# Historic Preservation and Nashville's Historic Cleveland Park Neighborhood

By

Meredith Funderburk

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master's of Public History

Middle Tennessee State University

August, 2022

Thesis Committee

Dr. Van West, Chair

Dr. Louis Kyriakoudes

**ABSTRACT**

This thesis discusses the Cleveland Park neighborhood, located in Northeast Nashville. The first chapter gives a history of the neighborhood, which began as a streetcar suburb in the late 19th century. As white flight occurred in the late 20th century, Cleveland Park became predominantly African American, and is currently experiencing gentrification. The second chapter examines the architecture of the neighborhood, which I conducted a survey of in the summer of 2021. The third chapter discusses the rise of gentrification in the neighborhood.

**Table of Contents**

**List of Figures**

## Introduction

In the summer of 2021, I conducted an architectural resource survey of Nashville's Cleveland Park neighborhood, located in northeast Nashville. The survey occurred because some residents of Cleveland Park became interested in a historic zoning overlay for the neighborhood, likely as a reaction to the announcement in April of 2021 that software company Oracle is planning to construct 62-acre, $1.2 billion campus on the east bank of the Cumberland River, across Dickerson Pike and the interstate from Cleveland Park.[1] The new campus will be Oracle's second headquarters, the first located in Austin, Texas, and would bring about 8,500 jobs to the city with an average expected salary of $110,000.[2] In addition to the new office complex, Oracle has pledged to provide $175 million to make improvements to the surrounding area,

[1] Yihyun Jeong, "Software giant Oracle wants new $1.2B office hub on River North," *The Tennessean,* April 15. 2021, A1, A16.
[2] *Ibid.*

including a pedestrian bridge connecting Germantown to East Nashville and a new park.[3]

Oracle's arrival to the area will likely change both the physical and demographic character of Cleveland Park, a predominantly African American working class neighborhood that began as a streetcar suburb in the late 19th century and consists primarily of modest homes built before the mid-20th century. Since Cleveland Park is the closest residential area to the future Oracle campus, many Oracle employees will doubtlessly want to live in the neighborhood. Current residents already face pressure to sell their homes to developers, and this pressure will only increase as the more affluent Oracle employees show interest in Cleveland Park. While developers may choose to simply renovate some of these historic homes, many will likely choose to demolish the older houses and build larger, more modern-looking single-family houses. As property values, and therefore property taxes, continue to increase in Cleveland Park, lower-income residents will be driven out of the neighborhood, continuing a trend that began in the mid-2010s. The Oracle campus will most likely bring increased gentrification to Cleveland Park, and the neighborhood's population will become increasingly white and wealthy as older residents are displaced.

Although Cleveland Park has been part of Nashville since the late nineteenth century, it has never been surveyed for its historic resources. Studies of Nashville's history usually focus on sections of the city to the west of the Cumberland River. When

[3] *Ibid.*

they do touch on East Nashville they mostly discuss the section that was once the independent and wealthy city of Edgefield. Cleveland Park, which has sometimes been referred to as North Edgefield or Northeast Nashville, is not directly mentioned in any of the secondary sources I examined, including Bobby L. Lovett's *The African American History of Nashville, Tennessee, 1780-1930,* James A. Hoobler's *A Guide to Historic Nashville Tennessee,* and Rachel Louise Martin's *Hot, Hot Chicken: A Nashville Story*. Don H. Doyle's two-part study of Nashville's history does tangentially mention the area that is now Cleveland Park, mentioning that it included a Black district that had grown out of the Crappy Shoot neighborhood north of East Nashville's Main Street.[4]

In my research I found two secondary sources that specifically focused on Cleveland Park, although both have limitations in sources and analysis. One source is the book *North Edgefield Remembered* by C. William McKee.[5] This book was helpful for researching the histories of some neighborhood churches, but it is not really a scholarly source and it is heavily focused on Cleveland Park's white population. Another text that focuses on Cleveland Park is the MTSU Center for Historic Preservation's driving tour brochure, "Places, Spaces, and Voices: Northeast Nashville's Historic African American Community." While this source does provide a brief overview of the area's history and points out several important buildings, it is only a brochure and therefore does not go

[4] Don H Doyle, *Nashville Since 1920*, (Knoxville: University of Knoxville Press, 1985), 230.
[5] C. William McKee, *North Edgefield Remembered: Stories of a Nashville Neighborhood*, (Franklin, Tennessee: Vaughan Printing Company, 2008).

very in depth on Cleveland Park's history.[6] This thesis is the first detailed study of the history of Cleveland Park, as well as the first study of the neighborhood's architecture.

There are a few reasons why Cleveland Park has never been studied. First, the neighborhood has never had any large institutions like universities, schools, banks, or large businesses which would have brought attention to the area. As I discuss in the second chapter, the vast majority of Cleveland Park's built environment is made up of single-family residences, along with a few churches and small businesses. Because the neighborhood has always been a mostly residential area, there have not been many events there of city-wide importance. Another reason why Cleveland Park has not been studied is that it is a historically working-class neighborhood and, since the 1970s, it has been predominantly African American. Historical accounts usually focus on the wealthy and powerful, and Cleveland Park has never been a place where the wealthy and powerful have lived, worked, or visited. Relatedly, because of its working-class character, Cleveland Park does not have many large, architecturally impressive buildings which would garner attention from architectural historians. For example, the book *Nashville Architecture: A Guide to the City* only mentions the McGavock house when discussing the area around Cleveland Park.[7]

[6] Dr. Carroll Van West and Denise Gallagher, *Places, Spaces, and Voices: Northeast Nashville's Historic African American Community*, (MTSU Center for Historic Preservation), 2016.
[7] Carroll Van West, *Nashville Architecture: A Guide to the City,* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2015).

In recent years, gentrification has threatened Cleveland Park. This threat has brought some attention to the neighborhood's historical significance, and it has been included on Historic Nashville Inc.'s Nashville Nine list of endangered historic places twice in the past six years; once in 2016 and once in 2018. In the third chapter I provide an overview of how gentrification has progressed in Cleveland Park. Cleveland Park has long been overlooked because it has historically been a working class area, with few places or people that would be considered historically significant. This thesis is the first in-depth study of the neighborhood and demonstrates that Cleveland Park is in fact historically and architecturally significant. The neighborhood is a good example of an intact streetcar suburb, and it demonstrates how transportation developments like streetcar lines and widespread automobile ownership affected Nashville's growth. Additionally, the construction of Cleveland Street Park in 1962 serves as an example of the damage done to Black communities by urban renewal projects in the 1960s. Aside from the destruction of Jefferson Street's Black business district to create I-40, few examples of urban renewal's effects in Nashville have been studied.

## Chapter One: A History of Cleveland Park


*(Figure 1.1) Current map of Cleveland Park.*[8]

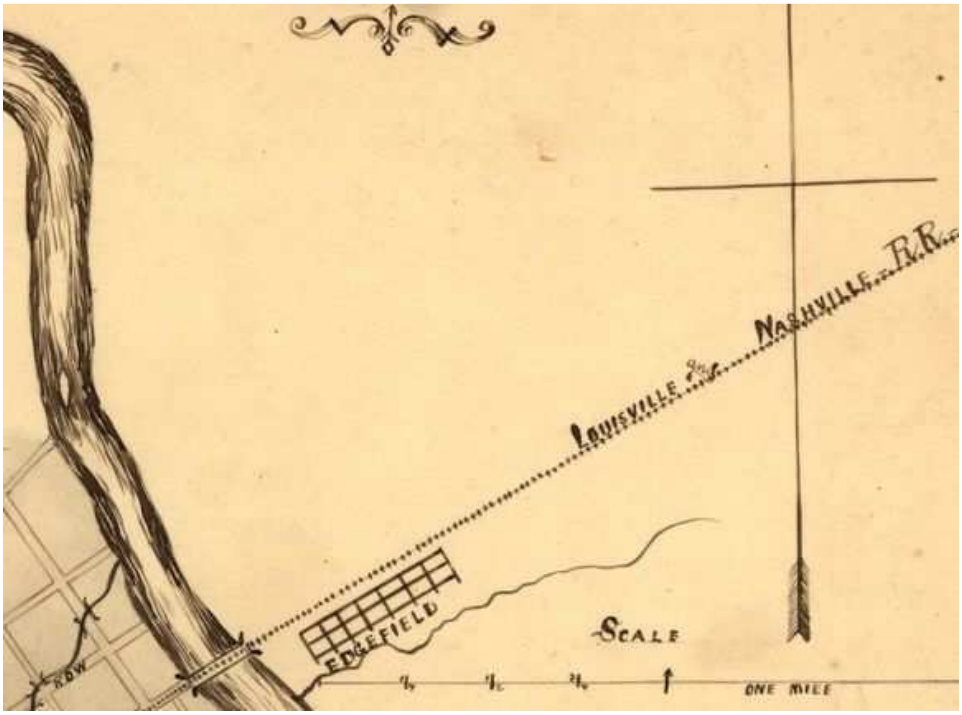
White settlement in the neighborhood now known as Cleveland Park began in 1785 when David McGavock acquired a 640-acre plot of land that included the present-day neighborhood.[9] At some point, David McGavock split his property in half and gave 320 acres to each of his two sons, James and John. Cleveland Park is located within the property given to James McGavock, who constructed the still extant McGavock house on his property sometime around 1840.[10] Throughout most of the nineteenth century,

[8] Google Maps, "Cleveland Park," https://www.google.com/maps/place/Cleveland+Park,+Nashville,+TN/@36.1898708,-86.7715859,15z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x8864679507a5fde5:0xd54e2a4c2a5582b7!8m2!3d36.189676!4d-86.7642624!5m2!1e4!1e2

[9] Cleveland Park was not commonly known by that name until after the creation of Cleveland Street Park in the 1960s. However, I will refer to it as Cleveland Park in this paper. The area included in Cleveland Park for the purpose of this paper is bounded by Douglas Avenue to the north, Cleveland Street to the south, North 1st Street to the west, and the Louisville and Nashville Railroad line to the east.

[10] Lauren Nickas, Elizabeth Moore, and Carroll Van West. "McGavock-Gatewood-Webb House," *National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (*Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 2007).

the McGavock property remained largely undeveloped. An 1863 map of Nashville shows little settlement on the East side of the Cumberland river, aside from a small grid of streets that made up early Edgefield. The area where the neighborhoods of Cleveland Park and McFerrin Park are currently located is completely blank, except for the Louisville and Nashville railroad line that would come to mark the neighborhoods' eastern boundaries.




*(Figure 1.2) East Nashville in 1863.*[11]

After James McGavock's death in 1841, his estate passed through his descendants, who gradually sold off parts of the property to incoming residents. The area that would become Cleveland Park developed more slowly than other sections of east Nashville over the second half of the nineteenth century. While nearby Edgefield

[11] G.H. Blakeslee, *Nashville—Tenn. And vicinity.* 1863. Map. https://www.log.gov/item/2003630454.

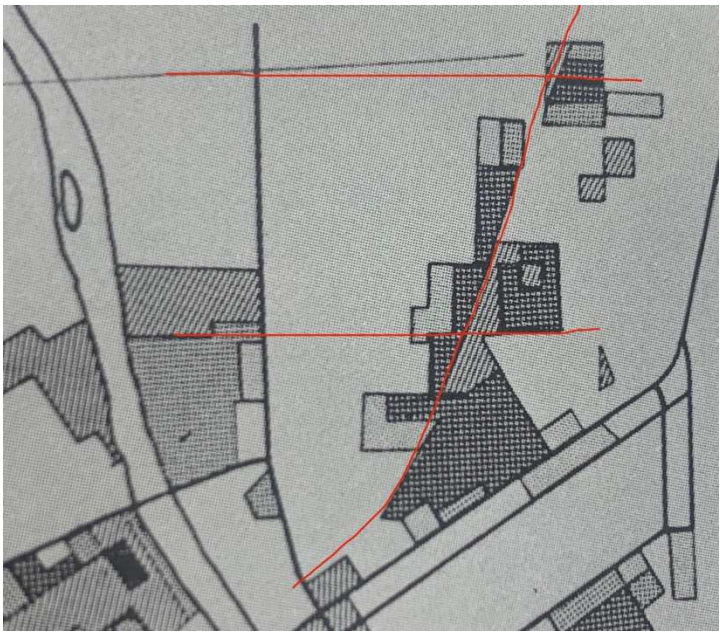
grew enough to incorporate as its own city in 1869, Cleveland Park remained on the outskirts of settlement. An 1877 map shows that by that year Cleveland Park lay slightly outside the boundaries of Edgefield, although the area did have two of its present-day streets in place by this time: Lischey and Meridian. Laid in 1871, Meridian Street was the first street in the neighborhood. The street passed by the McGavock house, close enough that the property's current address is 901 Meridian Street. By 1877 Lischey Avenue had also been constructed, although in this map it is called Lishey, and was later changed to North 4th Street before finally becoming Lischey Avenue.


*(Figure 1.3) 1877, boundary of Edgefield shown in red. Runs along present-day Berry Street.*[12]

[12] Wilbur F. Foster, *Map of the city of Nashville and vicinity.* [S.I.: s.n, 1877] Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/2011590011.

It is possible that some of the earliest residents in Cleveland Park, aside from the McGavock family, may have been formerly enslaved African Americans. During the Civil War the Union Army established a camp for runaway enslaved in Edgefield, which centered around the Louisville and Nashville Railroad line.[13] While there is not an exact map of the camp, it would make sense for Cleveland Park's African American section to have been part of the camp. As early as information is available, Cleveland Park's African American population has always been located in the southeast corner of the neighborhood, which is bordered by the L&N railroad line.[14] Additionally, a map of residential segregation in Nashville in 1940 shows that Cleveland Park's African American section is part of a larger area of African American settlement in East Nashville, which likely developed from the Edgefield contraband camp.[15]

[13] Bobby L Lovett, *The African-American History of Nashville, Tennessee, 1780-1930* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999), 75-76, 80.
[14] U.S. Census Bureau, 1900.
[15] Don H. Doyle, *Nashville in the New South: 1880-1930,* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 231.



