavors were diverse, some of their neighbors pursued additional ventures: James Holloway, W.H.B. Gambill, and Jason Austin, among others, kept bees and produced honey, Gambill included pear trees in his orchard, Austin grew tobacco for a short time, and a few farmers, like William Austin, grew rye. In 1860 Alex Carper and Permelia Davis are each listed as producing four gallons of wine. Several in the

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<sup>83</sup> Sally McMurry, *Transforming Rural Life: Dairying Families and Agricultural Change, 1820-1885* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 44.

community showed income from their market gardens in that same census, such as Daniel Gray Clark and Samuel Kimbro, and in 1870 a few household heads are listed as producers of molasses, including Samuel Roach and John Jackson.

Among field crops, corn dominated Cane Ridge farms during the 1800s, as it did across the region. Tennessee ranked first in the U.S. for corn production in 1840.<sup>84</sup> In 1860, southern farms devoted more acreage to corn than to cash crops like cotton and tobacco, prompting John Solomon Otto to call corn the “King of grains.”<sup>85</sup> In Middle Tennessee in 1860, according to Stephen Ash, 98% of farms grew corn.<sup>86</sup> It was an ideal crop in several ways: it did not wear out the soil as tobacco and cotton did, labor could be employed efficiently in its production, and it generally turned a profit.<sup>87</sup> Consumption of corn in the mid-nineteenth century is estimated at 13 bushels per person per year, a good proportion of it ground into meal, with the foliage and stalks utilized as fodder for livestock.<sup>88</sup> In 1860, William Green Moore reported producing 1,000 bushels of corn and 10 bushels of wheat.

As far as cash crops, despite generally unsuitable local growing conditions, the eldest William Moore, like Jason Austin, briefly tried his hand at growing tobacco, reporting 700 pounds in the 1860 agricultural census. The Moores did not pursue cotton before the Civil War, but did so in its aftermath: in 1870 William Green reported 900

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<sup>84</sup> Finger, 180; McDonald, 10.

<sup>85</sup> Otto, 14.

<sup>86</sup> Ash, 17.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> Otto, 14.

bales and William Henry 450 bales. Two receipts for cotton were found among the Moore papers, both issued to William Henry. Representing in microcosm the rural-urban nature of the Moores' world, one cotton receipt, for 878 bales in 1877, is from cotton factors R.B. McLean, Son & Co. on Broad Street in downtown Nashville; the other, for two bales in 1881, is from neighbor Benajah Gray, who owned a small cotton gin in Cane Ridge (Figure 49).

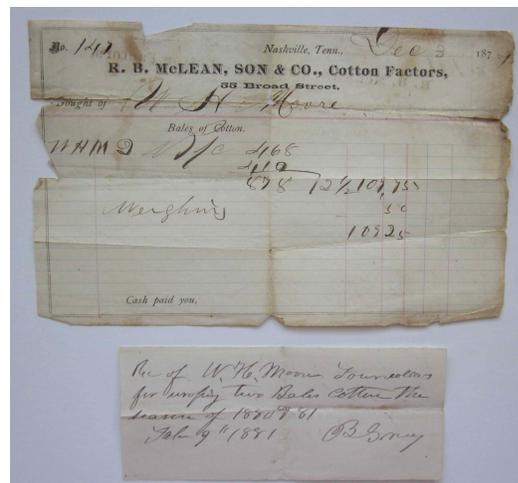


Figure 49. Cotton receipts issued to William Henry Moore, 1877 and 1881.  
*Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

The Moore farms also produced wool as a cash product during the nineteenth century. Though often given less scholarly attention than cotton and tobacco, wool actually figured prominently in Tennessee agriculture by the mid-1800s and the state was known internationally as a source of fine wool. In 1840, according to John Finger, the state's wool was valued at about three million dollars.<sup>89</sup> The Moores were not large producers, but wool appears regularly in their agricultural census records: William Green

<sup>89</sup> Finger, 188.

Moore reported 10 pounds in 1850, 20 pounds in 1870, and 10 pounds in 1880; William Henry reported 51 pounds in 1880.

Census records show that John Henry Moore continued to operate a “general farm” in the early decades of the twentieth century. But by 1930, John, as well as the majority of his fellow farmers in Cane Ridge, had shifted to dairying as their primary focus (Figure 50). This change took advantage of new technologies in transportation and milk processing, as well as a growing trend in America toward increased consumption of fluid milk that took hold in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>90</sup> The commercialization of milk and cream had begun in the 1880s and by the late 1920s fluid milk had become a significant commodity in the U.S. economy.<sup>91</sup> A glass milk bottle found in the Moore attic, which proclaims “Drink Milk for Health...for Goodness...for Economy,” exemplifies twentieth-century consumer marketing employed to encourage milk drinking. According to Mary Hoffschwelle, during the 1920s dairies proliferated in Tennessee, which used gasoline-powered trucks to haul raw milk on new paved highways to milk plants in central locations like Nashville.<sup>92</sup> The Moores and their neighbors were fortunate to have easy access to the Dixie Highway, now Old Nashville Highway, which was the major thoroughfare to Nashville and its dairy-processing companies from the 1920s to the 1950s.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> R. Douglas Hurt, *American Farms: Exploring Their History* (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 1996), 124; Hoffschwelle, 116-117.

<sup>91</sup> Adams, 90.

<sup>92</sup> Hoffschwelle, 116-117.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

Despite the census designation of the Moore farm as a “dairy farm” in 1930 and 1940, receipts, photos, and ledgers reveal that the general-farming tradition lingered. As Mary Neth points out, the four decades between 1900 and 1940 were not a steady linear march of progress but a period of ups and downs in agriculture, so even specialized farms continued to also be general farms as a survival strategy.<sup>94</sup> Photos show sheep, hogs, chickens, mules, and horses in addition to cows on the Moore farm landscape during the dairying period. The purchase, breeding, and sale of stock, particularly cattle, hogs, and sheep, appear to have been thriving aspects of the farm, and the Moores continued to sell non-dairy products such as wool. John Moore’s farm ledgers and receipts from the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s indicate frequent transactions at the Nashville Stockyards and Mary Moore recalls her father on horseback, herding their cattle to market.<sup>95</sup>

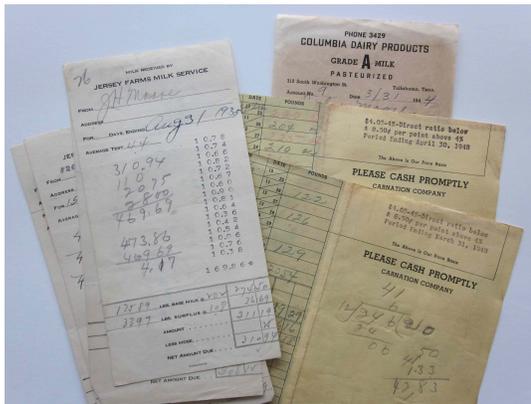


Figure 50. Moore farm dairy receipts and milk pail. *Left, source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU. *Right:* Photo by Jenny Andrews.

<sup>94</sup> Neth, 9-10.

<sup>95</sup> Mary Moore, personal communication with author, June 30, 2016.

In the mid-1950s, the Moores seem to have relinquished their dairy operation to focus on raising livestock. Receipts for the sale of raw milk to Nashville processors date from 1935 to 1952, and Moore ledgers list milk sold during the years 1949 to 1954, as well as the purchase of milk supplies like milk cans. But in 1954 the Moores appear to have been divesting of their dairy business. While the “Day Book” ledger continues to list milk sold that year, it also lists the sale of dairy supplies—milk cans, milk coolers, and a milker. No records have been located that indicate the Moores continued to operate a dairy after 1954.

Much about the history of the Moores and their farm can be deciphered from the current physical landscape, particularly its complex of buildings, which have encoded changes over time to meet evolving needs. As Mark Groover asserts, a farm serves “as a material extension of the people who resided there.”<sup>96</sup> The Moore farm’s collection of cultural landscape artifacts can be read as a visual narrative, a farm “biography,” as Jane Adams terms it, or what Sally McMurry calls a “continually unfolding dialogue.”<sup>97</sup> “Buildings, objects, even the land itself,” says James Short, “taken together form a series of historical reference points essential . . . to clarifying the documentary history of agricultural life.”<sup>98</sup> As several researchers note, the resulting story can be relevant both locally and nationally since the same forces shaped vernacular landscapes within regions

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<sup>96</sup> Groover, 23-24.

<sup>97</sup> Adams, 5; McMurry, *From Sugar Camps to Star Barns*, XVIII.

<sup>98</sup> James R. Short, “Comments on Museums and Agricultural History,” in *Farming in the New Nation: Interpreting American Agriculture, 1790-1840*, ed. Darwin P. Kelsey (Washington, DC: Agricultural History Society, 1972), 131.

as well as across the country.<sup>99</sup> What follows is an overview of the primary buildings at the Moore farm, with associative material culture, oral history, and documentary evidence.



Figure 51. Moore bungalow, c. 1931.  
Photo by Dr. Carroll Van West.

The most prominent building is the Moore house, situated at the top of a rise and fronting on the west side of Old Hickory Boulevard (Figure 51). Constructed in 1931, the home is a classic bungalow, one-and-a-half stories, surfaced in brick on the lower full story, and Tudor half-timber on the upper one-half story and at the gables. A pair of pyramidal stone columns supports the roof of the front porch. This house replaced the antebellum home of the Holloway family (whose family graveyard is near the Moore house), which was a frame, two-story building with two-story front columns and a

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<sup>99</sup> McMurry, *From Sugar Camps to Star Barns*, XVIII; Pierce F. Lewis, “Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene,” in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, ed. D.W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 15.

second-story porch. Mary Moore, who was born in the Holloway house in 1924 and spent her early childhood there, recalls that it resembled the Sam Davis home in Smyrna, Tennessee.<sup>100</sup> John and Audrey Moore had acquired the property in 1919, the year their eldest daughter Evelyn was born. After a decade of living in the old house, John and Audrey decided it no longer suited their needs. A copy of the 1931 contract between John and Audrey and the contracting firm of Woodall and Stewart, which outlined the dismantling of the Holloway house and construction of the bungalow, was found in the Moore house.

The contract directs Woodall and Stewart to repurpose materials from the Holloway house wherever possible (perhaps representative of rural thrift), and family lore states that the stones from the Holloway's large chimney were used in building the bungalow's foundation and front-porch columns. Tool marks on these stones seem to corroborate that information. The contract charges Woodall and Stewart to disconnect the dining room and kitchen portion of the Holloway house and shift it back a short distance, to create a place for the Moores to live during the demolition and construction. So it seems apparent that the Moore house is on the exact site of the Holloway house. The contract also instructs the firm to dig out a basement for the bungalow. It is unclear to what extent the footprint of the new house reflects that of the Holloway home.

