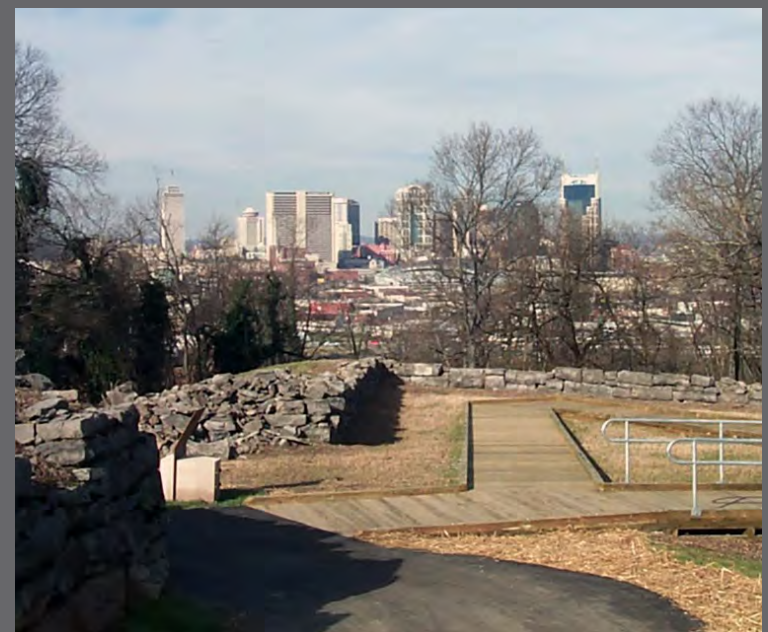


Fort Negley Park

Restoration, Rehabilitation,
and Cultural Landscape Report

AUGUST 2019





Fort Negley Park

Restoration, Rehabilitation, and Cultural Landscape Report

SEPTEMBER 2019

ENCORE
INTERPRETIVE
DESIGN

ASHWORTH
ENVIRONMENTAL
DESIGN

LOSE DESIGNS

ARDENT
GEOTECHNICAL

NASHVILLE NATIVES

TENNESSEE VALLEY
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
RESEARCH

SOUTHEASTERN
GRASSLANDS
INITIATIVE

BEARD PROPERTY
MAINTENANCE

Metro Historical Commission
Metro Parks and Recreation

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Thanks are due to Michael Pavin, Design and Survey Manager for Collier Engineering, for providing information on previous masonry proposals and site maintenance; Rick Freitag, Director of Contracting for the Tradesmen Group, for assisting in evaluation of the stonework and contributions to the treatment plan; and John Lee, President of Rock City Construction, for assisting in cost considerations for proposed structural treatments to the historic stonework. This project could not have been completed without all the previous work completed by our predecessors in the fields of historic site master planning, archaeology, and structural analysis.

We would also like to acknowledge the Metro Historical Commission Foundation, the Tennessee Historical Commission, the National Park Service, Historic Nashville Inc., the Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County, Ann Roberts Community Foundation Fund, Metro Parks, and the Friends of Fort Negley for their financial support of this project.

The activity that is the subject of this publication has been financed in part with federal funds from the National Park Service, Department of the Interior. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior. Regulations of the U.S. Department of Interior strictly prohibit unlawful discrimination in departmental Federally Assisted Programs on the basis of race, color, national origin, age, or handicap.

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1. Fort Negley is one of four Metro Parks properties in the Edgehill area associated with Nashville’s Civil War past. Two other properties besides St. Cloud Hill were the site of Union installations: Rose Park (Fort Morton) and Reservoir Park (Blockhouse Casino). The Nashville City Cemetery, located just to the east, served as a burial ground for Union troops and possibly black refugees. These parks are each within 500 yards or less of Fort Negley Park, which serves as a hub to interpret and link these significant jewels in the Metro Parks’ system. (Encore Interpretive Design)

FIGURE 2. Nashville and its Fortifications (National Archives)

FIGURE 3. 1804 Map of Nashville. Founded as an outpost settlement in 1780, Nashville was an interior hub within this Middle Border region and quite different from places like New Orleans. Without question, Nashville and Middle Tennessee were connected to the empire of cotton. However, there were also potential connections that tied the soon-to-be Tennessee capital to Louisville and points north, and to Chattanooga and the places that eventually became Birmingham and Atlanta. From its earliest moments, Nashville was a New South city (even though the term did not yet exist) because it lay within the economic geography of the Middle Border. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

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FIGURE 154. Location of subareas in the study area.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Fort Negley is recognized as one of Nashville's most significant historic and cultural resources associated with the Civil War. Since the mid-1970s, the area bounded by the ring road has been listed on the National Register of Historic Places because of the role it played between 1862 and 1867. However, Fort Negley's story is much larger than just the war. As a physical landscape transformed by generations of development and redevelopment, the place previously known as St. Cloud Hill has both witnessed and participated in the city's evolution from a frontier town nestled on the banks of the Cumberland River to an exploding twenty-first-century metropolis with almost a quarter of the state's 6.5 million residents within an hour's drive. Over the last two centuries, Nashvillians have envisioned a multiplicity of outcomes for the park site aside from its use by the Union army. In the early nineteenth century, it served as a picnic area. Following the war there were active proposals for a reservoir, a residential development, and a battlefield park. During the twentieth century, the site was remade by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) reconstruction of Fort Negley, the addition of the Adventure Science Center, and finally the construction of Greer Stadium.

The area around the park changed as well. Much of the pre-war landscape can be characterized as a mixture of large, prominent residences and expansive vistas connected to town during the 1830s by a

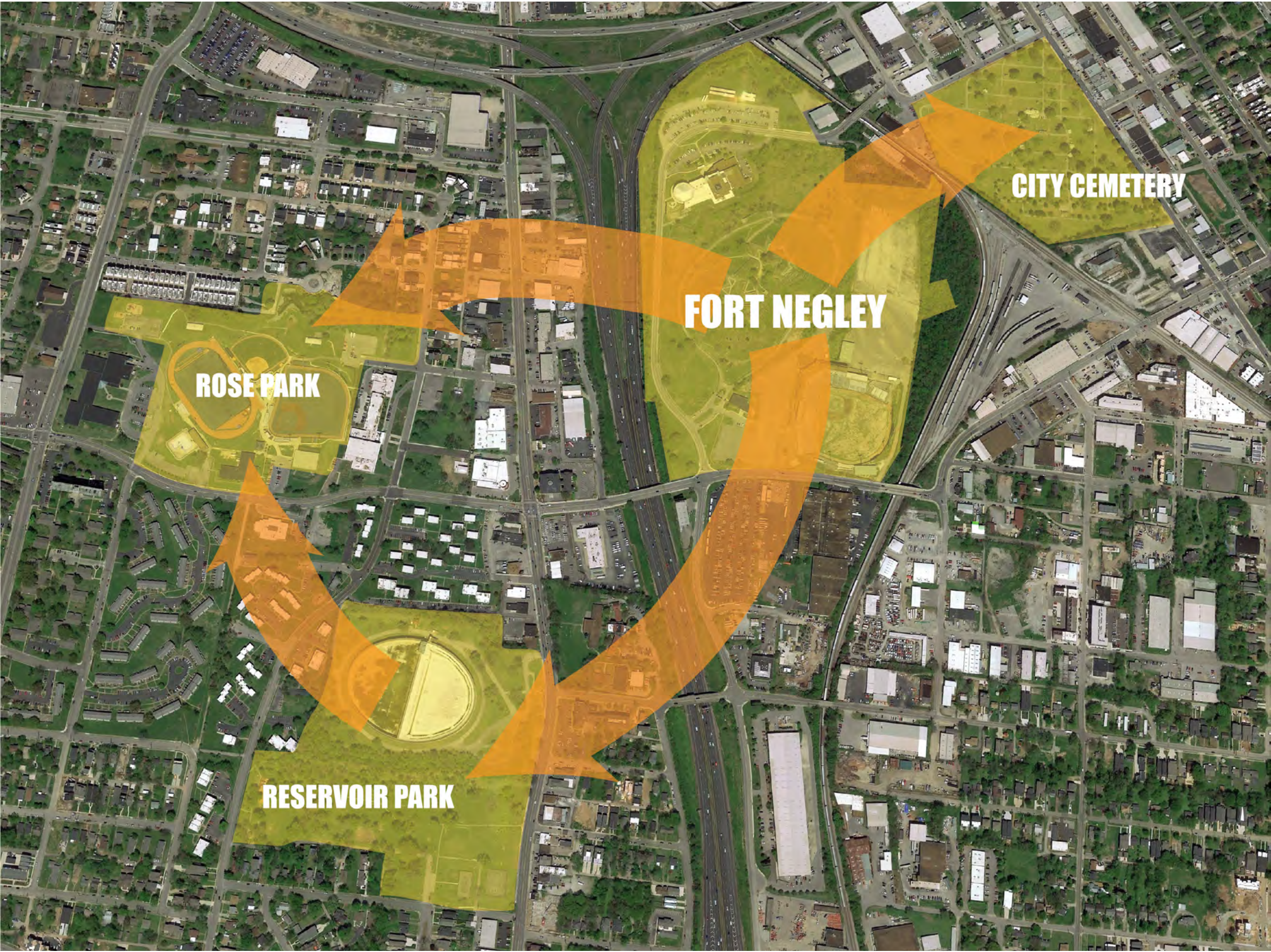


FIGURE 1. **Fort Negley is one of four Metro Parks properties in the Edgehill area associated with Nashville's Civil War past. Two other properties besides St. Cloud Hill were the site of Union installations: Rose Park (Fort Morton) and Reservoir Park (Blockhouse Casino). The Nashville City Cemetery, located just to the east, served as a burial ground for Union troops and possibly black refugees. These parks are each within 500 yards or less of Fort Negley Park, which serves as a hub to interpret and link these significant jewels in the Metro Parks' system.** (Encore Interpretive Design)

macadamized (crushed, compacted rock) turnpike. As the Civil War engulfed the entire city, including St. Cloud Hill, garrisoned troops, terminal barracks, rail yards, burial grounds, and refugee camps dominated the surrounding hinterland. Combined with other military facilities on the adjacent hills to the west, the Union web of entrenchments and fortifications created an impregnable wall against any potential Confederate attack. The Union army’s presence left an indelible mark on Nashville that still exists today.

In the decades following the war, individuals and families remaining from the refugee camps gave shape and character to the surrounding St. Cloud Hill area. Emboldened by emancipation, New Bethel and Rocktown emerged as two distinct African American settlements offering a respite from the war as well as an opportunity to create communities apart from the prescribed white hegemony. These places evolved into the Edgehill neighborhood by the turn of the twentieth century and, combined with the influx of factories, warehouses, and lumberyards, remade the St. Cloud Hill/Fort Negley area once more. The introduction of the park in 1928 and the development of the interstate highway in the 1970s further altered the neighborhood and the area’s physical and cultural landscape.

FORT NEGLEY PARK CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT AND REHABILITATION PLAN

Fort Negley was never imagined, designed, or constructed to outlast the Union army’s presence in Nashville. The primary purpose of the fortification, along with several sister installations, was to defend the city against a potential Confederate attack, protect the numerous quartermaster and railroad warehouses constructed to supply the Union field armies, and subdue what was at the time a partisan population through the demonstration of overwhelming force. Using cut limestone, wooden railroad ties and timbers, dirt, and iron rails as the primary construction materials, the largest inland masonry fortification built

during the war used both Union soldiers and the forced labor of black refugees who fled to Union lines following occupation. When nominally completed in late 1862, the installation dominated Nashville’s skyline south of town. For the duration of the war, it was never directly assaulted by a hostile force. Union troops were garrisoned at Negley until 1867. By the turn of the twentieth century, only remnants of the fort remained.

Much like the Civil War construction, the interpretive replica of the fort built by the WPA in 1936 was never engineered as a permanent fixture. The poor grade of limestone, combined with retaining walls that lacked the appropriate batter, have led to structural failures and blowouts over the last seventy-plus years. Combined with lack of proper maintenance to the stonework, unmanaged foliage, and potential threats from development, the outlook in the past has been grim, at best, for fully preserving and interpreting the site.

The primary purpose of this Cultural Landscape Report is to highlight Fort Negley’s historic past, survey the current conditions of the park, prescribe best practices and preservation methods to stabilize and rehabilitate the WPA stonework, and recommend strategies to manage invasive foliage that hinder the long-term sustainability and interpretation of this invaluable historic resource.

Fort Negley is one of four Metro Parks properties in the Edgehill area associated with Nashville’s Civil War past. Two other properties besides St. Cloud Hill were the site of Union installations: Rose Park (Fort Morton) and Reservoir Park (Blockhouse Casino). The Nashville City Cemetery, located just to the east, served as a burial ground for Union troops and possibly black refugees. These parks are each within 500 yards or less of Fort Negley Park, which serves as a hub to interpret and link these significant jewels in the Metro Parks’ system.

SITE AND SURVEY HISTORY

In this survey, we identify four distinct periods

of change that have left indelible marks on the park’s contemporary landscape: the Civil War and Reconstruction; the WPA construction of the fort in the mid-1930s; the construction of the Adventure Science Center in the early 1970s; and the building of Greer Stadium and the supporting parking areas in the late 1970s through the early 1990s.

CURRENT CONDITIONS

This survey also looks at the site’s current conditions. The information is based on past studies and current field observations of landscape features and characteristics that are within the parameters of the park’s National Register of Historic Places significance. Documenting the existing conditions is accomplished by examining and evaluating a combination of text, photographs, and previous plans.

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

Based on the current conditions, the report analyzes the historical significance and integrity of Fort Negley Park’s cultural landscape. The 1975 National Register nomination determined at the time that the site’s primary period of interpretation is the Civil War, specifically the occupation of Nashville by the Union army. The Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) offers a new perspective on evaluation of the site by including other periods of significance, such as the African American impact on Fort Negley, St. Cloud Hill’s historic past during and after the war, and the WPA reconstruction of the 1930s. In addition, a previous archaeological study found the potential for the presence of human remains on the Greer Stadium site. The scope of this report outlines the possibility of other areas of the park also presenting those same results.

TREATMENT GUIDELINES

Because the site was never meant as a permanent Civil War or WPA fixture, traditional preservation strategies for Fort Negley must be tempered with the understanding that funding on the scale needed for a full restoration

would be both costly and impractical. Instead, rehabilitation should embrace the site’s deterioration as a theater of decay and focus on creating a safe and engaging environment for learning about those who conceived, designed, built, and garrisoned the fort, along with how the Civil War–era site has defined and altered the surrounding landscape for the past 155 years. The ruins at Fort Negley are both an open-air museum that gives visitors a reverent window into the nation’s past and a vernacular landscape honoring the work and craftsmanship of the WPA.

The treatment guidelines take a measured approach to the conditions and climate for rehabilitating the historic landscape and stonework. The plan identifies areas of immediate concern and offers various levels of stonework rehabilitation that stabilize and improve the opportunity to interpret the site. An important component of the rehabilitation strategy is to create welcoming and safe conditions for engaging the resource. This includes:

- fully restoring areas that are an immediate danger to public safety
- removing existing boardwalks in the redans
- providing safe access to areas previously restricted
- controlling collapse through mounding
- identifying best practices for rehabilitation based on need and level of funding
- mothballing sections to allow phased rehabilitation
- managing invasive foliage
- screening modern facilities that threaten authenticity
- restricting areas that are archaeologically sensitive
- expanding the National Register nomination and boundaries to include other periods of historic significance

Implementation of the recommendations will provide an appropriate setting for engaging Fort Negley and offer a long-term plan for sustainability of the site as both a cultural and historical resource.

INTRODUCTION

Fort Negley Park is recognized as one of Nashville’s most important historical resources from both the American Civil War and the 1930s when the Works Progress Administration (WPA) constructed a replica of the original fortification. Known originally as St. Cloud Hill, the site, and the surrounding neighborhood, has witnessed tremendous change over the past two hundred years. Prior to the Civil War, the hill was recognized as a leisurely local picnic spot for Nashvillians. Beginning in 1862, however, the Union army transformed the ground by constructing the conflict’s largest inland masonry fortification to defend the town’s southeastern corridor, including the important Nashville and Chattanooga railroad junction, from Confederate attack. Thousands toiled to complete the military installation and contributing

fieldworks, built using a combination of black refugee and contraband labor.

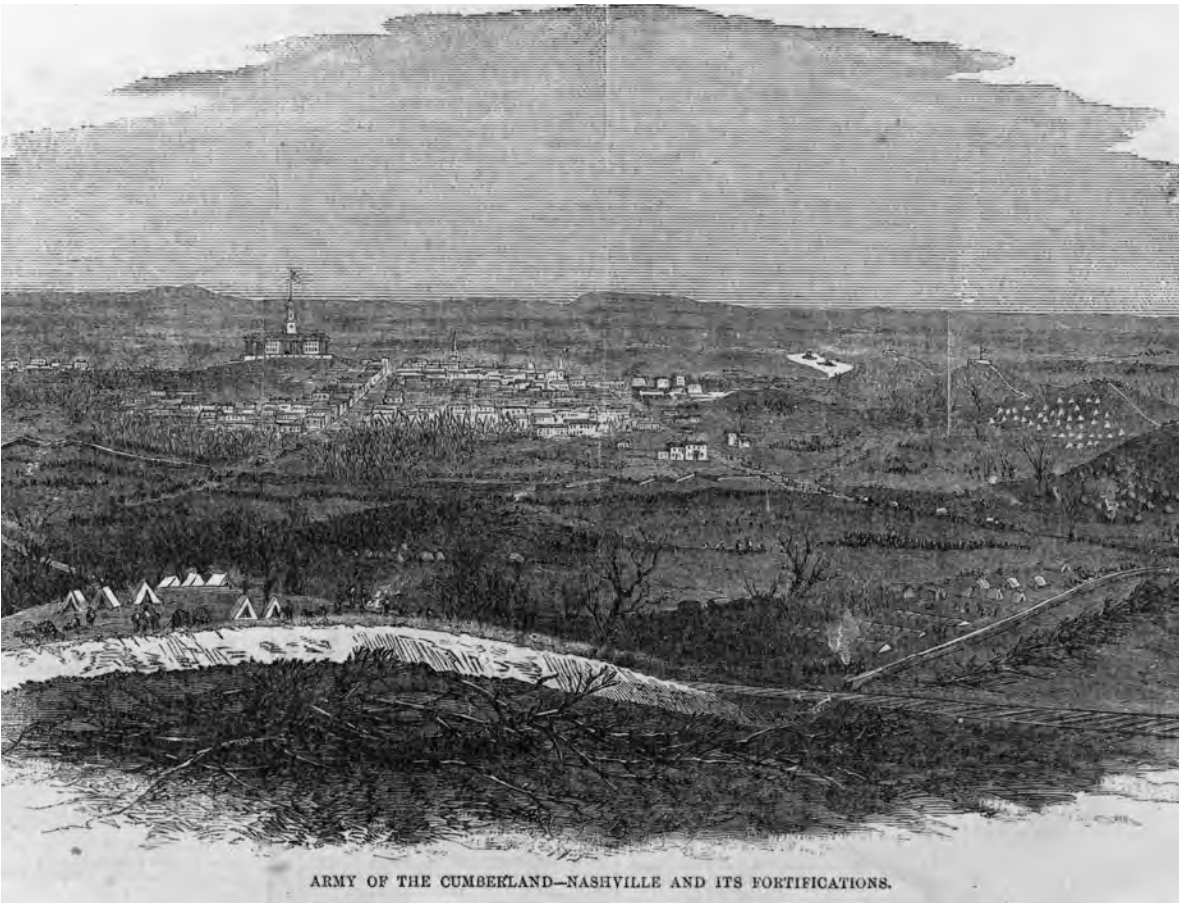
Nashvillians debated for decades after the war how to use the former fort site. Some argued that a new reservoir be built on the summit. Others wanted to preserve the hill as a battlefield tourist attraction. And still more, to turn the property into a city park. Those outcomes were never realized in the late nineteenth century. One that did, however, was the development of an African American community along the northern slope of the property, comprising mostly small shanties. The local tenants were probably remnants of the former Civil War refugee camp in the area.

When the city finally acquired St. Cloud Hill in 1928 for use as a park, the population of shanty dwellers was permanently displaced. Then, in 1936, the site was reimaged by

the WPA. They reconstructed the fort as an educational, recreational, and tourism asset for Nashville. Those plans came up short, however, due to the impact of World War II on managing the resource. Only ballfields built at the base of the hill during the early 1940s were maintained. Since that time, the park boundaries have expanded and other landscape features have appeared, such as the Adventure Science Center and Greer Stadium, making the current setting a cornucopia of historical, educational, and commercial assets.

Today, Fort Negley serves multiple purposes in keeping with Metro Parks’ conservation and recreation mission to balance resource conservation with public use and enjoyment. This study, in many ways, recognizes a more than decadelong struggle to return to the original focus of the park—the preservation and interpretation of the site as a historical resource—and turn away from the use of parkland as a catalyst in the area. The park’s mission since visitor experience enhancements were realized in the early 2000s has been to create a greater understanding of the social, political, and military forces central to Nashville and Middle Tennessee during the era of sectional conflict in American history. In so doing, Fort Negley promotes historical education based on facts and primary sources, offers a variety of quality programs, employs and cultivates staff dedicated to enhancing the visitor experience, encourages visitors to continue the search for knowledge, and provides a safe environment for people to learn about and discuss issues associated with the history of the site. Certainly, that mission can be further expanded to include the New Deal era and the WPA reconstruction of the site.

FIGURE 2. **Nashville and its Fortifications**
(National Archives)



Project Setting

Geographically, Fort Negley Park is located in Nashville, Tennessee, less than a mile from the banks of the Cumberland River in north central Tennessee, and a mile-and-a-half due south from the state Capitol.

Known before the Civil War as St. Cloud Hill, the property was transformed by the Union army with the construction of a large masonry fortification that protected the Federal supply depot from a potential Confederate attack. Much of the fort was dismantled by locals in the decades following the war. In 1928, a 45.5-acre parcel that included the remains of the Civil War-era fort was purchased by the city of Nashville. Eight years later, the Works Progress Administration reconstructed the fort on much of the original foundation as an educational and tourist attraction. Recreational assets were also added to the park in the form of baseball fields. The reconstructed fort was closed at the end of World War II and fell into disrepair. In the early 1970s, the park boundaries were expanded and the property, excluding the

ballfields, was leased to the Children’s Science Museum for the construction of a new facility. Then, in the late 1970s, the ballfields were redeveloped as Greer Stadium and became home to the Nashville Sounds minor league professional baseball team. In the early 2000s, Fort Negley reopened with the reinterpretation of the fort site and the addition of a new visitors center. Greer Stadium was closed in 2015. The current plan is to deconstruct the stadium and return the area to parkland. This evaluation began by examining the historical periods of significance related to and established in Fort Negley’s National Register of Historic Places nomination, completed in 1975, but was expanded to include the park’s antebellum development, post-Civil War period, the WPA reconstruction, and the additions of the Adventure Science Center and Greer Stadium. The SHPO determined that the Greer Stadium area is eligible to be included on the National Register.

The Purpose of the Report

This report is intended as a primary resource document to guide Metro Parks in the long-term conservation, rehabilitation, and management of Fort Negley Park’s cultural landscape. In general, the study includes documentation of current landscape conditions, an inventory and evaluation of landscape characteristics and features, and recommendations to preserve and enhance the landscape’s historical character. A specific emphasis is placed on the rehabilitation and maintenance of the WPA stonework and the landscape restoration of Fort Negley Park’s indigenous plant life.

In the past, several targeted archaeological studies were conducted within the park boundaries. They include Phase I and limited Phase II in the parking areas and grounds at

Greer Stadium and specific sections of the fort’s main works. During this project, a Phase I archaeological study was conducted on a selective quadrant of the site. Those results are noted. This cultural landscape report will also lay out a plan for future archaeological investigation as funding becomes available.

Because Greer Stadium was not deconstructed before this report was completed, those areas of the park will be addressed as treatments necessary for stadium demolition that limit damage to potential archaeological resources. It is also noted that the Adventure Science Center (ASC) is currently seeking input on a site survey and both Phase 1 and Phase 2 archaeology in the area east and north of the parking lot. That study falls

within the park boundaries. The ASC has a long-term lease with Metro Parks. When that lease expires, the city should examine removing the structures associated with the ASC and recapturing the site as part of the park's historic and cultural landscape

Further objectives of this project include:

- documenting the evolution of Fort Negley's historic landscape
- identifying landscape characteristics contributing to the site's historical significance
- evaluating and updating information for the site's National Register nomination

Methodology and Format

The site history component of this project was conducted using primary and secondary source documents, photographs, paintings, maps, and past site reports and studies from both the Fort Negley Archives, the National Archives, the Tennessee State Library and Archives, the Metro Archives, the Metro Historical Commission, and other sources.