*(Figure 1.4) Cleveland Park in 1940. I have added the L&N railroad line, Cleveland Street, and Douglas Avenue in red. The darkest shading indicates areas that are 75-100% non-white, medium shading indicates areas that are 50-74.9% non-white, the lightest shading indicates areas that are 30-49.9% non-white. The diagonally striped section near the intersection of the L&N line and Cleveland Street means that for that area data was "suppressed or not reported."*[16]

After having been mostly undeveloped for nearly fifty years, Cleveland Park began to grow in the last decade of the nineteenth century. While the neighborhood had been too insignificant to be included on Nashville's 1889 Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, by the 1920s it would be a bustling suburb. Three main factors contributed to Cleveland Park's sudden growth. The first was that most of the land had long remained the McGavock family's private property, so people were not able to move there in the first place. In 1885, James McGavock's granddaughter, Lucie McGavock, began selling off portions of the family's remaining 94 acres. The McGavock property became one of

[16] *Ibid.*

several old family estates on the outskirts of Nashville to be subdivided for residential development around this time.[17] Once Lucie McGavock began selling the land in Cleveland Park, businessmen quickly began to purchase and develop the land. By 1887 much of the present-day neighborhood had been bought and subdivided into residential lots. [18]

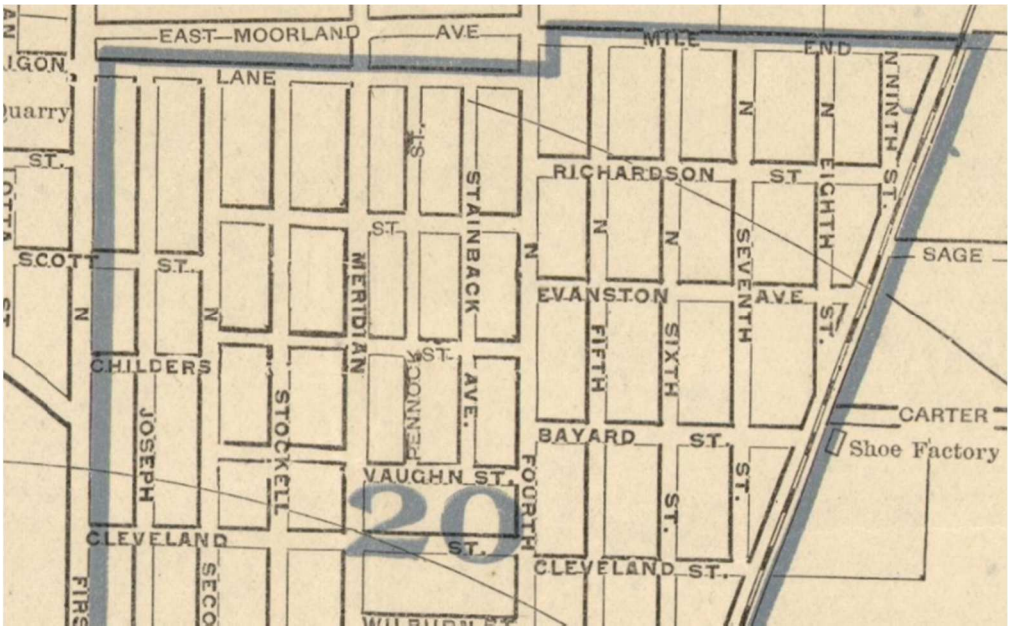
The second reason for Cleveland Park's growth in the early 1890s was that Nashville began to annex the area in 1889. Many cities at this time sought to increase their population and land area by annexation and consolidation, which allowed cities to "grow" without necessarily attracting more people.[19] Nashville's main period of annexation was between 1880 and 1905, beginning with the city's consolidation with Edgefield in 1880. Cleveland Park still had too little population in 1880 to warrant annexation, although most of the neighborhood would be annexed before 1905.[20] The former McGavock estate continued to be developed throughout the 1880s, and in 1889 Nashville annexed a significant portion. The city annexed another large section in 1890, and by 1907 the entire present-day neighborhood had officially become part of Nashville. [21] Annexation helped Cleveland Park grow because it meant that Nashville

[17] Doyle, *Nashville in the New South*, 87.
[18] Nickas, et al."McGavock-Gatewood-Webb House."
[19] Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States,* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 146-147.
[20] Doyle, *Nashville in the New South,* 87.
[21] Edwin Maximillian Gardner, "Map of Nashville, Tennessee, 1907," 1845-1935, 1907, TSLA Map Collection, 46471, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Tennessee Virtual Archive, https://teva.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15138coll23/id/10603 accessed 2022-02-09.

residents could now live outside the crowded and polluted inner city while maintaining access to city services.


*(Figure 1.5) Cleveland Park in 1903 with years indicating when sections were annexed.*[22]

[22] Robert Boyte Crawford Howell, "Map of Nashville, Tennessee," 1801-1868, 1903, TSLA Map Collection, 44012, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Tennessee Virtual Archive, https://teva.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15138coll23/id/9868.




*(Figure 1.6) Cleveland Park in 1907.*[23]

The third and most significant factor that contributed to Cleveland Park's growth was the adoption of electric streetcars in Nashville. In 1889, the same year that the city began to annex parts of Cleveland Park, Nashville's first electric streetcar began operation. Lucie McGavock's decision to sell the McGavock property made the land available, and annexation by Nashville made the neighborhood more desirable, but the streetcar system made the neighborhood accessible. Before streetcars, settlement in cities had been mostly limited to either within walking distance of downtown, or in railroad suburbs that were several miles from downtown. Streetcars opened up areas that were just slightly out of walking distance of downtown, like Cleveland Park, to new settlement. Streetcars also made these new suburbs affordable for "the common

[23] Edwin Maximillian Gardner, "Map of Nashville, Tennessee, 1907."

man."[24] Because of the cheapness of land on the periphery and the low fares of streetcars, working and middle-class families like those who would come to live in Cleveland Park could, for the first time, afford to buy a house in the suburbs.[25]

Meridian Street received the first streetcar line in the neighborhood as early as 1897, although at this time it only ran between Cleveland Street and Bayard (now Vernon Winfrey Avenue).[26] North 1st Street and North 4th Street (Lischey) gained streetcar lines by 1913, putting most residents within three blocks of a streetcar line, which they would have used to commute to the city center for work and recreation. Although many residents relied on streetcars for everyday transportation, some also used horses. The 1914 Sanborn maps of the area show that many houses kept stables in their back yards, and residents would have used the alleys that ran between all of Cleveland Park's streets to access the roads.[27]

Advertisements for lots and houses in Cleveland Park appeared in many newspapers after the adoption of streetcars. The "Real Estate World" section of *The Tennessean* on May 4, 1890 lists six separate real estate transactions consisting of thirteen lots in Cleveland Park in just one week.[28] Housing construction in Cleveland Park boomed in the first decade of the twentieth century, and one 1906 real estate ad in the *Nashville Banner* claimed that over 100 homes had been constructed in the area

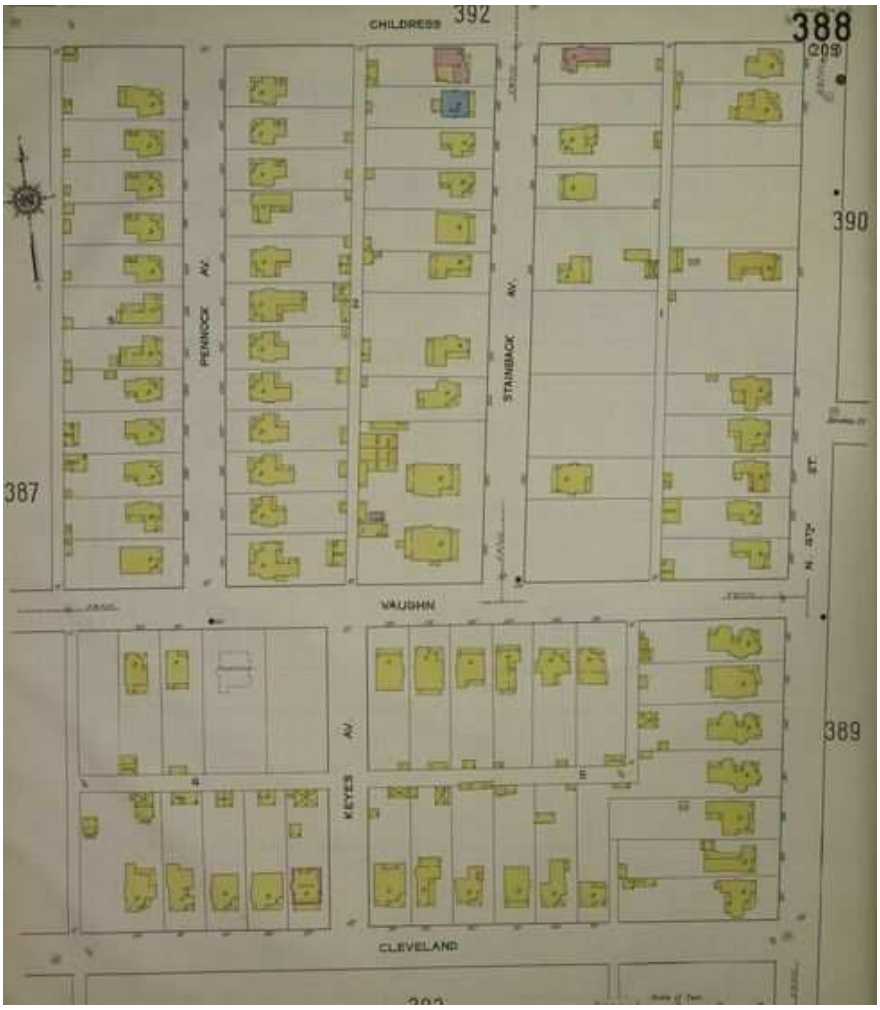
[24] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier,* 118.
[25] *Ibid,* 136.
[26] Doyle, *Nashville in the New South,* 90.
[27] Gardner, "Map of Nashville, Tennessee, 1907."
[28] "Real Estate World," *The Tennessean,* May 4, 1890, 11.

surrounding Meridian Street since 1905, while also advertising more lots for sale.[29] One announcement in the *Nashville Banner* in May of 1907 declared that twenty-seven lots had been sold at an auction the previous day, all of which were located on North Second Street and Stockwell Street (at some point the W was dropped and the street is now Stockell).[30] George W. Stainback, chairman of Nashville's Board of Public Works and the namesake of Stainback Avenue, purchased the entire 1000 block of Pennock Street and the eastern half of Meridian Street's 1000 block in 1905 and sold off lots to individual buyers.[31]

Real estate sales in Cleveland Park and other Nashville streetcar suburbs continued to grow in the 1910s. An article entitled "Unusual Activity Noted in Sales of Suburban Realty" appeared in *The Tennessean* in May of 1912, observing that many new subdivisions were appearing throughout Nashville at this time. The article specifically mentioned two subdivisions in Cleveland Park, both of which "seem[ed] to be finding easy sales."[32] An examination of the 1914 Sanborn maps of the neighborhood shows that although some lots had yet to be developed, the majority by this time contained modest single family frame dwellings.

---

[29] "Meridian Avenue, Pennock Avenue, and Stainback Avenue lots at auction." *Nashville Banner,* April 7, 1906.
[30] "Twenty-Seven Lots at Auction," *Nashville Banner,* May 8, 1907, 4.
[31] "Parcel Viewer," Nashville Planning Department, https://maps.nashville.gov/ParcelViewer/
[32] "Unusual Activity Noted in Sales of Suburban Realty: many New Subdivisions Placed on Market Recently," *The Tennessean,* May 19 1912, 17.




*(Figure 1.7) A typical section of Cleveland Park in 1914.*[33]

Since the beginning of the neighborhood, Cleveland Park has mostly been home to working class residents. Common occupations differed by race and gender. In 1900, common occupations for the neighborhood's white men included salesman, railroad worker, and factory worker. For white women the most common occupations were dressmaker or seamstress, although most white women did not work. Throughout the

[33] *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee*. Sanborn Map Company, Vol. 3, 1914. Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn08356_007/

census data, most white families in the neighborhood relied only on the income of the male head of household. In African American families in Cleveland Park, it was much more common for both the male and female heads of household to work, in addition to some older children. Occupational opportunities for African Americans were strictly limited in the early twentieth century and these jobs did not usually pay very well, meaning that more family members had to work in order to maintain the household. In 1900 common African American occupations included laborer, washerwoman, and domestic worker (which could mean either a cook or a servant).[34] African Americans who worked as domestic laborers in white households in Cleveland Park are usually listed on census records as part of the white household.[35] The listing of domestic workers as part of their employers' household may be due to the fact that domestic workers usually lived with their employers during the week and returned home only on weekends.[36]

It is possible that many Cleveland Park residents were migrants from rural areas surrounding Nashville. Between 1890 and 1930, fueled by economic depressions that made farm life more difficult, many people migrated from rural communities in Middle Tennessee to larger cities like Nashville.[37] These rural migrants often came to the city to find better job opportunities, and they were likely to find semi-skilled or unskilled jobs,

[34] U.S. Census Bureau, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940.
[35] U.S. Census Bureau, 1920, 1930, and 1940.
[36] Louis M. Kyriakoudes, *The Social Origins of the Urban South: Race, Gender, and Migration in Nashville and Middle Tennessee,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 152.
[37]Kyriakoudes, *The Social Origins of the New South,* 2.

similar to the kinds of jobs many Cleveland Park residents would have had.[38] However, the rural migration mainly consisted of single young adults rather than entire families, so perhaps Cleveland Park was not home to a significant rural migrant population.[39] Either way, throughout census data for Cleveland Park, the vast majority of residents were at least second-generation Tennesseans. Some residents also came from surrounding states like Alabama and Kentucky. There were virtually no residents from non-southern states or foreign countries. During my search through the census records, I only recall seeing one immigrant family, who was from Germany.[40]

From early on, Cleveland Park was racially segregated. The previously mentioned 1912 article concerning the growth of subdivisions in Cleveland Park specifically mentioned the section known as Oakwood Park. First advertised in 1912, Oakwood Park encompassed the Northeast corner of Cleveland Park, from North 4th St. (Lischey) to the neighborhood's eastern edge and from Douglas Avenue to Evanston Avenue. An ad from Bushnell & Ivins in the *Nashville Banner* declared the subdivision "a splendid opportunity for investment in a rapidly growing part of the city."[41] However, this opportunity for investment was limited to white Nashville residents. The ad made this very clear, proclaiming the 400 lots advertised for sale to be "within reach of any respectable white person—man, woman, or child.[42]" Another advertisement for

[38] *Ibid,* 115-117.
[39] *Ibid,* 73.
[40] U.S. Census Bureau, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940.
[41] "Buy a lot in Oakwood Park," *Nashville Banner,* May 10, 1912, 15.
[42] *Ibid.*

Oakwood Park declared that houses in the subdivision had racial restrictions, alcohol restrictions, and "small building" restrictions.[43] Racial exclusion would likely have been the norm for most of Cleveland Park, and Oakwood Park's advertisements provide the most explicit proof of this segregation.


*(Figure 1.8) Oakwood Park Subdivision map, borders marked by darker grey lines.*[44]

Oakwood Park's proximity to the African American section of Cleveland Park may explain why advertisements for the subdivision made a point to promote its racial exclusivity. According to Don H. Doyle's *Nashville in the New South,* "the vagueness of the boundaries between black and white neighborhoods brought forth several appeals to real estate agents to avoid mixing of the races when selling or renting property."[45] Census data from 1900 to 1940 shows that most of Cleveland Park's African American

[43] "Oakwood Park Lots All Day Sunday," *Nashville Banner,* May 11, 1912, 12.
[44] "Parcel Viewer," Nashville Planning Department.
[45] Doyle, *Nashville in the New South,* 114.

population resided in the southeast corner of the neighborhood, roughly to the east of North 6th Street and below Evanston Avenue. Promoters of Oakwood Park would have likely wanted to ensure that their potential customers knew that they would be living in an all-white area, even though African Americans did live nearby. Evanston Avenue strictly marked the northern border of Cleveland Park's African American section. The southeast corner of Cleveland Park would also be the location of the neighborhood's first and for decades only African American congregation: Cleveland Street Missionary Baptist Church. While the church's 1929 building is no longer standing, the congregation itself is one of the oldest in all of Cleveland Park, tracing its heritage back to 1889. The congregation began on North 6th Street, and in 1922 moved to its current location at 608 Cleveland Street, where they constructed a permanent building several years later.[46]

The racial makeup of Cleveland Park can be tracked through the creation, rise, and decline of the major churches in the neighborhood. As Cleveland Park filled with working-class white families in the 1910s and 1920s, growing Protestant Christian congregations built a few large churches in the neighborhood, all of which still stand today. The Joseph Avenue Church of Christ formed in 1906, and the congregation erected its building at 1201 Joseph Avenue in 1921.[47] By 1939 membership at Joseph Avenue Church grew to 450.[48] In 1910 Grace Baptist Church formed at 1101 Stainback

[46] "Our Heritage," About Us, Cleveland Street Missionary Baptist Church, https://www.clevelandstreetbaptistchurch.org/about-2
[47] *Nashville Banner,* September 19, 1904, 3.
[48] McKee, *North Edgefield Remembered,* 20.