It is unknown who "Stewart" was in Woodall and Stewart, but Claude Allen Woodall (1905-1960) appears in the 1930 federal census as an architect working in the "contractor" industry, and in Nashville city directories published in the 1930s as a draftsman for prominent architect George D. Waller. In the 1940 census Woodall is an

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<sup>100</sup> Mary Moore, personal communication with author, June 30, 2016.

architect who does “Home Remodeling,” and by 1959 the Nashville city directory shows he has established himself as president of Woodall Construction Company. A 1962 receipt for gutter repairs, paid by John Moore to Ira Woodall, Claude’s brother, who worked at a roofing business in Nashville, was found in the Moore document collection. Woodall’s sister Martha Plez Woodall was married to John Alexander Austin and lived in the Cane Ridge community. So it is possible the Moores were acquainted with the Woodall family, including Claude, before the 1931 house project.<sup>101</sup>



Figure 52. Moore house living room.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

The ground floor of the Moore bungalow has eight rooms counting a bathroom, a central hallway, and an enclosed back porch (in early photos of the house the back porch is not enclosed). Upstairs are bedroom spaces, presumably for the children, and a wedge-shaped attic that extends across the front of the house. While the Moore home is missing

<sup>101</sup> The 1910 federal census shows George D. Waller living with his parents in District 6 of Davidson County, working as an architect, and there were several Wallers living in Cane Ridge and Nolensville during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus the Moores might have been familiar with George Waller’s family as well.

some common Craftsman elements, like built-in box seats, overall it fits the basic plan for an early twentieth-century year-round bungalow and incorporates a number of standard components, as described by Anthony King in *The Bungalow: a front porch/veranda with an outside door into the living room, a prominent living-room fireplace (Figure 52), a wide entry into the dining room, a swing door between dining and kitchen spaces, and ample kitchen cabinetry.*<sup>102</sup> A draft assessment of the Moore-Sanford Farm prepared in May 2016 by the MTSU Center for Historic Preservation includes detailed floor plans of the house.<sup>103</sup> The 1931 Woodall and Stewart contract refers to floor plans and schematics, but copies of those documents have not been located.

In addition to what was then a very modern floor plan and style, the infrastructure of the Moore house would also have been considered cutting edge: indoor plumbing, electricity, an indoor bathroom, and telephone service (the expectation of telephone service is indicated by the telephone niche in the main hallway).<sup>104</sup> The Woodall and Stewart contract lists in great detail the components and construction methods, from the width and spacing of the No. 1 green pine lath and its brown coat of Acme or Texas plaster, to the Youngstown Pressed Steel Company's mesh for the exterior stucco, to the knob and tube electrical system, to "miracle doors." In the years following construction

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<sup>102</sup> Anthony D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 146.

<sup>103</sup> MTSU Center for Historic Preservation, "Moore-Sanford Farm, Davidson County, Tennessee: Draft Assessment and Recommendations," May 2016, 14-24.

<sup>104</sup> That the area already had telephone service in 1931 is indicated by a "Telephone Contract" dated 1917, in an envelope addressed to John H. Moore, found among the Moore papers; in 1917 the line was "to be built by Cummins [Cummings] and Moore" through property owned by J.A. and T.V. Gambill.

of the house, the Moores made additional improvements. A 1934 receipt found in the Moore house shows the installation of a large Lennox Steel Furnace (still in place in the Moore house basement), purchased from H.E. Parmer Company. A 1939 receipt from Davis Sash & Door Company records the addition of wooden Venetian blinds, which were found stored in the Moore attic.



Figure 53. *Left*: Moore kitchen. Photo by Dr. Carroll Van West. *Right*: Douglas Flameproof Percolator. Photo by Annabeth Hayes.

Much can be inferred from the Moores' bungalow. As Sally McMurry notes, "house forms both influence and reflect the fundamental patterns of culture."<sup>105</sup> Anthony King, in fact, points to bungalows as "symbolic of the beginnings of the contemporary, consumer-oriented American home."<sup>106</sup> As a Progressive-era house, the Moore bungalow exemplifies several fundamental societal changes in rural communities that occurred in

<sup>105</sup> McMurry, *Families and Farmhouses in Nineteenth-Century America: Vernacular Design and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), vii.

<sup>106</sup> King, 151.

the early twentieth century, including advances in technology (balloon framing, electricity, telephone service, plumbing), an emphasis on childrearing (with separate sleeping spaces for adults and children), and changes in the roles of farmwomen (less laborer and more homemaker).

By the early to mid-twentieth century, certain farm activities that had traditionally been performed by women in the home had generally moved out of the house. For example, soap, bread, and butter were readily available from stores, so there was no need to allot space for making them at home.<sup>107</sup> Hence kitchens became smaller and more private, and were devoted primarily to cooking family meals. To accomplish these tasks efficiently, farmwomen were encouraged to focus on being “homemakers” and purchase a variety of consumer goods, from specialized cookware to appliances to readymade foodstuff. The Moore kitchen indeed has a small footprint, though with ample cabinet space for storing consumer kitchen products (Figure 53). McMurry calls the new approach to home design incorporated into Progressive farmhouses “an attempt to come to terms with urbanization, industrialization, and capitalist farming.”<sup>108</sup>

The Moore barn, across a field from the Moores’ bungalow house, was originally of board-and-batten construction, as seen in old photos. One portion of the barn is potentially the oldest structure on the farm, estimated to date to the early 1920s, so built soon after John Moore purchased the Holloway property in 1919. The primary function of this early section of the barn was as a stable for horses and mules. Subsequent barn expansion occurred soon after, perhaps into the 1930s, which increased the number of

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<sup>107</sup> McMurry, *Families and Farmhouses in Nineteenth-Century America*, 217.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

stalls and added a tack room for storing harnesses, saddles, tools, and supplies. An old photo of the farm shows sheep huddled in a lean-to shed (no longer extant) on a snowy day. An extension along the west side of the barn provided pens with more protection for the sheep, as well as an indoor location to house and milk dairy cows; the pens were possibly also used for hogs. On the barn's upper story is a large hayloft; Mary Moore recalls watching the two-man operation of cutting hay, forking it onto a truck, and hoisting it one portion at a time into the barn's loft via a pulley system.<sup>109</sup>

To facilitate the transition to dairying, sometime in the late 1920s or early 1930s the Moores constructed a milk house just outside the barn and outfitted it with modern amenities like electricity, a water pump, and a cement floor with a drain.<sup>110</sup> Here John and Audrey cooled the raw milk and poured it into ten-gallon cans for transport by farm truck to regional dairy processors.<sup>111</sup> Receipts found tucked into Moore farm ledgers recorded the number of gallons of milk delivered during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s to such Nashville-area dairy companies as Columbia Dairy Products, Carnation Company, and Jersey Farms Milk Service. Stored in the bungalow's attic and basement are various other dairy-related items (Figure 50), including a milk pail, a plastic Purity Dairies cooler for transporting milk, and a much-weathered, three-legged milking stool.

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<sup>109</sup> Mary Moore's recollections of hay cutting and storage, copy of handwritten notes prepared for a speech given in May 2015.

<sup>110</sup> A photo of the barn potentially taken in the 1920s or 1930s shows no milk house; later photos from the early 1930s show the milk house in its current location, perhaps recently built. In the later photos the barn itself is little changed, except for the addition of glazed two-on-two windows in the series of five exterior stall portals.

<sup>111</sup> Mary Moore's recollections of the family's dairy procedures, copy of handwritten notes prepared for a speech given in May 2015.



Figure 54. Moore farm outbuildings in 1933 and 2016,  
barn, milk house, and chicken coop.  
*Top, source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.  
*Bottom:* Photo by Jenny Andrews.

The Moores were typical of the many smaller dairy farmers in the area, including their next-door neighbor Thomas Otis Cochran. Other Cane Ridge farmers invested in the dairy business in a more substantial way, including the Burkitts, who had larger dairy barns and milk houses, and later installed mechanical milking machines.<sup>112</sup> The Carothers

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<sup>112</sup> Information on the Burkitt farm from Sue Burkitt Clark, personal communication with author, February 9, 2017. Clark possesses photos of her family's dairy operation.

farm was an extensive dairy operation, with hundreds of acres and multiple barns, though all that remains now are one barn and a trio of enormous grain silos.

An ample cinderblock chicken coop is also present on the Moore farm, built by the early 1930s, based on photographic evidence (Figure 54). As Mary Moore remembers, the chickens were under the care of her mother, as was typical for farms in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when chicken-and-egg operations were considered the bailiwick of farmwomen. A similar concrete-block coop can be found on another property nearby that once belonged to the Burkitt family. In 1938 William Gray Burkitt purchased 87 acres on the west side of the railroad tracks, near the Moores, as a new home site for his second wife, Bessie Fly, who insisted on having a large structure to house her chickens.<sup>113</sup>

Based on an old photo, the hogs seem to have had a space with a feeding trough behind the smokehouse. The small frame smokehouse at the rear of the bungalow is persistent evidence of the hogs' presence on the landscape (Figure 55). The building's ceiling still retains its charred surface and hooks for hanging meat to cure. This structure seems to predate the bungalow since in at least one early photo of the farm, taken within a year or so after the house was built in 1931, it appears to have already required such repairs as tin-roof patching. Hog-killing time was a yearly ritual in late fall and early winter on farms across the South. In her presentation at the announcement of Southeast

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<sup>113</sup> Information on William Gray Burkitt and Bessie Fly, their property acquisition and chicken coop, from Sue Burkitt Clark, personal communication with author, February 9, 2017; and Harry Burkitt, personal communication with author, April 25, 2017. Harry and Sue are the grandchildren of William Burkitt; their father, Lucien Hunter Burkitt, owned the land subsequent to William, and Harry and Sue grew up on the Burkitt farm as neighbors of the Moores.

Park in May 2015, Mary Moore recounted her memories of the processes involved, of rendering lard, making sausage, salting the meat in a long trough, and hanging it in the smokehouse. A number of other homes in Cane Ridge also have extant smokehouses in the backyard; a few, like the examples at the Whitsett and Benajah Gray houses, are made of log.



Figure 55. John Henry Moore and hogs, 1930s, and smokehouse. *Left, source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU. *Right:* Photo by Dr. Carroll Van West.

Several cultural landscape artifacts point to the presence and importance of gasoline-powered vehicles on the farm: a large garage/workshop, an extension on the smokehouse often used as a place to park cars, two fuel drums, and two gas pumps probably c. 1970 (Figure 56). Photos found in the Moore house, dating at least to the 1930s, show some of the farm's early trucks and tractors (Figure 56), as well as a series of automobiles owned by members of the family into the twenty-first century. A receipt from Hippodrome Motors in Nashville shows Mary Moore purchasing a "Skymist Blue" Ford Falcon Fordor sedan in 1960. Audrey Moore in her 1950s' diary included the purchases of several cars (and vehicular accidents) among the events of note on the farm.

The list of farm items auctioned after Bill Moore’s death, as well as photos, indicate the Moores relied heavily on gasoline-powered equipment in the latter half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century.



Figure 56. Moore farm truck, 1936, and gas pumps. *Left, source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU. *Right:* Photo by Jenny Andrews.

A few “dependencies” that might easily be overlooked nevertheless add to the narrative of farm life for the Moores. Though the family had a modern indoor bathroom, they continued to also make use of an outhouse. As Mary Moore points out, there were six people in a house with one small bathroom, so the outhouse was actually a convenience. The home had running water, yet the Moores persisted in drawing water from the old well on the south side of the house, which likely dates to the time of the Holloways (Figure 57). Up to the day Mary moved out of the bungalow in 2012, she still

kept a container of well water in the kitchen for drinking.<sup>114</sup> The enclosed back porch housed a modern washer and dryer into the twenty-first century, but there remained two clotheslines outside the back door. Audrey Moore in her 1950s' diary makes note of sunny "good" days for washing, and rainy "bad" days, presumably because the clothes would be hung on a clothesline to dry. Perhaps Mary continued to use both the dryer and the clotheslines the same way she utilized both city water and the well. Mark Groover remarks that farmsteads often show this layering of new and old ways, reflecting landscapes that are "additive rather than subtractive."<sup>115</sup> This integration is also indicative of rural people like the Moores, who across two centuries persisted in integrating tradition and modern innovation, self-sufficiency and commerce, city and country.



Figure 57. Well at Moore house, 1950s.  
*Source:* Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

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<sup>114</sup> Information on the outhouse and well, from Mary Moore, personal communication with author, June 30, 2016.

<sup>115</sup> Groover, 93.