The documentation of existing landscape conditions was performed through on-site investigation, the use of past studies and reports, maps, photographs, graphic plans, and text narratives. Contemporary site functions, visitor services, interpretation, park

operations, and maintenance are addressed to the degree they will influence potential landscape treatments.

Analysis and evaluation of Fort Negley's landscape draw from information found with this report's current conditions and site history sections that identify landscape characteristics that contribute to the historical significance of Fort Negley. The evaluation is based on the historical periods of significance established in Fort Negley's National Register of Historic Places nomination, completed in 1975. In 2017, the SHPO made a determination that the stadium area was eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

FORT NEGLEY SITE HISTORY

This site history relies on both primary and secondary sources to describe the physical evolution of the Fort Negley Park landscape and the contextual background that has made St. Cloud Hill a significant cultural resource since the early nineteenth century. In recent years, a Historic Structures Report (2014), which looked at the Fort Negley stonework, and an archaeological study of the area around Greer Stadium (2017) have contributed

generously to our understanding of the site. These combined with past historical research by local scholars, individuals on the Fort Negley Technical Advisory Committee, and park staff provide a comprehensive narrative of the actions and events that have driven the park’s development. This study hopes to add to the record of knowledge of the site. To understand the evolution of Fort Negley Park as a historic landscape within popular imagination, we must start by examining

some of the larger forces that made the city a commercial transportation hub, which eventually led to the Union army’s decision to choose this place as a primary objective of their military strategy in the Western Theater of operations during the Civil War. The army’s impact on both the site’s physical and cultural landscape also affected the Edgehill area through natural deterioration, the purchase of the Snowden property (Cloud Hill) by the city in the late 1920s, the

rehabilitation of the site by the WPA in the 1930s, and the trifecta construction of the Cumberland Science Museum, Interstate Highway 65, and Greer Stadium, in the 1970s. The investment of local and federal dollars during the last century did raise awareness of Fort Negley as part of the local community’s collective memory but it also acted as a catalyst for change through the displacement and eventual urban renewal in and around the park. These changes directly impacted

African Americans that had called St. Cloud Hill and the surrounding area home since the Civil War. In 2017, the fort site once again became a backdrop for plans to “activate” the park landscape through redevelopment.¹ In more ways than one, Fort Negley serves as a microhistory of Nashville’s contested past.

ANTEBELLUM HISTORY: The Middle Border and the Empire of Cotton

Culturally, St. Cloud Hill has been recognized as an integral part of the nation’s historic past since the construction of the Union military installation named Fort Negley during the Civil War. The site and surrounding area, however, was a prominent local haven for Nashvillians well before the 1860s. Not long after statehood (1796), the process of developing the city’s urban landscape was accelerated by a number of competing factors, none greater than the appearance of two intersecting commercial trends: the emergence of the “empire of cotton” and the rise of the Middle Border. Combined, they led to Nashville’s early significance as a hub for trade. This distinction would have a major impact on the city as a strategic transportation corridor in the decades that followed. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, a merchant directorate in Liverpool, England, began to assemble the elements of the first global economic system devoted to the textile industry. As this economy matured, they coordinated (through pricing structure) each individual element of the system, from the raising of the cotton in the Southern states, to the oceanic transportation, including industrial processing, financing, and the marketing of the finished products. Taken together, this international textile production system proved to be the international economy’s most

dynamic structure, while the cotton-raising agribusiness portion of it would be the most profitable ingredient in the American economy until the Civil War.² The emergence of a global interconnected textile industrial system had two consequences that were critical for both Nashville and Tennessee. First, the development of the short-staple cotton-producing agribusiness sector not only renewed African slavery as a profitable labor system, it necessarily created an economy in human trafficking to move this labor source to the cotton belt and environs. As a growing commercial marketing town, Nashville became part of this integrated trafficking enterprise that shifted African American slaves westward from the declining tobacco and rice regions of the east, such as Virginia and South Carolina, to the rapidly expanding cotton empire.³ The second consequence was the amplified imperative to remove the Native Americans—the “Five Civilized Tribes,” in particular—from their homelands. Before the cotton boom, land speculators and squatters conducted a brutal, even sociopathic, serial war of constant raiding to remove Natives.⁴ Because the plantation system represented an economy of scale, removing the Natives now became a more studied, government-directed effort, and plantation-expansionist land speculation

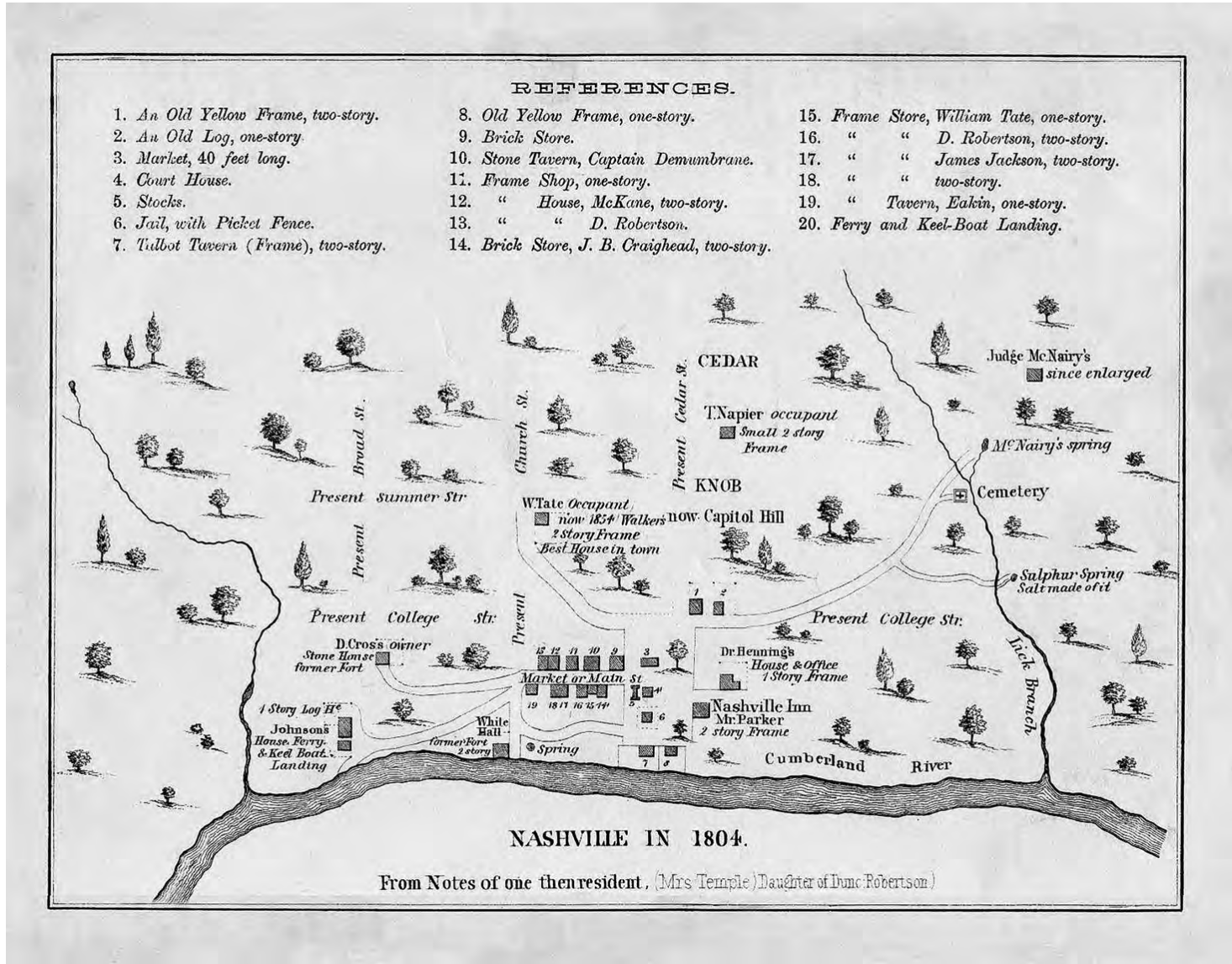


FIGURE 3. 1804 Map of Nashville. Founded as an outpost settlement in 1780, Nashville was an interior hub within this Middle Border region and quite different from places like New Orleans. Without question, Nashville and Middle Tennessee were connected to the empire of cotton. However, there were also potential connections that tied the soon-to-be Tennessee capital to Louisville and points north, and to Chattanooga and the places that eventually became Birmingham and Atlanta. From its earliest moments, Nashville was a New South city (even though the term did not yet exist) because it lay within the economic geography of the Middle Border. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

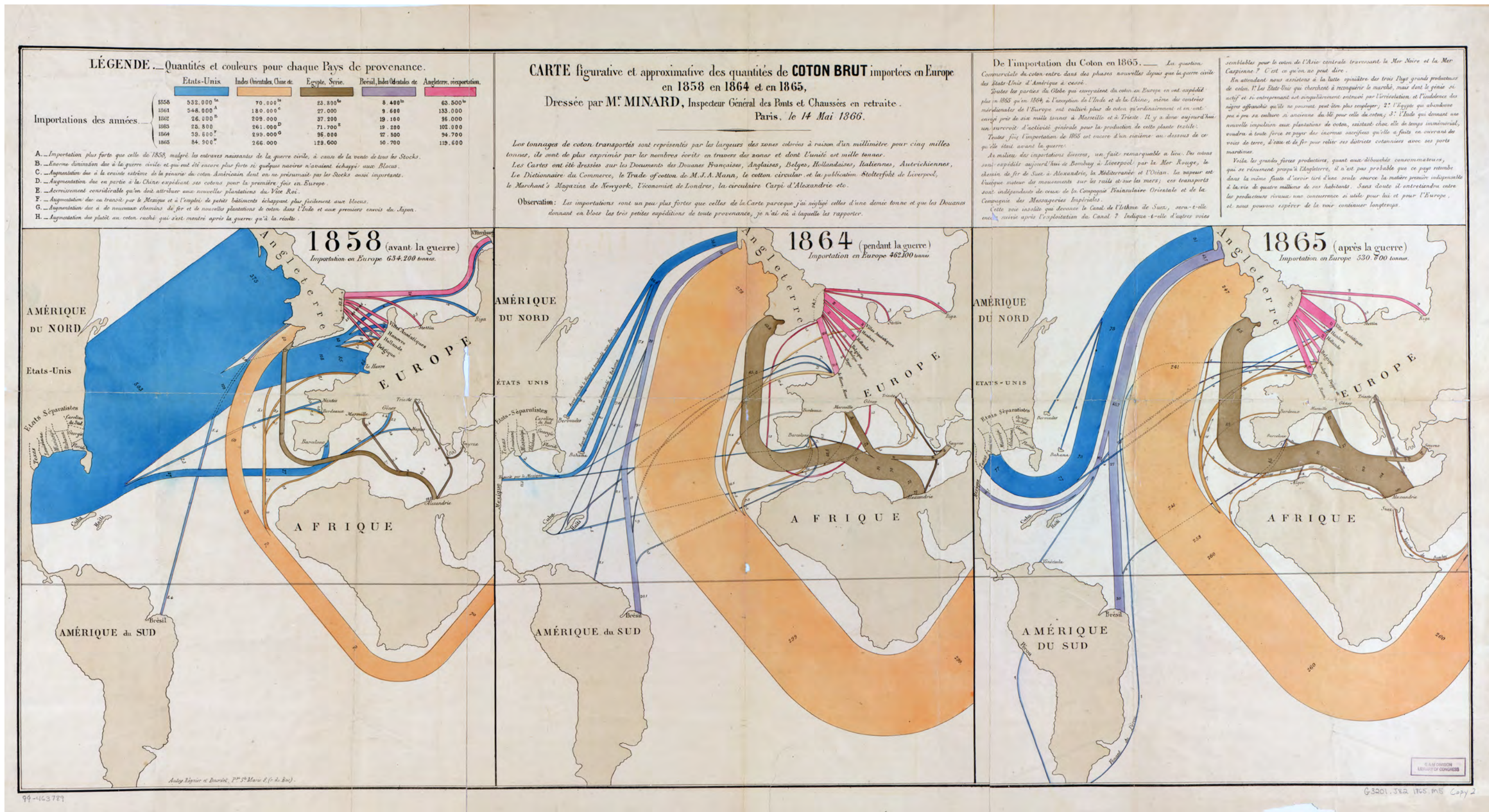


FIGURE 4. 1866 map by Charles Minard that shows the flow of the global cotton exchange before, during, and after the Civil War. (Library of Congress)

was at the center of it. John Overton (who figures large in the St. Cloud Hill story) and his business and political partner, Andrew Jackson, formed a land-speculation team that gained the land native to the Chickasaw tribe to develop Memphis as an export center on the Mississippi for cotton.⁵

The emerging Middle Border region was a part of the creation of the empire of cotton, and yet also a refraction of it. Although fundamentally connected to the expansion of the cotton-slave regime, places like Middle Tennessee and Nashville were fully a

part of what was called the “black belt.” The true heart of the regime was farther south, running through the middle of Georgia and Alabama, and within the Mississippi River valley. New Orleans was the economic and cultural capital of this “belt.” Thus, while places like Middle Tennessee were integrated into the spread of the plantation system and the human trafficking system that sustained it, they were not directly part of the cotton regime proper. For their part, the Middle Western states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were connected to African labor as well,

despite the Northwest Ordinance, and were also directly associated with a westward movement that was being driven by the expansion of cotton. Yet, of course, they were never officially slave states, although Illinois considered becoming one in the early 1820s. In essence, the Middle Border represents those states whose economies and political cultures were developed in reference to the empire of cotton, and yet necessarily had to develop other economic and political dimensions.

This concept of a Middle Border represents

a sea change in scholarship. Historians have replaced the older idea that the nation was divided by the Ohio River into a distinct North and South: territories categorically different because one area was free and the other slave. To be sure, this was a convenient way to see things after the Civil War, and several generations of historians had their own reasons to reinforce it up until recently. Scholars now, however, are examining and defining a Middle Border region: a grouping of states from Tennessee northward into the Ohio Valley (bounded on the west by the

Mississippi River and Missouri), where the varying economies of the area developed in ways that complemented the cotton empire farther south, and yet were not directly part of it. Thus, it was no accident that the system that the country later came to know as segregation was pioneered in places like Illinois and Indiana even though these states were technically free.⁶ Nor was it an accident that, later, the homeland of the second Ku Klux Klan was in the same region.

ANTEBELLUM HISTORY: Transportation

During an antebellum period in Tennessee during which enterprising farmers and would-be plantation owners turned every available acre toward agricultural production, St. Cloud Hill was hardly a valuable property, due in large part to the limestone base that lay just below the surface of the soil, making it difficult for farming. Rather, the elevated site was part of the local story as a place where people picnicked under large shade trees. However, as development enriched the community, that story changed. Nashvillians were eager to make their town the economic center of Middle Tennessee and the larger region. Thus, the seeds for the city’s role as a vital supply depot during the Civil War were planted in the decades leading up to the conflict.

As white Europeans moved over the Appalachian Mountains in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was clear that the major rivers were envisioned as important highways for commodities, human and otherwise. Nashville grew as a town of significance because of its location on the Cumberland River, which, among other things, meant that it had connections to the Ohio, the Tennessee, and the Mississippi rivers. This focus on the rivers as highways revealed, clearly, that the west was no frontier; it was a vast landscape of capitalism that European Americans turned toward commercial agriculture, manufacturing, and the

transportation links that would forge market relations between the different regions. In the beginning, the single most important factor in propelling this process was the steamboat.⁷ The first steamboat appeared in Nashville in 1819, and the craft’s technology matured until, by 1845, the vessels could perform a round trip between the Tennessee capital and New Orleans in fifteen days. Thus, in the first phase of the Middle Border’s economic development, the river town was the critical market center, and the steam engine, as applied to the boat, was the critical engineering.

Looking at the dynamics of capitalism more deeply, it was also clear that there was a progressive momentum working underneath the surface of the wharf, the boat, and the sack of grain or the slave coffle. In the world of commerce and productivity, the fortunes of any town depended on reliable, *ever-quicker* forms of transportation and communication, and on improving those devices that could move freight as well as passengers in bulk. In this drive toward efficiency, the towns within the Middle Border and empire of cotton were in competition with each other. The particular advantages of today for Nashville or any other place guaranteed nothing for tomorrow.⁸

It was for this reason that it rapidly became clear that the river system—even with steamboats—had its limitations. While the rivers of the southwest became highways from interior

to coast and back, they hardly established a uniform transportation grid. For towns like Nashville this fact created both a problem and an opportunity. Hindering the Tennessee capital was the fact that the Cumberland River

was not on the major artery of the Mississippi. Though it was on a steamboat-navigable stream, Nashville was, effectively, an interior town. As part of its geography, it was a huge potential hinterland but one that was beyond

the range of economically effective water transport. Any transportation net outward from Nashville had to move overland over a considerable distance and in many directions. Moreover, the Tennessee River lay just over the state line in Alabama, and while the Muscle Shoals constituted a major obstacle on that stream, the river did provide an alternate major transport route for the region to the south of Nashville (at various points during the antebellum era there was support for turning this region into a separate state). Then, looking northwards, Louisville beckoned to many central and southern Kentucky counties. The Ohio River was larger and more convenient to points east, west, and south than was the Cumberland, and it was not hampered by low water at certain seasons. Long story short, Nashville’s future as a center of commerce was hardly assured.

There was, however, also an advantage for Nashville in its geography. Because it was not part of the true cotton belt, not everything in the hinterland region was bent to the whim of that industry. In the empire of cotton proper everything flowed to Mobile, New Orleans, and Memphis. Given the inland nature of Nashville’s hinterland, the Cumberland city had a genuine chance to tug against the hard pull of commerce toward the Gulf of Mexico. Nashville’s Middle Border position afforded the opportunity to stimulate—and thus direct—alternative

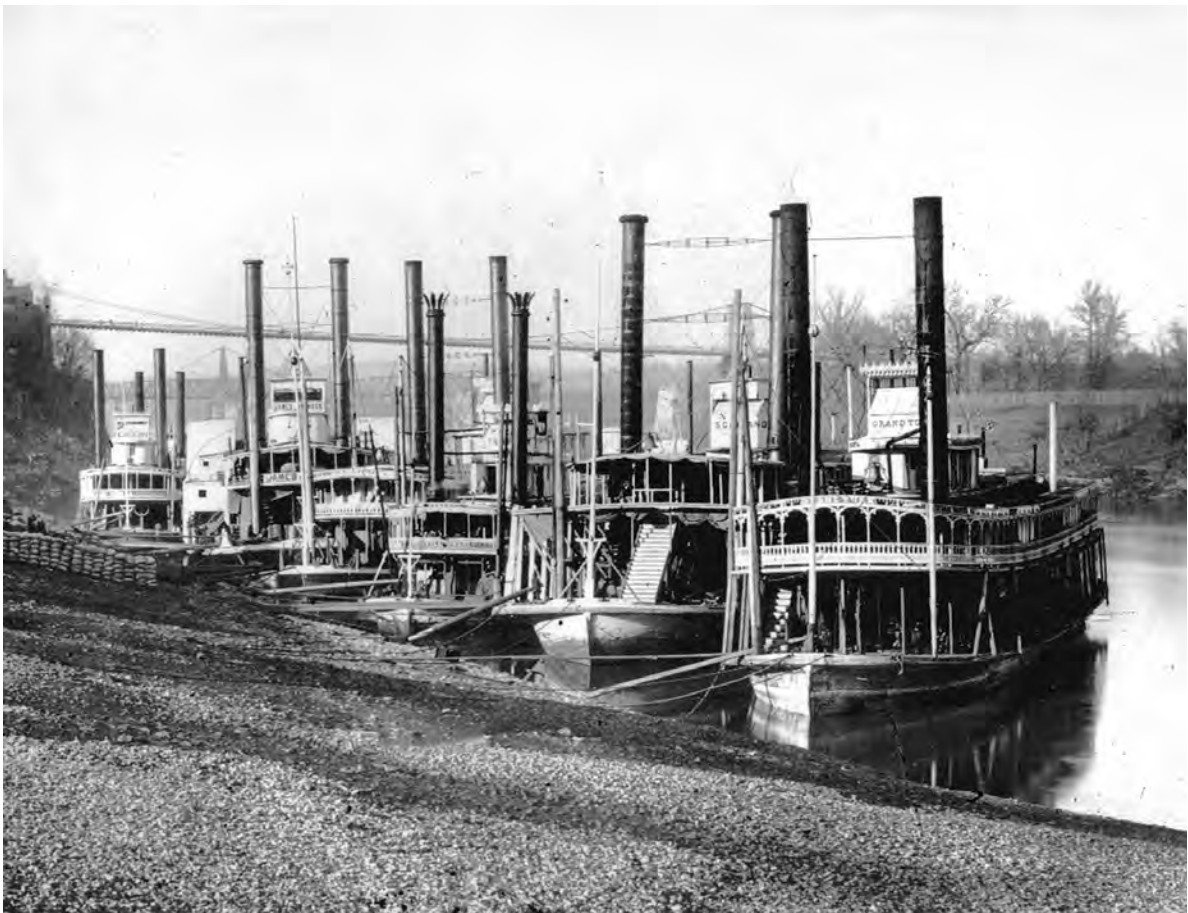


FIGURE 5. Steamboats lining the wharf, c. 1860. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

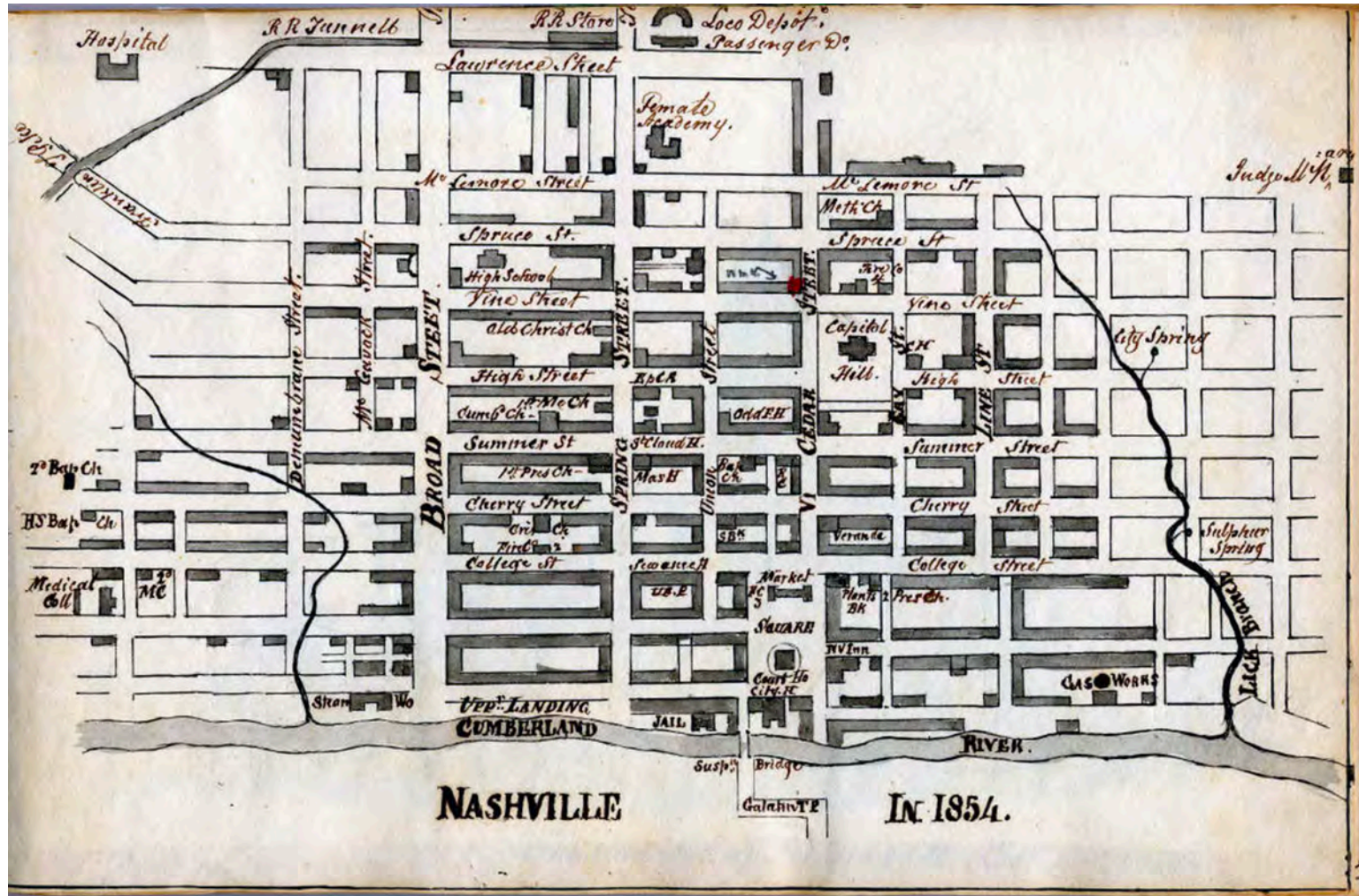


FIGURE 6. By 1854, Broad Street was a major connector corridor between the turnpikes and the wharf at the Cumberland River. (Nashville Public Library)

forms of production. As noted above, Nashville was a New South town from the moment that the cotton boom began.