Avenue.[49] The congregation originally held services in a temporary structure, but they constructed a permanent auditorium, which still stands today, by 1914.[50] In 1924 two small Methodist congregations in the area, McFerrin Memorial Church and Alex Erwin Church, combined and formed Meridian Street Methodist church, originally alternating between the two smaller church buildings. In 1925, construction began on the extant building at 908 Meridian Street. The Meridian Street Methodist Church building is notable for its association with prominent Nashville architect George D. Waller, who designed both the sanctuary and the educational wing.[51]

By the 1920s Cleveland Park had several thousand residents. A newspaper article about the construction of Meridian Street Methodist Church estimated that the area encompassing present day Cleveland Park and McFerrin Park had a population of about 6,000 to 8,000.[52] Common occupations for white residents in Cleveland Park in 1920 included salesman, carpenter, clerk, and factory worker. Many of these factory workers worked at a "shoe factory" that is not named in the census records. This factory is likely the J. W. Carter Shoe Factory, which can be seen on Sanborn maps of the neighborhood. The factory was located across the L&N Railroad line from Cleveland Park on Granada Avenue, so many workers probably walked to and from work there.[53] For

[49] *The Tennessean,* March 14, 1910, 4.
[50] McKee, *North Edgefield Remembered,* 17.
[51] Kate Sproul, "Meridian Street Methodist Church (1925-1993) and its Descendants New Life Center (1993-2003) Ray of Hope Community Church 2003-present)," Research Report, MTSU Center for Historic Preservation, December 8, 2016, 1-3.
[52] *The Tennessean,* March 2, 1925, 4.
[53] *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee.* Sanborn map Company, Vol. 3, 1914. Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn08356_007/.

African American residents, common occupations in 1920 included laborer, laundress, porter, and private house work.

For its first few decades of existence, Cleveland Park would have been an aspirational neighborhood for its residents. In the late 1800s and around the turn of the century, the idea of owning a detached single-family home away from the city center was idealized.[54] For Cleveland Park's working class residents, the neighborhood was the American Dream. However, as automobiles became more widespread in the 1920s and 1930s new suburban development began to move further from city centers, and so did upper- and middle-class white residents. Aging streetcar suburbs became obsolete and unfashionable, and those who were able to often moved into newer automobile suburbs. While white residents did remain in the neighborhood for several more decades, places like Cleveland Park were no longer aspirational for working-class families. This change can be seen in Cleveland Park from the Home Owners Loan Corporation Residential Security Map of Nashville.

The HOLC created the Residential Security Maps for banks to determine the "safety" of giving out loans in certain areas of cities. The maps ranked the perceived safety of various sections of cities on a scale from A to D, with each letter corresponding to a color; green for A, blue for B, yellow for C, and red for D. In all cases, areas of cities which were predominately African American were rated D. In the 1930 HOLC map of Nashville, most of Cleveland Park is rated C, while the historically Black section of the

[54] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier,* 71-72.

neighborhood received a D rating. The C rated area was at that time all white, with the exception of one Black family on Joseph Avenue and one on Cleveland Street.[55] The HOLC likely rated the white section of Cleveland Park C due to its proximity to African American residence both within the neighborhood and in surrounding neighborhoods as well as the working-class status of its white residents, many of whom worked in factories or mills. In 1930, well over 200 white Cleveland Park residents worked in factories, and many more worked in mills.[56]


*(Figure 1.9) 1930 Home Owners' Loan Corporation Residential Security map.*[57]

[55] U.S. Census Bureau, 1930.
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] Robert K. Nelson, LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., "Mapping Inequality," *American Panorama*, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, accessed February 9, 2022, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/[Nashville].

In many HOLC maps, a C rating indicated that the area in question was "definitely declining," which usually meant that the neighborhood was in the process of racial transition from all-white to mixed race. However, although Cleveland Park had been rated C, the majority of the neighborhood remained essentially all-white in the coming decades. In the most recent census data from 1940, all of Cleveland Park west of North 7th Street remained white, with the exception of African Americans employed in white homes. Grace Baptist Church provides one example of the continued majority-white presence in Cleveland Park. The church grew steadily throughout the 1940s and 1950s, reaching 3,000 congregants in 1956.[58] In 1951, Grace Baptist expanded its church building significantly, adding a new auditorium with additional space for Sunday school classes and offices at 1100 Lischey Avenue, just across the alley from its original building at 1101 Stainback Avenue.

Cleveland Park initially grew because of Nashville's streetcars, which remained widely used for many years. Streetcar use in Nashville peaked in the mid-1920s, when the city operated one hundred and six miles of streetcar track and nearly two hundred cars.[59] However, in the 1930s and 1940s streetcars began to decline in popularity. Information on when exactly Cleveland Park's streetcar lines closed is unavailable, but they likely stopped operation by the late 1930s. A 1937 Traffic Commission report found that by that time the streetcar system had fallen into decline, partially due to the

[58] McKee, *North Edgefield Remembered*, 17
[59] *Ibid*, 78.

popularity of automobiles.[60] In 1940, Tennessee's State Railroad and Public Utilities Commission approved the Meridian Street Bus Line, which ran through Cleveland Park along Lischey Avenue.[61] By 1941, all of Nashville's streetcar lines had been replaced with bus routes, and it became increasingly common for residents to own personal cars. The 1947 Sanborn map of Cleveland Park shows that many houses in the neighborhood had detached garages in their back yards, where they could use the alleys to come and go with their cars, just as earlier residents had with horses.[62]

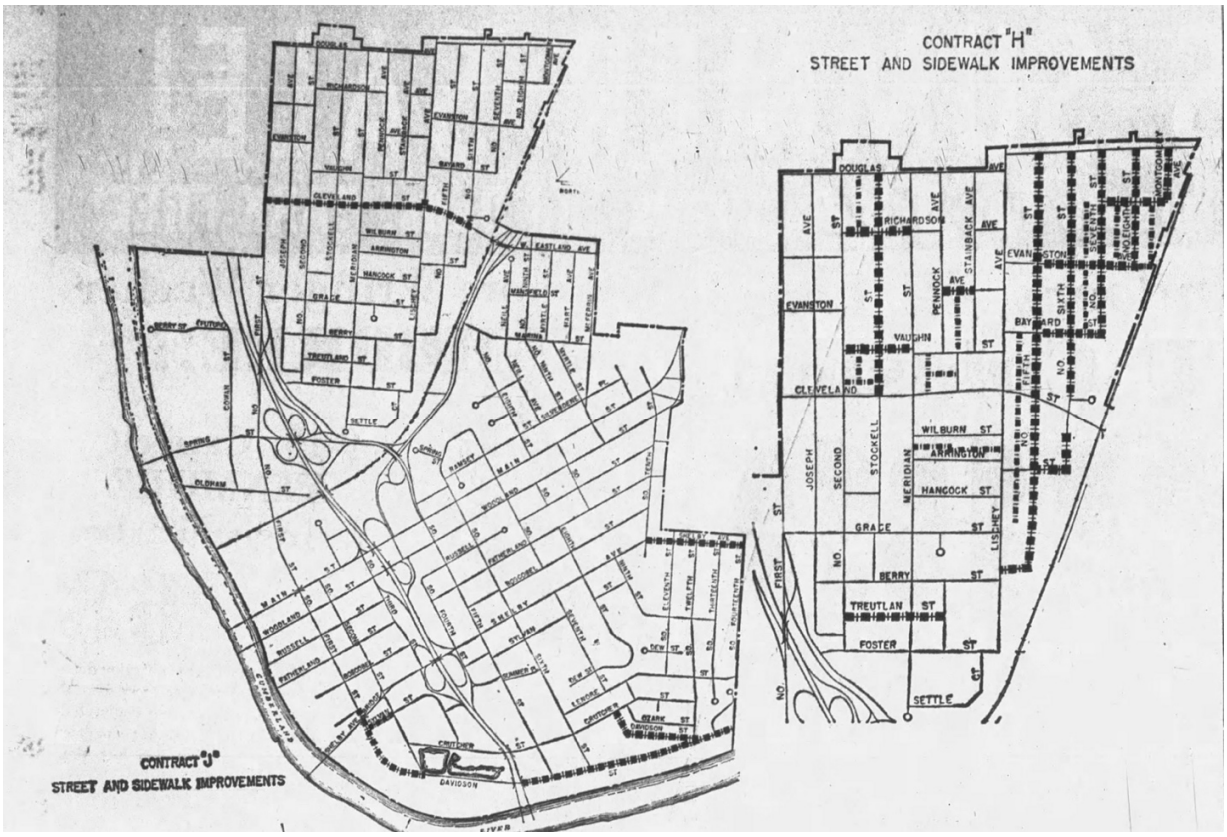
In the 1950s and 1960s, increasing numbers of middle-class whites moved away from cities and into suburbs with the aid of federal programs like the GI Bill and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which excluded African American citizens. This "white flight" from cities often led inner-city neighborhoods to deteriorate, as cities' tax bases shrunk and they could not provide as many services or maintain public works. Remaining inner-city neighborhoods were increasingly made up of lower-income people and minorities who could not take advantage of the GI Bill and FHA-backed loans to move to the suburbs. In the 1960s, urban renewal programs sought to revitalize inner cities so that they would be more appealing to middle- and upper-class whites. Urban renewal often consisted of the removal of "blighted" areas of inner-cities, usually those with large African American populations. White flight from Cleveland Park does not

[60] Don H. Doyle, *Nashville Since 1920,* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985) 77.
[61] *Nashville Banner,* December 20, 1940, 32.
[62] *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee*. Sanborn Map Company, - Oct 1950 Vol. 3a, 1951. Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn08356_015/.

seem to have fully gone into effect until the 1970s, but the neighborhood did experience the effects of urban renewal.

The 1960 East Nashville Urban Renewal Project resulted in improvements being made to hundreds of Cleveland Park homes and streets. Many of the homes in Cleveland Park had been built before 1920, so by this time much of the housing in the neighborhood had aged significantly. However, aside from forty- to fifty-year-old houses, Cleveland Park remained in relatively good shape by the 1960s. One Nashville contractor suggested that the reason that Cleveland Park received housing improvements was "that the city's building code enforcement staff had taken first the sectors requiring the lowest expenditures for upgrading. This [sic] is the area north of Cleveland Street including such streets as Lischey and Stockell."[63] As part of another urban renewal project, much of Cleveland Park received improved streets, curbs, gutters, and sidewalks. Streets that received improvements included Cleveland Street, Stockell Street, North Fifth, North Sixth, North Seventh, and North Eighth Streets, and sections of Richardson, Evanston, and Vaughn Streets. Interestingly, most of the streets that received improvements were in or around the historically African American area of Cleveland Park.

[63] Nat Caldwell, "It's a $5 Million Business: Home Repair, Modernization More Than Doubled in 2 Years," *The Tennessean,* August 28, 1960, 33.

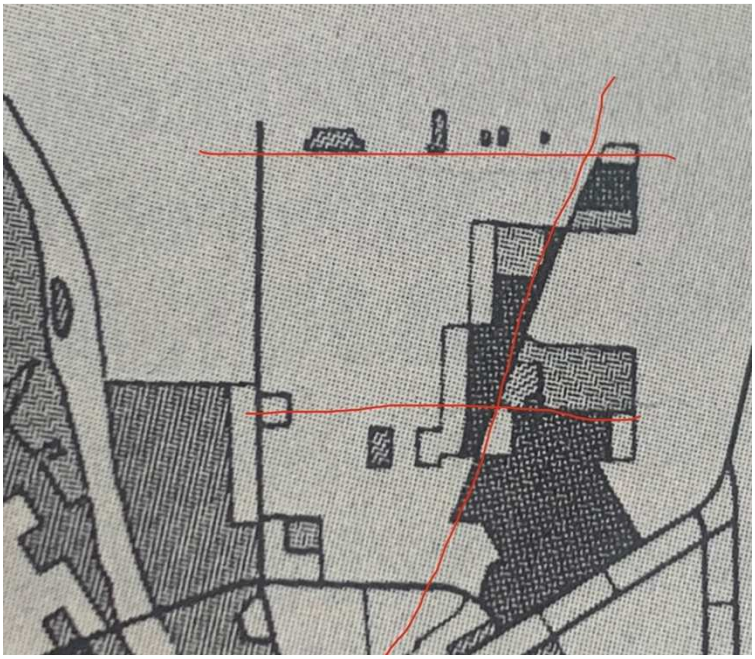



*(Figure 1.10) Streets in Cleveland Park that received improvements indicated by dotted lines.* [64]

The most significant change brought by urban renewal to Cleveland Park was the demolition of most of the neighborhood's historically African American section in order to create Cleveland Street Park in 1962. Several blocks in Cleveland Park's most southeastern corner were taken by the city using eminent domain and "donated" for the creation of Cleveland Street Park (note: going forward I will refer to the park as Cleveland Street Park and the neighborhood as Cleveland Park).[65] In the 1930 and 1940 census these donated blocks were inhabited mostly by African Americans, and a 1951

[64] Dick Battle, "$1 Million Street Plans Approved," *Nashville Banner,* June 8, 1961, 1, 12.
[65] James Talley, "5 Parks Slated but No Pools, Ferguson Says: Councilman in Letter to Mayor Calls East Nashville Project 'Ridiculous, Absurd, Short-Sighted," *The Tennessean,* May 14 1962, 1-2.

aerial image shows that the area taken to create Cleveland Street Park was mostly filled with houses.[66] Additionally, maps of Nashville's residential segregation from 1940 and 1960 show that the exact blocks that became Cleveland Street Park were also the only parts of the neighborhood with a significant African American population.[67] The African American residents of these houses were displaced and their homes destroyed to create a park, which was likely intended to discourage young white families with children from fleeing to the suburbs.