The Moore family and their neighbors, both black and white, have played significant roles in the evolution of their rural community across two centuries, and they are reflective of wider trends as well. The collection of documents, material culture, oral history, and assessment of cultural landscape artifacts gathered thus far represents a valuable resource for present and future efforts to interpret local and regional history at Southeast Park, as well as through other organizations and venues. Metro Parks of Davidson County, MTSU's Center for Historic Preservation and Public History graduate program, and Cane Ridge community leaders are actively engaged in the process of capturing the history of the Moores and the local landscape. It is fortunate that a repository for documentation and information has been established at the archives of MTSU's Albert Gore Research Center. It is expected that additional sources and insights will continue to emerge, and thus the accumulation and analysis of these primary sources will be an ongoing project.

## CHAPTER FOUR:

## HISTORIC PRESERVATION CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES

The Moore farm and Southeast Park are part of a consequential cultural landscape, the features and artifacts of which hold significant promise as subjects for ongoing research and inspiration for multidimensional public interpretation. Yet safeguarding and managing these assets is rife with challenges, particularly due to the rural nature of the locale and concomitant pressure from suburban development. Preservationists in general point to several key strategies for successful historic-resource protection, including sensible land planning, savvy advocates, creative partnerships, and an engaged and informed local citizenry.

Those involved in the planning and development of Southeast Park, including Metro Parks, the Joe C. Davis Foundation, the Center for Historic Preservation, and members of the master-planning committee, have endeavored to use such means as well as others toward creating a hybrid site that promotes history, nature, education, and recreation. The Center in particular took a wide-angle approach to the park to include the larger community environs. Local residents have since been inspired to take stock of their historic resources and pursue preservation in earnest, an initiative still in its early stages. Throughout the process the Center has served a multifaceted role as a source of expertise, a liaison between organizations, and a booster for residents to find their “voice” of local history. The Center has thus engaged the park’s master-planning team and community in recognizing the intrinsic value of protecting local and regional cultural resources.

This chapter will examine the preservation challenges encountered by rural locations in general, the issues evident in the Middle Tennessee region, and the particular situation faced by Southeast Park and its neighboring community of Cane Ridge. As counterbalance, the potential strategies for successful preservation will be explored, to lay the groundwork for ongoing efforts to protect the historic cultural landscape within and around the park.

The primary stumbling block to protecting the historic fabric of Middle Tennessee is development pressure. The state of preservation in much of Davidson County, both urban and rural, is dire given the explosive increase in population and subsequent construction boom associated with Nashville, particularly during the past decade. Even the most established neighborhoods have experienced a whirlwind of “teardowns,” whereby regionally archetypal, single-family homes on proportional lots are being replaced by oversized, sometimes multi-unit, regionally nonspecific dwellings. An April 2017 story on Nashville Public Radio explored the environmental and emotional costs of this demolition, with tons of debris headed for landfills and previous owners grieving the loss of their family homes, most often sold due to unaffordable property and inheritance taxes.<sup>1</sup> What have traditionally been comfortable, suburban communities for middle- and lower-income residents in the region are in the crosshairs and in danger of losing their character. Neighborhoods in desirable central locations like Green Hills have become

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<sup>1</sup> “The Life and Death of an Old House in Boomtown,” Meribah Knight, *Curious Nashville*, aired April 13, 2017, Nashville Public Radio, [nashvillepublicradio.org](http://nashvillepublicradio.org), accessed April 28, 2017. Knight reported that since 2014 Nashville has issued demolition permits for 3,300 properties and 39,000 construction permits. She quoted a landfill environmental manager as saying about 500 trucks filled with debris arrive each day, 100 tons of which are recycled. At the demolition-construction site that Knight tracked, a 1950s ranch house was destroyed and replaced with two larger homes.

unrecognizable within only a few years. On one pre-World War II bungalow-lined Nashville street, the construction of a multi-story, modern-esque house prompted neighbors to put up protest signs saying “Build Like You Live Next Door.” Landmarks important to the wider Nashville community are also disappearing, such as the Colonial Bakery on Franklin Pike, built in 1936 and demolished in 2014 to make way for a large residential-commercial complex, despite efforts to find a viable repurposing plan for the bakery buildings.

Properties at the outskirts of Nashville’s metropolitan area, like those in Cane Ridge, are particularly vulnerable since their rural nature means they offer larger tracts of land. Here development typically takes the form of “sprawl,” which is automobile dependent and low density, featuring a disconnected mix of strip commercial outlets, residential pockets, and small-industry complexes (Figure 58). Sprawl looks essentially the same across the country, with chain retail stores and quickly built homes and apartments of standardized, nondescript architecture. Preservationist Megan Bellue calls this form of growth “the homogenization of America’s rural landscape.”<sup>2</sup> Urban historian Dolores Hayden attributes sprawl in part to the “culture of easy obsolescence” prevalent in America, which has been extended to “the continual consumption of undeveloped land.”<sup>3</sup> The increasing difficulty of pursuing farming as a financially stable livelihood, especially on smaller farms, has intersected with rising property values and population

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<sup>2</sup> Megan K. Bellue, “Chapter 6: Rural Preservation,” in *Smart States, Better Communities: How State Governments Can Help Citizens Preserve Their Communities*, ed. Constance E. Beaumont (Washington, DC: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1996), 163.

<sup>3</sup> Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 11, 229.

numbers to create a perfect storm for rapid, unchecked development in rural locations. Indeed the pace has often outstripped any chance of methodical assessment of historic resources. While politicians may publicly denounce sprawl, they often fail to take action in passing legislation to restrict land development, fearing they will appear anti-growth or unsupportive of the sanctity of property rights.<sup>4</sup> Genevieve and Timothy Keller, who wrote two National Register bulletins on assessing historic landscapes, posit that the protection of rural landscapes “is perhaps the most politicized aspect of historic preservation at the beginning of the twenty-first century.”<sup>5</sup>



Figure 58. Industrial complex at the edge of Southeast Park, 2017.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

Between 2010 and 2016 Davidson County’s population rose by about sixty thousand people.<sup>6</sup> The southeastern quadrant of the county, where Southeast Park and

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<sup>4</sup> Genevieve P. Keller and J. Timothy Keller, “Chapter Six: Preserving Important Landscapes,” in *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Robert E. Stipe (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 202.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>6</sup> [census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045216/47037](https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045216/47037), accessed April 24, 2017.

Cane Ridge lie, has been particularly impacted. A 2011 article in a Nashville online newspaper, *The City Paper*, noted that the burgeoning growth in Antioch accounted for the majority of the 10% spike in Nashville's population during the prior decade.<sup>7</sup> The Tennessee Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations identifies sprawl as "the predominant land use pattern in Tennessee."<sup>8</sup> As the metropolitan sprawl associated with Nashville rolls south and that of nearby towns continues to creep north, local residents nervously joke that Nashville, Smyrna, and Murfreesboro will someday merge into one continuous thirty-mile-long suburb.

The impact of sprawl on the rural, agricultural landscape has been considerable. TACIR reported in 2011 that between 1982 and 2007 the percentage of developed acreage in the state increased by 85%, concurrent with a 25% decrease in cropland.<sup>9</sup> In a ten-county region in Middle Tennessee, most of which is caught up in the economics of Nashville, between 1992 and 1997 about sixty acres per day were converted from open space to developed land.<sup>10</sup> The Tennessee Farmland Legacy Partnership, a consortium of twelve state organizations, reports that Tennessee loses about 1,300 family farms and

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<sup>7</sup> Joey Garrison, "Antioch Population Boom Puts Focus on Needed Infrastructure," *The City Paper*, April 10, 2011, [nashvillecitypaper.com/.../antioch-population-boom-puts-focus-needed-infrastructure](http://nashvillecitypaper.com/.../antioch-population-boom-puts-focus-needed-infrastructure), accessed April 24, 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Libby Thurman and Bill Terry, "Land Use and Planning in Tennessee, Part II: Land Use and Transportation Planning," Nashville: Tennessee Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, February 2011, 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

100,000 farm acres on an annual basis.<sup>11</sup> If sprawl continues apace in Tennessee, says TACIR, by 2025 about 800,000 additional open-space acres will succumb to development.<sup>12</sup>

Though Middle Tennessee's scenic undulating topography of pastoral farmland, wooded slopes, and rocky outcroppings has long been a main attraction for residents of the region, such rural landscapes, appearing to development proponents as blank slates, are under extreme threat. Small farms, once a mainstay of the local economy, continue to disappear as their owners, struggling to maintain their operations as they watch the landscape around them dramatically alter, are hard-pressed to resist opportunities to sell. Despite the popular notion that farmers and members of rural communities are especially attached to the land, says historian Robert Stipe, "almost everyone has his price and the farmer who needs a retirement income is no less apt to give in to the developer who wants his land for subdivision development than he is to the industry that seeks to exploit its mineral content."<sup>13</sup> Stipe continues, "where matters of money are concerned, the urge to develop will continue to outweigh the conservation ethic."<sup>14</sup> Other factors in the dissolution of farmland include partitioning among heirs and high inheritance and estate taxes.

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<sup>11</sup> Tennessee Farmland Legacy Partnership, "Tennessee Farmland Legacy: Resource Guide: Today's Farms for Tomorrow's Families and Communities," Tennessee Farmland Legacy Partnership, 2010, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Thurman and Terry, 4.

<sup>13</sup> Robert E. Stipe, "Chapter 2: Rural Preservation: A Perspective and a Challenge," in *New Directions in Rural Preservation*, ed. Robert E. Stipe (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1980), 21.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

The negative effects of sprawl, including the destruction and fragmentation of cultural and environmental resources, are often direct consequences of poor land-use planning. Says Constance Beaumont in *Smart States, Better Communities*, “Growth is not the problem; the rate and scale at which it occurs, the shape it takes, and the location it chooses frequently are.”<sup>15</sup> Decisions made in regards to land use determine the course and consequences of development, and can impact everything from traffic flow to wildlife corridors. The outcome is both substantial and long lasting. TACIR asserts that “once a new building is constructed or a vacant tract of land is developed, the result will likely endure for one hundred years or more.”<sup>16</sup> But to short-circuit deleterious land planning is not generally easy. Landscape architect Julius Fabos points out that the decision-making processes in the United States are labyrinthine when compared to countries in Europe.<sup>17</sup> Robert Stipe agrees that the record for effective long-range land planning in America has not been laudable, partly because most planners are urbanists and not attuned to the particular characteristics and needs of rural landscapes, but also because even the best plans need adequate follow-through and regulation, such as zoning ordinances.<sup>18</sup>

In Tennessee, one problem is that local governments are not required to conduct a thorough planning process before development occurs. While local planning programs do

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<sup>15</sup> Constance E. Beaumont, *Smart States, Better Communities*, ed. Constance E. Beaumont, 266.

<sup>16</sup> Thurman and Terry, 9.

<sup>17</sup> Julius Gy. Fabos, “Introduction and Overview: The Greenway Movement, Uses and Potentials of Greenways,” in *Greenways*, ed. Julius Gy. Fabos and Jack Ahern, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Stipe, *New Directions in Rural Preservation*, ed. Robert E. Stipe, 20.

exist in the state, it is difficult to discern the extent of their long-range planning endeavors, or if the plans actually come to fruition.<sup>19</sup> Another issue is the lack of a coordinating body for statewide planning.<sup>20</sup> According to TACIR, “Land use decisions have the potential to harness future growth for prosperity, but likewise these decisions can result in unfettered expansion that results in the inefficient use of land and increased costs for governments and citizens.”<sup>21</sup> Richard Moe, former president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, counsels that “Communities—and states—should be shaped by choice, not chance.”<sup>22</sup> But to do that, according to landscape architect Anthony Walmsley, “planners need to get ahead of urban growth, not react to it.”<sup>23</sup> Too, historic preservation needs to be represented in the early stages of land planning, or even before. In addition to site-specific projects, historic preservation must be part of the “broader land use planning process,” says William Tishler.<sup>24</sup> James Mann, former director of the National Trust for Historic Preservation’s Midwest office, takes this further, stating that historic preservation must move from the margins to become “a mainstream issue.” “Unless preservation is taken seriously,” says Mann, “as seriously as transportation or

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<sup>19</sup> Thurman and Terry, 63.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 3. TACIR notes that the State Planning Office in Tennessee was eliminated in 1995; there was also a repeal of state-planning legislative authority (page 57).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Richard Moe, “Preface,” in *Smart States, Better Communities*, ed. Constance E. Beaumont, xii.