Of course, dealing with this opportunity and problem depended on creating reliable, relatively speedy, overland transportation routes from Nashville into the hinterland. New York City had pioneered the concept of creating engineered transportation corridors when that city built the famous Erie Canal (which opened in 1825). New York never looked back from this point, and this inspired towns and cities everywhere to imitate Gotham's enterprise. A canal craze was one result, but the Erie also prompted many towns to consider railroading. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was chartered in 1827, two years after the Erie opened. Promoters everywhere started to plan similar ventures.

However, the railroad in the 1820s and '30s was a high-risk venture. The engine technology was not yet mature; rolling stock and rail had yet to be designed to a workable standard; the roads were expensive, with high front-end costs and no return until the line was completed (which took time).⁹ For good reason, most projects fell into bankruptcy. To their credit, transport promoters in Nashville avoided this first wave of rail building. Rather, prominent Nashvillians formed turnpike companies, which were chartered to build macadamized (crushed, compacted rock) roads from point to point, using tolls to maintain the road and make a profit. From the late 1820s into the 1850s, several such roads were chartered and built. They fanned out from the town, south, east, west, and north. It was these roads that created the first transport network that

would turn the counties of Middle Tennessee into an enlarged hinterland for Nashville. Corn, cotton, tobacco, and lumber were some of the area's earliest products.

Because the macadamized road network was built during the 1830s, Nashville and its hinterland connections were established before the Panic of 1837 devastated the country. Whatever else occurred, investors in the town lost no money railroading. With the evolving macadamized road net, the city's plan of commercial outreach was put in place before the economic collapse. Then, in the late 1840s, when business expanded, Nashvillians began to put together the inaugural rail net (with a more mature technology) on top of the macadamized road foundation. The Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad (N&C) line was the first of these—completed



FIGURE 7. Nashville's macadamized turnpikes remained unchanged from the 1830s to the early twentieth century.. This is a photograph taken in the 1890s of the nearby Hillsboro Turnpike. Daily, Nashvillians traveled the Franklin turnpike past St. Cloud Hill, occasionally stopping to picnic on the heights above the city. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

THE FRANKLIN TURNPIKE

The Franklin Turnpike was the first road in Nashville's transit grid. The company was incorporated by the legislature in 1829, and the pike was completed in 1834. The turnpike route ran from Nashville south and east past St. Cloud Hill (to the hill's west) down to Franklin. Originally, the pike was made as an extension of Spruce Street, which then turned directly to Franklin. (Now, it is the route of U.S. Highway 31/8th Avenue South.) In 1862, the location of this turnpike made St. Cloud Hill a militarily significant site. As a prominence, the hill commanded (as did hills on the other side of the road) the Franklin Pike approach into Nashville, along with other roads that approached the town from the south. Roads—and the easy access to Nashville that they created—have been a significant part of Fort Negley's history.



FIGURE 8. Nashville and Chattanooga Depot c. 1864. Given the transportation improvements, Nashville in the 1850s was a maturing inland city of the Middle Border. Davidson County, still rural, held 38,882 residents in the 1850 census year (only 10,000 lived within the city boundary). Agricultural diversity was a feature of the area: corn, oats, wheat, cotton, tobacco, and garden truck in addition to livestock. On the eve of the Civil War, the Louisville and Nashville railroad connected the two key Kentucky and Tennessee interior towns. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

in 1854. When connections were established with the Memphis and Charleston (M&C) and the Western and Atlantic, then the city of Nashville was connected through the N&C with Chattanooga, Atlanta, and points east and west (branch lines in southern Tennessee were also constructed). By 1860, the Tennessee and Alabama Railroad (later, the Nashville and Decatur) was completed, connecting Nashville with Columbia; Decatur, Alabama; and the M&C.

In Nashville itself, these two railroads

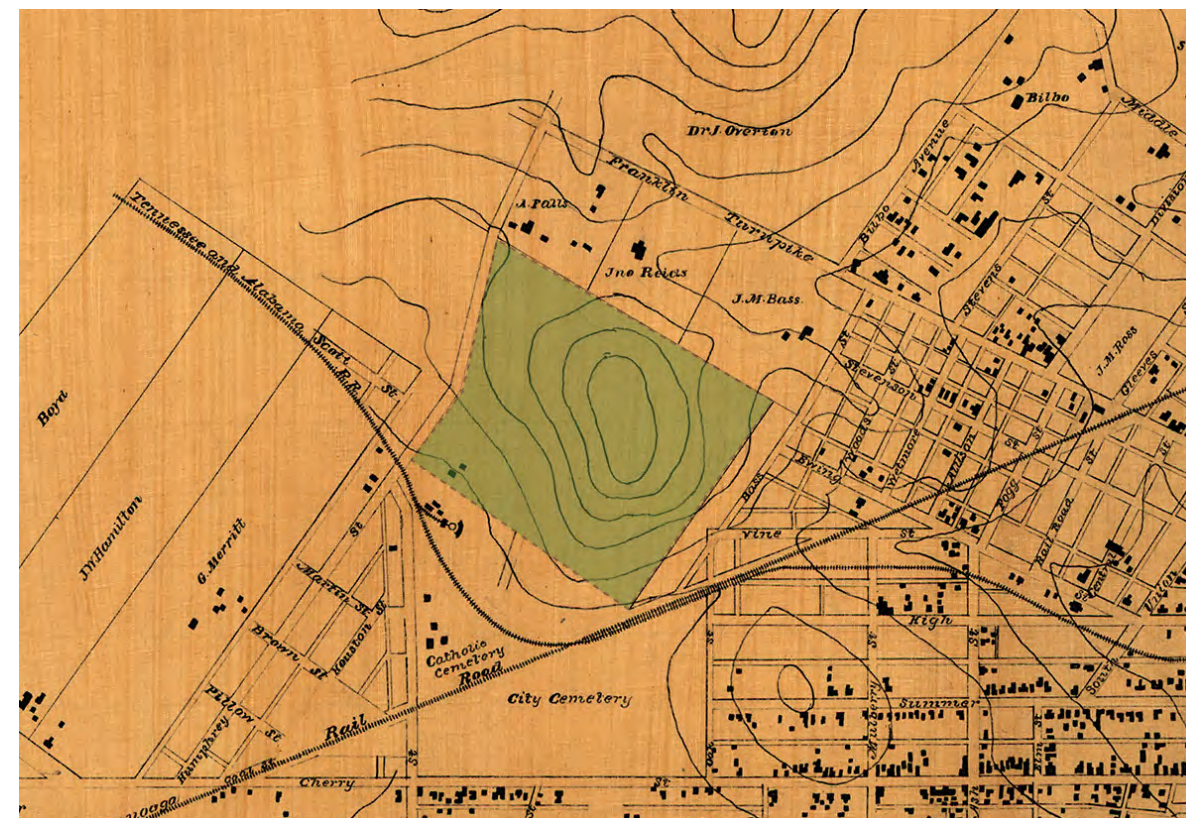
moved out of town past St. Cloud Hill on its northeastern side. The Tennessee and Alabama circled around the base of the hill north to south and slightly west, bisecting the Nashville City Cemetery and leading to the eventual disinterment of remains in the Catholic Cemetery wing and their reburial at Calvary Cemetery on the Lebanon turnpike east of town. In a slight foreshadowing, the location of these two lines, along with the Franklin turnpike to the west, made the hill a strategic position when Union occupation began in 1862.

ANTEBELLUM HISTORY: People

In keeping with its purpose as a commercial city, Nashville also grew as a slave town as its economy matured. In 1840, the census showed 12,340 slaves in Davidson County (40-plus percent of the total population). Twenty years later, 31 percent of the county's 47,055 residents were slaves (31,056 whites, 14,790 slaves), the decline of the slave percentage being due, in part, to immigrants coming into Davidson County. Nashville's town population counted 14,000 in 1860. Most importantly, the population of "free colored persons" rose: 17 such persons in 1800; 1209 in 1860. Because Nashville was part of the Middle Border area, the urgency to turn every available slave into a cotton-tending field hand was not as strong. There was room to develop the system into various forms of skilled labor and to experiment with variable management techniques such as "hiring out": an elastic system of labor in

which skilled slaves hired their own time out on contract. In their book on Sally Thomas, a Nashville laundress, Loren Schwenger and John Hope Franklin discuss the career of one such individual.¹⁰ Through the examination of the lives of people like Thomas it becomes clear that the system of slavery in Nashville and Middle Tennessee was quite flexible to many kinds of economic situations and conditions. Thus, in nearby Robertson County, the Washington family created the Wessington plantation. In 1860, this estate used 274 slaves on 13,000 acres to produce 250,000 pounds of dark-fired tobacco.¹¹ Skilled labor became a necessity as the city grew. During the 1840s and 1850s, A. G. Payne, a Nashville stonemason, owned fifteen slaves whom he worked, variously, in his brick factory, on farms, and as hired-out construction workers (including the state capitol project).

FIGURE 9. 1864 boundaries of Snowden property (St. Cloud Hill). The green shaded area is representative of the boundaries of the Snowden property as determined by Encore Interpretive Design and are not meant to be exact. (Library of Congress)



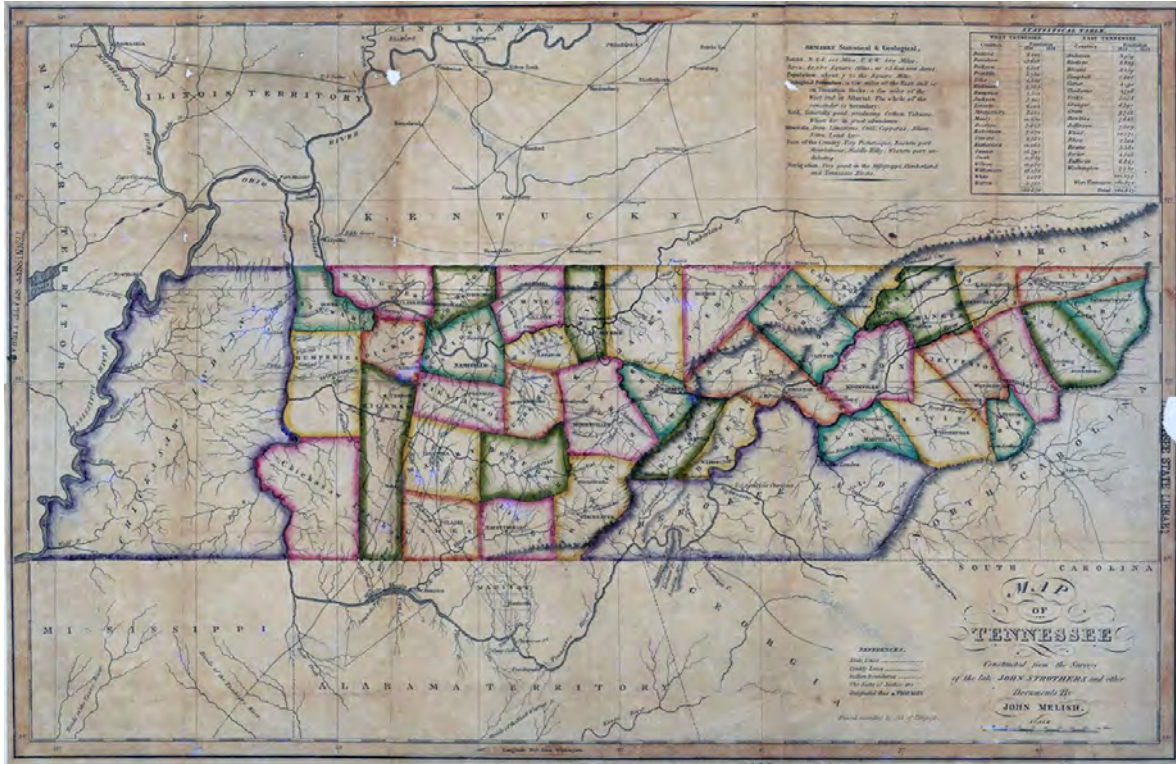


FIGURE 10. The United States first established a trading post at Fort Pickering on the Lower Chickasaw Bluffs in 1802. In 1818, The Treaty of Tuscaloosa extinguished all remaining Chickasaw land claims in Tennessee, opening the door for investment by John Overton in creating an exporting station for cotton called Memphis. This 1818 map of Tennessee shows the tribal lands between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers acquired in the \$300,000 purchase. Overton's daughter, Ann, moved to Memphis after her father's death in 1833. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

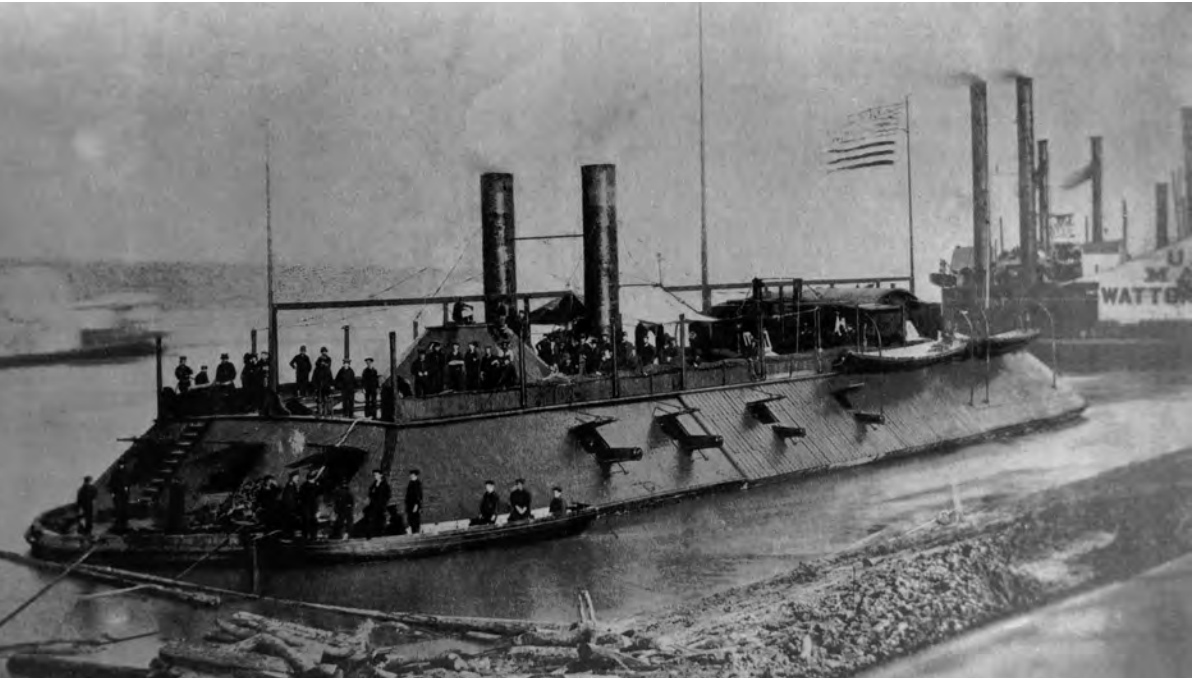


FIGURE 11. Making use of the rivers, USS Cairo assisted in the capture of Nashville in February 1862. (Courtesy of the United States Army Military History Institute)

ANTEBELLUM HISTORY: St. Cloud Hill Property

Although the land ownership records of the St. Cloud Hill property go back to Revolutionary War North Carolina land grants (1785), in 1802, a distinct thirty-three-plus acre parcel containing the hill was purchased by W. P. Anderson. Anderson was a land speculator and quickly acquired this tract. In 1805, John Overton purchased the hill from Anthony Foster. Overton was the owner of Travellers Rest plantation, the main house of which was six miles south of St. Cloud Hill (Franklin Pike would connect both properties). Overton added 19.5 acres in 1828. His property holdings on and around the hill rose to 55 acres.

Overton was an important individual in the early history of Tennessee. He was a Virginian by birth—born in Louisa County in 1766—but like many young men growing up in Virginia during the Revolution, he decided to move west into Kentucky during his early twenties. He began his law career in Mercer County where he roomed with the Donelsons, one of Nashville's founding families. Within a couple of years he moved to Nashville (in 1789). He was quickly admitted to the state

bar and began his law practice. He also formed a friendship with Andrew Jackson. By 1794 he and Jackson were business partners. Government appointments followed, including the office of land agent for the state of Tennessee (1803–06). In this position he negotiated with the state of North Carolina over the disposition of that state's former lands, now within Tennessee. This was a complex agreement that involved identifying U.S. public land, validating North Carolina land warrants, and establishing State of Tennessee property. Throughout this period, Overton did his own purchasing, coming to own two thousand acres in Davidson County by 1829 (according to tax records).

During this same period, Overton was selected to the Superior Court of Tennessee in 1804 where he served until 1810, then on the Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals until 1816. In this role he helped publish the first official *Tennessee Reports*. By 1820, Overton was married (to Mary McConnell White) and returned to private practice and business. It was during this period that he made many of

several major deals with Jackson, particularly in western Tennessee lands and the booming cotton and slave trade. He was also a builder of a banking organization that ran into trouble during the Panic of 1819.¹²

In terms of the St. Cloud Hill property, Overton willed the fifty-five acres to his daughter, Ann, upon his death in 1833:

*"... to my daughter Ann I give & devise the St. Cloud tract of Land together with 20 acres adjoining thereto which I purchased from Joseph Horton ..."*¹³

Ann married Robert Brinkley in 1841 and moved first to Jackson for two years and then to Memphis. She died in 1845, and the property shifted to the Brinkley children—Annie Snowden, her husband, R. B. Snowden, and Hugh Brinkley. These three were named in an 1889 easement given to the city of Nashville to lay a waterline across the St. Cloud Hill property.

CIVIL WAR NASHVILLE: The Occupied City

Although Tennessee rejected secession in the spring of 1861, the reaction to Lincoln's call for troops after Fort Sumter in mid-April created just enough momentum to move the state into the Confederacy. In keeping with their Middle Border position, Tennesseans remained divided, however. East Tennesseans never reconciled with secession, while plenty of residents in the middle part of the state refused to shift their allegiance. Shelbyville, for example, earned the nickname of *Little Boston* as a measure of the town's residents' indignant refusal to surrender its Unionism.

Tennessee's persistent division only emphasized the fact that secession was a muddled process. Not only were states like Tennessee and Kentucky divided, but many people in the lower Midwest—the Little Egypt section of Illinois, for example—had little inclination to go to war to suppress what was now being called "the Rebellion." Thus, in its early months, a definitive military strategy for the war was confusing as well as difficult for both sides. Although Fort Sumter had created what James

McPherson rightly terms a *rage militaire*, it was more than a little disconcerting to figure just what or whom one was fighting, or to determine how to fight it.¹⁴

For his part, Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, who quickly rose to the top of the Union command structure (Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott was technically general-in-chief, but far too aged to exercise command at any level), originally saw the war effort as a campaign to reassure the hearts and minds of white Southerners, and thus win them back to Unionist allegiance. He began his active campaigning in the area that eventually became West Virginia, seeking to convince the inhabitants that his blue-coated soldiers were enforcers of law and order, not invaders. In McClellan's mind, the war would be won not by conquest, but by a demonstration of moderation. The Battle of Manassas in July 1861 forced him to change his thinking.¹⁵

Matters were no less confused in the new Confederacy. Albert Sidney Johnston was given command of butternut troops in the west, but defending this territory entailed a

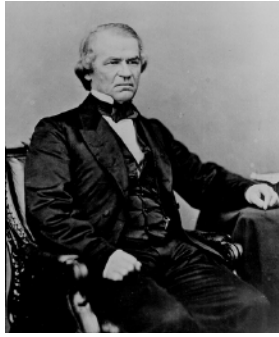


FIGURE 12. With the fall of Fort Donelson to Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant on February 15, 1862, Nashville was open for Union forces to move in swiftly and capture a major prize. On February 25, the city fell to Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell. In early March, Lincoln appointed Andrew Johnson military governor. Despised by many in town, he moved to quell dissent by enforcing martial law and imprisoning powerful secessionists, including local politicians, businessmen, planters, newspaper editors, and clergy. He also petitioned the Lincoln administration to fortify the city. (National Archives)

problem. The region had no defensible borders. The Tennessee-Kentucky line was a surveyor's convenience and a legal boundary. President Lincoln would argue that ownership of Kentucky was the vital geographical element in the war, and Johnston (in private) would likely have agreed. The Ohio was a more defensible boundary than the Tennessee line. Johnston's cordon defense across the Volunteer state's border—focused around Forts Henry and Donelson, among other things—was "in the air." His defensive concentrations were easily susceptible to being flanked, and the line as a whole penetrated as a result. On the whole, Johnston failed to recognize the strategic significance of Nashville.

As long as McClellan maintained overall command of Union forces (a position he held from late 1861 to spring 1862), Johnston's weaknesses were not so problematic. The Union commander argued, quite properly, that the Confederate victory at Manassas had proved to be an enormous boost to the new nation's morale, and so the military problem now was how to go after that morale. The challenge, McClellan opined, was that Confederates now think themselves superior to us in "honor" and "courage." In short, the hearts and minds or law and order campaign would no longer work. The general's response was to envisage a plan that he called the "Sledgehammer Blow": a massive campaign directed by his army in the east that would overwhelm the Confederate military forces in Virginia and at other points. This campaign of immense power (in pitched battle) needed to convince the population that secession was not maintainable. Although McClellan

was fuzzy about the details, the major point was that his strategy depended on the quick mobilization of overwhelming force in battle (he envisioned an army of 270,000 under his command). He was not contemplating a long-duration geographic strategy of incremental invasion and segmentation of the Confederacy, nor did he devote much thinking to the west in any sense. As a result, the Confederate west's commander was off the hook for the time being.

However, while McClellan was a gifted military commander, he was positively atrocious in political-military relations. He soon spoiled his relationship with Lincoln and the cabinet, and this, in turn, prodded the president to remove McClellan from overall command. He was dismissed as general-in-chief, though he maintained immediate command of the major army in the east (the Army of the Potomac). This meant, in turn, that commanders like Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell (Army of the Ohio) and Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck had the independence to create campaigns on their own "out west."

This independence brought Buell to the fore, along with one of Halleck's subordinates, U. S. Grant. As an enterprising commander, Grant quickly saw the vulnerability of Forts Henry and Donelson and resolved to take them. Until September 1861, little was accomplished because the state legislature declared Kentucky neutral. But then, Confederate Maj. Gen. Leonidas Polk captured the town of Columbus, on the Mississippi River. His troops thus made Kentucky's political position irrelevant; the state was now a free-for-all in terms of military campaigning. Given this opportunity to act, Grant took advantage of

Polk's mistake in military geography: leaving the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers open behind him when he went for Columbus. In very early spring, Grant—and the brownwater navy—slipped behind and south of Polk and went straight for the two forts.¹⁶

Don Carlos Buell sought to cooperate in this move. In his original discussions with McClellan and the War Department, it was intended that the Army of the Ohio be sent to liberate East Tennessee. Confederate occupation of this Unionist section would prove brutally violent during the war. An early indication of this would come in April 1862 when Richmond attempted to use the newly passed conscription law as a method to create a quasi-system of martial law in the region.¹⁷ With justification, Lincoln saw the liberation of East Tennessee as a measure of the Union's ability and willingness to protect its own loyal citizens from the insurrectionaries. Although hardly unsympathetic to the plight of the East Tennesseans, Buell saw the region as a logistical desert. He could not supply his army in this area. As a result, the Union commander began to look at a move toward Nashville as an alternative.

From these two different motivations came the surrender of Nashville. At the moment when it happened, capturing the city was a matter of simple opportunism more than grand strategy. To be sure, in the recently seceded Tennessee, the capital city had an important powder mill and a local arms industry that was turning out 100,000 percussion caps per day. However, at this moment, the taking of Nashville was more about seizing the initiative in a war that as yet lacked a real strategy. As the Kentucky situation in particular revealed, many Americans—perhaps the majority—were neither committed secessionists nor coercionists. Many, particularly in the Middle Border, were conditional Unionists. Their allegiance depended on this or that complexity or condition. But such insistence guaranteed inaction—a paralysis in the middle of a war. At this moment what Grant and Buell represented was an initiative that was intended

to force the issue. Reunion by force represented active choice: either one accepted and supported reunion by force or one resisted it. Support for active military campaigning now separated loyal Unionists from the disloyal.