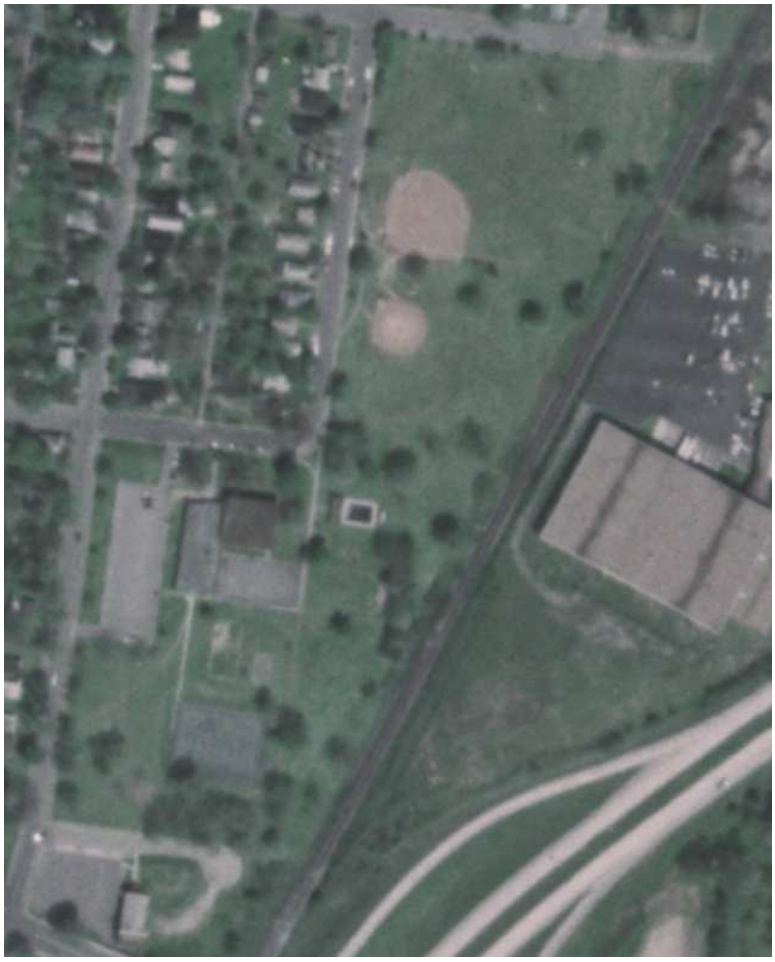


*(Figure 1.11) Nashville Residential Segregation map 1960. I have added the L&N Railroad line, Cleveland Street, and Douglas Avenue in red. The darkest shading indicates areas that are 75-100% nonwhite. The medium shade is 50-74.9% nonwhite, and the lightest shade is 30-49.9% nonwhite.*[68]

[66] "Viewer," HistoricAerials.com, https://www.historicaerials.com/viewer/275742
[67] Doyle, *Nashville Since 1920,* 231, 233.
[68] *Ibid.*

*(Figure 1.12) Cleveland Park site in 1951. Cleveland Street Missionary Baptist is visible in the lower left of both photos.* [69]

[69] "Viewer," HistoricAerials.com, https://www.historicaerials.com/viewer/275742



*(Figure 1.13) Site of Cleveland Street Park in 1981.*[70]

Cleveland Street Park was part of an urban renewal project that also created four other parks in the East Nashville Urban Renewal area. Controversially, none of these parks had pools, a decision which Councilman Glenn Ferguson called "ridiculous, absurd, and short-sighted beyond belief."[71] The lack of public pools in these new parks was the result of an incident the previous year. In the summer of 1961, two African American student activists attempted to swim in Nashville's whites-only Centennial Park pool as

[70] *Ibid.*
[71] James Talley, "5 Parks Slated but No Pools."

an act of protest against segregated public amenities. After this incident the city chose to close all public pools rather than face pressure to integrate them, and in the case of East Nashville's new parks the city chose not to construct pools at all.[72] The case of Nashville's public pools was not at all uncommon. As desegregation became legally mandated in the 1950s and 1960s, southern cities preferred to withhold amenities like pools, parks, and zoos from the public rather than be forced to integrate them.[73] Although Cleveland Street Park did not initially have a pool, it did have a large community center, which was constructed in 1963 atop what had once been the 900 block of North 7th Street.[74]

The changes made to Cleveland Park through urban renewal would not ultimately prevent white flight from the neighborhood in the coming years. Although census information is not available for this time, the fates of the predominantly white Protestant churches founded in Cleveland Park in the 1910s and 1920s seem to indicate that many of the neighborhood's young white residents chose to move to the suburbs by the 1970s. Many of the older white residents remained in the neighborhood and continued attending their churches until they passed away, a trend which can be seen in obituaries of the time.[75] In the 1970s and 1980s, all three of Cleveland Park's historically white congregations, which had been there for decades, either relocated to the suburbs

[72] Julia Ritchey, "Hidden history of Nashville' segregated pools gets permanent reminder with new Centennial Park marker," *WPLN News,* March 23, 2022.
[73] Rose Hackman, "Swimming while black: the legacy of segregated public pools lives on," *The Guardian,* August 4, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/04/black-children-swimming-drownings-segregation
[74] "Community Center Dedication Set," *The Tennessean,* January 30 1964, 18.
[75] McKee, *North Edgefield Remembered*, 17.

or died out with their members. Meanwhile, Cleveland Street Missionary Baptist, the only historically African American church in the neighborhood, continued to grow to over 500 members. In the1980s Cleveland Street Missionary Baptist also demolished its 1929 building to construct an entirely new one on the exact same plot, signaling that the congregation had no reason or desire to move out of the neighborhood.[76]

In contrast, Grace Baptist Church's predominantly white membership declined throughout the 1960s. By the late 1970s, enough of Grace Baptist's congregation had moved to the suburbs that in 1978 the church relocated to the intersection of Brick Church Pike and Old Hickory Blvd, about five miles away from its original location.[77] In 1981 the building at 1100 Lischey and 1101 Stainback became home to Grace Apostolic Church, a predominantly African American congregation which had existed since 1968.[78] Also facing issues with declining membership, Joseph Avenue Church of Christ relocated to a more suburban setting in the 1970s. In 1978 the church moved to Tuckahoe Drive and renamed itself Kemper Heights Church of Christ.[79] Although its original congregation departed the neighborhood, the building at 1201 Joseph Avenue remained a Church of Christ in some form until 2003.[80] Meridian Street Methodist Church lasted a bit longer than Grace Baptist and Joseph Street Church of Christ, but eventually enough of its congregation passed away that it could no longer sustain itself. In 1988 Meridian

[76] Cleveland Street Missionary Baptist Church, https://www.clevelandstreetbaptistchurch.org/about-2
[77] *The Tennessean,* October 28, 1978, 5.
[78] "History," About Us, Grace Apostolic Church, https://www.gracechurchinc.org/find-us/ ; "Midstate Religion News," *The Tennessean,* November 14, 1981, 10.
[79] McKee, *North Edgefield Remembered*, 20.
[80] "Parcel Viewer," 1201 Joseph Avenue Ownership History, Nashville Planning Department, https://maps.nashville.gov/ParcelViewer/

Street Methodist Church closed, and the remaining congregation merged with Aldersgate United Methodist Church.[81] By the end of the 1980s, Cleveland Park had two major African American churches and one major white church, where a few decades earlier it had three white churches and one African American church.

Another indication that Cleveland Park's population was becoming increasingly African American by the 1970s and 1980s was Carlton Petway's election as the 5th district's first African American councilman in 1970 (The 5th District encompassed Cleveland Park and McFerrin Park at this time). Prior to Petway's election, the 5th District had only had white councilmen. Petway's precursor was a white man named Porter Smith, who was elected in 1962.[82] In the 1970 election in which Carlton Petway won his council seat, both he and the runner-up were African American. In 1975, the 5th District once again elected an African American councilman, Vernon Winfrey, who owned a barber shop on Lischey Avenue and is the father of Oprah Winfrey.[83] Winfrey would serve as the 5th District councilman until 1991, and Cleveland Park's Bayard Avenue was renamed Vernon Winfrey Avenue in his honor.[84]

In the 1980s and 1990s, Cleveland Park experienced problems with increased crime, especially drugs and prostitution. Drug sales proliferated in the neighborhood, especially around N 6th Street, and many prostitutes worked along Dickerson Pike. Because of an increased fear of crime in Cleveland Park and in other Nashville inner-city

[81] McKee, *North Edgefield Remembered.* 25.
[82] Dick Battle, "Brisk Vote Names 33 to Council," *Nashville Banner,* November 28, 1962, 1.
[83] "20 Win Council Seats; Others in Runoff," *The Tennessean,* August 8, 1975, 10.
[84] Dwight Lewis, "Her 'hood has changed since Oprah lived here," *The Tennessean*, November 4, 1993, 10.

neighborhoods, the neighborhood and city took several anti-crime measures in these decades. A 1983 Metro program installed deadbolt locks in Cleveland Park houses for free. This program "intended to relieve concerns about security of Nashvillians who live in selected older neighborhoods." Around 200 Cleveland Park households received locks as part of the program.[85] In 1990, a group of Cleveland Park residents marched from Northeast Church of Christ on Joseph Avenue to Councilman Vernon Winfrey's barber shop to demand that action be taken to prevent drug use and prostitution in the neighborhood.[86] In 1993, an organization called the Center for Black Family Life purchased the former Meridian Street Methodist Church building to use for its program, which aimed to prevent teens from becoming juvenile delinquents by checking up on their attendance at school and providing academic tutoring as well as classes on social skills and cultural heritage.[87] All of these measures demonstrated residents' anxieties about crime and their desire to improve their neighborhood.

Drug sales became one of the biggest concerns for Cleveland Park residents. One resident noted that the drug trade especially centered on North 5th and North 6th streets, and that she sometimes saw people buying drugs as early as 6 a.m.[88] In another effort by Cleveland Park residents to organize against drugs in the neighborhood, the organization North East Organized Neighbors reactivated in 1992. The organization,

---

[85] Thomas Goldsmith, "Neighborhood Gets Free Locks," *The Tennessean,* November 23, 1983, 49.
[86] Drew Nord, "Residents march against prostitutes: Want Dickerson Road cleared of drugs, too," *The Tennessean,* August 4, 1990, 4.
[87] Deborah Collins, "'Family' Keeps Kids in School: Attendance check is rule," *The Tennessean,* December 5, 1993, 29.
[88] Mildred Walters, "Crack trade won't run her out of her lovely urban home," *The Tennessean,* July 24, 1997.

which located its headquarters on Meridian Street, aimed to make the community "cleaner, safer, and an overall better place to live.[89]" However, this organization did not successfully combat drug related crime in Cleveland Park. A 1998 article claimed that "so renowned is the area around Cleveland Park for drug sales that weekly Vice Squad drug stings routinely net more than a dozen buyers every Friday afternoon."[90] Metro law enforcement carried out regular drug stings part of the effort to combat drug sales and other crimes around Nashville.

Another major problem faced by Cleveland Park residents in the 1980s and 1990s was a decrease in city services. In 1985 a group from the North East Organized Neighbors met with Councilman Vernon Winfrey at Meridian Street Methodist Church to address some of the issues they had. Members of NEON complained that the Cleveland Street Park swimming pool could not be used because the Community Center had no lifeguards. Residents also had issues with lack of garbage collection in alleys, trash dumping by people in rental units, and the conditions of vacant lots and houses in the neighborhood that belonged to absentee landlords.[91] In 1992 5th District Councilman Frank Harrison attributed many of the area's problems to absentee landlords, who allowed their properties to fall into disrepair and even to become unlivable.[92] In some

[89] Tammie Smith, "NEON revived to combat crime: Neighborhoods hope togetherness helps," *The Tennessean,* August 12, 1992, 58.
[90] Beth Warren and Jon Yates, "Blue blanket being cast over crime," *The Tennessean,* March 2, 1998, 4.
[91] Gail McKnight, "Residents Seek Improved Metro Services," *The Tennessean,* July 30 1985, 15.
[92] "Councilman says residents better their neighborhood," *The Tennessean,* August 12, 1992, 58.

cases, the city would demolish houses that were too dilapidated to be repaired, leaving behind vacant lots.

By the late 1990s, Cleveland Park had developed a reputation as an unsafe and generally undesirable place to live. However this would change in the coming decades, ultimately resulting in a neighborhood where the modest homes originally built for working class families would be listed on the website Zillow for half a million dollars.[93] A 1997 article in *The Tennessean* foreshadowed the gentrification of Cleveland Park. Titled "Crack trade won't run her out of her lovely urban home," the article consisted of Cleveland Park resident Mildred Walters describing how she and her husband moved back into the neighborhood, where Walters had grown up, because of the affordable price of their home. Walters and her husband remodeled and renovated their 1940s bungalow, and in the article, authored by Walters, she refers to herself as an "urban pioneer." The phrase "urban pioneer" often refers to the very first wave of gentrification, as the group consisted of "home owners—mostly young professionals—who are leaving the suburbs and returning to live in the inner city."[94] The relocation of young professionals from their former homes in the suburbs to inner-city areas demonstrated that these areas could be desirable for middle-class white people. Once "urban pioneers" cleared the way, gentrification often followed.

[93] "Nashville, TN," Zillow.com https://www.zillow.com/homedetails/1232-Joseph-Ave-Nashville-TN-37207/41084698_zpid/ and https://www.zillow.com/homedetails/1200-Meridian-St-Nashville-TN-37207/41084778_zpid/

[94] "Urban pioneers: A new breed of homeowner," *The Tennessean,* August 7, 1983, 67.



*(Figures 1.14 and 1.15) Two homes for sale in Cleveland Park (as of February 15, 2022).*

## Chapter Two: Architecture in Cleveland Park

The vast majority of buildings in Cleveland Park are single family residences. The neighborhood also has several churches, a few businesses, and the Cleveland Park Community Center. Most of these properties date between 1890 and 1930. As a result, many of the historic residences in Cleveland Park are representative of popular housing styles of the period. The most common varieties of early twentieth-century homes in the neighborhood are Folk Victorian and Craftsman bungalows. Craftsman bungalows are especially prevalent in Cleveland Park, as they would have been in many middle- and working-class neighborhoods throughout America.[95]

Cleveland Park's pre-1940 houses share a few characteristics. Most are one to one-and-a-half stories. Most, if not all early houses in Cleveland Park would have been balloon frame. This method of construction became popular after the 1850s and made houses cheap and quick to build.[96] Essentially all houses from this period have large front porches, which would have been common in the South before the adoption of air conditioning.[97] None of these houses, and very few houses in Cleveland Park in general, have attached garages or driveways, as the narrow lots would have prevented the addition of attached garages over time. Because of the lack of street-facing garages, one

[95] Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Pres, 1985), 186.
[96] Howard P. Chudacoff and Judith E. Smith, *The Evolution of American Urban Society* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, Sixth Edition 2005), 94.
[97] Virginia & Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 52.

notable feature of Cleveland Park today is the significant number of cars parked along the curbs.

The McGavock house, located at 901 Meridian Street, is the oldest house and the oldest building overall in Cleveland Park. James McGavock built the house around 1840, and in the time since it has undergone many changes, resulting in a house that is a mixture of architectural styles from across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Originally, the house was a two-story hall-and-parlor.[98] This style was a common folk style in the southeast during this time.[99] Because they usually only had four rooms, many hall-and-parlor houses were later expanded, and the McGavock house was no exception. After James McGavock's death in 1841, the house passed to his daughter Lucinda and her husband Jeremiah Harris, a prominent Nashville newspaper editor, who added a two-story-two room addition that doubled the size of the house. This addition, made in 1844, was in the popular Greek Revival style. Around 1870, Lucinda's daughter Lucie and her husband renovated the house, adding Italianate-influenced bays, a portico, and a two story porch. In 1915, the house's occupant, Robert Cline, renovated the house again so that it could be subdivided into apartments. These renovations included the addition of a Craftsman style entrance.[100]

[98] Lauren Nickas, Elizabeth Moore, and Carroll Van West, National Register of Historic Places, McGavock-Gatewood-Webb House, Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee, National Register of Historic Places, May 29, 2007.
[99] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 94.
[100] Nickas, Moore, West, "McGavock-Gatewood-Webb House."

*(Figure 2.1) The McGavock House.*

Since settlement in Cleveland Park did not really begin until the early 1890s, the first houses to be built in the neighborhood after the McGavock house would have likely been the Gable-Front-and-Wing, a subtype of the Folk Victorian style. Folk Victorian houses were common across the country between 1870 and 1910, and the Gable-Front-and-Wing subtype became especially popular in the south.[101] There are nearly fifty of these turn of the century houses remaining in Cleveland Park. As the name suggests, they feature a front-facing gable and a perpendicular wing. All houses of this type have a porch along the wing. One typical element of this house type is turned spindle porch supports, which can be seen on the example at 1002 Pennock.[102] Another common feature of these houses is that the front-facing gable has one or two tall rectangular windows, and the entrance is located under the porch. Gable-Front-and-Wing houses

[101] McAlester, *Filed Guide to American Houses,* 92-93.
[102] *Ibid*, 309.