<sup>23</sup> Anthony Walmsley, “Greenways and the Making of Urban Form,” in *Greenways*, ed. Julius Gy. Fabos and Jack Ahern, 82.

<sup>24</sup> William H. Tishler, “Chapter 3: The Role of Historic Preservation in Tomorrow’s Rural Landscape,” in *New Directions in Rural Preservation*, ed. Robert E. Stipe, 28.

economic development, it will not have a seat at the table where the important policy decisions are made.”<sup>25</sup> Even if the historical or cultural significance of a site might not preclude development, it still has the potential to guide future growth.<sup>26</sup>



Figure 59. Encroachment of suburban sprawl on a family cemetery, Antioch, 2017.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

In the early 2000s Nashville’s metropolitan government determined to fund infrastructure improvements, including water and sewer, in its southeastern quadrant, an area generally referred to as Antioch. This decision ramped up development in a location already quickly suburbanizing due largely to the availability of swaths of open acreage, primarily farmland. The result has been a patchwork of industrial, residential, and commercial projects, clustered around and continually nipping at the heels of farms and

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<sup>25</sup> James Mann, “Chapter 12: Strategies: James Mann,” in *Smart States, Better Communities*, ed. Constance E. Beaumont, 357.

<sup>26</sup> Courtney P. Fint, “The American Summer Youth Camp as a Cultural Landscape,” in *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, ed. Richard Longstreth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 89.

homesteads, some held by the same families for over a century and containing a wealth of historical features (Figure 59). The Davidson County property assessor’s map of Antioch-Cane Ridge land ownership reveals many large open-space tracts currently in the hands of development companies; a handful of history- and preservation-minded locals have been scrambling to locate and assess historic sites before they are lost to the bulldozer. As Tishler points out, one reason historic rural landscapes are difficult to preserve is precisely because they require land to achieve an appropriate context and character, what Stipe calls “tout ensemble.”<sup>27</sup> So the feature that lends a rural countryside its identity—open land—is the same factor that invites development (Figure 60).



Figure 60. Typical sprawl patterns in rural Middle Tennessee.  
*Left:* Near Old Hickory Blvd. *Right:* Near Hobson Pike.  
*Source:* Bob Parks Realty, parksathome.com.

Some long-time landowners in Antioch-Cane Ridge have made the decision to accept purchase offers, very often from development companies. *The City Paper* article cited earlier quotes Cane Ridge resident Mary Jane Hurt, proudly determined in 2011 to hold onto her historic still-operating family farm, saying “We’ve had lots of people come

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<sup>27</sup> Tishler, 28, and Stipe, 19, in *New Directions in Rural Preservation*, ed. Robert E. Stipe.

by and want to buy it, but we've chosen to live there as we are."<sup>28</sup> But by 2015 her family had sold the property for construction of a large multi-use development project, named "Century Farms." To drive through the bucolic hills of Cane Ridge and come upon the construction scene has been jarring for local residents. All that remains of the homestead are a small family cemetery and an isolated one-hundred-year-old oak tree, which appears in the development project's logo. Similar stories abound of old houses, barns, and small graveyards in Cane Ridge being bulldozed for new housing complexes.<sup>29</sup>

There have been counterweights to these losses, a prime example being the Moore farm at Southeast Park. For decades Mary Moore and her brother Bill successfully fended off propositions, even from long-time neighbor-friends, to sell and develop their family farmstead, or even allow utility access routes to be constructed through their land. Only when presented with an opportunity to protect the property with a conservation easement did Mary and sister Aileen Williamson agree to sell; now the farm is a key component of Southeast Park.

In addition to the Moores, other area residents have also resisted letting go of ancestral homes. The nineteenth-century dwellings of Benajah Gray, Thomas Johnson, William Whitsett, and Andrew Burkitt, among other properties, are still in family hands. Even relative newcomers, who moved into the Antioch area ten or twenty years ago, have forged strong bonds with this rural countryside and express dismay at recent changes. One community member confronted the Davidson County property assessor during a

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<sup>28</sup> Garrison, "Antioch Population Boom Puts Focus on Needed Infrastructure."

<sup>29</sup> Twana Chick, president of the Cane Ridge Community Club, personal communications with author.

presentation at the Cane Ridge Community Club, demanding to know how he could combat the installation of ten houses on the two-acre lot next to his home, which he expected to deleteriously impact his quality of life as well as lower his own property's value. The assessor did not have an answer to the query.<sup>30</sup> Another resident, gazing unhappily at the property across the street from her home, in the throes of multi-house construction, even pondered the need to move.<sup>31</sup>

In fact, TACIR attributes Tennessee's sprawl largely to the emphasis by local governments on such new growth, coupled with limited tax-income options. This pattern is also true on the national level. Urban historian Dolores Hayden points out that federal supports for real estate development have been strongly biased toward new construction, an example of "public funding to support private growth" that Hayden notes has been a serious issue for decades.<sup>32</sup> While TACIR asserts that controlled growth is a fiscally superior approach, and agricultural land contributes more to the economy than residential, the widely held belief that "all growth is good and in fact essential" has continued to result in land-use policies that allow private developers or the market to dictate where growth occurs.<sup>33</sup> The tension assumed to exist between the tangible

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<sup>30</sup> Cane Ridge Community Club meeting, April 3, 2017. The property assessor presenting on property taxes, property appraisals, and property values was Vivian Wilhoite, formerly a district councilwoman for District 29 of Davidson County. Wilhoite reported that as of December 2016 Davidson County property values had increased on average by 35% over a four-year period. She emphasized the budgetary role played by new construction, stating that property taxes on new construction had brought in thirty-two million dollars.

<sup>31</sup> Joy Arnold, personal communication with author, March 26, 2017.

<sup>32</sup> Hayden, 17, 247.

<sup>33</sup> Thurman and Terry, 22, 50, 20-21.

economic advantages of development and the often-intangible concept of livability, notes Constance Beaumont, is a false dichotomy—“lasting economic growth *depends* on community livability.”<sup>34</sup> Quality of life is an essential factor in the success of a community, which can have economic benefits, and historic preservation, says Stipe, can play a valuable role.<sup>35</sup> In a 2011 survey conducted by the Tennessee Historical Commission, over 98% of residents agreed that preservation and growth are compatible, and that “inappropriate demolition and development without proper planning threaten community livability.” Almost 95% agreed strongly that historic buildings and landscapes contribute to quality of life.<sup>36</sup>



Figure 61. Private property being cleared in Cane Ridge, 2017.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

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<sup>34</sup> Beaumont, 265.

<sup>35</sup> Stipe, “Prologue: Why Preserve?,” in *A Richer Heritage*, ed. Robert E. Stipe, xiv-xv.

<sup>36</sup> Tennessee Historical Commission, “A Future for the Past: A Comprehensive Plan for Historic Preservation in Tennessee, Tennessee Historical Commission, 2013-2018,” Tennessee Historical Commission, 2012, 45-46.

In America property ownership is often considered sacrosanct, and individual rights are privileged over public needs.<sup>37</sup> Even in the twentieth century, says Robert Stipe, “Land is not yet widely regarded as a finite resource to be conserved and protected,” rather it is viewed as a “marketable commodity.”<sup>38</sup> Hence property owners can be prone to question regulations, even if, or sometimes because, the restrictions are designed to protect neighborhoods and communities from indiscriminate development. Many landowners consider the freedom to sell private land at maximum profit a prerogative. Anti-regulation, pro-development landowners, says Beaumont, have mistakenly “confused their inability to make maximum profits from land *speculation* with a *loss* in property value,” in essence equating “a lost bet with a deprived right.”<sup>39</sup> To complicate the situation, anti-regulation landowners often promote themselves as property-rights advocates, sometimes called the “takings” movement, when in reality they undercut stable property values and the preservation of community identity.

Cane Ridge, perhaps Antioch in general, is currently being tested, pitting residents who favor preservation of historic resources and protection of rural open spaces against the forces of growth and development, some of which are other members of the community. One resident recently clear-cut and scraped away vegetation and three feet of soil atop a hill on his property (Figure 61). His claims that he is not planning to develop the site have been met with suspicion by neighbors, who have also lodged complaints

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<sup>37</sup> Fabos, 11.

<sup>38</sup> Stipe, *New Directions in Rural Preservation*, ed. Robert E. Stipe, 21.

<sup>39</sup> Beaumont, 335.

about the muddy runoff impacting their properties down hill.<sup>40</sup> Acreage sold by another long-time community member has resulted in an expansive residential development project begun in spring 2017 in the center of Cane Ridge, across Old Hickory Boulevard from the historic Cane Ridge School. Not only will the endeavor alter a piece of the cultural landscape in perpetuity, residents have been forewarned that traffic will be disrupted for a period of two years. For the neighbors within earshot of construction, who are regularly awakened by the percussive boom of blasting and the beep-beep of heavy equipment backing up, the development disrupts peace of mind as well. The community at large is dismayed over the project and feels powerless, even with the sympathetic ear of district-council members.<sup>41</sup> The president of the Cane Ridge Community Club agrees that the community is running at least a decade behind in coordinating efforts to forestall development incursions on their landscape.<sup>42</sup>

The planning tool of the National Register has been used so sparingly in Cane Ridge that property owners might be skeptical of its value. Only two properties in Cane Ridge are listed on the National Register—the Cane Ridge Cumberland Presbyterian Church (Figure 62) and the Benajah Gray Log House—both added to the list decades ago, in 1976 and 1985 respectively. A number of other sites should also qualify. Paul Clements' two-volume *A Past Remembered: A Collection of Antebellum Houses in Davidson County*, published in 1987, identified several worthy properties. A drive around

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<sup>40</sup> Twana Chick, Brant Miller, Patricia Miller, and David Schenkel, residents of Cane Ridge, personal communications with author, March 12, 2017.

<sup>41</sup> Twana Chick, Brant Miller, and Patricia Miller, at a meeting of the Cane Ridge Community Club, May 1, 2017.

<sup>42</sup> Twana Chick, personal communication with author, March 26, 2017.

the community reveals that there are still a plethora of prospective National Register buildings constructed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is likely some homeowners are unaware of the potential and the process, and some perhaps have unfounded qualms about requirements of restoration or public access.<sup>43</sup> The owner of the Daniel Gray Clark house, a nineteenth-century, two-story brick structure, for example, has openly expressed distrust of the National Register, believing that listing her home will summon outside forces to dictate how she manages her property.<sup>44</sup>



Figure 62. Cane Ridge Cumberland Presbyterian Church, c. 1859.  
Listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1976.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

Assumptions about rural landscapes in general can also hinder historic preservation efforts. Keller and Keller note that, “there remains a widespread perception among traditional preservationists and the public that rural landscapes are ordinary

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<sup>43</sup> Keller and Keller, *A Richer Heritage*, ed. Robert E. Stipe, 198.