Out of this effort to make war by enterprise and initiative, a true geographic strategy began to emerge. The opportunity that Polk's mistake at Columbus had presented to Grant, and the easy pickup of Nashville—the city was low-hanging fruit—linked the war of energetic commanders to the basic economic geography of the Middle Border and the empire of cotton. As noted above, the major rivers and the steamboats had provided the way to penetrate the vast region economically. The capitalism of agribusiness, manufacturing, and institutionalized commercial relations had followed these rivers, and then the turnpikes and railroads. The creation of these increasingly sophisticated transportation corridors had made the Middle Border and empire of cotton into producers of great wealth in a global economy. These same corridors now provided ready-made avenues of invasion, which, in turn, generated a workable strategy of segmenting the Confederacy into disconnected pieces using the transportation routes. Dividing the region was continued until the Confederate States of America no longer functioned as an integrated national economy.

It was no accident that the river ironclads built by men like James Buchanan Eads were so important to Union victory in the Western Theater. The Middle Border and empire of cotton were built on the original foundation of the steamboat; the same steamboat (in part) that provided the means to dismember the Confederate independence movement. In his book *The Civil War in the West* (2012, University of North Carolina Press), Earl J. Hess confirms the long-believed interpretation that the Union military and naval forces won the Civil War by winning the West and did so through a strategy of geographic segmentation.¹⁸ Grant and Buell's initial moves to the Cumberland and Tennessee river corridors began this process of systematic dismemberment.

However, there was a fundamental difficulty in this emerging strategy. The rivers, railroads, and roads and lack of mountain barriers west of the Appalachians made the movement of large forces a relatively easy proposition. Logistics and proper transport were always a concern, of course, but there was no limit on the ability to march troops in force over the landscape—in any direction. Grant and Buell had demonstrated this vividly, to Albert Sidney Johnston's (and Leonidas Polk's) consternation. Simply put, it was easy for invading armies to threaten any number of places in the western Confederate interior. Thus, once the Union army captured a place like Nashville, defending the area became a problem for this very reason.

The western interior was as open to Confederate movement—particularly cavalry raids in force—as to the Union forces. Indeed, over the winter of 1862–63 Gen. James Longstreet would propose a full army strike against Nashville and the Union's Army of the Cumberland from the Confederates' East Tennessee bastion. Longstreet's proposal was not adopted, but his idea revealed the city's vulnerability, and, in fact, the military vulnerability of nearly every place the Union captured in the Confederate Western Theater. Later, William Tecumseh Sherman, quite rightly, insisted that there was no military virtue gained from occupying areas and remaining still. In the west, movement and keeping up the momentum were all that mattered.

Nashville quickly became hospital central for the Union army. Two dozen buildings were requisitioned and used as medical wards for soldiers wounded in one of numerous battles or skirmishes in and around middle, south, and east Tennessee. Local pro-Confederate doctors, such as John Rolfe Hudson and John Berrien Lindsley, the chancellor of the University of Nashville, tended the Union sick and wounded.

However, in the summer of 1862 the Union's particular problem was that their army's momentum finally stalled. The

brilliant successes of the early spring had been followed up by the bloody but very real victory at Shiloh, the taking of New Orleans, Memphis, and Corinth, and the beginning of a military move—by Buell—back eastward along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad toward Chattanooga. It seemed for a while that the western Confederacy might well be completely dismantled in 1862. However, thanks to Confederate cavalry attacks, Buell’s offensive eastward was halted. Then, the new Confederate commander of the main western army—Braxton Bragg—developed an offensive strategy of his own.

Grant, Buell, Halleck, and Sherman had

demonstrated the power of the initiative applied through the movement of armies through the western economic and political landscape. Observing this, Bragg was determined to use the same fundamental principle to advance the Confederate cause. To be sure, the Confederacy did not have the power to conduct a full-scale dismemberment invasion in the North, but the butternut troops did have the capacity to use their army to further the political process that had created their new republic in the first place: secessionism. As Bragg properly perceived, the North had shifted the nature of the conflict from McClellan’s effort to preserve a functioning

law-and-order Union to Grant and Buell’s war of enterprise. This enterprise, however, had necessarily destroyed the rights of citizens and states to develop and sustain their own political institutions by the process of organized consent. The destruction of Kentucky’s legislated policy of neutrality was a prime example (ignoring, for the sake of argument, that it had been Maj. Gen. Polk who had initiated the violating). As Bragg saw matters, the Union’s shift to coercive war represented opportunity. States like Kentucky had opted against secession the first time around, but now that the Lincoln administration’s war of coercion was fully revealed for all to see, the

state’s residents might have changed their minds. Moreover, secession or a paralyzing organized resistance might even be stimulated in the Ohio Valley midwestern states, too. As events later showed, Copperheadism was a major force in that region. Overall, Bragg’s strategy was quite sensible. In pursuit of his aim, the Confederate commander conducted a masterful move of his army from Tupelo, Mississippi, to eastern Tennessee, and then used the East Tennessee corridor (in cooperation with forces under Edmund Kirby Smith) to invade Kentucky. The purpose of the military initiative was not to seize strategic points in a war of coercion by segmentation. Rather,

Bragg intended to reinvigorate Jacksonian consensual democracy by re-energizing and expanding the secession movement. Given the very mixed allegiances of the Middle Border region, this idea was more than plausible.

Quickly, Maj. Gen. Buell responded to this Confederate invasion by backpedaling from northern Alabama northward into Kentucky. Necessarily, Nashville was uncovered and exposed by this move. Hence the very real need to fortify the town in August of 1862 began.

CIVIL WAR: Confiscating Labor for Fort Negley

The decision to fortify Nashville represented the chosen solution to a problem created by irony. As noted above, the antebellum Union defined growth in terms of the culture and economics of capitalism. As

applied to Nashville and every other marketing center in this Union, capitalist development meant creating a transportation network that made one’s town easy to access. Places like Nashville survived and prospered if they

attracted capital and enterprising citizens by connecting widely to large hinterlands. The river, turnpikes, and roads were developed expressly to make the city easy and efficient to get to. To be remote amounted to economic death. But this fact, of course, raised the question when the war came: How did one, in a military sense, create a fortress city—the solid control of permanent occupation—in a capitalist landscape where, for the last several generations, all energies had been devoted to making Nashville and other towns readily accessible from all directions? The army’s answer was indefinite fortifications.

By 1860 Americans were long familiar with military engineering and installations. First, during the republic’s early days, an initial system of forts had been planned to protect the new country’s coastlines from the navies of the western Atlantic European powers. Indeed, one of these forts would perform just such a service by defending Baltimore from a British fleet during the War of 1812, and, as a bonus, provide the country with what would later become its national anthem. Building on this success, the antebellum years produced several fortification plans, one of which created the Fort Sumter that would come under attack in 1861—from the landward side. Secondly, West Point was founded in 1802 as

an engineering school as much as a military academy. The top graduates were engineers, and, according to Thomas Jefferson’s original idea, moved from the army into the field of

improving transportation and harbors in the westward-moving country. George McClellan and Robert E. Lee each represented this concept (although Lee did not leave the

FIGURE 13. 1862 lithograph showing contraband workers held at gunpoint. (Annals of the Army of the Cumberland)



FIGURE 14. 1862 lithograph illustrating Union soldiers impressing Negro worshippers. (Annals of the Army of the Cumberland)

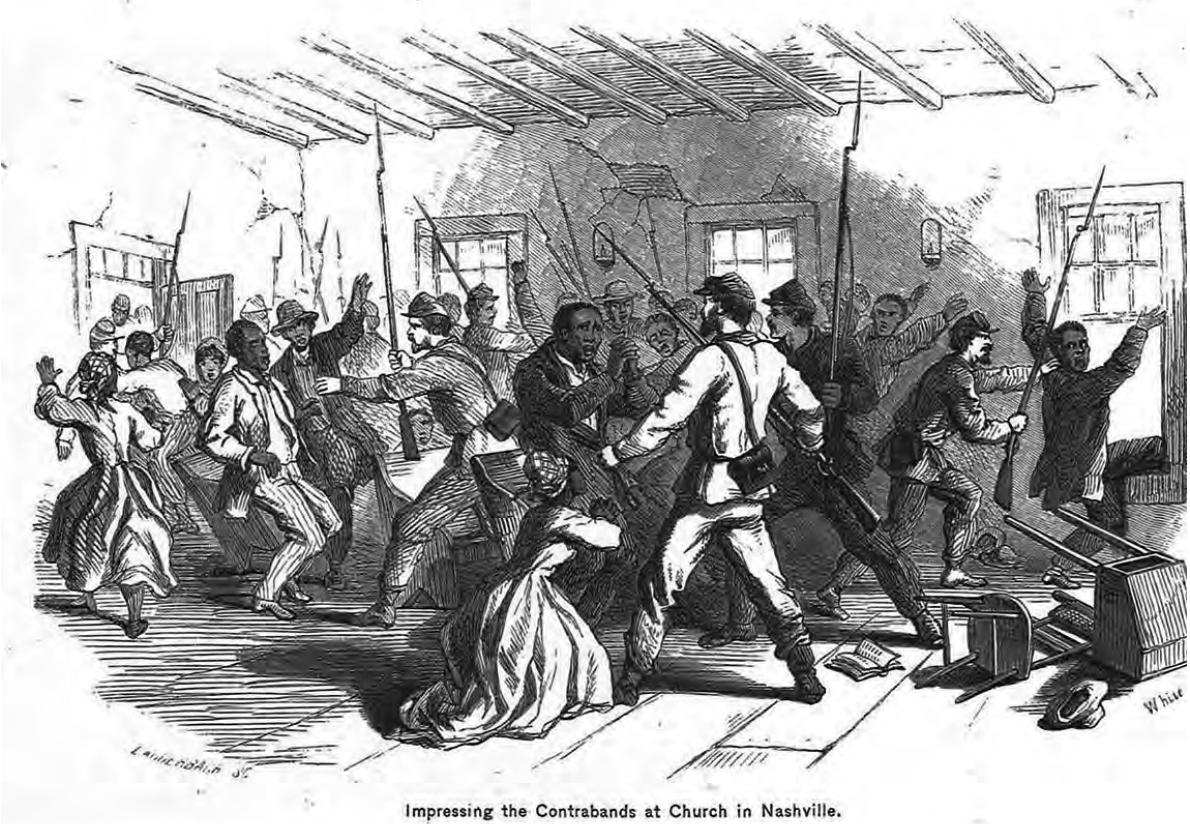


FIGURE 15.
Capt. James
St. Clair Morton
(Official and Illustrated War
Record, 1898)



army). Finally, fortification and fieldworks were part of the West Point officer corps' strategy to work around the difficulties inherent in mobilizing a large army from the civilian population on short notice. In 1846, Henry W. Halleck published a series of lectures entitled *The Elements of Military Art and Science* in which, among other things, he discussed fortifications as a necessary part of the country's defenses given America's historical reliance on "raw troops." The citizen-soldiery simply could not be relied upon in the open, Halleck explained. Fortifications were absolutely essential to provide a reassuring, defensible structure within which untrained men could be deployed. As Halleck revealed, the West Point officer corps was as dismissive of America's militia-volunteer system as any European and saw military engineering as a desperately needed assistance for any citizen-soldier force. Thus, Americans knew a lot about forts.

Given this long history, Capt. James St. Clair Morton—Buell's chief engineer and head of the Pioneer Brigade—could not have been surprised to receive orders from the army commander in August 1862 to "go at once to Nashville and select sites and give plans and instructions for redoubts to protect the city." The works, the orders continued, "must all be practical and as simple as possible in the beginning, so that they can be constructed with the greatest promptness and occupied immediately by a small force." At this moment Buell was moving northward to chase Bragg, leaving behind the six-thousand-man garrison

that had been placed in Nashville (under the command of Brig. Gen. James S. Negley) when the Army of the Ohio's commander had moved to the south back in the spring. Fortifications for the Tennessee capital were now absolutely necessary to protect the city from the Confederate cavalry raids that were sure to follow, and to intimidate Nashville's inhabitants, many of whom had become rabid secessionists.

I lost forty-eight hours by the tardiness of the citizens in answering the requisitions of the commandant of the city for negroes, teams, tools, cooking utensils, and provisions. Up to this date I have received but about 150 negroes, and no tools, teams, &c., except those I got from Government officers. I was ready to employ 825 negroes at daybreak on the 11th had they been furnished in compliance with my requisitions. (August 13, 1862) —Capt. James St. Clair Morton¹⁹

There was also the fact that Nashville had to be protected because it now represented a political experiment. Upon the capture of the Tennessee capital, the president immediately appointed Andrew Johnson—the only U.S. senator from a seceded state not to resign his seat—to go to Nashville and assume the position of military governor (also carrying with him a commission as a brigadier general). Johnson, an East Tennessee politician of long standing and a former governor, thus had quite a challenge. Grant, Buell, Sherman, and Halleck had invaded the state, defeating Confederate armies in pitched battle in the process. Thus, the Union army's presence represented a military occupation by an invading power. Yet, because of Johnson's appointment, the occupation of Nashville also represented the Lincoln administration's intention to turn invasion and coercion into some sort of consensual restoration of constitutional government. Johnson stood in the

middle between these antithetical positions. It should be noted that as the middleman in this position, he had been pressuring the War Department to fortify his capital for some time.

In addition to Johnson's mission, the capital city was quickly becoming a haven for refugees from Confederate-occupied East Tennessee. Nashville was becoming a refuge for those who defined themselves as the true loyalists, and these loyalists saw Johnson's appointment as a partial vindication of their right to redeem their homeland of Tennessee.

By August of 1862, the Union cause could not afford to lose Nashville. Although the presence of secessionists, East Tennessee Unionists, and slaves and free blacks in Nashville made the city the domain of mutually opposed groups in the middle of a war of invasion and occupation, the working out of the contradictions in this depended on holding on to the city and then winning the war. As U. S. Grant might have said, destroy the Confederacy first and then resolve the difficulties.

Capt. Morton was hardly worried about nuances or ironies of Union military policy. He was given orders to build forts and, as an engineer, this is precisely what he intended to do. The captain planned three large forts—Negley, Morton, and Houston—along with supporting works (including blockhouse Casino), and he set about to sequester the labor to start construction. He ordered a thousand-man slave labor force to be commandeered but found only 150 ready to work on August 13, 1862 (the date when construction was supposed to begin). Morton responded by using some of the garrison soldiers but also by conscripting more than two thousand free blacks and runaway slaves that his command picked up in a dragnet.

In his history of the Army of the Cumberland (the Army of the Ohio was retitled after Buell was relieved of command in fall 1862 and replaced by Maj. Gen. William Starke Rosecrans), Provost Marshal John Fitch described this process of conscripting African Americans, free and otherwise, for forced

labor. Fitch was entirely unapologetic in his description of this roundup. Writing in 1864, he observed that "the colored population of that city," could hardly forget "the suddenness" with which they were "gathered ... from barbershops, kitchens, and even churches," and then set to "work on St. Cloud Hill." In a tone that was almost gleeful, Fitch went on to describe the "shrieks, howls, and imprecations" that accompanied a soldiers' raid on an African American church. "Fancy bonnets were mashed, ribbons were rumpled, and the destruction of the negro finery was enormous." Next morning "it was still more comical" to find these labor conscripts "at work at the fort, dressed in their mussed and bedirtied finery of the previous evening, in which they had slept upon the earthworks." Finding it all most amusing, Fitch concluded that these commandeered workers became "the jeer and sport of their surrounding darky acquaintances."²⁰

This description—and the illustrations that accompanied the text—make for hard reading for twenty-first-century eyes. However, it is important to understand the situation, and Fitch's description of it, in the context of a war that was in a most confusing flux in the late summer of 1862. Considered from one perspective, Morton's conscription of black labor was consistent with the standard of the time. The U.S. was a capitalist country, and the origins of that system on this continent went back to the tobacco fields of colonial Virginia. At that point it was decided that the agribusiness of that time required a system of forced labor, and, a little later, that imported African workers were to be set aside as a caste of unfree persons organized in perpetuity for such work. Although a kind of racial language was used to set this caste apart from other inhabitants, this language did not represent a "science" of racism as such (that came in the

FIGURE 16. Maj. Gen. William Stearns, quoted in *The Liberator*, Boston, Massachusetts, May 6, 1864.

"When I went to Nashville, colored men, free and slave, were hunted daily through the streets, and impressed for labor on fortifications, railroads and in hospitals, and although promised ten dollars per month, it was rarely paid, and many of them worked from twelve to fifteen months without any pay. Let me give you one case of several that came under my notice. When our army occupied Nashville, in August, 1862, calls were made for slaves to work on the fortifications. About 2700 were employed. A large number ran from their masters. Many Union men sent their best hands, and some were impressed. These men, working in the heat of the Autumn months, lying on the hillside at night in the heavy dews without shelter, and fed with poor food, soon sickened. In four months about 800 of them died; the remainder were kept at work from six to fifteen months without pay. Then all who were able-bodied were forcibly enlisted in the 12th U. S. colored troops. Many of them had families, who were destitute of the necessities of life. Why? Because the War Department would not decide whether the slave or his owner should have the money."

1850s). The intent, rather, was to create a clear human boundary between those who could be enslaved and those who could not.²¹

Then, as noted earlier in this document, this forced-labor caste system was updated over the generations to the point that it became, in the early nineteenth century, the foundation of the empire of cotton’s agribusiness system and its allied endeavors. As a result, in 1862 it was no contradiction or irony that Capt. Morton—for reasons of military emergency—would resort to a forced labor conscription of African Americans. He was using for the purpose the subject population that for two centuries had been the caste set apart for forced labor operations, though it was for a military purpose in this case, not private enterprise. In the major wars of the twentieth century, after slavery’s demise, prisoners of war and the civilian residents of occupied areas would be made to answer for the same task. It should be noted in this regard that in September 1862—just a month after Morton’s dragnet—a similar roundup of African

Americans would be made in Cincinnati, Ohio, for exactly the same reason. Reacting to Braxton Bragg’s invasion of Kentucky, the city authorities there conscripted the free black residents for the purpose of building defenses for the Ohio River town. Although Fitch’s snickering tone in his description makes the Fort Negley conscription seem exceptionally callous, it was not exceptional. Fitch could adopt a joking language because what he was describing was normal operating procedure.

One should also note here that Morton’s actions were perfectly consistent with the spirit of the two Conscription Acts that, to this point, had governed the Union army’s policy toward black labor in those territories of the Confederacy that were invaded and occupied. Although eighteenth-century war theorists had wanted to prevent armies from liberating slaves as a weapon of war, it was also the case that confiscating the property of an enemy’s population and using it for the purpose of assisting one’s own war effort was an accepted practice. The Second Confiscation Act (July 1862) added the twist that the taking of property for the Union’s war effort constituted a punishment for treason rather than an act of confiscation of the property of a recognized national enemy, as would occur in a war between nations.²²

However defined, to create fine distinctions between fighting a war between nations

and suppressing a domestic rebellion, the confiscation process highlighted an important distinction about the Union’s use of slaves and free blacks during this early part of the war. In keeping with the military nature of this conflict, the Union armies were *detaching* slaves—property—from masters who were in rebellion against the authority of the U.S. The Union’s armies weakened the enemy’s power to make war by taking productive *property* from the master class in rebellion. In this respect, taking slaves away from rebels was no different than confiscating horses, pigs, chickens, or fence rails. Indeed, from the perspective of the Union’s common soldiers—particularly those soldiers from the Middle Border states—taking slaves from masters amounted to exactly this kind of confiscation.²³ Taking productive resources of any kind from the enemy weakened his ability to make war against you. Obviously, abolitionist thinking played no part in this conceptualization of things. Union officers and common soldiers did not have to become Garrisonian radicals to become confiscators of the slave property of the masters in rebellion against them.

Yet, as this process of confiscation and conscription was underway, it was also the case that by the early fall of 1862 the war was changing. First, although it fit a constitutional lawyer’s fancy to have *only* those slaves of rebellious masters confiscated, this hardly

fit the facts of the situation. The moment that Union armies moved into Kentucky and Tennessee (and elsewhere) slaves began to seek refuge whenever it was possible to do so. Bluecoat troops in garrison—and on the move—were a magnet for fugitives. And, of course, these refugees from slavery hardly concerned themselves with the political status of their masters. It was no accident that Morton’s roundup included some undetermined number of fugitive slaves. These refugees hardly cared about the fine tuning of wartime politics. However, because they were now arriving in numbers in places such as Nashville, this fact allowed these African Americans to help make history. Their escape coincided with changes in the political climate in Washington.

Lincoln turned the war against the Confederate rebellion into a war for emancipation. In September 1862 the president issued his preliminary proclamation. At this moment, whatever was said rhetorically, the war to restore the Union was over; a war to create a very new nation had just begun. For their part, officers and soldiers like Morton found themselves in a very new war, particularly after the permanent proclamation went into effect January 1, 1863. Although the captain did not know it, his orders to start the construction of fortifications came at a junction point in the Union’s war. As

enterprising officers, Grant and Buell had turned a war of moderation—convincing white Southerners that the Union meant them no harm—into a war of the energetic application of force to landscape, and from this, into a war to segment and destroy the cotton empire’s vast economic realm. Now, in the fall of 1862, the president was changing the game again. Having taken an oath to save the constitutional Union that had existed before the war (make note of the originally proposed thirteenth amendment), Lincoln was now engaged in a war to create a very new nation based on the principle of a universal ethic and system of free labor. The construction of Fort Negley (and the other fortifications) occurred precisely at this junction point. The war was shifting underneath everyone’s feet.

In Nashville proper, the situation only became more confusing. If the president had changed the nature of the Union’s war with a pen, he had also specifically exempted Kentucky and Tennessee from the Emancipation Proclamation. As more refugees crowded into the city, the issue of any individual’s true status was simply conjecture. Indeed, when Confederate commander John Bell Hood threatened Nashville late in 1864, the engineer at that point, Zebulon B. Tower, impressed slaves again, even as United States Colored Troops (USCT) units from the District of Etowah were moved in to help defend the city.



FIGURE 17. 1865 map of Fort Negley and the other fixed fortifications and entrenchment lines south of the city. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

CIVIL WAR: The Construction of Fort Negley

In the world of military construction in the mid-nineteenth century, the most dynamic area involved coastal fortifications. The evolution of naval artillery and the invention of metal warships invalidated the kinds of installations, like Fort McHenry, which were designed to repel the British in the War of 1812. The contest between the ship and the land bastion was being revolutionized. However, fortifications for land forces in the mid-nineteenth century were not affected by the dynamics of the evolving improvements in firepower or other technologies. Infantry

small arms were being reconceived, as is well known, but this had no effect on permanent land fortifications (improvised fieldworks were another matter). Indeed, in terms of warfare in the western tradition, it would not be until World War I that the purpose-built, masonry-constructed fortification became an acknowledged anachronism. But this was fifty years in the future.

When Capt. Morton went to work it was no problem for him to use the writings of his old West Point instructor, Dennis Hart Mahan. Mahan’s *Complete Treatise on Field*

Fortification (1836) and *Summary of the Course of Permanent Fortification and the Attack and Defense of Permanent Works* (1850) were still relevant. More fundamentally, the concept of permanent fortification still drew its basic inspiration from Enlightenment-era “Cabinet War,” as it was called, and the constructed works of Sebastian Le Prestre de Vauban and like engineers. If a regular soldier of the French monarchy stationed at Louisbourg—the huge installation completed in 1740 in modern-day Nova Scotia—were suddenly transported to a completed Fort

Negley, he understood what he was looking at even though the French colonial installation was a coastal fort and was constructed a century earlier.