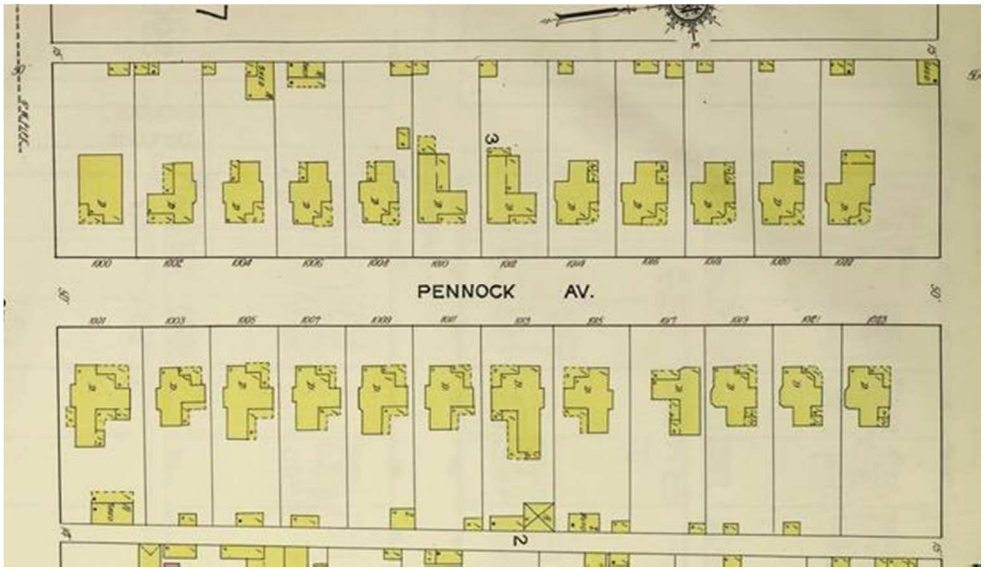
can be found throughout the neighborhood, but there are many located on Pennock Avenue, Stainback Avenue, and North 5th Street.


*(Figure 2.2) 1002 Pennock Avenue.*

Another type of house that would have been common in the early period of development in Cleveland Park is the Queen Anne cottage. This style of house was common from about 1880 to 1910, but was especially popular between 1890 and 1900.[103] As settlement did not really begin in Cleveland Park until after 1889, it is likely that most of the Queen Anne cottages in the neighborhood would have been built in a span of just ten years. There are currently around sixty of these houses still standing, and there would have originally been many more. The earliest Sanborn maps of Cleveland Park, which are from 1914, show that while the neighborhood was still

[103] *Ibid,* 266.

sparsely populated in many areas at this time, Queen Anne cottages and Gable-Front-and-Wing houses were very common.[104]




*(Figure 2.3) 1000 block of Pennock Avenue in 1914. Identifiable on this Sanborn map by their L-shaped porches, all but four of the houses pictured are Queen Anne cottages. The four that are not Queen Anne cottages appear to be Gable-Front-and-Wing.*[105]

The fact that so many Queen Anne cottages were built in such a short time is an indication of how quickly the neighborhood grew in its early years. Queen Anne cottages in Cleveland Park are identifiable by their distinctive rooflines, featuring a central hipped section with two perpendicular gabled wings.[106] The Queen Anne cottages in Cleveland Park lack the elaborate ornamentation usually associated with Queen Anne architecture, but this basic shape distinguishes them as being Queen Anne in style. According to *A Field Guide to American Architecture,* "The roof form of this subtype

[104] *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee.* Sanborn Map Company, Vol. 3, sheet 388-392.1914. Map. https://www.loc.gov/sanborn08356_007/.
[105] *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Nashville*, Vol. 3, Sheet 388. 1914.
[106] McAlester, *Filed Guide to American Houses,* 310.

[hipped roof with lower cross gables] is among the most distinctive Queen Anne characteristics and occurs in examples ranging from modest cottages to high-style landmarks."[107]

*(Figure 2.4) 1004 Pennock, with typical Queen Anne Cottage roof.*

The Queen Anne cottages in Cleveland Park are quite modest. Only one house, located at 1022 Lischey Avenue, has any significant decorative detailing. This could be because of the working class character of the neighborhood throughout its history, or because homeowners removed the ornamentation over time after the Queen Anne style fell out of fashion or as the wooden elements were damaged. Another common feature of Cleveland Park's Queen Anne cottages is that they usually possess L-shaped porches that wrap around the front and side of the house. One common variation among these houses is in their porch shape. Some have a porch that does not wrap

[107] *Ibid*, 263.

around the side, and only covers the front of the house. Another porch variation is for the corner of the porch to be cut off, forming a trapezoid shaped porch roof. Similarly to the Gable-Front-and-Wing style, Queen Anne cottages have one or two tall, rectangular windows in the forward-facing gable and their entrances are set back under the porch.

*(Figure 2.5) 1022 Lischey.*

There are eight houses in Cleveland Park which appear to be modified Shotgun houses, a style that is often associated with African American residences, especially in urban areas around the turn of the century.[108] Eight of these houses are located in the area of Cleveland Park that was historically home to the neighborhood's Black population; east of North 5th Street and south of Evanston Avenue. Seven of the homes are located on the 1000 block of North 6th Street, where African Americans made up the

[108] John Linn Hopkins and Marsha R. Oates, "Shotgun Houses," Carroll Van West, et. al., eds., *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture Online Edition,* March 1, 2018 https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/shotgun-houses/

majority of the population until 1920.[109] This period of predominantly Black residence on North 6th Street coincides with the main era in which shotgun houses were being constructed in Tennessee, between 1880 and 1930. Most of Cleveland Park's African American section was demolished in order to create Cleveland Street Park in the 1960s, so these houses may be one of the few physical remains of the neighborhood's early Black community. Typical shotgun houses are front-gabled, one room wide, and about three rooms deep.[110] Only one unaltered example of a shotgun house remains in Cleveland Park, at 1021 North 6th Street.

[109] U.S. Census Bureau (1920). Accessed through Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.
[110] Hopkins and Oates, "Shotgun Houses."

*(Figures 2.6, 2.7, and 2.8) 1021 North 6th Street (foliage prevented a good image of whole house)*

The most common type of house in Cleveland Park, which would have risen to popularity slightly after the other house types previously mentioned, is the Craftsman bungalow. This style was very popular from around 1900 to 1930, which coincided with

the main period of Cleveland Park's growth.[111] Craftsman bungalows were incredibly common during this time, as mail-order catalogues like Sears made them affordable for middle- and working-class families like the ones who lived in Cleveland Park.[112] There are hundreds of these houses in the neighborhood. In *A Field Guide to American Houses,* Virginia McAlester identifies four main subtypes of Craftsman houses, all of which can be found in Cleveland Park. These four types are front-gabled, cross-gabled, side gabled, and hipped.[113] The most common Craftsman styles in Cleveland Park are, in order, side-gabled, cross-gabled, front-gabled, and hipped.

There are over one hundred side-gabled Craftsman houses, most of which also have one centered dormer. I observed three different types of dormers on these houses; gabled, shed, and hipped. The majority were gabled or shed, with hipped dormers being more rare. All of the side-gabled Craftsman houses have porches, although how the porch is incorporated into the roofline varies. Some include the porch under the principal roof, for example the house at 1013 North 5th Street. This house also has triangular knee braces along the roof line, which are a common Craftsman feature. Another common roof variation is an extended porch roof, which can be seen at 1111 North 6th Street. This house has exposed rafter tails on its dormer and tapered square columns on brick piers supporting the porch, both of which are typical for Craftsman bungalows.[114]

---

[111] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier,* 58.
[112] *Ibid,* 186.
[113] McAlester, *Filed Guide to American Houses,* 353-355.
[114] *Ibid,* 355.

*(Figure 2.9) 1013 North 5th Street.*

*(Figure 2.10) 1111 North 6th Street.*

Next, two other types of Craftsman bungalows found in Cleveland Park are the cross-gabled and gable-front forms. A typical example of a cross-gabled house can be

found at 1009 North 6th Street. This house, like many of the cross-gabled houses in Cleveland Park, features a centered cross-gable, which also acts as the porch roof. This house also has typical Craftsman porch supports, with tapered square columns on brick piers. While many cross-gabled Craftsman houses have an asymmetrical cross-gable, most of the examples in Cleveland Park have centered cross-gables.


*(Figure 2.11) 1009 North 6th Street.*

Gable-front Craftsman houses have two main variations in Cleveland Park. One is a plain gable-front in which the gable is the width of the rest of the house. In these types, the porch is under the principal roof. An example can be seen a 1115 North 5th Street, again with tapered square columns on brick piers. The second common type of front-gabled Craftsman is one where the house has a second, smaller gable that forms the porch roof. This smaller gable is usually asymmetrical and also covers the entrance.

An example can be seen at 1213 North 6th Street, which once again has square tapered columns on brick piers as well as triangular knee braces.

*(Figure 2.12) 1115 North 5th Street.*

*(Figure 2.13) 1213 North 6th Street.*

The last type of Craftsman is the hipped roof type. In Cleveland Park, these usually have a centered dormer, and sometimes have a dormer on multiple sides of the roof. They usually have porches that are included under the principal roof. In some cases half of the porch has been enclosed to form a new room, such as at 1118 Joseph Avenue. This house also features recently applied board and batten siding, which is uncommon in the neighborhood. Hipped roof Craftsman bungalows are the least common type in Cleveland Park, and they are also the least common overall. [115] A typical example can be found at 1216 North 2nd Street. This house has typical square tapered columns on brick piers. The dormer of this house also has window glazing that is common for Craftsman houses, and it is possible that the lower story windows once matched the dormer window.[116]


*(Figure 2.14) 1118 Joseph Avenue.*

[115] McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses,* 453.
[116] *Ibid*, 442.


*(Figure 2.15) 1216 North 2nd Street.*

While most of the houses in Cleveland Park were constructed before 1940, there are many that were built in the latter half of the twentieth century. These vary in form, but they do share several common features. Houses built in this time period generally do not have porches and only have a covered entrance. A lack of covered outdoor space became common after the adoption of air conditioning in most American homes.[117] Post-1945 houses are most often brick veneer, unlike the mostly wood or vinyl-sided pre-war houses. One typical example of a house built later in the twentieth century is at 1004 Lischey. Another difference in pre- and post-war houses in Cleveland Park is the presence of duplexes. In the first half of the twentieth century, duplexes were very uncommon in the neighborhood. However there are several built in the latter decades of the twentieth century, for example at 908 North 2nd Street, built ca. 1980.

[117] McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses,* 52.

*(Figure 2.16) 1004 Lischey.*

*(Figure 2.17) 908 North 2nd.*

Around the 2010s, Cleveland Park began to experience gentrification, and construction of new houses increased after 2012.[118] The main characteristic of newer

[118] "Parcel Viewer," Nashville Planning Department, various properties. https://maps.nashville.gov/ParcelViewer/

houses in Cleveland Park is that they are much larger than any houses constructed in the twentieth century. Recent builds in Cleveland Park are often at least two full stories, and often take up much more of their lot that earlier houses, although they are still single-family homes. One common and controversial type of twenty-first century house in Cleveland Park is the tall-skinny. Tall-Skinnies consist of two large, narrow houses on a single lot. Because of a loophole in Nashville's code, tall-skinnies are allowed because they are technically duplexes. These types of houses are controversial because many residents feel they are out of scale with the smaller, historic homes of the neighborhoods in which they are often built.[119]

Currently there are fourteen sets of tall-skinnies in Cleveland Park, or twenty-eight houses in total. In their style these houses often emulate details of the Craftsman style homes around them. The two houses that make up a set of tall-skinnies are usually coordinated although not exactly the same. One example are the two houses at 1009 North 5th Street. These houses are the same basic shape and size but have slight decorative differences. They are both two-and-a-half stories with large centered dormers and two story porches with square column porch supports. One house has a shed style dormer and one has a gabled dormer. Additionally, the A unit appears to have wood shingle walls, which may be an attempt to emulate the Craftsman style.[120]

[119] Bobby Allyn, "Demolition Derby," in *Greetings from New Nashville: How a Sleepy Southern Town Became 'It' City,* ed. Steve Haruch (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2020), 42.
[120] McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses,* 54.


*(Figure 2.18) 1009 B North 5th Street. The side of 1009 A can also be seen to the right.*


*(Figure 2.19) 1009 A North 5th Street.*

Many tall-skinnies have elements that emulate historical styles. These features could be due to an increase in appreciation for historical styles, or they may be an attempt to blend in with the older surrounding houses. One set at 1203 North 5th Street have several typical Craftsman elements. One has a small, asymmetrical gable covered porch with square (NOT tapered) columns on brick piers. This house also has wooden shingles on both the porch gable and the main gable. The second in this set has vertical trusses in the gable and a porch with square columns. Although these houses reflect some degree of historic architectural elements, they also have more contemporary

elements. Both houses at 1203 North 5th Street have board and batten walls, reflecting a design trend that has been popular in recent years.[121] Tall-skinnies are especially concentrated on North 5th Street, where there are four sets. All of Cleveland Park's tall skinnies have been constructed since 2015.[122]

*(Figure 2.20) 1203 North 5th Street A.*

[121] A Google Trends search for "Board and batten," from 2004-present shows that interest in the term has risen significantly since April of 2020. Interest in board and batten siding seems to be especially popular in Tennessee. Between 2004 and the present, Tennessee is the fifth most popular state for this search term. If the time range is set for January 2020 to the present, Tennessee becomes the second most popular state to search for "board and batten." "Board and Batten," Explore, Google Trends, https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=all&geo=US&q=%22Board%20and%20batten%22

[122] "Parcel Viewer," 1203 North 5th Street, Permit History. https://maps.nashville.gov/ParcelViewer/

*(Figure 2.21) 1203 North 5th Street B.*

Another common feature of modern construction in Cleveland Park are apartment complexes and town house units. There are a few of these throughout the neighborhood, and they are usually located at the ends of their streets. Such complexes can be found at the 1225 North 5th Street, 1225 Lischey Avenue, and 900 Meridian Street. Unlike tall-skinnies, these buildings are more contemporary in style, and have all been constructed since 2017.[123] These buildings are the first multi-family housing, aside from duplexes, to have been built in the neighborhood. The recent increase in

[123] "Parcel viewer" Permit Histories

apartment and townhouse construction is an indicator of the increasing popularity of Cleveland Park, which was once seen as a dangerous "inner-city" neighborhood.[124]

*(Figure 2.22) 1225 North 5th Street.*


*(Figure 2.23) 1225 Lischey, side view.*

[124] "Parcel viewer," Ownership Histories for units at 1225 North 5th Street. These all sold in the two years for around $350,000 each.