<sup>44</sup> Diana Tindell, owner of the Daniel Gray Clark house in Antioch, Tennessee, personal communication with author, November 30, 2016.

places.”<sup>45</sup> Farmland can be seen everywhere, so why is it special and in need of preservation? Even where there is recognition that farmland is fast disappearing, the openness can still be taken for granted. Preliminary drawings for Southeast Park, which anticipate its landscape being transected by several new secondary public roads intended to “ease” traffic congestion in the area, suggest that despite publicity proclaiming the park to be an “open space protection effort,” Metro Parks and other planning officials are willing to consider fracturing the landscape (Figure 63).<sup>46</sup>



Figure 63. Preliminary plan for Southeast Park, showing proposed roads through park.  
*Plan:* Hodgson Douglas Landscape Architecture. *Source:* Metro Parks.

<sup>45</sup> Keller and Keller, *A Richer Heritage*, ed. Robert E. Stipe, 197.

<sup>46</sup> [conservationfund.org/projects/antioch-park-nashville](http://conservationfund.org/projects/antioch-park-nashville), accessed February 22, 2017.

The thorough historical background of Southeast Park provided to Metro Parks by the Center for Historic Preservation, as well as information gathered by members of the master-planning committee, can perhaps minimize negative impacts. The landscape architecture firms involved in the master-planning process, including Nelson Byrd Woltz and Hodgson Douglas, have expressed concern about the intrusion of secondary roads through the property, but what their exact recommendations will be is unknown at this date, as well as whether advocacy for sensitive preservation will cancel roadway construction plans. But it would seem that the park's open spaces, both agricultural and natural, still appear "developable," notwithstanding that the landscape has been much anticipated and touted as a new, large greenspace for Davidson County.

Keller and Keller point out that rural landscapes continue to be underrepresented in the National Register, as well as state registers.<sup>47</sup> Even the Tennessee Historical Commission admits that agricultural landscapes are not at the top of its list for state historic-site surveys, despite recognition that such locations are important and Tennessee residents have voiced an interest in preserving them.<sup>48</sup> Keller and Keller attribute a shortage of cultural landscapes in historic-resource surveys to such factors as lack of training for surveyors, and the physical demands of evaluating large properties, sometimes in remote locations.<sup>49</sup>

Despite the publication of and ready access to the *National Register Bulletin Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* beginning in the

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<sup>47</sup> Keller and Keller, *A Richer Heritage*, ed. Robert E. Stipe, 197.

<sup>48</sup> Tennessee Historical Commission, 15.

<sup>49</sup> Keller and Keller, *A Richer Heritage*, ed. Robert E. Stipe, 198.

late 1990s, National Register criteria, too, have created stumbling blocks for cultural and rural landscapes. The emphasis on “significance” and “integrity” implies stasis, an approach long applied to architecture, which can run counter to complex, evolving properties like farms, inherently layered with decades, or centuries, of change and adaptation. The Western perspective on historic preservation tends to stress “attention to stability, as opposed to change.”<sup>50</sup> But for rural and agricultural sites, point out cultural landscape specialists Arnold Alanen and Robert Melnick, “the landscape is both artifact and system... a product and a process.”<sup>51</sup> Professor of landscape architecture Nancy Rottle suggests utilizing an alternative assessment framework, balancing “continuity of use and retention of historical integrity,” taking into account the change over time inherent in agricultural sites.<sup>52</sup> Catherine Howett proposes applying the ecological concept of “integrity” to the systems as well as to the artifacts of cultural landscapes, “to describe a dynamic process over time rather than a static inventory.”<sup>53</sup> There is also a tendency to impose limited significance parameters and to decouple historic resources into “contributing” and “noncontributing” features, a concept that, too, is more applicable

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<sup>50</sup> Robert Z. Melnick, “Chapter One: Considering Nature and Culture in Historic Landscape Preservation,” in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, ed. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 22.

<sup>51</sup> Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, “Introduction: Why Cultural Landscape Preservation?,” in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, ed. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, 16.

<sup>52</sup> Nancy D. Rottle, “A Continuum and Process Framework for Rural Historic Landscape Preservation: Revisiting Ebey’s Landing on Whidby Island, Washington,” in *Cultural Landscapes*, ed. Richard Longstreth, 129-130, 136.

<sup>53</sup> Catherine Howett, “Chapter Eight: Integrity as a Value in Cultural Landscape Preservation,” in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, ed. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, 206.

to architecture than landscapes.<sup>54</sup> Landscape managers Maggie Roe and Ken Taylor go so far as to question whether a landscape has to be distinctive to be significant, proffering that sense of place can be a preservation-worthy characteristic.<sup>55</sup>

Another hindrance to preserving rural landscapes has been a bias towards architecture. Both the general public and preservation professionals tend to value singular built structures, usually houses and public buildings, over complex sites containing multiple features ranging from barns to fences to old farm roads.<sup>56</sup> A bias has also been applied specifically to rural architecture, often categorized, even dismissed, as “vernacular,” i.e., not designed by a qualified architect. Though early log homes, popularly associated with Tennessee history and often appropriated as a symbol of the state, do tend to excite interest (which might explain why the only Cane Ridge home on the National Register is built of logs). There has been a partiality to “exceptional” architecture over more common architectural styles as well.

The historic potential of the structures on the Moore farm, the houses, barns, and other outbuildings, has not gained universal recognition by park planners. Historic structures on park properties have also often been viewed as expensive to maintain. If the original antebellum homes that once stood on the Moore farm were extant, there would likely be less hesitation in assigning historic merit and preservation funding, since the interpretation of Tennessee history has traditionally been preoccupied with the

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<sup>54</sup> Keller and Keller, *A Richer Heritage*, ed. Robert E. Stipe, 199.

<sup>55</sup> Maggie Roe and Ken Taylor, “New Cultural Landscapes: Emerging Issues, Context and Themes,” in *New Cultural Landscapes*, ed. Maggie Roe and Ken Taylor (New York: Routledge, 2014), 15.

<sup>56</sup> Keller and Keller, *A Richer Heritage*, ed. Robert E. Stipe, 199.

antebellum period, the Civil War, and plantation life. Early and mid-twentieth-century houses, especially those belonging to middle-class and lower-income residents, have not always resonated as valuable sites with government officials or even the general public. However, the 1931 Moore bungalow does have potential for wider appreciation, with its substantial footprint and decorative elements, especially if interpretation is utilized to personalize the structure by associating it with the family who lived there. Many who have visited the house have felt an emotional connection, saying it reminds them of their grandparents' home. Being able to attribute the bungalow's design and construction to contractor Claude Woodall who once worked in the office of prominent Nashville architect George D. Waller should add credibility.<sup>57</sup> The commonality of style of the 1940s brick ranch house, previously the home of Evelyn Moore Sanford and her husband Joe Burns Sanford, could make for a more difficult argument (Figure 64). The number of similar relatively modest, twentieth-century homes throughout Cane Ridge invites a more thorough survey of the area, especially since homes built in the mid-twentieth century have now passed the National Register fifty-year milestone. Not surprisingly, community members have expressed surprise that such unpretentious buildings can be significant from a historical perspective.

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<sup>57</sup> As previously covered, found among the Moores' papers in the 1931 house was a contract dated July 1931 between John and Audrey Moore and the contracting firm of (Claude A.) Woodall and Stewart, for the construction of the Moores' bungalow.



Figure 64. Brick ranch house of Evelyn Moore Sanford, c. 1945.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

Several strategies can counter the preservation challenges facing rural landscapes. Laws and policies can control indiscriminate development, mitigate poor land-use planning, and provide landowners with viable preservation options. Advocacy and partnerships can give local communities a voice in protecting their historic resources. Engagement of stakeholders, from local residents to elected officials, can kindle grassroots preservation efforts.

Many property owners and communities might be unaware of all the possible legal tools available for protecting their historic structures, landscapes, and neighborhoods from development pressures. Since historic preservation is often associated with singular exceptional buildings and urban locations, rural residents likely do not realize that they, too, have several potential options. Tax breaks, zoning restrictions, grants and loans for rehabilitation projects, conservation easements, National Register designation, and selling or deeding property to a preservation organization might be familiar concepts to some Davidson County residents. Less well known could be such

stratagems as the National Register Historic District category, land swaps or “mitigation banking,” development rights transfers (also called purchase of development rights or PDR), Agricultural Security Areas (ASA, or Agricultural Protection Zoning), Urban Growth Boundaries, and privately managed revolving funds with protective covenants. Programs specifically for farms include the Century Farms program, managed by the Center for Historic Preservation, and the Tennessee Historical Commission’s “Historic Family Farms in Middle Tennessee,” which has a Multiple Property Submission category. As Nancy Rottle suggests, the best way to counteract development pressure and sprawl is with a combination of strategies that includes “both controls and incentives.”<sup>58</sup> But Megan Bellue stresses, “rural preservation does not work when it is done piecemeal. It must be integrated into land use laws and supported by policies at all levels of government.”<sup>59</sup>

State and metropolitan laws and preservation programs vary from place to place, and not all options exist in every location, but it is worthwhile for property owners and community groups, like those in Cane Ridge, to investigate the possibilities. Struggling to hold onto properties in the face of issues like high estate and inheritance taxes, maintenance costs, and diminishing farm income, or selling to developers are not necessarily the only choices. TACIR suggests five specific strategies for preservation of rural landscapes and farms in Tennessee: selling to an entity that will protect the property in perpetuity, conservation easement, transfer of development rights, agricultural zoning, and the Greenbelt Law, which offers landowners special considerations for managing

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<sup>58</sup> Rottle, *Cultural Landscapes*, ed. Richard Longstreth, 134.

<sup>59</sup> Bellue, *Smart States, Better Communities*, ed. Constance E. Beaumont, 180.

large open tracts.<sup>60</sup> In 2012 the Tennessee Historical Commission published a long-range planning document that outlines the state's historic preservation programs and the THC's goals through 2018, which is a useful reference for any individual or group pursuing protection of their historic resources.<sup>61</sup>

Some of these strategies are already in place at Southeast Park and Cane Ridge. Mary Moore opted to protect her family farm via a conservation easement under ownership of Metro Parks; this intact agricultural landscape will serve as the linchpin of Southeast Park.<sup>62</sup> Owners of other parcels now incorporated into Southeast Park chose to sell directly to Metro Parks, several of them agreeing to prices below market value. As previously mentioned, two properties in Cane Ridge are currently listed on the National Register, with a number of others potentially qualifying for nomination. The community should also explore designation as a National Register Historic District or a Multiple Property Submission through the THC. Preservation-minded residents of the Cane Ridge community have only just begun to research all their options and to seek advice from such organizations as the Metro Historical Commission, the Land Trust for Tennessee, and the Center for Historic Preservation.

To successfully push for protection and sensitive management of historic resources and rural open space also requires advocacy by state and local officials,

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<sup>60</sup> Thurman and Terry, 53-54.

<sup>61</sup> "A Future for the Past: A Comprehensive Plan for Historic Preservation in Tennessee, Tennessee Historical Commission, 2013-2018" can be found on the following website: [tn.gov/assets/entities/environment/.../thc\\_historic-preservation-plan.pdf](http://tn.gov/assets/entities/environment/.../thc_historic-preservation-plan.pdf).

<sup>62</sup> Another conservation-easement success story in Nashville is Glen Leven Farm, managed by the Land Trust for Tennessee (see [landtrusttn.org/glen-leven](http://landtrusttn.org/glen-leven)).

community leaders, and preservation organizations. As Constance Beaumont points out, laws work best, or only, when preservation advocates are actively involved and community members are vocal.<sup>63</sup> Effective advocacy can come from a variety of sources, from government representatives and official entities, to individual citizens, to preservation organizations such as the Center. The vision for the ambitious Davidson County master plan, Plan to Play, which fostered the creation of Southeast Park, is largely that of Mayor Karl Dean (2007-2015). Several District Council representatives have played a role in the development of the park as well, though with differing agendas and varying degrees of interest in historic preservation and interpretation. A representative of the non-profit Joe C. Davis Foundation championed the preservation of the Moore farm and served as a negotiator for transfer of the property to Metro Parks. The current president of the Cane Ridge Community Club, Twana Chick, persists in her efforts to motivate other members of the community to care about preservation, at monthly meetings and through phone calls and fieldwork. She has also included a district councilman on exploratory excursions into the landscape to witness firsthand the evidence of historic resources worth protecting (Figure 65). The councilman, Fabian Bedne, has become an enthusiastic supporter of preserving the landscape and history of Cane Ridge, and is currently seeking ways to promote such efforts through government processes.