Negley as designed was oriented northeast to southwest and featured a traditional star design on these two opposite-facing sides. The four redans on each side were constructed to provide overlapping and mutually supporting fields of fire. For this reason, redans were regarded as superior to a straight curtain wall (though they presented difficulties of their own). Above these redans was located

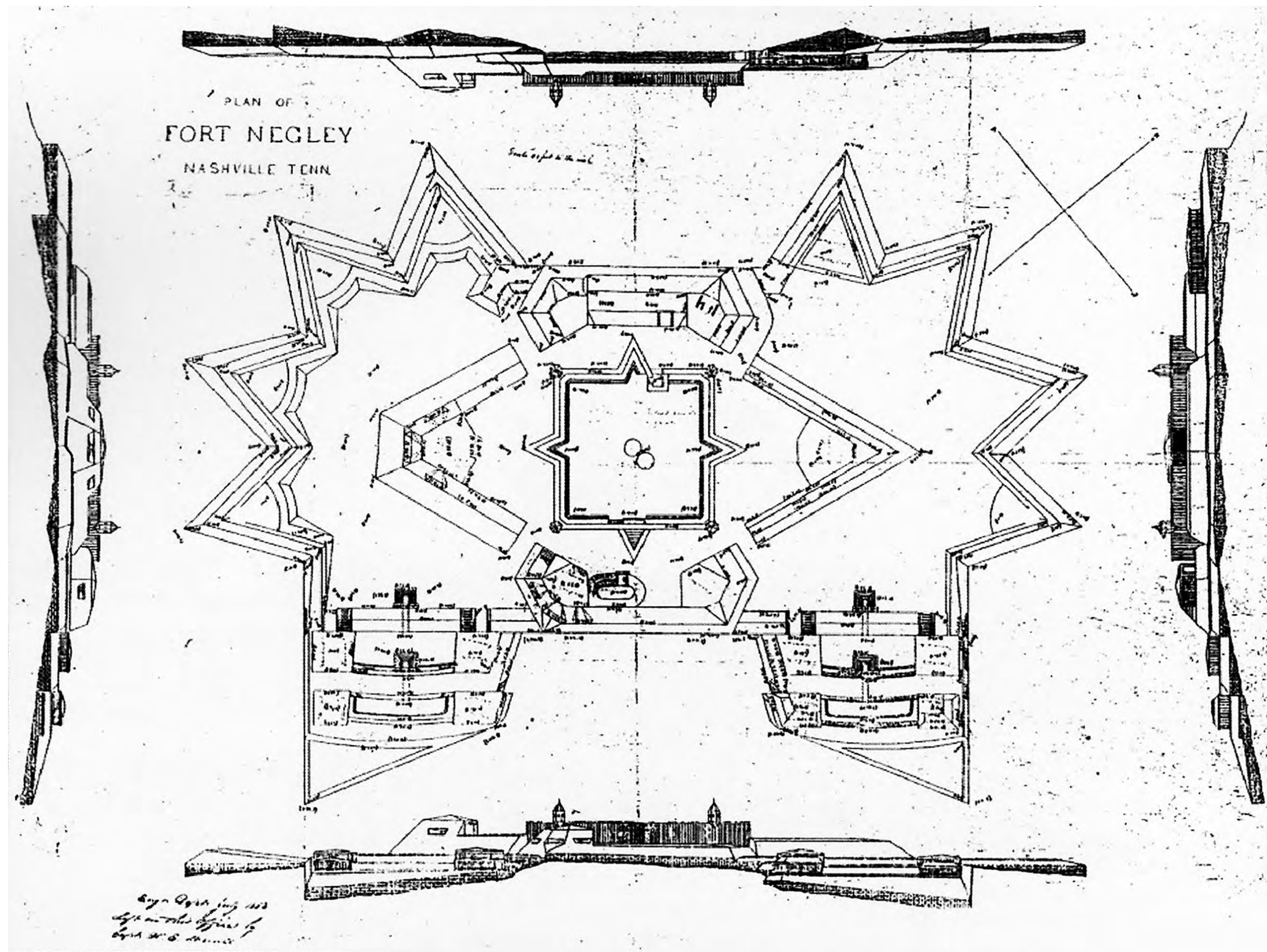


FIGURE 18. Plan of Fort Negley (National Archives)

a central redoubt composed of a square wooden stockade (twelve-foot cedar posts) with towers at each corner equipped with gun slits. The stockade was ninety-six feet by ninety-six feet and was considered a kind of bastion of last resort in case of attack. This stockade, in turn, was encased in a rectangular redoubt composed of four groups of walls, two of which were U-shaped, the other two being V-shaped. Outside of this were the redans and a series of terraced bastions. The fort also included two bombproof casemates constructed of railroad iron and cedar posts. Bombproof magazines were included to store powder and shell. Covered trenchways allowed garrisoned troops to move between stations protected from enemy fire.

The initial Union armament of the fort beginning in mid-August 1862 included the 12th Indiana Battery Light Artillery and two captured Confederate 64-pounders. By early 1864, the fort was armed with one 30-pounder, rifled and en barbette; three 24-pounder siege guns; two 24-pounder howitzers (field); and two 6-pounder field guns manned by the 12th Indiana Battery. Those guns were later upgraded to include at the least two additional 30-pounder Parrotts. According to the specifications for the Parrott guns, these were rifled heavy artillery pieces, firing 29-pound shells that could be lobbed from 4,800 to 8,400 yards. Added to this were several hundred rifles positioned within the three-hundred-foot bastion. As can be seen from the top of the ruins today, the fort easily commanded the Franklin Pike approach to town, along with points and approaches to the east. Of course, Negley was also designed so that its defenses would interlock with the other fortifications being built to defend Nashville (the state capitol building itself became a fort).

Significantly, the fortification was constructed with a combination of hewn stone, timbers, and earth. According to a Union soldier stationed there, quarried limestone

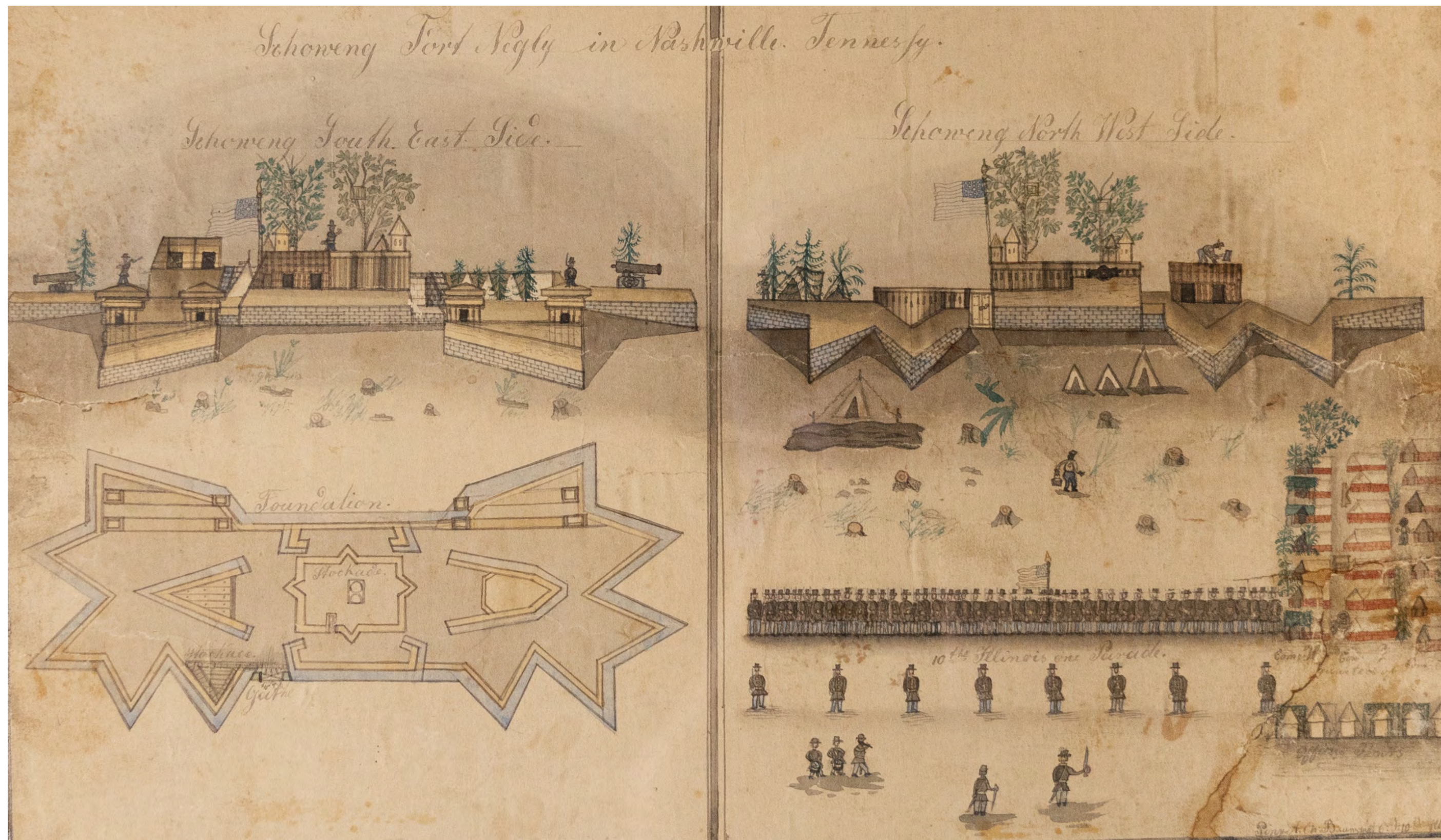


FIGURE 19. Soldier's sketch of Fort Negley, c. 1864. (Tennessee State Museum)



FIGURE 20. **Building Fort Negley, October 1862.** (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

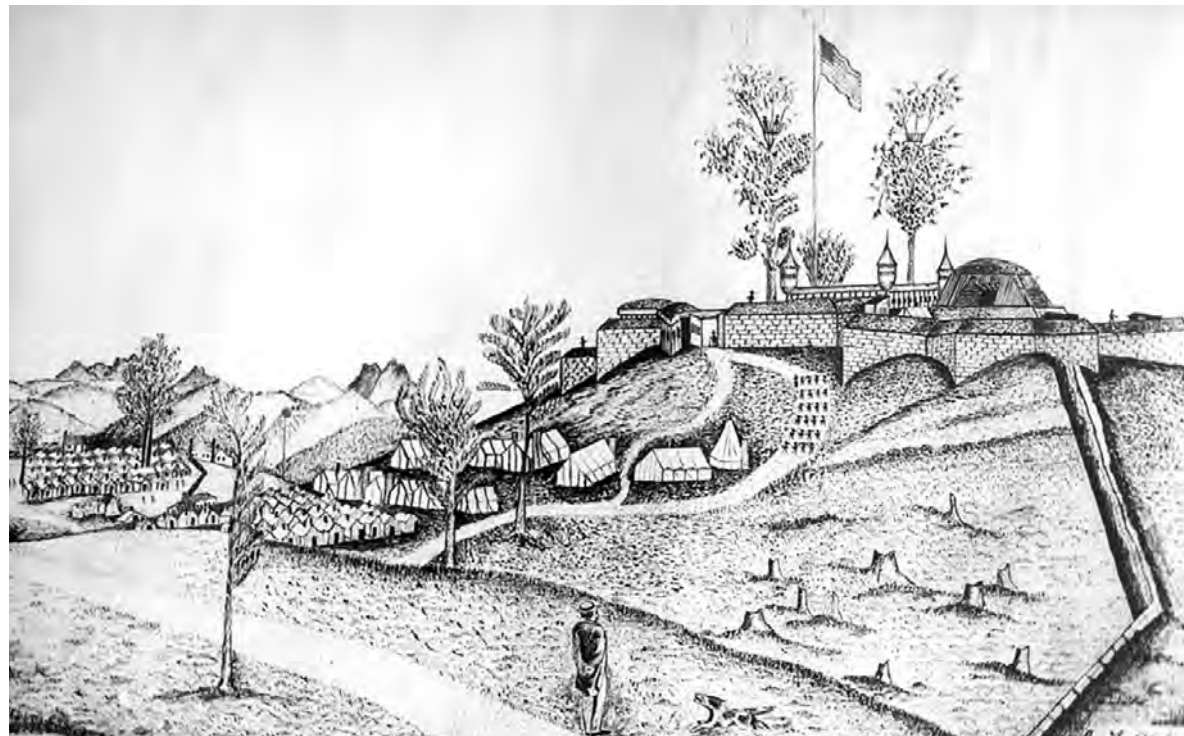


FIGURE 21. **An artist's sketch of Fort Negley during the war. Union troops are garrisoned on the northwest slope.** (Fort Negley Archives)

was removed and then reworked into walls "to a height of perhaps ten feet above the surface, making a wall of rock 20 feet high." This, the soldier continued, "was then covered with earth to the height of the fort walls when completed." He continued that "protected angles were prepared for the guns, and a bomb proof magazine within the works, for the ammunition. This bomb proof was excavated, and covered with timbers, railroad iron (T rails), rock and earth."²⁴

As the fort was being completed, it remained for the defenders to strip the hillside and surrounding grounds. St. Cloud Hill became barren ground as refugee slaves and free blacks stripped the landscape of all vegetation. Provost Marshal Fitch described the process as both ruthless and effective. This was done simply to create completely unobstructed fields of fire in front of the fort's defensive positions.

According to the records, Fort Negley's initial works were operational by October 1862—right about the time that Bragg was starting to move his Confederate Army of Tennessee back from the inconclusive Battle of Perryville (October 8). The Confederate commander's attempt to create a renewed secession movement in Kentucky had come to naught. He was now in the unenviable situation of having to defend territory in a Tennessee that was full of turnpikes and railroads. For his part, Morton would continue to elaborate and perfect the Nashville defenses until 1864. He would then be reassigned to Washington but would not survive the war. Z. B. Tower would continue Morton's work in the Tennessee capital. His defenses eventually included twenty-three forts and other fortified positions, along with protected trench lines.

Black stonemasons and laborers chiseled blocks of limestone, hauled tons of dirt and rock from the top of the hill, and sawed lumber for the casemates and bombproofs; 62,500 cubic feet of stone and 18,000 cubic yards of dirt were excavated and used. They also fashioned cedar logs for the stockade. Forced to sleep in open areas on the hill, the

Union army provided an inadequate supply of old tents and cooking utensils.²⁵

In early November, before the fort was completed, Confederate Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest raided east of the city, imperiling the refugees. After being denied rifles to defend themselves, they reportedly gathered axes, shovels, and spades in an attempt to blunt an attack. In response, Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans ordered the fort to be garrisoned by at least one thousand men as he prepared to move out toward Murfreesboro in mid-December.

The majority of Negley was completed on December 7, 1862, at a cost of \$130,000. An additional \$20,000 was expended on an interior double-cased blockhouse with a parapet and other improvements ordered in 1864 by Gen. Z. B. Tower, the Inspector



FIGURE 22. **Harper's Weekly January 10, 1863: lithograph of the fort.** (National Archives)

General of Fortifications.²⁶ In return for their labor, black laborers received only \$13,648 of the \$85,858.50 they were owed. It is estimated that between six hundred and eight hundred black refugees perished between 1862 and 1865 in the process of building the

FIGURE 23. **Casemate #2, c. 1864.** (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)





FIGURE 24. Panorama taken from atop Casemate #1 in March 1864. The turreted stockade is to the left and in the distance to the upper center right is the Nashville City Cemetery. A 30-pounder Parrott rifle overlooks the bombproofed bastion front. (George Barnard /Library of Congress)

FIGURE 25. Photograph taken around the time of the Battle of Nashville (December 1864). The Union encampment was along the slope of today's Reservoir Hill and the houses were located on Franklin Turnpike. (Fort Negley Archives)



fortifications from a combination of disease, exposure, and natural causes.²⁷ In 1861, Union officials designated slaves who escaped to Union lines as “contraband.” Initially, slaves in the Nashville area were returned to their owners; however, that policy changed as officers refused to return them despite the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. The term “contraband” was a mere political convenience, however. These African Americans are more properly understood as a class of refugee.

As for the war itself, Nashville became a garrison town, a supply depot, and a place full of hospitals and refugee-contraband camps. As such, it served as a political as much as a military center. With Nashville as the headquarters of the Department of the Cumberland, it was also a central place where

the endless contradictions of a confusing war had to be clarified. What was the proper way to deal with recalcitrant secessionist civilians who remained within the city or the occupied area? How would this question be dealt with given the fact that Union invasion had sparked guerrilla war from the very beginning?²⁸ What was the proper way to deal with contrabands in a situation where their labor was not only valuable, but the general government was recruiting them into the military as USCT units? What was the proper way to do this, furthermore, in a state within which the Emancipation Proclamation did not apply? Was it possible in the middle of a full-fledged war in a fiercely divided state to rebuild the processes of consensual civil government? In any attempt to do so, what role would be given to the enlarging

population of East Tennesseans moving into Nashville—a population which has certain ideas about justified vengeance? No one—Governor Johnson or anyone else—had really good answers to any of these questions.

In military terms, after the fall of 1862 the war moved south. Although Bragg and his Army of Tennessee sought to threaten Nashville by concentrating in nearby Murfreesboro, Maj. Gen. Rosecrans and his newly retitled Army of the Cumberland defeated the Confederates at Stones River in late December–early January. From this moment the secessionists were on the defensive. The Tullahoma Campaign and Chickamauga–Chattanooga campaigns followed, and in the process of these military initiatives, the Union army in the area would shift from simple occupation and control to construction of forward supply bases. In Murfreesboro, Fortress Rosecrans was built as the first of these. Chattanooga would follow as William Tecumseh Sherman geared up for what became the Atlanta Campaign. Long story short, Union garrison and fort development now started to resemble what would happen in the Pacific Campaign during World War II. As the Navy, Army, and Marines moved forward deeper into the Japanese oceanic empire, new forward operating bases were created while older ones became remote rear areas. In this respect, Fortress Rosecrans and Chattanooga resembled the Mariana Islands after June 1944.



FIGURE 26. Federal wagon shop on Franklin Turnpike. Blockhouse Casino is seen on the upper left horizon to the left of the steeple. (Tennessee Historical Society)

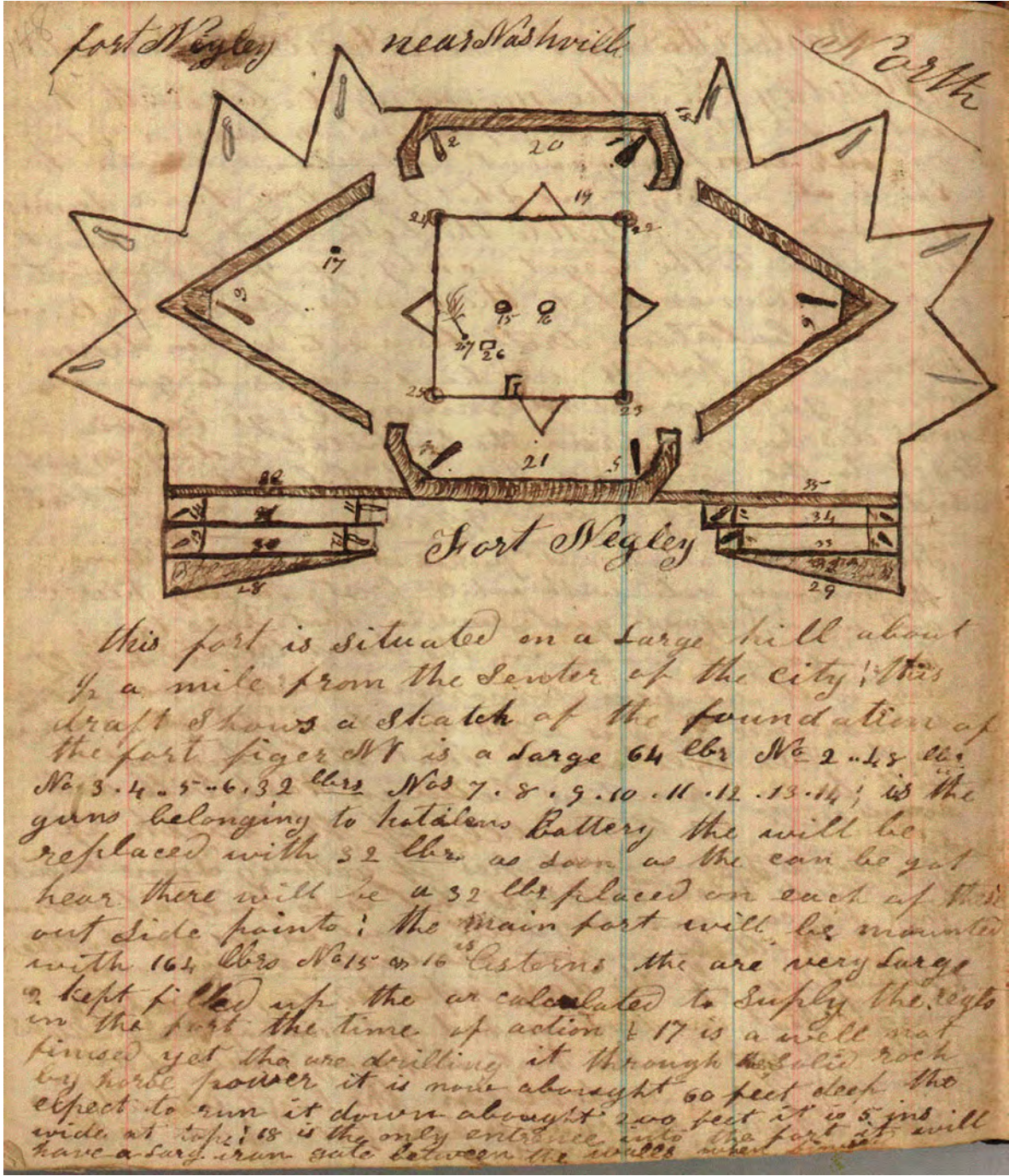


FIGURE 27. John Hill Ferguson sketch of Fort Negley, c. 1862, showing gun emplacements. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

In keeping with his philosophy of continuing a war of movement and initiative, Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman contemplated his next step after taking Atlanta in September 1864. He most certainly could not stay where he was, he reasoned. His opponent, John Bell Hood, would use the opportunity of the Union pause to send his Confederate infantry against

Sherman’s one supply line—the Western and Atlantic Railroad. Sherman could hardly defend a rail line so long, and to try to do so would cost him a thousand men a month (in his calculation) to no constructive purpose. And, sure enough, as Sherman deliberated, Hood began to attack the Union railroad. Sherman’s solution was to embark on his

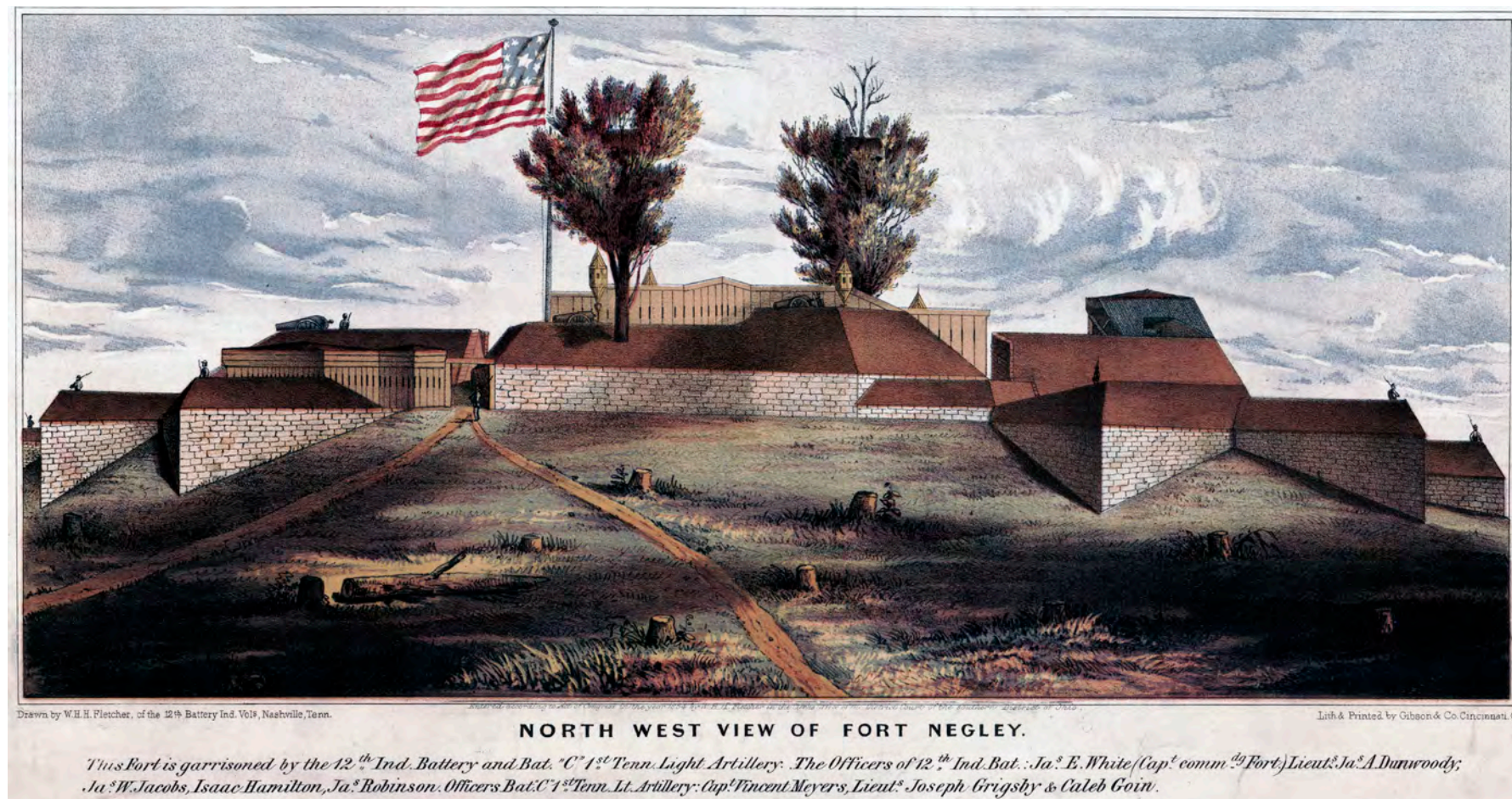


FIGURE 28. Lithograph from 1864 of Fort Negley's front from the northwest. (Library of Congress)

FIGURE 29. Lithograph from 1864 of Fort Negley's front from the east. (Library of Congress)

famous March to the Sea. Such a march would allow him to change his base to the Atlantic Ocean where the Union navy exercised complete control, and it would put him in position to cooperate with Lt. Gen. U. S. Grant's effort to destroy Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. In addition, Sherman hoped the march—essentially a giant raiding expedition—might convince recalcitrant secessionists that their butternut army was no longer capable of protecting them as citizens or shielding the Confederate nation as a political entity.