There are four commercial buildings in Cleveland Park. The most recent commercial building in the neighborhood is Winfrey's Barbershop, at 1001 Lischey Avenue. The building was constructed in 2011, and is made of brick or brick veneer. The building has white stone accents.[125] The three other commercial properties are relatively similar, because they are all largely unadorned buildings with rectangular footprints. These buildings are located at 1224 Meridian Street, 1224 Lischey Avenue, and 410 Vernon Winfrey Avenue. 1224 Meridian began as a grocery store around 1946.[126] The building has a gabled roof which was added in 1994, and based on the appearance of the brick along the side it appears to have been extended further into the lot multiple times.[127] The facade appears to have once been open, but has been enclosed with vinyl siding. The facade also has a decorative band of vertically oriented white bricks.

1224 Lischey is also constructed of brick, and it also began as a grocery store, although it later became a drug store.[128] The facade has glass block detailing, which appears to be purely decorative and not intended to function as windows. The glass blocks are also used for functional windows on the sides of the building. 410 Vernon Winfrey Avenue is a cinderblock building that is currently a barbershop. The building, like 1224 Meridian, has a facade that is taller in the front and gradually steps down in

[125] "Parcel Viewer," 1001 Lischey Avenue, Permit History. https://maps.nashville.gov/ParcelViewer/
[126] *The Tennessean*, September 6, 1946, 31.
[127] "Parcel Viewer," 1225 Meridian Street, Permit History. https://maps.nashville.gov/ParcelViewer/
[128] Ad for Market Basket Stores, *Nashville Banner,* November 16 ,1923, 13.

the back. 410 Vernon Winfrey appears to have once had large windows, which have been partially filled in with cinderblock.

*(Figure 2.24) 1001 Lischey Avenue.*

*(Figure 2.25) 1224 Meridian. Building has recently been painted white.*

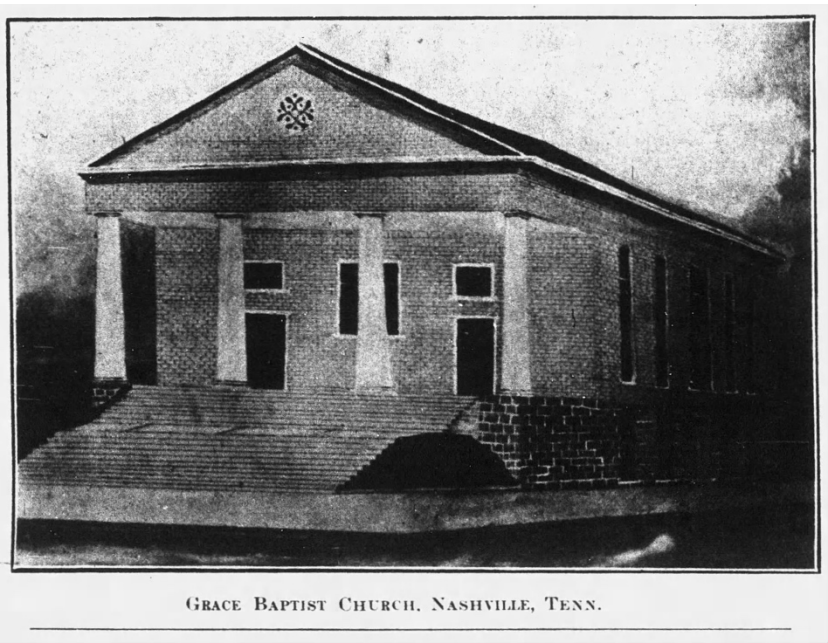

*(Figure 2.26) 1224 Lischey.*


*(Figure 2.27) 410 Vernon Winfrey Avenue.*

Cleveland Park has three large churches that were constructed between 1910 and the 1930s. These are located at 1201 Joseph Avenue, 901 Meridian Street, and 1103 Stainback Avenue. The earliest church building is the one at 1103 Stainback, originally home to Grace Baptist Church. The Grace Baptist congregation raised funds for the

building and men and boys of the congregation physically built the church.[129] The construction took place from around 1911 to 1912, and was overseen by W. H. Runions.[130] Runions, a Baptist church building missionary, claimed to have overseen the construction of thirty-nine Baptist churches in Tennessee as of 1913.[131] The Grace Baptist building is Neoclassical in style, with a pedimented front and four Doric columns, resembling a Greek temple.[132] Both the columns and the building itself are constructed of beige brick, which is an unusual column material. A photograph of the church soon after its completion in 1912 seems to show that the pediment is made of the same brick as the rest of the building, although it is currently covered with siding. Perhaps, because the money for the building came only from fundraising, the congregation was unable to afford other materials for the main church structure. The foundation is made of rough cut stone.

[129] "Benefit for the Grace Baptist Church," *Nashville Banner,* November 11, 1911, 26.
[130] "Willing Hands Work on Church," *Nashville Banner*, December 1, 1911, 4.
[131] "Thirty-Nine Church Buildings," *Baptist and Reflector,* October 2, 1913, 4.
[132] Jeffery Howe, *Houses of Worship* (San DIego: Thunder Bay Press, 2003), 267.



GRACE BAPTIST CHURCH, NASHVILLE, TENN.

*(Figure 2.28) Grace Baptist soon after its completion. It may be possible that this photograph was retouched, as the columns are currently not white and the foundation is made of light colored stone.*[133]


*(Figure 2.29) Grace Baptist Church building in present-day.*

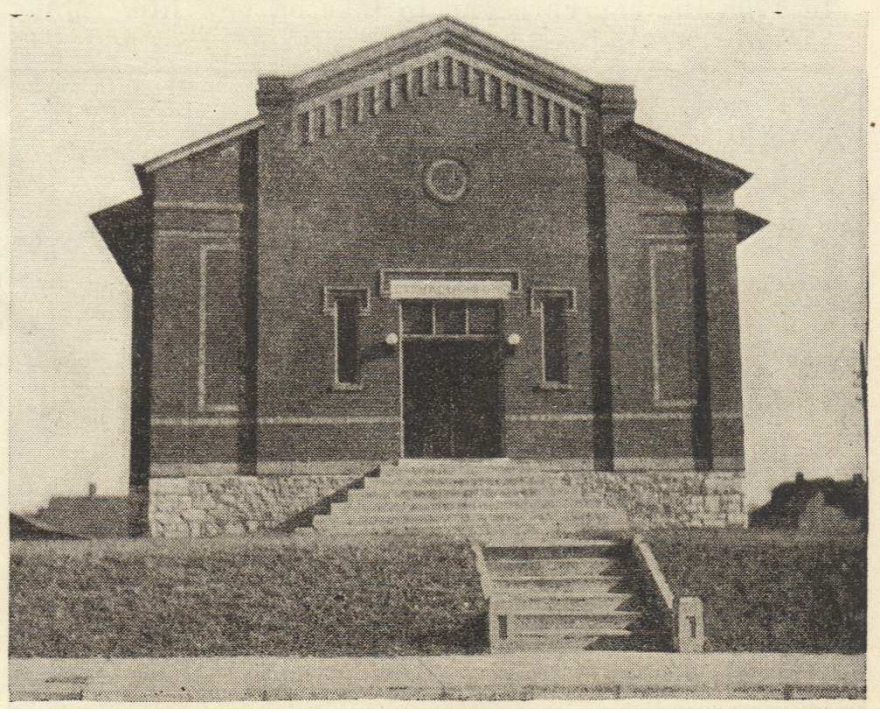
[133] *Baptist and Reflector,* June 13, 1912, 6.

The church building at 1201 Joseph Avenue was constructed from 1921 to 1922 for the Joseph Avenue Church of Christ. Since 1904 the congregation had been located on the west side of Joseph Avenue, but by 1921 the congregation had outgrown their original building and chose to construct a new one.[134] They purchased the lot opposite their original location, where they had previously held tent revivals.[135] The building at 1201 Joseph Avenue was completed in the fall of 1922. It is constructed of pressed brick and stone with a rough stone foundation. Its windows are tall and rectangular with drip mold crowns that are typical of the Italianate style. These windows are mostly located along the sides of the building, although there are two smaller versions of them flanking the entrance. The entrance also features a transom window directly above the doors and a decorative stone panel above the transom which is engraved with "Joseph Avenue Church of Christ." The front of the church also features four brick pilasters in groups of two on either side of the entrance.

Of all the churches in Cleveland Park, 1201 Joseph Avenue has undergone the most dramatic change since its construction. In addition to being painted entirely white, the top third of the building has been removed, most likely during a 1979 reroofing.[136] This renovation removed several interesting features, such as a circular decorative element in the center of the facade, colored brickwork at the top of the gable, and the capitals of the pilasters. The church originally had four belt courses also made of colored

[134] H Leo Boles, "General History of the Church in Nashville," *Gospel Advocate,* 81, no. 49 (December 1939): 1152-1153.
[135] "Evangelist Boll to Conclude Sunday," *Nashville Banner,* September 16 1922, 3.
[136] "Parcel Viewer," 1201 Joseph Avenue, Permit History.

brick, but only two remain visible. These are identifiable because the bricks in the belt courses were also oriented differently than those in the main walls. Other changes made to the building include the addition of a wider stone stairway and the enclosure of all of the side windows. The windows in the foundation have been filled with cinderblock and the windows in the main floor have been covered with plywood.



*(Figure 2.30) 1201 Joseph Avenue ca. 1939.*[137]

[137] Boles, 1152-1153.

*(Figure 2.31) 1201 Joseph Avenue in present-day.*

The third of Cleveland Park's early twentieth-century churches is located at 901 Meridian Street. The congregation of Meridian Street Methodist Church had the church and educational wing built starting in 1925. Construction on the Greek Revival sanctuary finished in 1936. The Meridian Street Methodist congregation formed from two smaller Methodist congregations in the area, McFerrin Methodist Episcopal and Alex Erwin Methodist. Both of these congregations' previous churches were demolished and the new building at 901 Meridian used materials salvaged from the two older church buildings. George D. Waller, a prominent Nashville architect, designed both the sanctuary and the educational building. Waller designed many schools and churches in Nashville, and 908 Meridian is one of his most intact projects still standing today, as the

building has remained relatively unchanged in is exterior and interior.[138] As with Grace Baptist Church, the funds for the Meridian Street Methodist Church were raised by the congregation.

Both buildings are made of red brick and white stone, although they have several differences. The educational section has rectangular clear glass windows, with brick pilasters between each bay of windows. It also has a smooth stone foundation. The roof of the educational section is flat, except for a small decorative gable at each end. Meanwhile, the sanctuary portion has more decorative colored glass windows. The windows on the side of the building are tall and rounded at the top, and the windows at the front are rectangular. The sanctuary has a rough stone foundation. Its entrance features a large white stone pediment with four evenly spaced white stone Doric columns. The pediment's architrave is engraved with "Meridian Street Methodist."

[138] Kate Sproul, "Meridian Street Methodist Church and its Descendants," Research Report, MTSU Center for Historic Preservation, December 8, 2016, 2-5.

*(Figure 2.32) 901 Meridian, front view.*

*(Figure 2.33) 901 Meridian, side view including educational section.*

There are several church buildings in Cleveland Park from the second half of the twentieth century. Two are large, formally designed buildings and three are more vernacular. The first of these is the 1951 addition to Grace Baptist Church at 1100 Lischey. The addition, which faces out onto Lischey Avenue, is large essentially a second whole church building, and today the original Grace Baptist and its addition function as

two separate churches. The 1951 building is in the Colonial Revival style, which was popular between 1880 and the 1950s.[139] The building features a large steeple with a square brick base and one circular window in each facet of the steeple. The church has pedimented entrance with four evenly spaced Corinthian columns and a fanlight in the center of the pediment. The building's foundation and walls are brick. The windows are similar to those of 901 Meridian, as they are also tall with rounded tops. However, the windows on 1100 Lischey are clear glass. Above the windows is a belt course made of white stone. The main entrance of the church consists of a set of double doors with a projecting segmented pediment supported by two triangular knee braces. Below the pediment is a transom window. There are two less elaborate entrances, one on either side of the main entrance. These doors each have a decorative white keystone above them.

[139] Howe, *Houses of Worship,* 250.

*(Figure 2.34) 1100 Lischey, side view.*

*(Figure 2.35) 1100 Lischey, front.*

The other large church dating from the late twentieth century is Cleveland Street Missionary Baptist Church, located at 608 Cleveland Street. The congregation has owned its present lot since 1922, and in 1986 construction began on the current church building there.[140] The building is made of brown brick and is modern in style. It has a covered arcade along the side supported by square brown brick piers. The end of the church has a jerkinhead gable with a tall centered rectangular window. The church also has a small steeple that is set back from the roofline.

*(Figure 2.36) 608 Cleveland Street, front view.*

[140] "Parcel Viewer," 608 Cleveland Street, Ownership History.


*(Figure 2.37) 608 Cleveland Street, side view.*

The other churches in Cleveland Park are much smaller and less formally designed than the other five prominent church buildings in the neighborhood. Two churches, located at 1027 North 5th Street and 1001 North 5th Street, are simple cinderblock structures with front-gabled roofs. The church at 1027 North 5th, the predominantly African American Faith Temple Church of God in Christ, has a steeple and a second, smaller front gable forming the entrance. The door is covered by a third, even smaller gable. The sides of the building have simple rectangular windows. 1027 North 5th was likely built around 1961, as that it the year that the trustees of the Church of God in Christ purchased the lot.[141] The other cinderblock church, CHANGE Ministries, is located at 1001 North 5th Street and is even more unadorned. Its front has an off-

[141]"Parcel Viewer," 1027 North 5th Street, Ownership History.

centered door covered by an awning and a small cross attached near the top of the gable. This church also has a large prefabricated addition at the back. Russell Tabernacle Church, at 1025 Meridian Street, is a converted Craftsman house. The house has a pyramidal roof with a centered hipped dormer. The house's original brick porch has been enclosed, and has three narrow, asymmetrical windows. The window of the dormer has been covered with plywood.

*(Figure 2.38) 1027 North 5th Street.*

*(Figure 2.39) 1005 North 5th Street.*

*(Figure 2.40) 1025 Meridian Street.*

In the 1960s, urban renewal funds were used to make several changes to Cleveland Park. Most significantly, eighteen acres of land which were home to the neighborhood's Black population were cleared to create Cleveland Street Park. Included in the park's creation was the construction of the Cleveland Park Community Center, designed by Nashville architect Randall Nile Yearwood.[142] The community center is made of multicolored brown brick which is patterned in horizontal stripes of alternating lighter and darker brick. The building is long and low, with a main building and a gymnasium. It has a flat roof with wide overhanging eaves, and its only windows are ribbon windows located just under the eaves. The ribbon windows on the main building are continuous, while on the gymnasium they are in groups of six and two. The building is partially painted pink, but the window frames and parts of the eaves appear to have originally been painted dark red.

[142] "10 New Centers Planned," *Nashville Banner,* April 3, 1963, 1.

*(Figure 2.41) Cleveland Park Community Center.*

The Cleveland Park Community Center is unusual in the fact that it is Prairie style, indicated by its horizontal brick detailing, ribbon windows, and wide overhanging eaves.[143] The Prairie style was typically used for homes and the height of its popularity came several decades before the construction of the Cleveland Park Community Center, making it an unusual choice for a brand new building.[144] However, Yearwood seemed to have specifically designed the Cleveland Park Community Center to fit in with the existing neighborhood. In a 1970 article in *The Tennessean,* Yearwood and his partner declared that they wanted their designs to "be considered in the light of the total community and be good neighbors to other structures in the area."[145] When designing the community center, Yearwood likely took inspiration from the time in which many of the neighborhood's Craftsman houses would have been constructed. Yearwood's approach is unusual for a building constructed as part of an urban renewal project. Urban renewal often aimed to "annihilate the material landscape of the past," and

[143] McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses,* 438-443.
[144] Spencer Hart, *Wright Rooms*, (Rochester, New York: Grange Books, 1998), 8.
[145] Clara Hieronymus, "Music City Row Gets a New 'Good Neighbor," *The Tennessean,* September 20, 1970, 138.

many urban renewal projects were designed in the Modernist style that was popular in the decades following WWII.[146] With its historically-inspired design, the Cleveland Park Community Center stands out from other buildings of the time.