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<sup>63</sup> Beaumont, 55.



Figure 65. Fieldwork by Cane Ridge community members.  
*From left:* Brant Miller, retired forester; Twana Chick, President of the Cane Ridge Community Club; and Fabian Bedne, District 31 Council Member.  
 Photo by Jenny Andrews.

One person can indeed make a difference, but there is power in partnerships. The Tennessee Historical Commission asserts that joint initiatives will continue to be key to successful preservation efforts in Tennessee.<sup>64</sup> Megan Bellue points out that public-private collaborations in particular can be critical to the process.<sup>65</sup> In Middle Tennessee several preservation groups have regularly collaborated on projects, including the Tennessee Historical Commission, Metro Historical Commission, the Land Trust for Tennessee, and the Center for Historic Preservation. Meetings scheduled for summer 2017 will bring together representatives of the Center, the Land Trust, the Cane Ridge community, Metro Parks, and the Metro Historical Commission to inform a preservation

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<sup>64</sup> Tennessee Historical Commission, 7.

<sup>65</sup> Bellue, *Smart States, Better Communities*, ed. Constance E. Beaumont, 164.

plan for Cane Ridge in advance of further development projects, including the imminent construction of a 341,000-square-foot Ikea store in the Century Farms complex.<sup>66</sup>

Former director of the National Trust’s Midwest Regional Office, James Mann, suggests partnering first with traditional allies, but also pursuing “non-traditional” ones.<sup>67</sup> An integrated approach can include representatives from historic preservation, recreation, natural resources, wildlife protection, farm retention, and tourism, all of which contribute to the protection and management of Tennessee’s resources. Bellue quotes Samuel Stokes, author of *Saving America’s Countryside*, as saying, “Seemingly different concerns are often, in fact, closely linked.”<sup>68</sup> As Robert Stipe counsels, “we must blend our individual concerns to form stronger institutional and political alliances,” adding that, “our special concerns can only be strengthened by learning what we can from the wider spectrum of rural interests.”<sup>69</sup>

As relates to protecting open spaces and rural landscapes, a national nature-culture divide has been longstanding, so some seemingly obvious partnerships, such as between historic preservationists and nature conservationists, have not always occurred. For decades preservationists have promoted bridging that gap, and, indeed the concept of a cultural landscape, which blends architecture and interstitial spaces, tangibles and

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<sup>66</sup> Joey Garrison, “Ikea Announces Opening Date for Nashville Store, and the Countdown Begins,” *The Nashville Tennessean*, May 25, 2017, accessed June 7, 2017.

<sup>67</sup> Mann, *Smart States, Better Communities*, ed. Constance E. Beaumont, 358.

<sup>68</sup> Samuel N. Stokes, *Saving America’s Countryside* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 3-4, quoted in Megan K. Bellue, “Chapter 6: Rural Preservation,” in *Smart States, Better Communities*, ed. Constance E. Beaumont, 163.

<sup>69</sup> Stipe, “Rural Preservation: A Perspective and a Challenge,” in *New Directions in Rural Preservation*, ed. Robert E. Stipe, 21.

intangibles, history and nature, provides a meeting ground for multiple interests and fields. Former Department of the Interior official Robert Herbst points out that the two groups intrinsically have much in common: “We live in a world where all of our roots are important—those that ground us in the natural world from which we grew, and those that bind us to our cultural heritage—the peculiarly human events that have brought us this far together. Both sets of roots are endangered today.”<sup>70</sup>



Figure 66. Native species in Southeast Park.  
 Left: Sweet Betsy (*Trillium cuneatum*). Right: Box turtle (*Terrapene carolina*).  
 Photos by Jenny Andrews.

In Davidson County there are strong examples of nature and history being collaboratively managed, as in the Warner Parks, a tandem public space with dual interests in historical and ecological resources.<sup>71</sup> Metro Parks has also made efforts to combine history, nature, and recreation at other sites, such as Stone Hall and Two Rivers

<sup>70</sup> Robert L. Herbst, “Chapter 1: Federal Initiatives in Rural Preservation,” in *New Directions in Rural Preservation*, ed. Robert E. Stipe, 6.

<sup>71</sup> Leland R. Johnson, *The Parks of Nashville*, 180.

Park. Southeast Park will serve this triple function as well. The master-planning committee has met and toured the site multiple times with both historic preservationists and naturalists (Figure 66). The committee's recommendations probably will reflect this multi-disciplinary input, although it is unknown how Metro Parks will decide to incorporate such information, or balance the three functions of the park.

The creation of Southeast Park has indeed been a team effort, involving several levels of local government, Metro Parks, the Joe C. Davis Foundation, the Center for Historic Preservation, the Conservation Fund, multiple landowners, and a master-plan committee composed of local and out-of-state organizations, including three landscape architecture firms. While Metro Parks manages other historic properties, representatives working on Southeast Park engaged the Center early in the process to lend expertise and guidance. The project goals of the Center were to provide in-depth research on the site's history, a detailed assessment of the historic resources, and interpretation recommendations.<sup>72</sup> To accomplish these tasks, the Center organized its own team, which included Center director and state historian Dr. Carroll Van West, the Center's fieldwork coordinator, the author of this thesis, graduate research assistants, and a class of MTSU Public History graduate students.

During the course of research and fieldwork, local individuals have continued to come forward with stories of family members, neighbors, events, structures, patterns of local farm life, and the locations of potentially significant sites, from ruins to old road beds to grave markers. Communication with current and former residents of the

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<sup>72</sup> Emails between Shain Dennison of Metro Parks, and Dr. Carroll Van West of the Center for Historic Preservation, "Potential Project in Antioch," October 14, 2015.

community, often with ancestral ties dating back a century or more, has revealed a rich store of knowledge and shared memories, generally untapped in any systematic way since the 1973 publication *Historic Cane Ridge and Its Families*. Persistent outreach by the author of this thesis, including a formal presentation given to the Cane Ridge Community Club on the Moore Farm, Southeast Park, and Cane Ridge, has generated increasing enthusiasm within the community for discovering, documenting, and preserving the local history. This response bodes well for sustained civic engagement in Cane Ridge. Such grassroots efforts are another key strategy for successful preservation. The sustained protection of cultural landscapes, notes Jocelyn Widmer, hinges on the commitment of local residents.<sup>73</sup> An involved, vocal community can influence city-council decisions, and even impact law making.<sup>74</sup>

The development of a new local park that has as one of its goals the interpretation of local and regional history has served as a catalyst for the community. The presence of an engaged public historian has provided a useful conduit, a medium for accumulating and transmitting information. As community members have interacted with each other, there has also been synergy, as one memory prompts another. Individual community members are beginning to see themselves as part of a team with a common interest in appreciating and saving their cultural landscape. For residents of Cane Ridge, past,

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<sup>73</sup> Jocelyn M. Widmer, "Heritage and Identity: Nesting Intuitive Stewardship within the Management Strategies for World Heritage Sites," in *World Heritage and National Registers: Stewardship in Perspective*, ed. Thomas Gensheimer and Celeste Lovette Guichard (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2014), 152.

<sup>74</sup> Bill Schmickle, *Preservation Politics: Keeping Historic Districts Vital* (New York: AltaMira Press, 2012), 19; Thomas F. King, *Cultural Resource Laws & Practice* (New York: AltaMira Press, 2008), 355.

present, and future, Southeast Park can potentially be a resource for further exploring and understanding the local heritage, and an outlet through which to share it.

Education is certainly the most compelling means of energizing the public about history and of building consensus for preservation. As Edward Sanderson puts it, “People have to know about their heritage to care about it.”<sup>75</sup> The Tennessee Historical Commission indeed considers education a priority.<sup>76</sup> Providing recommendations to Metro Parks on the educational and interpretive potential has been a primary objective for the Center for Historic Preservation in the Moore Farm-Southeast Park project. In addition to the 2016 “Draft Assessment and Recommendations,” a second publication entitled “Moore Farm and Southeast Park: Heritage Development Report” was completed in spring 2017, summarizing the Center’s research and narrating multiple aspects of the area’s layered history.<sup>77</sup> This publication is intended to furnish Metro Parks and members of the master-planning committee with a solid grounding in the park’s specific and contextual history in order to encourage a sensitive plan for the physical layout of the park and effective incorporation of the historical narrative into the site’s interpretation. The report will also serve as a preservation tool, showcasing Southeast Park as an example of regional historic preservation and interpretation potential, particularly for rural locations.

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<sup>75</sup> Edward F. Sanderson, “Chapter 8: A Case Study from Rhode Island,” in *Smart States, Better Communities*, ed. Constance E. Beaumont, 207.

<sup>76</sup> Tennessee Historical Commission, 38.

<sup>77</sup> MTSU Center for Historic Preservation, “Moore Farm and Southeast Park, Nashville, Tennessee (Davidson County): Heritage Development Report,” Spring 2017.

Another education/interpretation vector created by the Center is an online Story Map related to the Moore farm, Southeast Park, and Cane Ridge, which communicates extensive contextual information and identifies a host of individual locations—houses, cemeteries, schools, churches, roads, and other artifacts—that contribute to the area’s historic fabric.<sup>78</sup> The bird’s-eye view of the landscape, populated with a multitude of historic sites, is an affecting visual that conveys at a glance the number of resources still evident in Cane Ridge, and illustrates the urgent need for preservation efforts.

The Moore document collection, too, has potential as a valuable resource for educational purposes, from academic research to public exploration, whether as a physical or an online archive, or both. In a deed of gift accomplished in spring 2017, Metro Parks and Mary Moore granted ownership of the archival materials to MTSU’s Albert Gore Research Center, where the collection will be protectively stored and made available for future investigation. Several members of the Cane Ridge community have already indicated they possess documents, photos, maps, and other materials that could contribute to this collection, and shown a willingness to loan items for scanning. A dynamic archival collection with this wider scope could cultivate increased interest and participation by the Cane Ridge community in preserving its historic landscape, and even encourage other communities to care about, and investigate, their own local histories.

Southeast Park holds promise as an effective model of public land management, if Metro Parks succeeds in taking a conscientious approach to blending culture, nature, and recreation. As greenways specialist Robert Searns suggests, there is a need for

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<sup>78</sup> “Moore Farm/Southeast Park Historic Interpretation,” [storymaps.arcgis.com](http://storymaps.arcgis.com).

“outstanding demonstration projects and successful local models.”<sup>79</sup> While accepting that as a public park with multiple roles Southeast Park will not be preserved unaltered, and that the master-planning team will recommend various manipulations of the site for aesthetic and functional purposes, nevertheless its rarity as a large rural landscape with a complex history should advocate for as much protection of its intrinsic character as possible. The relationship between buildings, artifacts, fields, and woods is a crucial part of the site’s identity, and lends “readability” to the cultural landscape for the public (Figure 67).<sup>80</sup> All components in such a rural setting, including the open spaces, are part of what Bellue calls “the ‘soul’ of the countryside.”<sup>81</sup>

The park also has the potential to serve as a model of interpretation, incorporating a variety of communication methods to reach diverse audiences, such as wayside signs, printed brochures, tours, museum displays, living history activities, and digital platforms. The richness of the site’s cultural landscape, due in large part to the presence of the Moore farm, and the scope of historical information assembled by the Center and by master-planning committee members represent exceptional resources for Metro Parks. This wealth of material should enable Metro Parks to craft an engaging, nuanced educational and interpretive program that invites the public to learn about rural life in the region, and the real people who lived and worked in the community across two centuries.