Sherman's move east became Hood's opportunity, or so the Confederate commander reasoned. Confronting only garrison troops along with a couple of Union infantry corps left behind to guard Tennessee, a full-army Confederate raiding force might do some real damage. Hood had reason

to think this, and Grant, the overall Union commander, had reason to fear it.

In hindsight, it appears obvious that the Confederacy was a spent force by late 1864. The west had been lost; Sherman could move his army at will; the offensive capability of Lee's army had been destroyed. However, it is also clear that the secessionist will to resist continued unabated. Indeed, it can be argued that Sherman's march through Georgia and South Carolina only increased that determination. The desire to resist a nation that had substituted forced coercion for consensual government, and which now threatened slavery with extinction, remained a powerful motivation in the minds of determined secessionists. The particular details of the military situation were disheartening, but hardly fatal. After all, committed secessionists reasoned that things were similarly bleak in the spring of 1862. To note the issue in a slightly different way, Gary Gallagher has argued that over the years of the Confederacy's existence, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia became a symbol of resistance so powerful that the

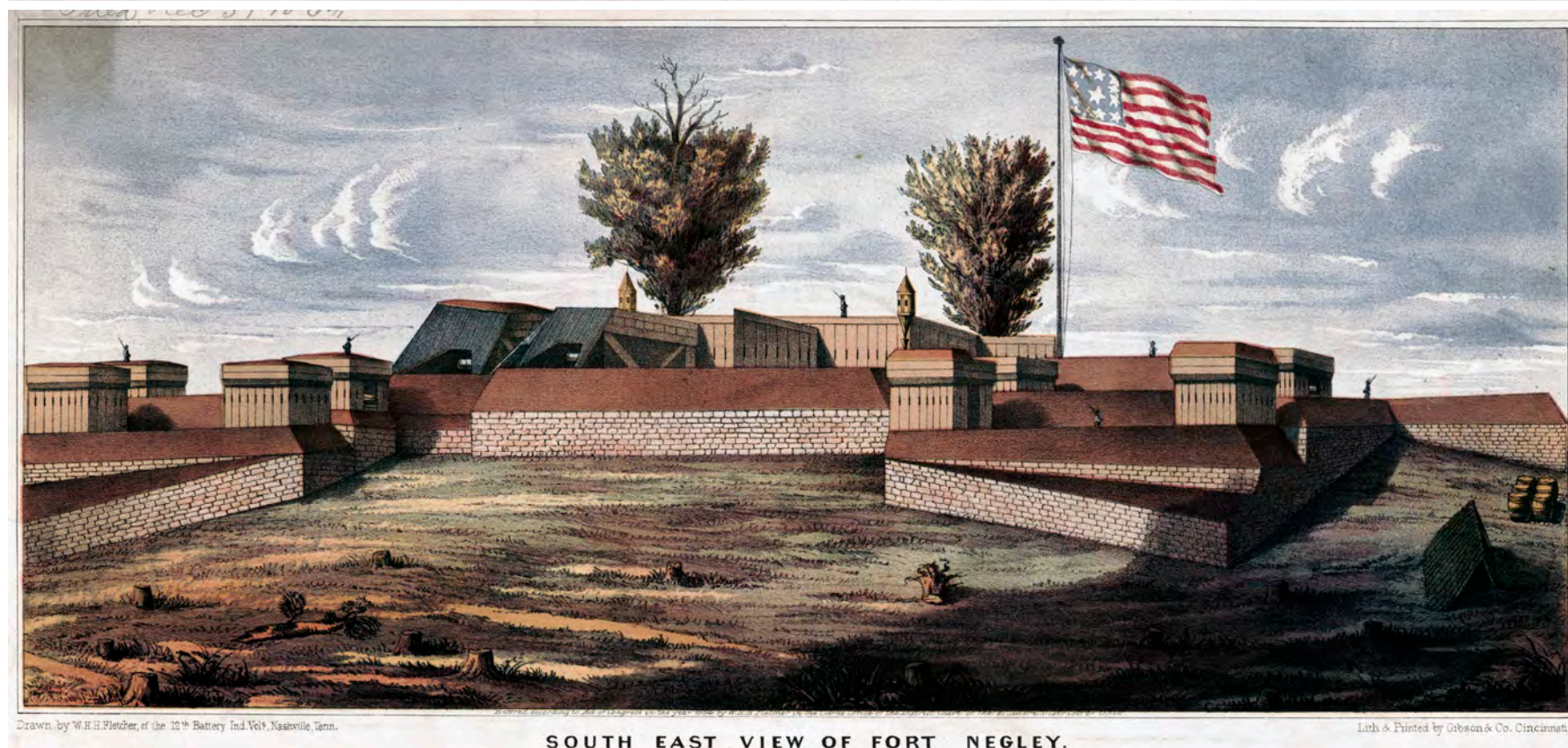


FIGURE 30. In upper main works above sally port looking toward downtown (c. 1864). 30-pounder Parrott rifle on wooden barbette. (Tennessee Historical Society)

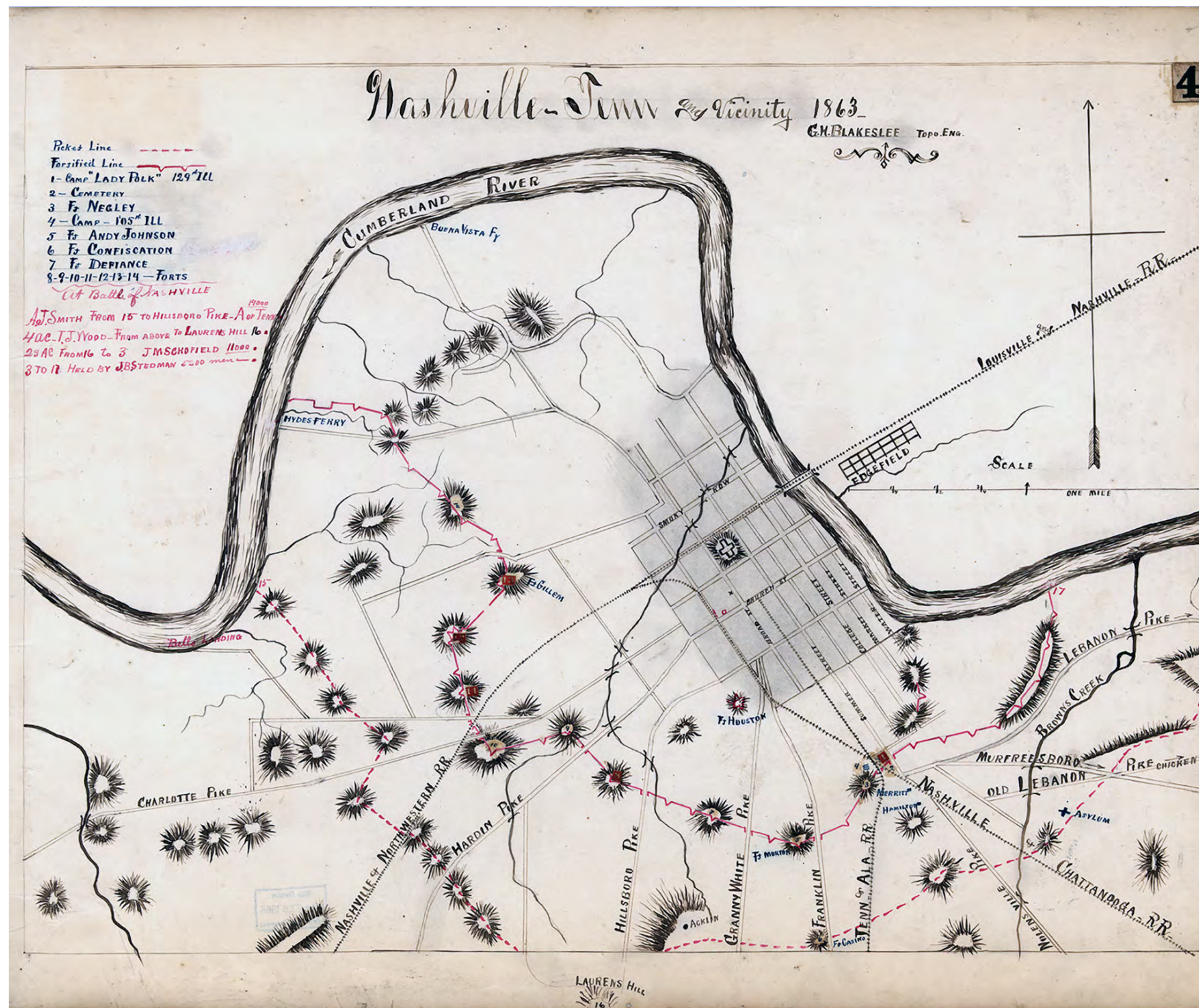


FIGURE 31. 1863 map of Nashville with the location of the Union fortifications, including entrenchments. (National Archives)

army's continued existence trumped any other factor in the war. As long as Lee's army remained alive, the idea of the Confederacy remained alive, regardless of any other matter.²⁹ And, in late 1864, Lee's army remained alive—cornered but alive.

Given this situation, Hood resolved to

do something similar to what Bragg had done in 1862, and Lee had done the subsequent year. By taking the offensive, these leaders reversed the momentum of the war. Although Bragg failed in his ultimate objective in Kentucky, and Lee could never invade the North to stay, the image of



FIGURE 32. Looking southwest from the railroad below the bastion. This picture was probably taken near the end of the war. The structures in the left mid-ground are possibly squatter shacks. The other clapboard structure is unknown, but likely a residence associated with the Union cemeteries. In the foreground are the remains of a railroad roundhouse structure built before the war. (Metropolitan Nashville—Davidson County Government Archives)

triumphant Confederates moving north cut against the North's war. The Union's war of invasion and segmentation was necessarily slow, methodical, and thought through piece by piece. By contrast, a headline-grabbing, dramatic raid could undo all the progress or could be interpreted that way by those who devoted themselves to wishful thinking. It was not for nothing that U. S. Grant fought Lee all summer and fall in the Overland Campaign of 1864 for the express purpose of destroying the Confederate commander's raiding abilities. Now, Hood had an opportunity to grab headlines again. Grant's fear was that the Confederate commander would run up into Kentucky and play a game of chase that the Union could not likely win, and which would divert attention from the slow but sure strangulation going on in the Petersburg trenches. Hood's theatre commander, P. G. T. Beauregard, approved of the

operation, although he openly questioned whether his field general had the logistical strength to pull it off.

In the end it did not matter. Hood wrecked his army in a frontal assault at the Battle of Franklin. He then limped his shattered command to the outskirts of Nashville and pretended to lay siege to the place. In fact, he was effectively waiting for his Union opponent—George H. Thomas—to gather enough strength to destroy him. On December 15-16, 1864, Thomas tore Hood's lines apart and then chased the Confederates south all the way to the Tennessee River. Organized Confederate resistance in the west—the Kentucky/Tennessee Middle Border part of it—was done. Rebel violence was now left to guerrillas such as Champ Ferguson. Fort Negley had little offensive part in the Battle of Nashville, outside its role as an entrenched military position that caused Hood to extend his line more

THE UNION DEAD

By mid-1862, the Nashville City Cemetery grounds were quickly overwhelmed with the burial of 3,021 Union troopers. In response, a three-acre area was carved out between the Nashville and Chattanooga and the Tennessee and Alabama railroads. Two years later, Capt. John Isom and Dr. William Clendenin, medical director of hospitals, selected eleven acres on the west side of Cherry Street, and south of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, for two additional cemeteries: U.S. Burial Ground—Due West of City Cemetery; and U.S. Burial Ground—South West of City Cemetery.

Between October 1867 and January 1868, the federal government disinterred 16,485 Union soldiers from original burial sites in Tennessee and Kentucky and reburied their remains at the newly created Nashville National Cemetery on Gallatin Pike, north of

the city. The “Burial Grounds, near Nashville”—the City Cemetery, Due West and South West—held 8,592 of those graves.

The graves are all marked by placing a cedar board at the head with the name, rank, company, regiment, date of death, cut in deep with a knife, in plain letters, then the letters are painted so that a mark of this kind can be recognized in several years from now, for the cedar will last a long time.

—Federal Clerk, Cumberland Hospital

The Catholic section of the Nashville City Cemetery remained west of the Nashville and Decatur Railroad until after the war. A stone wall surrounded the burial ground. The remains of these graveyards lie just outside the present park boundary to the east and southeast.

The Union army contracted with local undertaker William R. Cornelius. A furniture and cabinet maker who moved to Nashville from Pennsylvania in 1849, he took up the undertaking business with his employers, McComb and Carson Cabinet Company. McComb and Cornelius purchased property in the early 1850s just west of the City Cemetery and south of the Catholic section, at the base of St. Cloud Hill. He began the war contracting with Confederate authorities to bury the Southern dead. He claimed to have interred 2,260 Confederate soldiers in Nashville, including the City Cemetery. His valued assistant was Prince Greer, a slave from Texas whose Confederate owner died in the vicinity of Nashville. Mentored by Cornelius, Greer was the first recorded African American embalmer in the United States.

FIGURE 33. The red highlighted areas are the plats owned by Cornelius and McComb, along with the Catholic Cemetery. As cabinet makers and funeral directors, they wanted property close to the cemetery. These properties were never developed because the Nashville and Decatur Railroad purchased a right of way. The Catholic Cemetery ended up moving to Lebanon Pike (Calvary Cemetery) after the war. All of these lie just outside the current boundaries of the Fort Negley Park. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

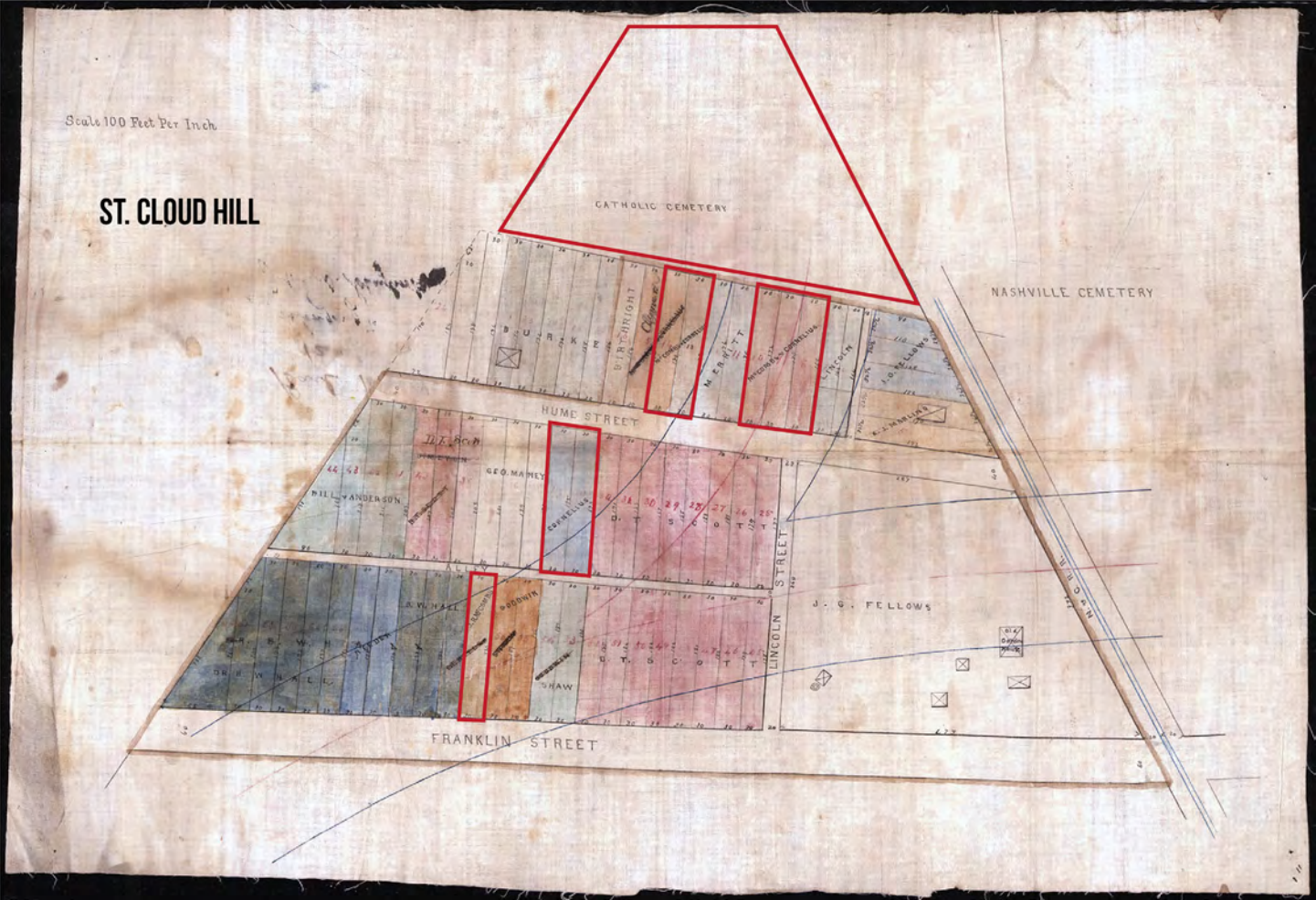


FIGURE 34. The area within the red circle was a cemetery for Union soldiers bounded by the railroads and dirt road to the south. The Union army created three additional cemeteries adjoining the Nashville City Cemetery: this burial ground within the triangle and two more, known as the Due West and Southwest cemeteries. (Detail from Figure 24/George Barnard, March 1864/Library of Congress)

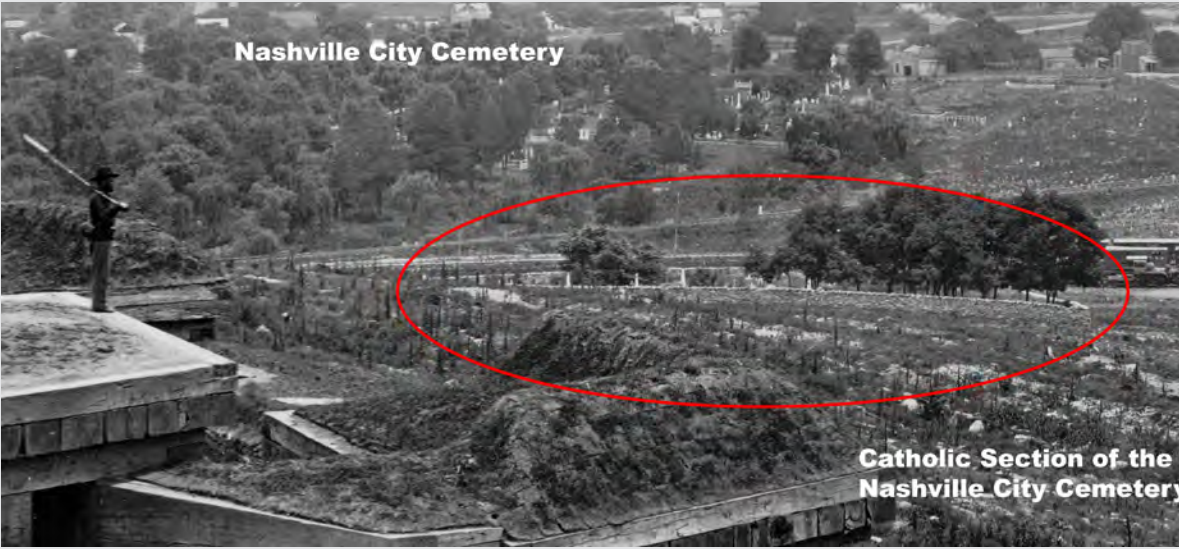


FIGURE 35. The area within the red circle was used before 1855 as the Catholic section of the Nashville City Cemetery. (Detail from Figure 24/George Barnard, March 1864/Library of Congress)

Nashville National Cemetery									
DESCRIPTION OF LOCALITY.	NO. FOUND.	NAME OR NUMBER.	RANK.	COMPANY.	REGIMENT.	DATE OF DEATH.	EPIGRAPH, REMARKS, ETC.	NATIONAL CEMETERY.	NUMBER.
U.S. Burial Ground	1	3402 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3402	299
Due West City Cemetery	1	3403 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3403	300
"	1	3404 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3404	301
"	1	3405 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3405	302
"	1	3406 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3406	303
"	1	3407 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3407	304
"	1	3408 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3408	305
"	1	3409 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3409	306
"	1	3410 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3410	307
"	1	3411 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3411	308
"	1	3412 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3412	309
"	1	3413 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3413	310
"	1	3414 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3414	311
"	1	3415 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3415	312
"	1	3416 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3416	313
"	1	3417 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3417	314
"	1	3418 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3418	315
"	1	3419 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3419	316
"	1	3420 Wm. S. Patterson	Pvt.	C.	35th Ind. Inf.	Dec 28 1863	CHP	3420	317

FIGURE 36. Listing of Union dead removed from Nashville cemeteries and moved to the National Cemetery on Gallatin Road after the war. (National Archives)



FIGURE 37. The handwritten caption reads "Negro Settlement Fort Negley—1884." (Fort Negley Archives)

miles than his depleted army could cover. The first shots of the battle on the 15th rang out from the Nashville forts, signaling the Union army's advance.

In early 1865, Fort Negley's name was changed. Brig. Gen. James Negley fell out of favor for a lapse in judgment at Chickamauga that exposed the Union line in September

1863. Thus, the fort was renamed to honor Brig. Gen. Charles Harker, mortally wounded at Kennesaw Mountain in June 1864.

Matters were resolving on the political front, as well. In August 1863, Governor Johnson had called upon the state to accept emancipation on its own as a first step to permanent reunion. On January 26, 1864, he then issued

a proclamation calling for a state convention to create a new constitution. To be eligible to vote for delegates, one had to swear absolute loyalty to the Union and the willingness to oppose all forces of insurrection. This convention would meet later, after Johnson had been elected vice president. A new state constitution was adopted February 22, 1865—a constitution that included emancipation. This document thus anticipated ratification of the national thirteenth amendment. Then, on July 24, 1866, Tennessee was readmitted to the Union officially, having ratified the fourteenth amendment according to Congressional instruction. Thus, the military occupation of Nashville wound down just as military reconstruction was imposed on the other former Confederate states. During this same time frame, in April 1865, William G. Brownlow became governor—a fiercely Unionist East Tennessean whose elevation marked the emergence of an East Tennessee Republican presence in the state. Then, in December 1865, leaders of Nashville's African American community organized the Freedman's Saving and Trust Company, trustees of which included leaders among the city's long-developed free black community, including Nelson Walker and Frank Parrish, barbers; Henry Harding, a hotelier (a former Two Rivers slave); and educator William C. Napier.