*(Figure 2.42) Close-up of gymnasium side.*

[146] Sharon Zukin, *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 14.

## Chapter Three: Gentrification in Cleveland Park

After experiencing thirty years of decline, Cleveland Park at the beginning of the 21st century had a reputation as a dangerous and undesirable place to live. In addition to issues with drug related crimes and illegal trash dumping, many houses in the neighborhood had fallen into disrepair and had codes violations. In many cases, these houses belonged to absentee landlords who did not maintain their properties. Neglected properties presented several issues: they contributed to Cleveland Park's negative image; they sometimes resulted in fires which damaged surrounding properties; and they increased concerns about crime. Residents feared that criminal activity would take place in one of the number of abandoned properties in the neighborhood, where "front doors stand wide open, inviting trespassers."[147] In the 2001 property assessments, most houses in Cleveland Park were valued at around $50,000.[148] In comparison, according to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the median home price in the South in 2001 was $154,500.[149]

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, as Cleveland Park dealt with crime and absentee landlords, gentrification began in East Nashville to the east of Gallatin Pike.

---

[147] Nancy Deville, "Cleveland Park residents demand action on dilapidated rentals- Rundown, neglected houses create problems, neighbors say," *The Tennessean,* July 22, 2005, M7.

[148] Parcel viewer, Assessment Histories. In order to get an overview of property values in the neighborhood without having to look at every single house, I looked at houses on the Eastern sides of North 2nd Street, Meridian Street, Stainback Avenue, North 5th Street, and North 7th Street. I noted the Total Assessed Value of each of these houses from 2001 to 2021.

[149] "Historical Data," U.S. Housing Market Conditions, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, https://www.huduser.gov/periodicals/ushmc/winter2001/histdat08.htm

Although urban pioneers had been moving into East Nashville and renovating old homes since the 1970s, gentrification gained momentum after the 1998 tornado that swept through the area.[150] The storm caused widespread damage, and this destruction brought with it a wave of insurance money and new investment that was used to revitalize the area.[151] In the early and mid-2000s East Nashville became a real estate hotspot, and rising property values pushed out residents who had lived there for many years.[152] East Nashville's popularity eventually spread to Cleveland Park, bringing urban pioneers across "that great frontier, Gallatin Pike" into the neighborhood.[153]

Although Cleveland Park had many issues with deteriorating houses, much of the neighborhood's historic fabric remained intact. Vacant Queen Anne cottages and Craftsman bungalows began to attract buyers who aimed to fix up the dilapidated properties. A 2006 *Tennessean* article titled "Couple and neighbors reclaiming Joseph Avenue: Neighborhood tackles area crime as some homes get facelifts, improvements" profiled a couple who had purchased a historic house in Joseph Avenue and spent tens of thousands of dollars renovating it. According to the couple, "more people are taking an interest in the area because of its historical character."[154] In addition to the

[150] Rachel Louise Martin, *Hot, Hot Chicken: A Nashville Story* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2020), 137-145.
[151] William Jordan Miller, "A Model for Identifying Gentrification in East Nashville, Tennessee" MA Thesis, University of Kentucky, Lexington, 2015, 33.
https://uknowledge.uky.edu/geography_etds/33
[152] Martin, *Hot, Hot Chicken,* 145.
[153] Chas Sisk, "Home buyers look westward as E. Nashville market peaks: For first time in five years, real estate hotspot experiences a slowdown." *The Tennessean,* November 19, 2006, E1.
[154] Chris Jones, "Couple and neighbors reclaiming Joseph Avenue: Neighborhood tackles area crime as some homes get facelifts, improvements," *The Tennessean,* March 1, 2006, M1.

neighborhood's historic character, buyers were attracted because of Cleveland Park's low housing prices and its proximity to the "hip" East Nashville.[155]

One explanation for the sudden increase in activity in Cleveland Park is the rent gap theory, developed by Neil Smith in 1979. The rent gap theory holds that gentrification occurs in areas that are disinvested but which have the potential to generate profit when redeveloped.[156] In the early 2000s, Cleveland Park was heavily disinvested, but was located near a popular part of Nashville and had a large number of dilapidated but still mostly intact historic houses. Because of this, homes could be purchased cheaply in the neighborhood, renovated, and sold for much more the original sale price. The couple on Joseph Avenue are a prime example of this pattern. They purchased their house in 2002 for $40,000 and sold it in 2007 for $176,000.[157]

The couple were far from alone, as "investors, bargain hunters, and young professionals" began to pour into Cleveland Park in the mid-to-late 2000s with similar intentions of buying and renovating historic homes.[158] The people interested in fixing up houses in Cleveland Park were not only individuals and couples wanting to renovate a house for themselves. Some people made a living buying homes, renovating them, and selling them to young couples who wanted to live in an up-and-coming neighborhood.[159]

---

[155] Colleen Creamer, "Home buyers can still find deals in hip East Nashville," *The Tennessean,* April 28, 2005, X6.
[156] P.E. Moskowitz, *How to Kill a City: Gentrification, Inequality, and the Fight for the Neighborhood,* (New York: Bold Type Books, 2018), 37-38
[157] Parcel viewer.
[158] Sisk, "Home buyers look westward," E1.
[159] Angela Patterson, "Shopping for an affordable home in East Nashville takes patience," *The Tennessean,* September 5, 2007, M6.

Growing interest and investment in Cleveland Park can be seen in the property assessments, where many properties' Total Assessed Value increased steadily between 2001 and 2009.[160] In 2007 one Nashville real estate agent noted that Cleveland Park had experienced "more activity…in the last two years than in the 15 years before put together."[161]

Once Cleveland Park became a hotspot for home-flippers and urban pioneers, it received several improvements from both government agencies and resident groups, who wanted to attract more middle-class residents to the neighborhood. Groups like the Cleveland Park Neighborhood Association, led by Sam McCullough, embraced the neighborhood's historic character and used it to improve the neighborhood's image. In 2009 the CPNA received a federal grant to make improvements. The group used these funds to make repairs to the Cleveland Park Community Center, and also to add historically inspired stop signs and signs identifying the neighborhood as "Historic Cleveland Park."[162] Around this time the neighborhood also approached the Metropolitan Historic Zoning Commission about the possibility of a historic zoning overlay for the area, which would review demolitions and new construction.[163] The effort was ultimately unsuccessful due to lack of support from Cleveland Park's city councilmember, but it does demonstrate how residents were increasingly interested in

[160] Parcel Viewer.
[161] Kate Howard, "Ellington Parkway, once a dividing line, now helps sell homes," *The Tennessean,* January 19,2007 B1.
[162] Jenny Upchurch, "Neighborhood is responsible for new signs," *The Tennessean,* August 20, 2009, B2.
[163] Robin Ziegler, MHZC Historic Zoning Administrator email to author, April 26, 2022.

the neighborhood's history. The increased interest in Cleveland Park's history led the Metro Historical Commission in late 2009 to ask MTSU's Center for Historic Preservation to conduct a preliminary survey to assess the area's historical and architectural patterns.

Also in 2009, the Tennessee Department of Transportation and the Metro Development and Housing Agency gave $2 million to upgrade Dickerson Pike, which borders Cleveland Park. Dickerson Pike was known as a hotspot for crime, especially drugs and prostitution, but many residents and business owners hoped that the money would revitalize the street and surrounding area and bring in more businesses and residents. Sam McCullough, an East Nashville neighborhood activist, was quoted in an article about the Dickerson project, saying "with a more aesthetic look, people will migrate." The upgrades included sidewalks, curbs, pedestrian crossings, landscaping, and eight life-sized buffalo statues which cost $180,000.[164] In 2011, Vernon Winfrey, one of Cleveland Park's former councilmembers, also contributed to the revitalization of the neighborhood. Winfrey planned a mixed-use development around the site of his barbershop on Lischey Avenue, would have included "retail, apartments, townhomes, and single-family dwellings" in addition to a rebuilt version of his barbershop.[165] While only the new barbershop was built and the rest of the mixed-use development never came about, at the time Winfrey and his wife hoped that the project would help inspire more development in the neighborhood.

[164] Nancy Deville, "Merchants bank on Dickerson Upgrades," *The Tennessean,* April 8, 2009, J1.
[165] Nancy Deville, "Vernon Winfrey invests in East Nashville legacy," *The Tennessean,* November 13, 2011, B1.

The first few years of Cleveland Park's revitalization seem to have mostly centered around the renovation of existing buildings. There was very little new construction in the neighborhood in the 1990s and 2000s. In my research I only found four houses constructed in Cleveland Park between 2000 and 2012. New construction began to pick up again in 2012. That year saw the addition of two new houses, and since then Cleveland Park as gained additional new houses each year, usually built in place of demolished older houses. By the early 2010s, Cleveland Park had "come full circle," and in 2013 a new mixed-use development at the corner of Lischey Avenue and Cleveland Street marked "one of the first examples of business growth" in the neighborhood."[166] In 2014, Cleveland Park was featured in the pilot episode of a potential HGTV home renovation show based in Nashville. The show, called "Nashville Flipped," focused on renovating historic homes in historic neighborhoods and shot its pilot episode at 331 Richardson Avenue.[167] Ultimately HGTV did not pick up the show, but the fact that the pilot chose to showcase Cleveland Park shows that the neighborhood had successfully rebranded as a quaint historic neighborhood full of houses ready to be fixed up.

In 2015 there were signs that Cleveland Park was in danger of gentrification, which threatened to displace lower-income residents who had lived there for many years and to lead to the demolition of historic properties in the neighborhood. In one *Tennessean* article, Cleveland Park was described as "facing a balancing act between

[166] Brian Wilson, "Cleveland Park comes full circle: East Nashville neighborhood battles back," *The Tennessean,* March 13, 2013, N1.
[167] "Nashville home-flipping show considered by HGTV," *The Tennessean,* December 18, 2014, A2

new development and maintaining neighborhood character."[168] While the neighborhood had been mostly low-income for many years, increasing numbers of middle-class people were moving into either renovated historic houses or entirely new houses. As Cleveland Park become home to wealthier people, property values began to increase. With the exception of a slight decrease between 2009 and 2013, property values in Cleveland Park had been increasing since 2001. The increase in Cleveland Park's property values became especially noticeable in 2015. Property values increased across Nashville that year, but in a list of the neighborhoods in the city with the largest increases in property value, Cleveland Park took second place with an increase of 25.6% between 2013 and 2015.[169] In Cleveland Park, as in most neighborhoods, increasing property values led to displacement of low-income residents. By the mid-2010s, Cleveland Park's population, which had been made up mostly of lower-income African Americans since the 1970s, began to face displacement.

One indication that longtime residents were being driven out of Cleveland Park was the relocation of Ray of Hope Community Church from their original home at 901 Meridian Street (the former Meridian Street Methodist Church building). Ray of Hope, which was and still is a predominantly African American congregation, had begun in Cleveland Park in the 1990s, but in 2016 the church moved its congregation to a new location on Murfreesboro Pike, several miles away from Cleveland Park. According to

[168] Anita Wadhwani, "Council sees historic turnover" *The Tennessean,* August 7, 2015, A4.
[169] Joey Garrison, "Nashville Rising: Residential property values increasing at 'historic' clip," *The Tennessean,* November 23, 2015, A1.

Ray of Hope's Reverend Renita Weems, the church chose to relocate because of changes in the neighborhood population. "The neighborhood is changing and so has the church…We have enjoyed being in the neighborhood. We are ready to make some shifts."[170] Just as the departure of historically white churches from Cleveland Park in the 1960s and 1970s reflected white flight from the neighborhood, the departure of one predominantly Black church likely signals that the neighborhood's Black population may be shrinking. However, there are still several Black congregations remaining in Cleveland Park, including Grace Apostolic Church and Cleveland Street Missionary Baptist.

As gentrification increasingly threatened Cleveland Park, residents became more interested in preserving the neighborhood's history. In the fall of 2015, neighborhood activists Sam McCullough and Leslie Boone asked the MTSU Center for Historic Preservation (CHP) to assist in researching the history of East Nashville's historic Black neighborhoods. After a series of discussions, the neighborhood group formed the District Five history project. In 2016 the project resulted in community meetings to discuss the area's history and the threat of gentrification to East Nashville neighborhoods like Cleveland Park. Also in 2016, the project led to the creation of the driving tour brochure *Places, Spaces, and Voices: Northeast Nashville's Historic African American Community*, published by the CHP in association with the Cleveland Park Neighborhood Association and First Baptist Church, East Nashville.[171]

[170] Getahn Ward, "Historic site under contract" *The Tennessean,* January 19, 2016.
[171] "District 5 Project, Nashville, 2015-2017," Research Files, MTSU Center for Historic Preservation.

In late 2016 Historic Nashville Inc. placed Cleveland Park on its Nashville Nine list of endangered historic places. The neighborhood earned a place on the list because of "concerns about teardowns of historic homes to make way for luxury dwellings amid rapid redevelopment and rising property values."[172] According to Sam McCullough, "We're losing our character out here so rapidly that it's not funny. There's such a fear that this are will be gentrified, that our history will be gone after a few years."[173] 2016 would not be the last time Cleveland Park appeared on the Nashville Nine, as new development continued to increase.

As new construction picked up after 2012, teardowns of historic homes became a concern. Houses built on lots where the previous house had been demolished were often very large and very expensive. One example can be seen at 1207 North 7th Street. Regal Homes Co. purchased this property in 2014 for $130,000 and tore down the preexisting house to build a new one. The new house sold in 2015 for $343,000.[174] Additionally, in 2015 Cleveland Park received its first two sets of tall-skinnies. One pair, located at 1204 North 6th Street earned well over $350,000 for each unit.[175] In comparison, the median sales price for homes in Davidson County in 2015 was $217,900, meaning that newly built houses in Cleveland Park were often far more expensive than the older houses in the neighborhood.[176] Additionally, because builders

[172] Getahn Ward, "The endangered list: Historic Nashville Inc. names Music City's most threatened historic places," *The Tennessean,* October 9, 2016, D1.
[173] *Ibid.*
[174] Parcel Viewer.
[175] Parcel Viewer.
[176] Garrison, "Nashville Rising."

realized that they could sell new houses for such high prices in the neighborhood, older residents often faced pressure to sell their houses to developers and move, an issue which still affects residents today. While conducting my survey of the neighborhood in the summer of 2021, one woman stopped me as soon as I approached her house and said "we're not interested in selling." When I asked what she meant, she said she had received about a hundred phone calls asking her to buy her house, which is located on Lischey Avenue. Many residents have seemingly agreed to sell their houses. There are now fourteen sets of tall-skinnies in the neighborhood, along with many new single houses.