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<sup>79</sup> Robert M. Searns, “The Evolution of Greenways as an Adaptive Urban Landscape Form,” in *Greenways*, ed. Julius Gy. Fabos and Jack Ahern, 75.

<sup>80</sup> Thomas G. Yahner, Neil Korostoff, Timothy P. Johnson, A. Mark Battaglia, and Daniel R. Jones, “Cultural Landscapes and Landscape Ecology in Contemporary Greenway Planning, Design and Management: A Case Study,” in *Greenways*, ed. Julius Gy. Fabos and Jack Ahern, 308.

<sup>81</sup> Bellue, *Smart States, Better Communities*, ed. Constance E. Beaumont, 163.



Figure 67. Cultural landscape of Southeast Park, 2017.  
Photo by Jenny Andrews.

Preservation activity generated by a singular site or issue, which flares then fades, is a typical pattern for preservation groups. Sustained effort and participation can be difficult to achieve, especially if participants have other obligations. Though contingent on Metro Parks' treatment and protection of Southeast Park's cultural landscape, and the incorporation of historical narrative into its form and function, the park could serve as encouragement and inspiration for the Cane Ridge community to expand and maintain its preservation efforts. The value Metro Parks places on Southeast Park's history and the nature of its presentation can have significant impacts on a wider audience as well, by educating visitors, both residents and tourists, about a depth and range of local, regional, and state history largely unexplored at other historic sites in Tennessee.

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Tennessee, District 2.

----- Federal Census 1910: Population Schedule. Rutherford County,  
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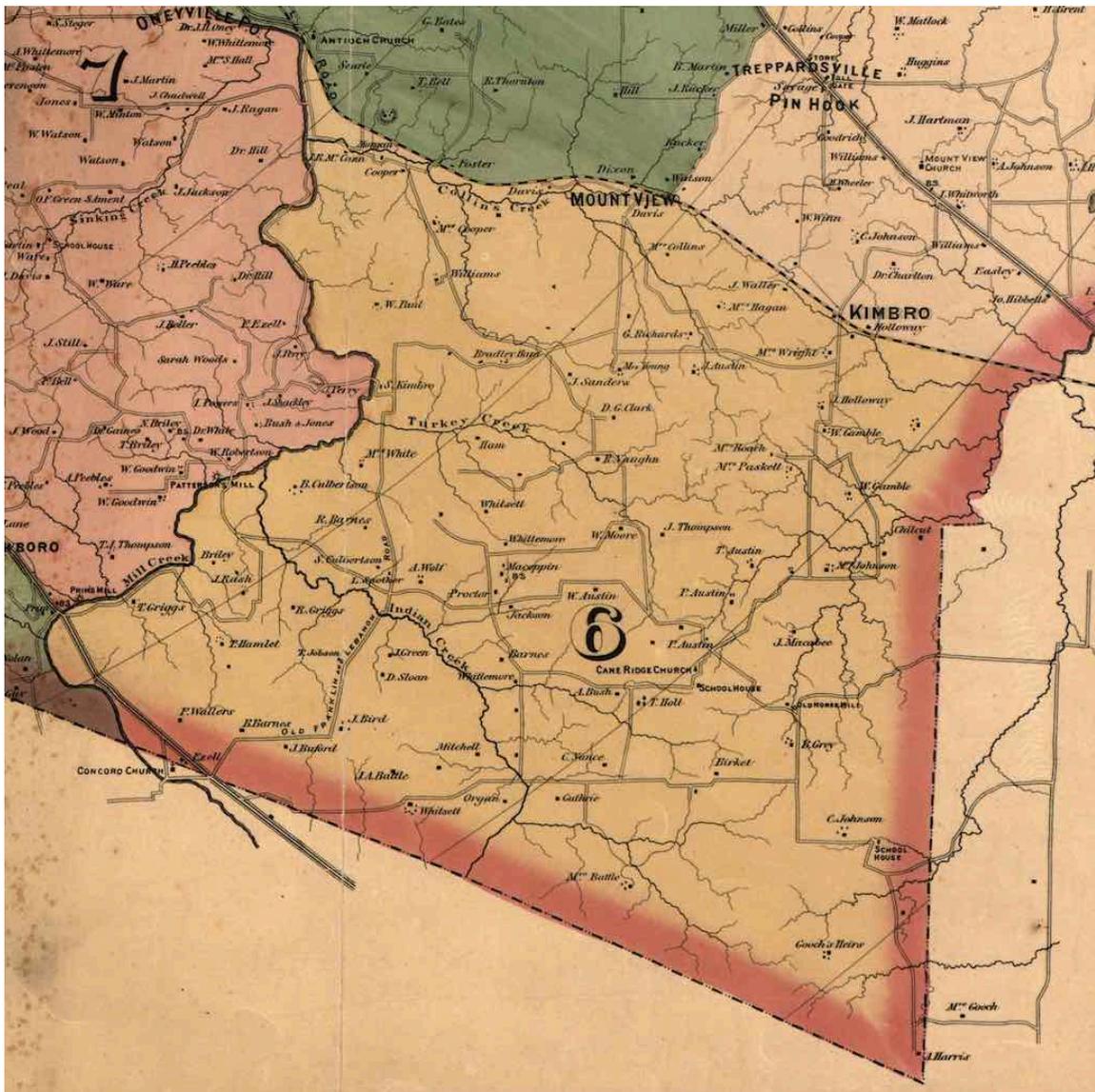
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APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A: MAPS

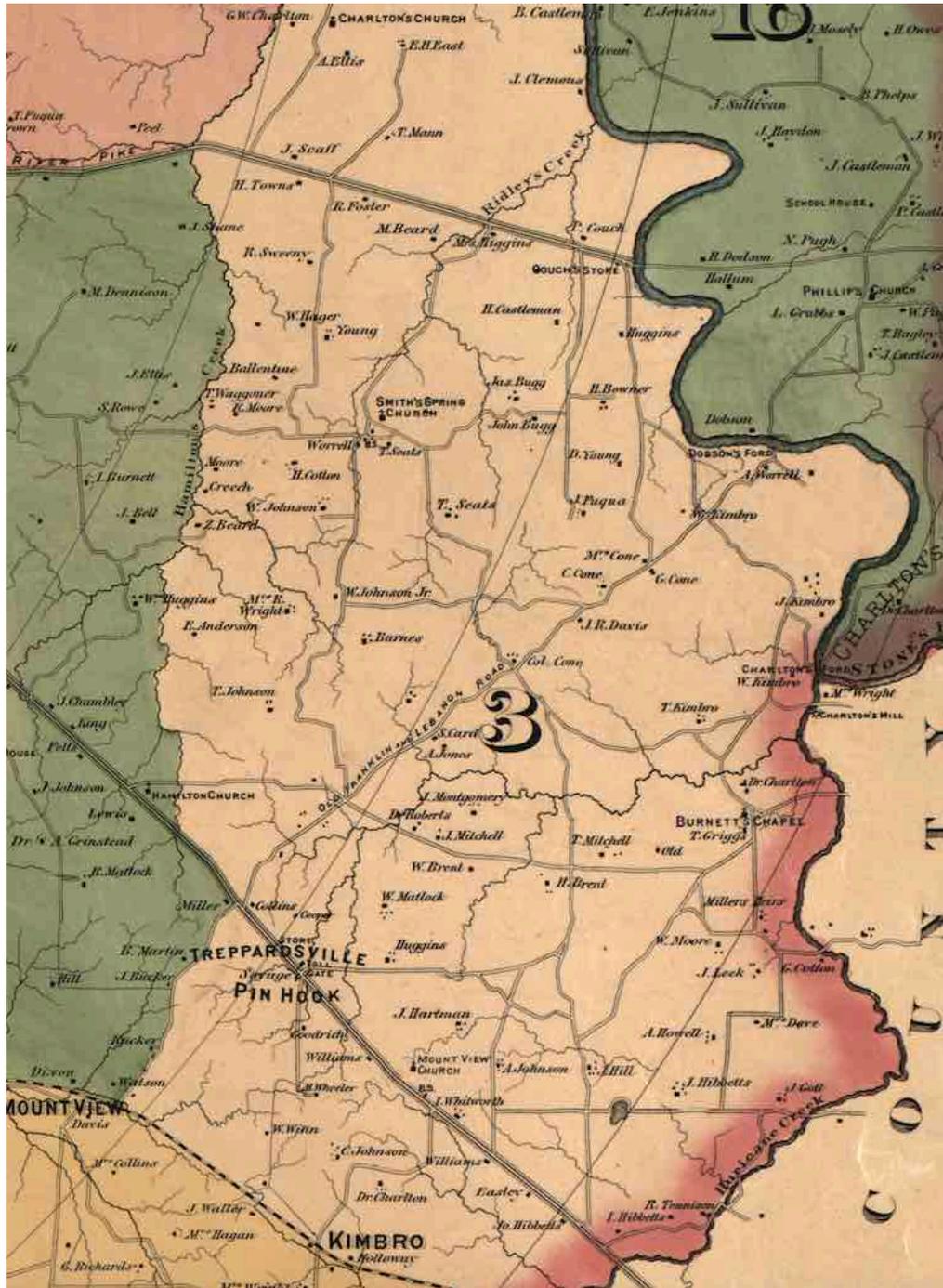


### Wilbur F. Foster Map of Davidson County, Tennessee, District 6 (1871)

“W. Moore” marks a house site approximately in the center of the map.

This was likely the home of William Green Moore and his wife Amanda Johnston Moore. They are listed in District 6 census records for 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880. In 1858 William Green Moore purchased 61 acres from James Thompson. On the map, “J. Thompson” marks a home site to the right of “W. Moore.” Neighbors of the Moore property, listed in the deed, were Thompson, William Austin, and Jesse Roach.