NEW SOUTH NASHVILLE: The Railroad and Factory Age

As the Union's military occupation withdrew from Tennessee's state capital in 1867, Fort Negley became a witness to two fundamental features of the era that Mark Twain referred to as the Gilded Age.³⁰ First, Nashville and the rest of the country opened itself to the free-market enterprise that would create the "hazard of new fortunes." On St. Cloud Hill, the fort disappeared, its component parts either sold off by the federal government or taken by enterprising individuals in the town. The city considered the idea of purchasing the site in 1868 for a park

and reservoir. As a later document showed, Annie and R. B. Snowden and Hugh Brinkley remained the owners of the hill property while the fortification on it was being dismantled.³¹ Stripped of its military function and value, St. Cloud Hill witnessed the new economic energy that was now embodied in the railroad lines that passed outwards out of the city just past the hill. Second, the hill would also witness the varying circumstances of people who worked in what would soon be titled the New South. Though it was a period that produced new fortunes—even bigger ones than the

plantation era had created—it also produced extreme poverty along with the progress, to paraphrase popular nineteenth-century economic philosopher Henry George.³² This volatility and unpredictability of fate, in turn, generated a tremendous amount of conflict.

To begin with, the power of railroads, the corporate entities that assumed control over this form of transportation after the war, became the fundamental driving force behind the post-Civil War economy everywhere in the country. As historian William Cronon demonstrated years ago, the combination of

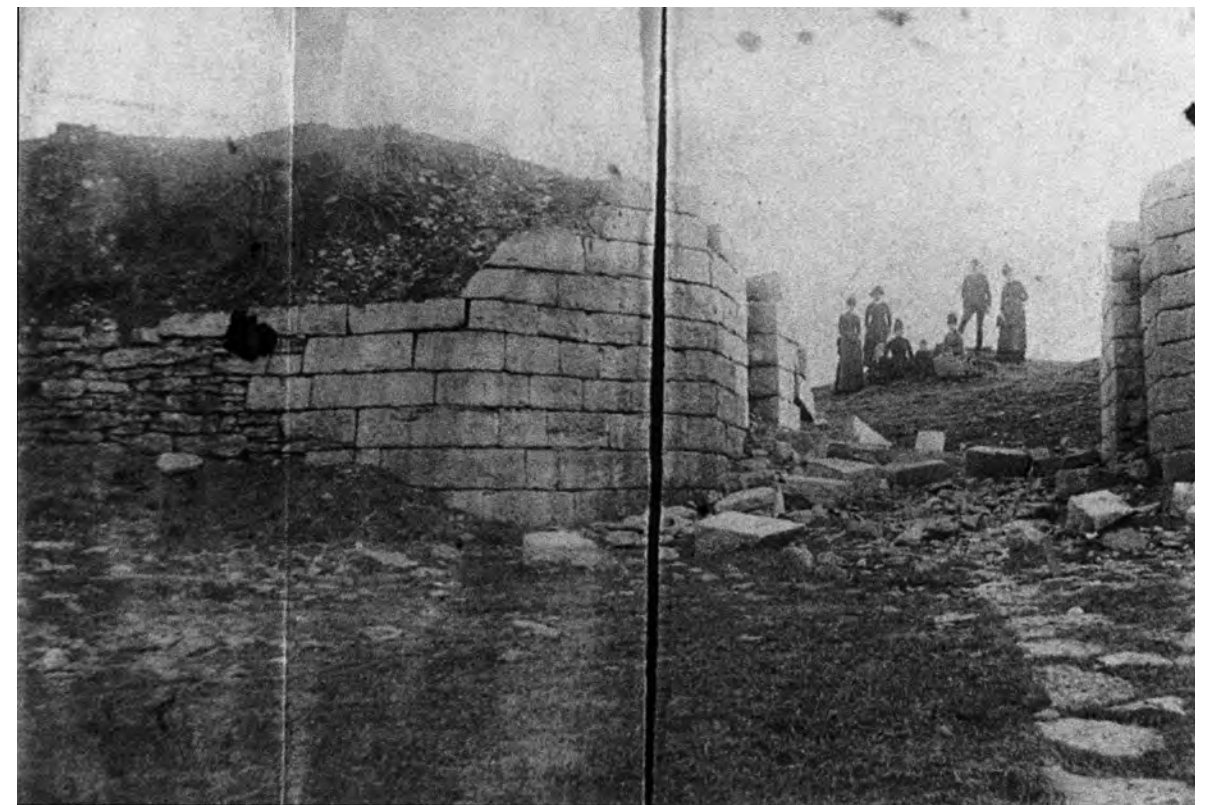


FIGURE 38. The remnants of the Fort Negley sally port in the 1880s. (Giers Collection, Nashville Public Library)



FIGURE 39. Watercolor of the remains of Fort Negley in the 1880s. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

VISITORS' GUIDE.

Points of Interest in and About Nashville, and How to Get to Them.

HERMITAGE.—Home and tomb of President Andrew Jackson, twelve miles by rail or turnpike and eighteen by river from Nashville. This is a place of great historic interest, and is well worth a visit. During the time of the meeting, boats will run to this point every morning and afternoon. Trains, three times a day. Fare for the round trip, 50 cents.

POLK PLACE is one of the attractions of Nashville, and no stranger comes within her gates without visiting the tomb of the illustrious ex-President James K. Polk, and certainly not without calling upon his distinguished widow, who resides in the stately old mansion.

NATIONAL CEMETERY.—This, next to Arlington the largest National Cemetery in the country, is located on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad six miles from the city. Sixteen thousand five hundred and fifty-three stones mark the last resting places of so many soldiers. Parties desiring to visit this point can get information as to the time of departure of trains at Union Depot or Union Ticket Office, Maxwell House, as well as at General Headquarters.

FORTS NEGLEY, GILLEM AND MORTON.—Upon a series of hills in the southern part of the city are these, the points of vantage occupied by Gen. Geo. H. Thomas during his memorable fight with Hood. A fine view of the city and surrounding country may be obtained from these points. The spruce street cars and the Overland Dummy Line pass the base of these hills.

STATE CAPITOL.—It is the proud boast of Tennesseans that everything entering into the construction of this building from foundation stone to turret came from within the State. The building is situated upon the top of a hill, and is the first object to catch the eye upon approaching the city from any direction.

WEST NASHVILLE.—A suburban manufacturing town located on the Cumberland River six miles from the city. May be reached by the dummy line or by Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway.

BELLE MEADE.—Six miles from the city on the Richmond Creek pike, is the finest thoroughbred stock farm in the United States. The "noted ones" on the place are Ironhills, Lake Blackburn, Enquirer, Bramble, Great Tom and Penelope. These horses aggregate a value of over \$150,000. The farm comprises over 2,000 acres, a part of which is used as an extensive deer park. The annual May sale of "yearlings" brings buyers from all parts of the country to this farm. Ex-President and Mrs. Cleveland, during their visit to this city in October, 1887, spent Sunday at this farm, and were entertained by its genial owner, Gen. W. H. Jackson, with that old-time hospitality for which he and his family have so long been famous.

COTTON FACTORIES.—Parties who have never before had the opportunity of visiting a cotton factory can do so on this occasion any morning between the hours of 8 and 10. There are three of these in the city, the managers of each of which will keep "open house" for our visitors.

PARKS.—West Side Park, located west of the city, contains an elegant race track a mile in length, and a well built amphitheater of large seating capacity. Glendale Park is at the end of the Overland Dummy Line, and is in about the centre of that section of the country in which the battle of Nashville was fought. Cherokee Park is located beyond the town of West Nashville, at end of dummy line. At the terminus of the Main Street & Litchey Avenue Dummy Line is Richardson's Park.

FIGURE 40. In 1889, the *Tennessean* published a *Visitors' Guide* for those interested in seeing Nashville's historic sites. Fort Negley, along with Forts Gillem and Morton, were prominently listed as points of interest. (*Tennessean*, July 20, 1889)

corporate-organized high-speed rail, agricultural and natural-resource expansion westward, and corporate entrepreneurs in major cities like Chicago created an agricultural commodity-based industrial revolution.³³ This dramatic economic reorganization would alter the South, too. During the antebellum period, the cotton belt proper had absorbed the large majority of the economic activity of the black belt region. Cotton production and factoring, land speculation, financing and administering the human trafficking system, and transporting product and laborers were the prime focus. As a result, the destruction of the foundational slave system hit this area hard. Cotton-raising itself was revived—even expanded—but did so in a period of price deflation along with the decentralization of production (sharecropping). By contrast, Nashville, as a Middle Border town, had other cards to play after the demise of slavery, and the railroad corporations were the prime players. In particular the roads expanded their hinterlands and sponsored new forms of production by indulging in the common corporate practice of the time: mergers and takeovers.

The Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, which was a major route of Union supply during the western war, not only re-established its route after 1865, it also acquired the Nashville and Northwestern by 1870. This road was originally built by the Union army's USCT during the war to provide Nashville with a railroad route north and west when the Cumberland River was at low water. By 1873 the company changed its name to the Nashville, Chattanooga, and St. Louis Railway, reflecting its enlarged ambitions. However, it would be overshadowed by one of its rivals.

As another one of the Union army's important supply roads, the Louisville and Nashville emerged from the war in excellent financial shape despite the wear and tear on the physical property. The board of directors then began an aggressive process of expansion that would eventually connect the road to

FIGURE 41. 1917 map of the Snowden boundaries at St. Cloud Hill. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)



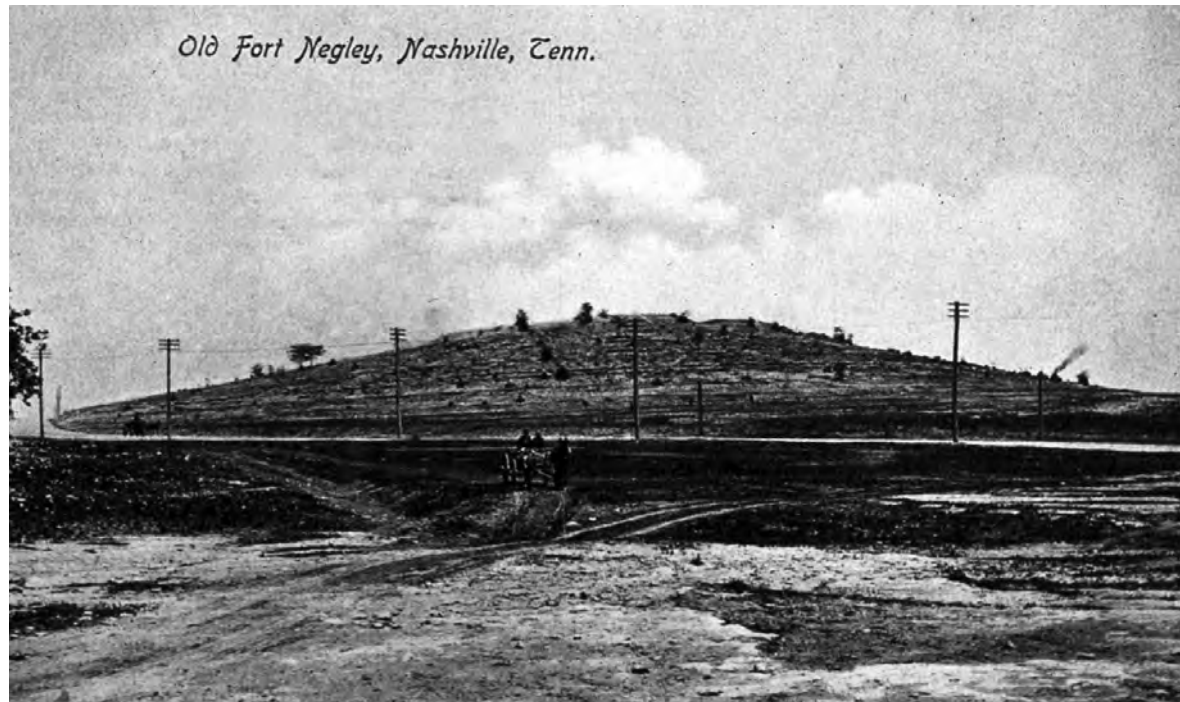


FIGURE 42. 1910 photograph of a denuded St. Cloud Hill. The remnants of the old fort are still visible.
(Michael Emrick Collection/Metropolitan Nashville/Davidson County Archives)

St. Louis, Cincinnati, Memphis, Birmingham, Mobile, Pensacola, and New Orleans. Among other things, by acquiring the Nashville and Decatur, the L&N was able to push down to Montgomery, Alabama, by 1872. This move, in turn, was one of the factors that made possible the establishment of Birmingham as a manufacturing center devoted to exploiting the area's iron and other mineral deposits. Then, twenty years later, the L&N pushed into eastern Kentucky to exploit the emerging coal industry there. Indeed, the L&N was a major hauler of coal—the country's major energy supply until the emergence of water-powered electricity and petroleum products.

In addition to these ventures, the L&N was the expert in the game of corporate acquisition and merging. The Panic of 1873—the country's longest depression (1873–1879)—proved a particularly opportune time for stronger companies to absorb the weaker, as the currency contraction of this period forced several companies into bankruptcies and created unemployment rates of 14 percent. Just as the country was coming out of this

depression, the L&N acquired majority stock ownership in the NC&StL (the L&N would not fully absorb its rival until 1957).

By such means, the L&N would create a rail empire in the heartland of the New South. Moving well beyond its original purpose of connecting Louisville and Nashville, the road became a corporate economic empire in itself. It had helped create the city of Birmingham, and then tied the steel city not only to Nashville but to Atlanta as well, and into the Appalachian coal fields. By the 1890s, the L&N had acquired or controlled fifty-six formerly independent railroads, and had created a transport network that linked steel, coal, iron, textiles manufacturing, raw cotton, and a host of other products. As part of this process of empire building, the L&N built rail maintenance structures known as the South Nashville Yard on the St. Cloud Hill property. The hill, therefore, provides direct testimony to the road's corporate power. By the time of the Panic of 1893, the New South dream first imagined by the turnpike promoters of the 1830s had come to fruition.

But if the national rail corporations created an integrated national economy exploiting agriculture, natural resources, and labor, the fruits of this incredible expansion were hardly distributed equitably. Gilded Age economic energy rested on the foundation of a freed market, and this, in turn, meant that labor was considered as a cost of production, at best. The human being behind the work simply did not matter. The result became a country of the vastly wealthy and powerful contrasted with those who were vulnerable, insecure, and marginalized. Many were simply destitute. Work and jobs were abundant (mostly unskilled), but the reward for labor was meager compared to the rewards for the winners of the corporate-merger game. The result of this divide was a class war.

Like other places in the former Confederacy, Nashville got a head start in this conflict because of Reconstruction. While the war settled the matter of Confederate independence, it left the issue of the emancipated slave to be determined by events. Tennessee's indigenous Republican party was able to get the state back into the Union voluntarily. This party, in turn, not only ended slavery within Tennessee (as noted earlier), it began to recruit the former slaves as voters in an attempt to build a democratic base across the three grand divisions. Former Confederates and "conservative" Unionist Democrats (including Andrew Johnson, now the American president) reacted angrily to this process, resorting to violence and terrorism. In this regard, the former Fort Negley became a ceremonial ground for the Ku Klux Klan—a place for "ghostly enclaves." At the same time, local newspapers reported in 1868 that black men were conducting military drills at the base of St. Cloud Hill near the Franklin Turnpike.³⁴ This group was led by one Leander Wood who argued that he carried a commission from Governor Brownlow to create a local militia. In other words, the war over Confederate independence had become a war over the political power of the former slaves. St. Cloud Hill was a site in this struggle.

From the beginning, this fight had an economic dimension. Although the war had settled the question of formal slavery through the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment, former Confederates and Unionist Democrats throughout the South and the Middle Border were determined to put a racial caste system in place of the former human-trafficking structure. African Americans were not only to be made politically powerless, they were to be kept in a classified structure of minimal jobs that would guarantee that these workers could never use their labor as a means to advance. As the Gilded Age replaced Reconstruction, caste would become an intensified structure of class. Segregated neighborhoods linking poverty with race or ethnicity became one of its most important features. In the case of St. Cloud Hill, former contraband camps morphed into black neighborhoods like Edgehill. For those more desperate, the hill provided a place for squatters, according to an 1869 newspaper article.³⁵ The anti-Reconstruction politics that was originally intended to isolate blacks into a caste was changing, increasingly, into a larger system where the marginalized of all races and ethnicities were separated from the successful. Nashville changed from a city made by slavery into a landscape of class divisions.

Of course, this emerging system of physical separation of neighborhoods was intended to make visibly evident the distinction between

those of proper moral character (i.e., those who had made it) and the degraded (those who had failed). However, the Gilded Age was never so obvious, or so easily manipulated. Given the volatile business cycle, the respectable could lose it all, too. St. Cloud Hill was a witness to this. In 1875, during the long Panic of 1873, the Overton property was auctioned off due to failure to pay back taxes. At this point, the property was owned by R. C. Brinkley, divided into three lots. Lot 1 was 33.3 acres and included the hill.

In the 1880s, the same area contained a ramshackle array of houses deemed a "negro settlement," which was called Rocktown. Within the South Nashville Yard area also lay Eureka Street. This area included twelve residences occupied by African Americans—laborers along with a few individuals of skill (according to the 1912 city directory). In another portion of the hill property lay Bass Street, another African American neighborhood. Thus, the hill property was home to both the great successes of the Gilded Age—the rail line and yard—and the great failures of the era.

The fort's importance to the neighborhood was reflected in names of places and sports teams: Fort Negley Bakery, Fort Negley Flats, Fort Negley Laundry, Fort Negley Nine (soft-ball team). The Overton heirs reclaimed their property at some point, for by 1908 Annie Snowden—John Overton's granddaughter—was listed as owner of the St. Cloud property.

A NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

Much of the interest in purchasing St. Cloud Hill was due to the idea that the federal government would possibly designate Fort Negley as a National Military Park. In February 1928, the House of Representatives' Committee on Military Affairs instructed the War Department to conduct a study of the site to determine its eligibility and significance. Several local supporters testified they were told that a nightclub was going to be built at Fort Negley and that would desecrate "holy ground." The committee, unfazed and more interested in other nearby sites, like Fort Donelson, turned down the idea.

NEW SOUTH NASHVILLE: Recreation and Monument City

The city of Nashville in the early twentieth century was known more for its monuments and amusements than for the uniformity of moral character associated with the era of Prohibition. World War I produced the desire for the monuments. It also launched America onto the world stage as a global political power despite the fact that the country did not join the League of Nations. As a result, there was a new emphasis on patriotism and national mission. Public buildings and spaces, it was argued, had an important role to play in cultivating this new version of public spirit. Appropriately designed monuments and parks would act as inspirations for national responsibility in the world. To this end, the city of Nashville became the home of the state’s World War memorial—dedicated in 1925—located across the street from the state capitol. Two years later, the Battle of Nashville monument was dedicated. This was done less to memorialize the Civil War than to confirm that the South willingly shared the nation’s common purpose of acting as an agent of civilization in a dark world. It was no accident or oversight that this Civil War monument was dedicated on Armistice Day. Finally, plans were drawn up to create a monument in Centennial Park to honor Tennessee’s three presidents. Long story short, in the wake of the Great War, Nashville’s leaders intended

their cityscape to act as a source of inspiration for patriotism. The city was no longer simply to be a center of New South industrialization. In this regard, it was no accident that the city fathers started to look at the possibilities of the former site of Fort Negley.

At the same time, Nashville—like other American cities—began to create a cityscape that responded to the country’s newfound ability to cultivate leisure time. The earlier industrial era had produced extremes of wealth and poverty. However, at the same time new industries had started to develop around the idea of mass-producing and selling consumer goods and other commodities. Making such a consumer society possible depended on inching up wages and on allowing for leisure time. By the 1920s, this consumer–leisure world had exploded on the scene and the country’s cities were the powerful centers of this new way of living.

A glance at the Nashville *Tennessean* during the decade provides ample evidence of this new focus. In addition to front-page news, editorials, advertisements, and the society page, the paper devoted entire sections to automobiles, movies, radio shows, comics, literary discussions, and sports. The *Tennessean* was a paper dedicated to a readership that was looking for something to do with their time beyond work.

NEW SOUTH NASHVILLE: Purchasing Fort Negley

Out of this new focus on leisure time came a renewed desire for parks–recreational spaces. On one level, the romance with the automobile and the road combined in an interest to create state-level parks. In this regard, Austin Peay’s gubernatorial administration started the process of creating what would become Great Smoky Mountain National Park. Within the city of Nashville, the Board of Park Commissioners started looking seriously at the St. Cloud Hill property at the end of the decade to add to its areas of public

monuments and recreational spaces. In 1928—at the same time that the proposal was being made to develop a monument to Tennessee’s three presidents—the park commissioners proposed to purchase the St. Cloud Hill property for the purpose of constructing a public park. The board intended to incorporate the Negley site into its recreational cityscape. It is a matter of note that, as late as 1931, the board minutes list the fact that squatters were still living on the hill.



FIGURE 43. WPA workers reconstructing the fort in 1936. The bastion front was a complex series of bombproof rooms that visitors were allowed to enter to get the feel of the Civil War–era structure. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)



FIGURE 45. WPA workers shaping rock for the reconstruction of the fort in 1936. Union Station, less than two miles away, is in the center of the horizon. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)



FIGURE 44. WPA workers reconstructing the fort in 1936 using a rough finished limestone block. The walls were laid vertical on the original Civil War–era foundation. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)



FIGURE 46. WPA workers reconstructing the fort in 1936. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

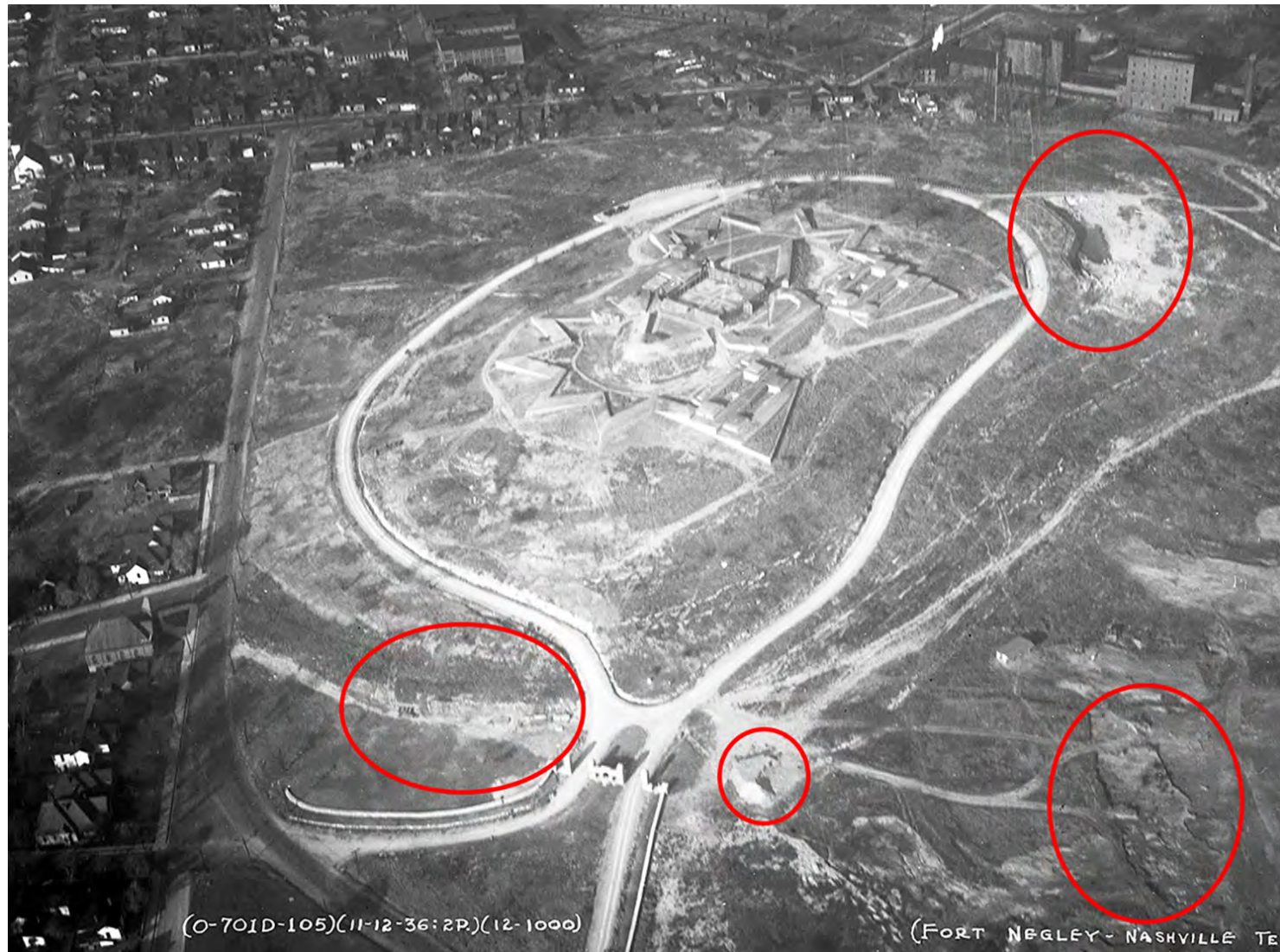


FIGURE 47. **The WPA quarried stone from St. Cloud Hill. This aerial photograph from November 1936 reveals possible locations for where stone was harvested for the fort (red circles). If you look closely, you can see cuts into the embankment to the east and west of the entrance. Excavation has already started on the ballfields as well to the right. At the top of the image is the present-day escarpment. Stone looks to have been quarried from there as well.** (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