In 2018, Historic Nashville Inc. once again placed Cleveland Park on its Nashville Nine list, this time in a group with three other "historic working class neighborhoods" which were all "in the midst of aggressive redevelopment, as the city's urban core spreads outward with its fast-growing population."[177] Cleveland Park's placement on the list in this year may have been inspired by new development in the neighborhood, including an upscale apartment block on Lischey Avenue. This apartment block signaled that Cleveland Park was "being swept into the region's development boom"[178] Development did in fact pick up even further in Cleveland Park after 2018. In 2019 four sets of tall-skinnies and a block of condos were built in the neighborhood, in addition to several new single-family houses. From my notes on the neighborhood, 2019 had the

[177] Sandy Mazza, "Historic places matter," *The Tennessean,* October 27 2018, A1 and A15. The three other neighborhoods were Chestnut Hill, Buena Vista, and the Nations.
[178] Sandy Mazza, "Emotions run high as building boom arrives," *The Tennessean,* September 19, 2018, A10.

highest number of new construction projects in Cleveland Park in the 21st century. Property values have also continued to rise, and most houses in the neighborhood are now worth at least $300,000, but commonly over $500,000.[179]

[179] "Nashville, TN," Zillow https://www.zillow.com/nashville-tn/?searchQueryState=%7B%22pagination%22%3A%7B%7D%2C%22usersSearchTerm%22%3A%22Nashville%2C%20TN%22%2C%22mapBounds%22%3A%7B%22west%22%3A-86.76939364472199%2C%22east%22%3A-86.76569219628144%2C%22south%22%3A36.18775402544554%2C%22north%22%3A36.190607146600826%7D%2C%22regionSelection%22%3A%5B%7B%22regionId%22%3A6118%2C%22regionType%22%3A6%7D%5D%2C%22isMapVisible%22%3Atrue%2C%22filterState%22%3A%7B%22sort%22%3A%7B%22value%22%3A%22days%22%7D%2C%22ah%22%3A%7B%22value%22%3Atrue%7D%7D%2C%22isListVisible%22%3Atrue%2C%22mapZoom%22%3A18%7D

## Conclusion

In the Spring of 2021, some Cleveland Park residents once again expressed interest in a historic zoning overlay for the neighborhood, possibly as a response to the announcement of Oracle's plans for East Nashville and the likely influx of new development it will bring to the area. A historic zoning overlay could help protect Cleveland Park by controlling what can be demolished and built within the overlay, and by stabilizing property values.[180] However, according to Robin Ziegler of the Metropolitan historic zoning commission, an overlay is unlikely at this point due to lack of interest from Cleveland Park residents. One way to increase interest from neighborhood residents and the city as a whole could be to add some individual buildings to the National Register of Historic Places. Examples of buildings that would be good additions to the NRHP in Cleveland Park include Cleveland Street Missionary Baptist Church, the Cleveland Park Community Center, and Grace Baptist Church building at 1101 Stainback.

While Cleveland Street Missionary Baptist Church's current building only dates from the 1980s, it would be a good candidate for the NRHP because the congregation has been in that same location for 100 years, and it is one of the only remaining sections of Cleveland Park's historic African American community left after urban renewal.

[180] Robin Ziegler, email to author, April 26, 2022.

Additionally, the congregation is the oldest in the neighborhood, beginning in 1889.[181] The church building itself would not be eligible for the NRHP since it is not 50 years old, but perhaps the property where the church is located could be added. The Grace Baptist Church building at 1101 Stainback would be a good addition to the NRHP because it is the oldest church building remaining in the neighborhood. Additionally, the building was physically built by members of the Grace Baptist congregation, and construction was overseen by Baptist Missionary W. H. Runions. Runions claimed to have overseen the construction of nearly forty Baptist churches across Tennessee. There is little information about Runions and his church projects, but a nomination for Grace Baptist Church could lead to more research on that topic. Cleveland Park Community Center would be a good NRHP addition mostly because of its architectural significance. The community center is unique because it is a Prairie Style public building constructed as part of a 1960s urban renewal project in the south.

Adding these buildings to the NRHP could be a step towards the neighborhood getting a historic zoning overlay, and would hopefully bring more recognition to Cleveland Park's history and the threats it faces. A historic overlay could be used in combination with other policies to help lessen the impact of gentrification. Other things that could relieve gentrification in Cleveland Park include a restriction on non-owner-occupied Airbnbs and the construction of more housing wherever possible, which would both make more housing available for incoming residents and possibly lessen pressure

[181] Our Heritage," About Us, Cleveland Street Missionary Baptist Church, https://www.clevelandstreetbaptistchurch.org/about-2

on current residents to sell their houses. There are currently about 67 Airbnbs in Cleveland Park, and many of them are likely non-owner-occupied, meaning that the house is being used only as a short-term rental and no one can live there.[182] If non-owner-occupied Airbnbs were restricted, it would open up more housing in Cleveland Park. There are not many places in the neighborhood to build new housing, except for Cleveland Street Park. Perhaps a chunk of the park could be reclaimed for residential use, and apartments or condos cold be built there. The park was originally a residential area, so it would make sense if part of it were once again used for housing.

Cleveland Park is rapidly changing, and residents who have lived in the neighborhood for many years are increasingly being driven out. A historic zoning overlay could be one way to help residents stay in their homes, and would highlight the history of a neighborhood which has long been ignored by historians. Many historic overlay areas are in historically wealthy areas, like the nearby Edgefield, but Cleveland Park and other working-class neighborhoods deserve to be recognized just as much as any other, more affluent, neighborhoods.

[182] The Airbnb website does not show the exact locations or address of the Aribnbs, so I cannot look at their permit histories to see whether the short-term rental permit is owner-occupied or not.

Bibliography

*Baptist and Reflector,* June 13, 1912.

Battle, Dick. "$1 Million street plans approved." *Nashville Banner,* June 8, 1961, 12.

Battle, Dick. "Brisk vote names 33 to Council." *Nashville Banner,* November 28, 1962. 1.

Blakeslee, G.H. *Nashville—Tenn. And vicinity.* 1863. Map. https://www.log.gov/item/2003630454.

Boles, H. Leo. "General History of the Church in Nashville." *Gospel Advocate,* 81, no. 49 (December 1939): 1152-1153.

"Buy a lot in Oakwood Park." *Nashville Banner,* May 10 1912, 15.

Caldwell, Nat. "It's a $5 Million Business: Home Repair, Modernization More Than Doubled in 2 Years." *The Tennessean,* August 28, 1960, 33.

"Community Center Dedication Set." *The Tennessean,* January 30 1964, 18.

"Councilman says residents better their neighborhood." *The Tennessean,* August 12, 1992, 58.

Creamer, Colleen. "Home buyers can still find deals in hip East Nashville." *The Tennessean,* April 28 2005, X6.

Deville, Nancy. "Cleveland Park residents demand action on dilapidated rentals-Rundown, neglected houses create problems, neighbors say." *The Tennessean,* July 22 2005, M7.

Deville, Nancy. "Merchants bank on Dickerson Upgrades." *The Tennessean,* April 8 2009, J1.

"District 5 Project, Nashville, 2015-2017," Research Files, MTSU Center for Historic Preservation.

Foster, Wilbur F. *Map of the city of Nashville and vicinity.* [S.I.: s.n, 1877] Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/2011590011.

Gardner, Edwin Maximillian, "Map of Nashville, Tennessee, 1907." 1845-1935, 1907. TSLA Map Collection. 46471, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Tennessee Virtual Archive.

https://teva.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15138coll23/id/10603 accessed 2022-02-09.

Garrison, Joey. “Nashville Rising: Residential property values increasing at ‘historic’ clip.” *The Tennessean,* November 23, 2015, A1.

Goldsmith, Thomas. “Neighborhood Gets Free Locks.” *The Tennessean,* November 23, 1983, 49.

Greenburg, William. “Birch Swamps in Judgeship Race.” *The Tennessean,* August 7, 1970, 15.

Hieronymus, Clara. “Music City Row Gets a New ‘Good Neighbor.” *The Tennessean,* September 20, 1970.

Historic Aerials. “Nashville Tennessee.” Viewer. https://www.historicaerials.com/viewer/275742

Howard, Kate. “Ellington Parkway, once a dividing line, now helps sell homes.” *The Tennessean,* January 19,2007 B1.

Howell, Robert Boyte C. "Map of Nashville, Tennessee." 1801-1868, 1903, TSLA Map Collection, 44012, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Tennessee Virtual Archive, https://teva.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15138coll23/id/9868 accessed 2022-02-09.

Jeong, Yihyun. “Software giant Oracle wants new $1.2B office hub on River North.” *The Tennessean.* April 15. 2021, A1, A16.

Jones, Chris. “Couple and neighbors reclaiming Joseph Avenue: Neighborhood tackles area crime as some homes get facelifts, improvements.” *The Tennessean,* March 1 2006, M1.

Lewis, Dwight. “Her ‘hood has changed since Oprah lived here.” *The Tennessean*, November 4, 1993, 10.

Marshall & Bruce Co., Nashville. *New map of Nashville Tennessee.* [Nashville, 1916] Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/75695990/.

McKnight, Gail. “Residents seek improved Metro services.” *The Tennessean.* July 30, 1985, 15.

McPherson, Sam. “10 new Centers Planed.” *Nashville Banner,* April 3, 1963, 1, 36.

“Midstate Religion News.” *The Tennessean.* November 14 1981, 10.

“Minister Avers Church is not ‘Clean-Up Agent.’” *The Tennessean.* August 28 1922.

*Nashville Banner.* September 19, 1904, 3.

*Nashville Banner.* November 11, 1911.

*Nashville Banner*. December 1, 1911.

*Nashville Banner.* November 16, 1923.

*Nashville Banner.* December 20, 1940, 32.

*Nashville Banner.* Feb 18, 1953.

*Nashville Banner.* April 3, 1963.

“Nashville home-flipping show considered by HGTV.” *The Tennessean.* December 18, 2014, A2.

Nashville Planning Department. “Parcel Viewer.” 1201 Joseph Avenue Ownership History. https://maps.nashville.gov/ParcelViewer/

Nelson, Robert K., LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., “Mapping Inequality.” *American Panorama*, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, accessed February 9, 2022, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/[Nashville].

Nord, Drew. “Residents march against prostitutes: want Dickerson Road cleared of drugs, too.” *The Tennessean.* August 4, 1990. 4.

“Oakwood Park Lots All Day Sunday.” *Nashville Banner.* May 11, 1912, 12.

“Parcel Viewer.” Nashville Planning Department. https://maps.nashville.gov/ParcelViewer/

Patterson, Angela. “Shopping for an affordable home in East Nashville takes patience.” *The Tennessean.* September 5, 2007, M6.

*Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee*. Sanborn Map Company, Vol. 2, 1897. Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn08356_003/.

*Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee*. Sanborn Map Company, Vol. 3, 1914. Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn08356_007/.

Sisk, Chas. "Home buyers look westward as E. Nashville market peaks: For first time in five years, real estate hotspot experiences a slowdown." *The Tennessean.* November 19, 2006, E1.

Smith, Tammie. "NEON revived to combat crime: neighborhoods hope togetherness helps." *The Tennessean.* August 12, 1992. 58.

Talley, James. "5 Parks Slated but No Pools, Ferguson Says: Councilman in Letter to Mayor Calls East Nashville Project 'Ridiculous, Absurd, Short-Sighted." *The Tennessean.* May 14 1962, 1-2.

*The Tennessean.* March 14, 1910. 4.

*The Tennessean.* March 2, 1925. 4.

*The Tennessean*. September 6, 1946.

*The Tennessean.* October 28, 1978, 5.

"Thirty-Nine Church Buildings." *Baptist and Reflector.* October 2, 1913.

United States Census Bureau. Federal Census, 1900-1940.

Upchurch, Jenny. "Neighborhood is responsible for new signs." *The Tennessean.* August 20 2009, B2.

"Urban pioneers: A new breed of homeowner." *The Tennessean.* August 7, 1983, 67.

Wadhwani, Anita. "Council sees historic turnover." *The Tennessean.* August 7, 2015, A4.

Walters, Mildred. "Crack trade won't run her out of her lovely urban home." *The Tennessean.* July 24, 1997. 18.

Ward, Getahn. "Historic site under contract." *The Tennessean.* January 19 2016.

Ward, Getahn. "The endangered list: Historic Nashville Inc. names Music City's most threatened historic places." *The Tennessean.* October 9, 2016, D1.

Warren, Beth and Jon Yates, "Blue blanket being cast over crime." *The Tennessean.* March 2, 1998, 4.

"Willing Hands Work on Church." *Nashville Banner*. December 1, 1911.

Wilson, Brian. "Cleveland Park comes full circle: East Nashville neighborhood battles back." *The Tennessean.* March 13 2013, N1.

Zillow. "Nashville TN." https://www.zillow.com/homedetails/1232-Joseph-Ave-Nashville-TN-37207/41084698_zpid/

"5th District Council Post is Vacated." *The Tennessean.* May 25, 1970, 1.

"10 New Centers Planned." *Nashville Banner.* April 3, 1963.

"20 Win Council Seats; Others in Runoff." *The Tennessean.* August 8, 1975, 10.

Secondary Sources

Chudacoff, Howard P. and Judith E. Smith. *The Evolution of American Urban Society.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, Sixth Edition 2005.

Cleveland Street Missionary Baptist Church. "Our Heritage." About Us. https://www.clevelandstreetbaptistchurch.org/about-2

Doyle, Don. *Nashville in the New South: 1880-1930.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1985.

Doyle, Don. *Nashville Since 1920.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1985.

Grace Apostolic Church. "History." About Us. https://www.gracechurchinc.org/find-us/

Hackman, Rose. "Swimming while black: the legacy of segregated public pools lives on." *The Guardian*. August 4, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/04/black-children-swimming-drownings-segregation

Hart, Spencer. *Wright Rooms*. Rochester, New York: Grange Books, 1998.

Haruch, Steve, ed. *Greetings from New Nashville: How a Sleepy Southern Town Became 'It' City.* Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2020.

Hopkins John Linn and Marsha R. Oates. “Shotgun Houses.” *Tennessee Encyclopedia.* March 1 2018. https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/shotgun-houses/

Howe, Jeffery. *Houses of Worship.* San Diego: Thunder Bay Press, 2003.

Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States.* Oxford, New York: University of Oxford Press. 1985.

Kyriakoudes, Louis M. *The Social Origins of the Urban South: Race, Gender, and Migration in Nashville and Middle Tennessee, 1890-1930.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003.

Lovett, Bobby L. *The African-American history of Nashville, Tennessee, 1780-1930.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999.

Martin, Rachel Louise. *Hot, Hot Chicken: A Nashville Story.* Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2020.

McAlester, Virginia and Lee. *A Field Guide to American Houses.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990.

McKee, C. William. *North Edgefield Remembered: Stories of a Nashville Neighborhood.* Franklin, Tennessee: Vaughan Printing Company, 2008.

Miller, William Jordan. "A Model for Identifying Gentrification in East Nashville, Tennessee" (2015). MA thesis, Lexington: University of Kentucky, 2015. https://uknowledge.uky.edu/geography_etds/33

Moskowitz, P.E. *How to Kill a City: Gentrification, Inequality, and the Fight for the Neighborhood.* New York: Bold Type Books, 2018.

MTSU Center for Historic Preservation. *Places, Space, and Voices, Northeast Nashville’s Historic African American Community.* Murfreesboro, Tennessee: MTSU 2016.

Nickas, Lauren, Elizabeth Moore, and Carroll Van West. “McGavock-Gatewood-Webb House.” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1978), 2007.

Sproul, Kate. “Meridian Street Methodist Church (1925-1993) and its Descendants New Life Center (1993-2003) Ray of Hope Community Church 2003-present).” MTSU Center for Historic Preservation. December 8, 2016.

West, Carroll Van. *Nashville Architecture: A Guide to the City.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2015.

Zukin, Sharon. *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.