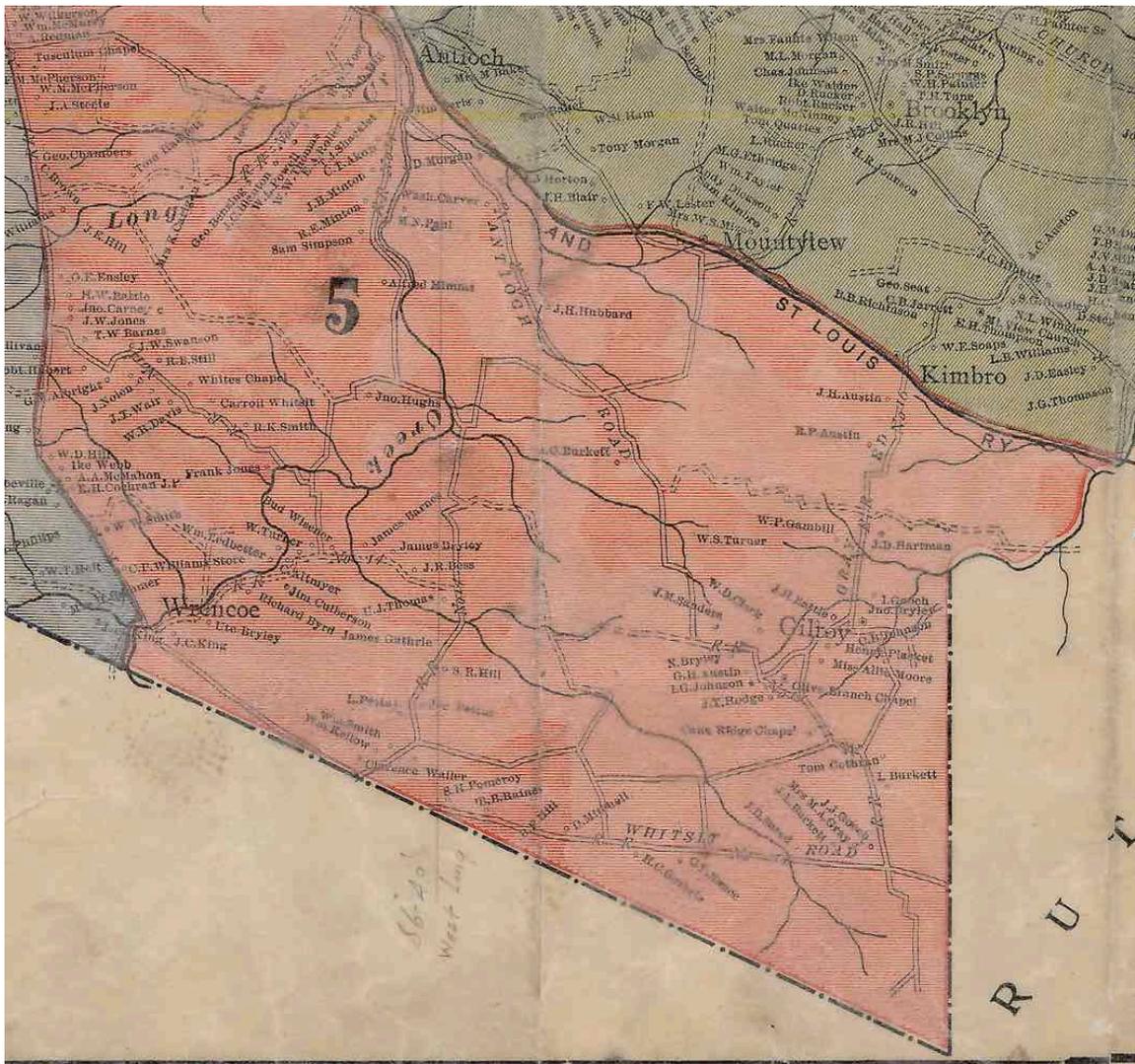
*Source:* Library of Congress, loc.gov.



### Wilbur F. Foster Map of Davidson County, Tennessee, District 3 (1871)

“W. Moore” marks a house site at right, below “Burnett’s Chapel.”  
 This was likely the home of William and Elizabeth Moore, who are recorded in the 1850 census in District 3; William and his son Henry are listed in District 3 in 1870.

Source: Library of Congress, loc.gov.



### E.M. Gardner Map of Davidson County, Tennessee, District 5 (1907)

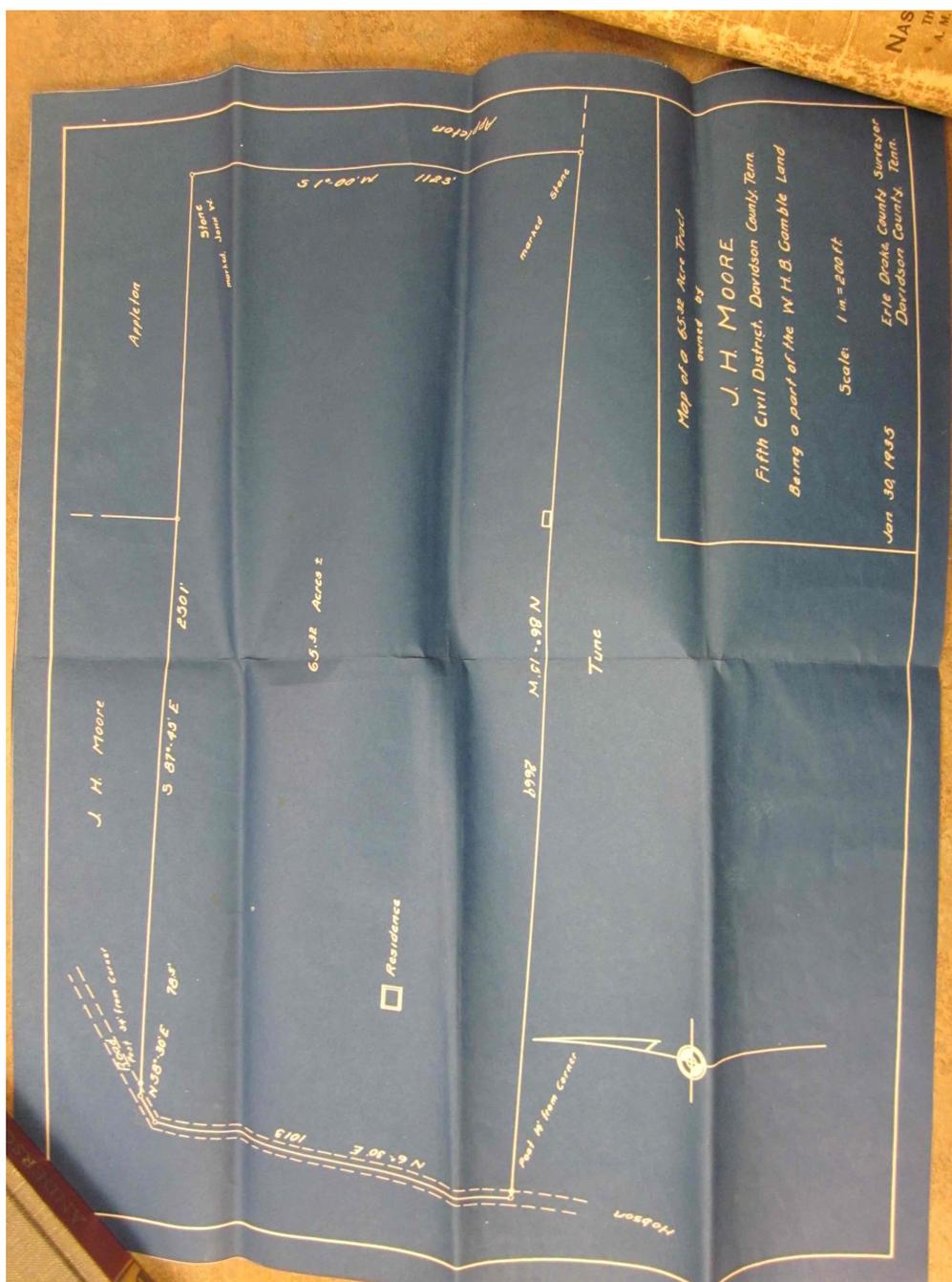
The homes of “Miss Allie Moore” and “I. (Isaac) Gooch” are marked at far right, near the post office location of “Gilroy.” Above Gooch is “J.D. Hartman,” the husband of Nora Moore Hartman, William Henry Moore’s daughter by his second wife. William Henry acquired the Gambill property in 1894, after which Nora and James Hartman lived in the old Gambill house. “B.P. (Baylee Peyton) Austin” might mark the location of the Holloway house and later the Moore bungalow house.

*Source:* Tennessee Virtual Archive, Tennessee State Library and Archives.



### Parcels of James Holloway Land (1916)

Found among documents in the Moore house. Adjacent property belonging to "W.H. (William Henry) Moore" is indicated below parcel "A." Parcels A, B, D, and other sections were acquired by John Henry Moore in 1919. "Wright" refers to John Wright, an early landholder in the area whose log home was not far from the railroad line; the ruins are still visible in the landscape. The Wright-Chadwell cemetery is within Southeast Park, near Cane Ridge High School. "Public Road" is Old Hickory Blvd.  
 Source: Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.



### Gambill Property Owned by John Henry Moore (1935)

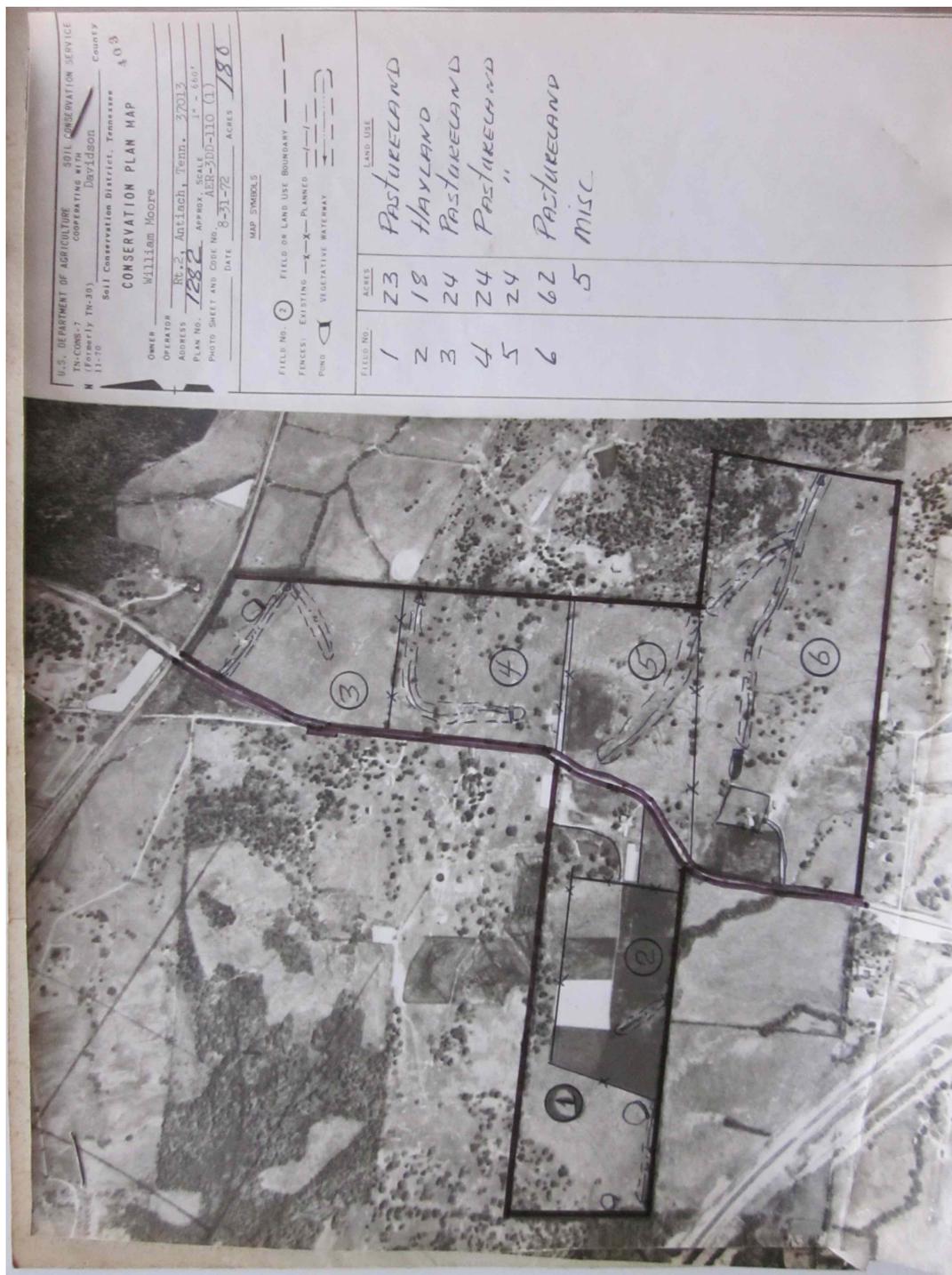
“Hobson” is an old name for Old Hickory Blvd. “Residence” is the Gambill home site.

“Tune” is the last name of a neighboring family who sold land now occupied by businesses associated with the Interstate 24 interchange at Old Hickory Blvd.

Source: Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.







**Conservation Plan Map of Moore Farm (1972)**

Issued by the USDA Soil Conservation Service, sent to William (Bill) Moore.  
 Source: Moore Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.