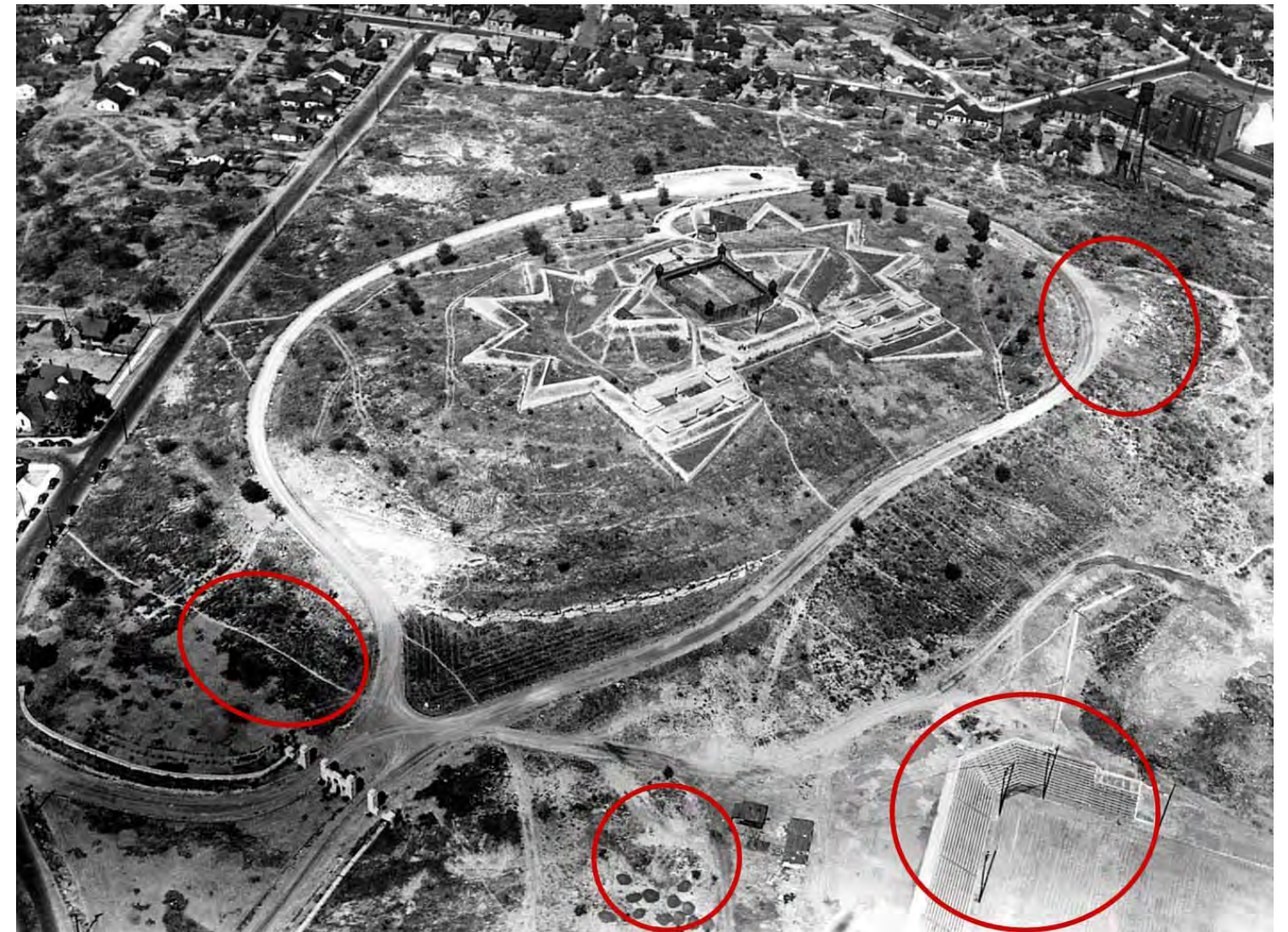


FIGURE 48. **An aerial photograph taken a decade later, shows that the areas in the red circles have been filled in.** (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

The price offered for said land by the Board of Park Commissioners of Nashville, Tennessee, to wit—\$20,000.00...a fair and reasonable price for the property ... an advantageous sale for the owners because of the unusual topography of the land, it being a high rocky hill, sloping steeply in all directions, with no soil for vegetation and unsuitable for residential purpose or industrial uses and surrounded by railroad tracks, a saw mill and small houses or shacks by negroes and a few white people of the poorer class. ...

NEW SOUTH NASHVILLE: Works Progress Administration

As the Great Depression deepened its hold on the nation, Franklin Roosevelt's administration created agencies to put the unemployed to work. As part of this effort, the Works Progress Administration was organized to hire men to carry out various construction projects of local significance. Harry S. Berry—World War I veteran and WPA state administrator—reconstructed Fort Negley on St. Cloud Hill as one of these local projects.

According to a Nashville *Tennessean*

article in 1946, an African American "squatter neighborhood" was removed from the Negley property in 1934, and clearing the landscape began the following spring. In the process, the fort's 1862 foundations were discovered.³⁶ J. D. Tyner, the Negley project engineer, then secured the original plans for the fortification from the War Department. Twenty-five hundred perch of stone were re-quarried (61,785 cubic feet) along with 18,000 cubic yards of dirt and then used in what was intended

as a modified rebuild of the original. As part of the project, the WPA designed and constructed entrance stone pylons, drainage culverts, stone stairways, gravel paths, and stone edging at the site. The fort also featured an underground "museum" in the west main works. These design elements took on the rustic style characteristic of the 1916–1942 era of American public park construction. Administrator Berry had to request more money because more stone

than was originally estimated was necessary to complete the project. According to the 1946 *Tennessean* article, 2,500 men were employed to complete the park. Two vintage cannon—property of the War Department—were provided to the city in June 1936 for exhibition at Fort Negley.

In addition to the fort restoration, the Nashville park board and the New Deal agencies also worked to construct ball diamonds on the larger St. Cloud Hill site.

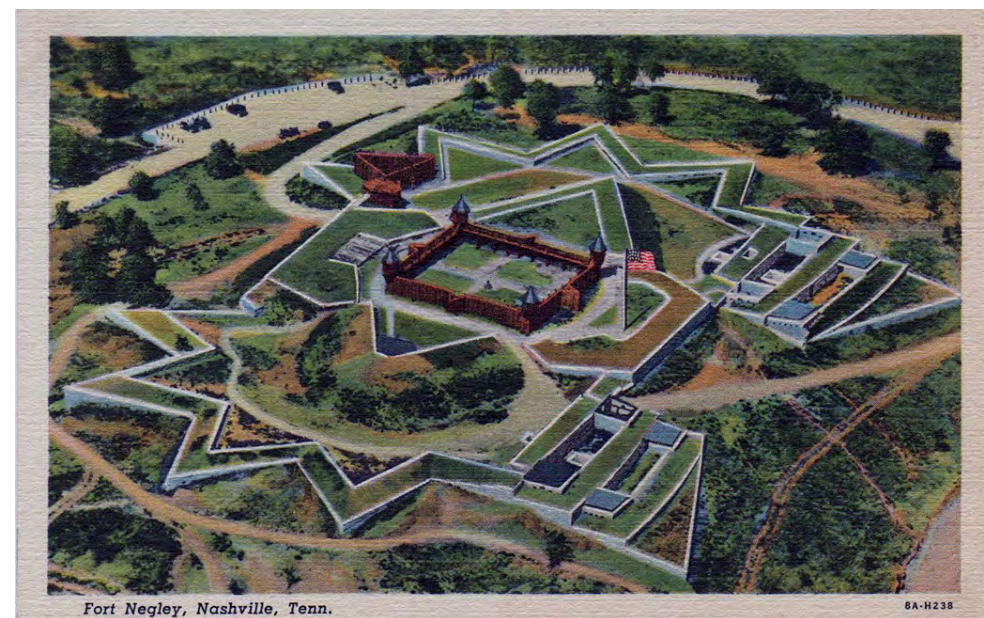
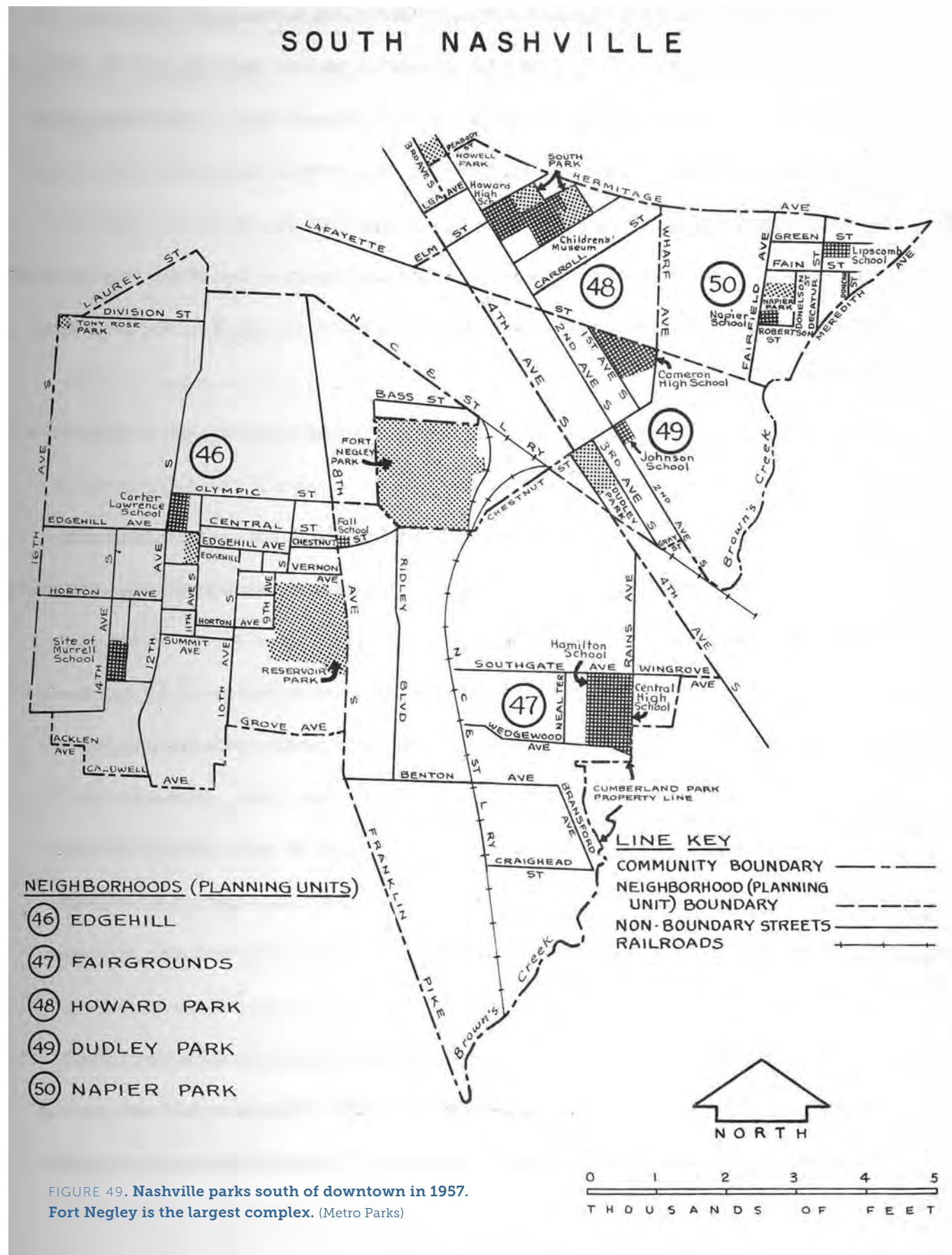


FIGURE 50. Postcard from 1940. (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)



FIGURE 51. WPA Fort Negley Reconstruction c. 1940. The stockade had a platform and turrets for visitors to take in the Nashville skyline. The round roofed structure in the center is the sally port (entrance). In the middle ground with the wooden roof is the museum that visitors entered at the bottom of stone stairs. (Fort Negley Archives)

Board minutes in 1936 note the progress of this construction. In 1938 the board noted a request to provide lighting for night baseball at "Fort Negley Park." Other notations in the minutes discuss the desire to grade and light four softball fields. In 1940, the National Youth Administration (NYA) of Tennessee Project was appropriated \$12,000 to build a playground and ball diamonds. That same year, the board approved flood lighting for the softball diamonds and noted that the WPA had drawn up plans for wooden bleachers—with a capacity of five thousand. A 1941 board report noted that the softball diamonds were complete and a hardball diamond in progress. Additional rock walls and a restroom facility were also included.

Yet, for all this flurry of construction and reconstruction, the larger story was a renewed neglect of the site. By 1943, according to the Nashville *Tennessean*, there was no longer a night watchman employed at the fortification reconstruction. The WPA's rebuilt fort would become notable as a place for teenagers, and others, to hang out unobserved. A year later, the city decided to remove all wooden installations due to their dilapidated conditions. Then, in September 1945 the park board approved the closing of Fort Negley to the public. The ballfields and comfort station remained open but underfunded. The following year the board debated that when (if) the diamonds reopened that they should be reserved for African Americans in segregated Nashville. This was proposed, in part, to relieve pressure on other parks in the city. In 1947, the Municipal Baseball Association of Nashville requested use of Fort Negley softball fields for the upcoming season. The board approved, thus forcing African Americans to only use the diamonds at Napier, Douglas, and Watkins parks. Instead, a playground in the northwest corner of the park along Ridley Street was built for African American children in the neighborhood. The two cannons were loaned to Montgomery Bell Academy.



FIGURES 52 AND 53.
Fort Negley ruins in 1957. These photographs, taken in the mid-1950s, show the overgrowth and lack of maintenance to the Fort Negley site. (Fort Negley Archives)



FIGURE 54. **A youth baseball game being played at the Negley ballfields in 1952.** (Tennessean)

FIGURE 55. **Fort Negley ruins in 1957.** (Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives)

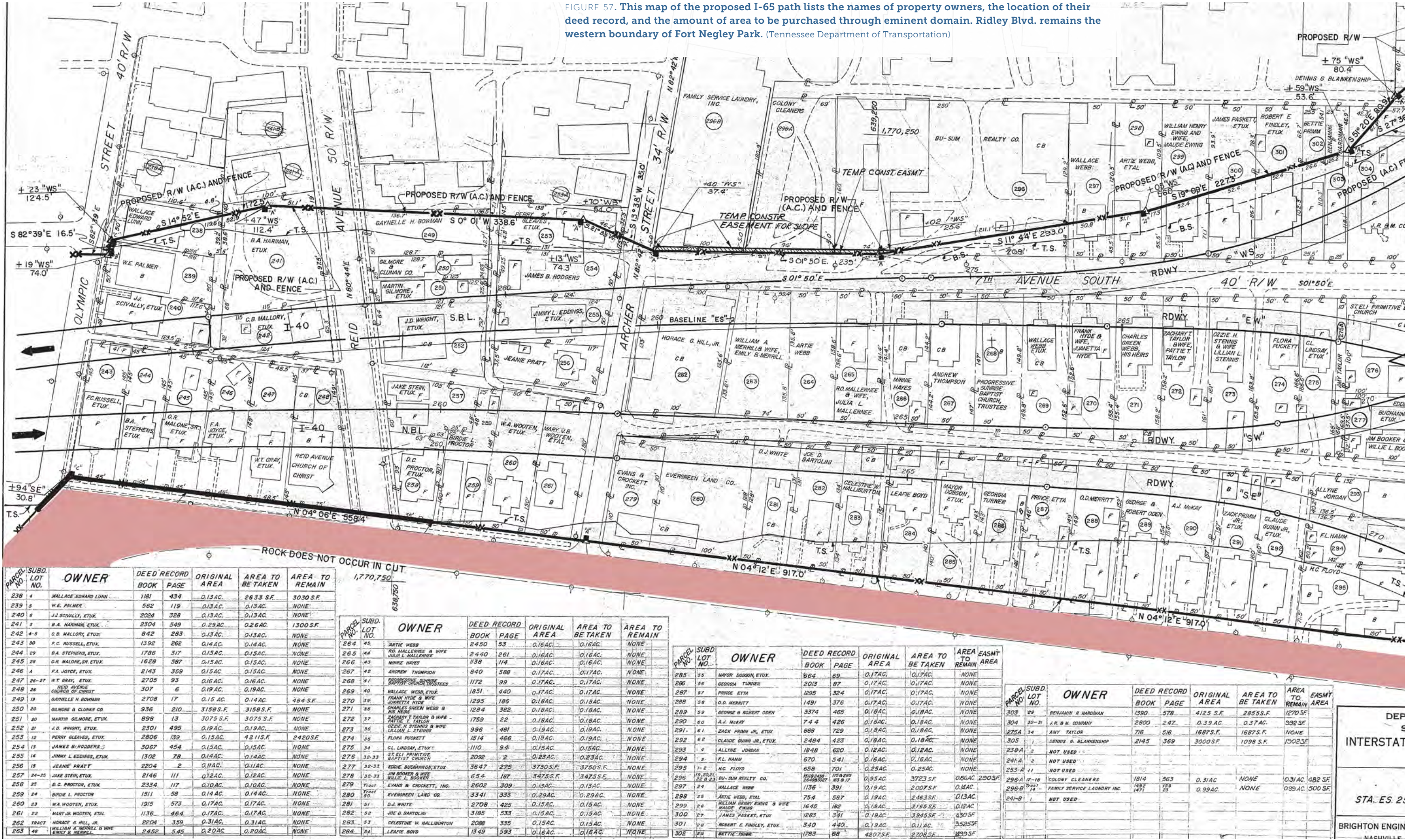


FIGURE 56. **Aerial photograph of Fort Negley Park c. 1965, before the surrounding neighborhood to the left and top of the image was removed for Interstate Highway 65. The baseball fields are to the right with the grass parking area in the lower front center. The fort site itself is overgrown with trees and other understory vegetation.** (Fort Negley Archives)



From this point, Negley park served as a baseball/softball recreation complex rather than a historical site. In the early 1950s, Ku Klux Klan activity revisited the site. On at least two occasions, crosses were burned on the hill. The local KKK chapter took no responsibility, and a brief police investigation located no suspects. One local resident believed the burnings were directed at her after she refused to sign a neighborhood petition requesting she refuse to sell her property to African Americans.³⁷ In 1956, M. Hume Parks of the Tennessee Gun Collectors Association proposed to the park board that a Civil War museum be placed on the hill. Parks placed his proposal squarely in the context of the approaching Civil War Centennial. The city, he insisted, should try to preserve “the last remaining evidence in this area of the Civil War.” Citing lack of funds, the board refused his request.

FIGURE 57. This map of the proposed I-65 path lists the names of property owners, the location of their deed record, and the amount of area to be purchased through eminent domain. Ridley Blvd. remains the western boundary of Fort Negley Park. (Tennessee Department of Transportation)



Three years later the board entertained a proposal from a contractor who would turn the hill into a rock quarry. “Rock Crusher hill,” the city quarry site and location of Rose Park today, was only a few blocks away. In any event, despite several proposals for a

NEW SOUTH NASHVILLE: Interstate 65

During the 1970s, a flurry of activity took place in Fort Negley Park. The landscape was re-envisioned as a valuable commodity for redevelopment. Spurred by urban renewal, significant changes were made to both the property and the way park landscape was used by the city. The roots of the interstate system date back to the 1930s, when General Motors, AAA, and other industry organizations formed the National Highway Users Conference to try to influence federal transportation policy. They realized the nation’s transportation system needed to be reframed entirely—as a public responsibility. After all, most cities, including Nashville, had torn up their streetcar systems because these were privately owned networks that lost money. The auto industry did not want highways to follow suit. In the 1930s, privately owned toll roads in the East, and some public toll highways, like the Pennsylvania Turnpike, were under construction. Auto groups saw the need for public funding using a gasoline tax that would allow highways to expand more quickly. The term “free roads” was used, and later “freeways,” to persuade the federal government—and the public—to eliminate toll roads. These groups envisioned an ambitious network of wide, smooth highways, accessible only by on-ramps, that would crisscross the country. World War II delayed progress of the highway system but it re-emerged after the war.³⁸ Finally, in 1956, the Federal Aid Highway Act was passed by Congress, creating the interstate highway system. The bill stipulated that the massive, nationwide highway system be toll-free, with 90 percent of the construction cost borne by the federal government through both gas taxes

number of uses for the Negley site (including a proposed Nashville zoo), the park remained in use as ballfields. The remains of the WPA fort were left to further deteriorate.

and other funding sources. President Dwight Eisenhower stressed that the new road system could also be used for troop movements and mass evacuations in the event of nuclear attack.³⁹

An unmistakable part of the new legislation and the interstate highway system was “urban renewal,” whereby lower-income urban communities—mostly African American—were targeted for removal. Highways were a tool for justifying the destruction of many of these areas. This combined with the American Housing Act of 1949, which oversaw sweeping expansion of the federal role in mortgage insurance and issuance and the construction of public housing, made slum clearance a priority. Between 1953 and 1986, the federal government spent \$13.5 billion on urban redevelopment and slum clearance projects.⁴⁰

Such was the case in Nashville with the construction of Interstate Highways 40 and 65. Both were part of the Edgehill Urban Renewal Plan. In 1966, the plans for these new roads were issued by the Tennessee Department of Highways. It would take seven years for construction to begin, but in the meantime properties were purchased through eminent domain and roads were moved and removed. In the case of Interstate 65, the new freeway bisected the area between St. Cloud Hill and Franklin Turnpike. Both Chestnut Street to the south and Ridley Street to the west were rerouted. Dozens of property owners, mostly African American, in the path were bought out. Churches, such as Bass Street Baptist and Reid Avenue Church of Christ, moved. Where I-65 on-ramped to I-40 (the inner city loop), more roads were removed and north–south streets were dead



FIGURE 58. Construction of the Cumberland Museum and Science Center in 1974. (Metropolitan Nashville/Davidson County Archives)

ended into the new freeway.⁴¹

For St. Cloud Hill and Fort Negley, Bass Street was incorporated into the park in 1977 when Metro acquired vacant urban renewal parcels in Edgehill to add to the property for museum development. The street became

an extension of Ridley Avenue (the road was later renamed Fort Negley Blvd.). The alleyway south of Bass, the original northern boundary of the park and the edge of the African American playground, was eliminated. The land north of Bass to the inner interstate loop

was given to the city by the state as surplus property and added to the park as well. The new park boundaries and the addition of property to the north became an opportunity to introduce a potential tenant to the Fort Negley area in 1966, the Children’s Museum.

NEW SOUTH NASHVILLE: Children’s Museum/Cumberland Museum and Science Center/Adventure Science Center

Returning World War II veteran John Ripley Forbes secured a lease to use the old Howard School building to create the Children’s Museum of Nashville. Two decades later, in spring and fall 1966, A. W. Hutchinson asked the Metro Nashville Parks Board to use part of the Negley park to relocate and expand this museum. On November 9, 1966, museum

officials presented a detailed plan to take control of the entire Negley site, proposing to build exhibit halls, a planetarium, and a multiuse auditorium. As part of this document, they offered to restore the fort along with a footbridge over the railroad tracks to the Nashville City Cemetery. As part of their fundraising, they received a Potter Foundation

grant for \$800,000. The board approved the basic concept, and negotiations ensued about the particulars. In October 1967, the Metro City Council approved a lease agreement. In 1974, the first version of the Cumberland Science Center opened in its current location on the Negley site.

Within twenty years (in 1996), the directors

of the museum were thinking about upgrades, or perhaps even a move away from Negley. According to a March 3rd *Tennessean* article, the current building and exhibits were no longer “cutting edge” in terms of museum requirements. E. Vernor Johnson, the science museum’s consultant, also noted that the Negley facility was far removed from the 1990s downtown boom. Cumberland was “on the fringe of activity.” In the end, the museum—now the Adventure Science Center—decided to stay put and began a \$4.2 million renovation project in 2001. This project included constructing a 75-foot adventure tower.

In the 1980s, the first master plan for the park was developed in response to changes in Ridley Blvd. and the intersection with Bass Street. The new lower loop accommodated parking for the Cumberland Science Center and eliminated the possible bottleneck at the intersection. The name of the road was

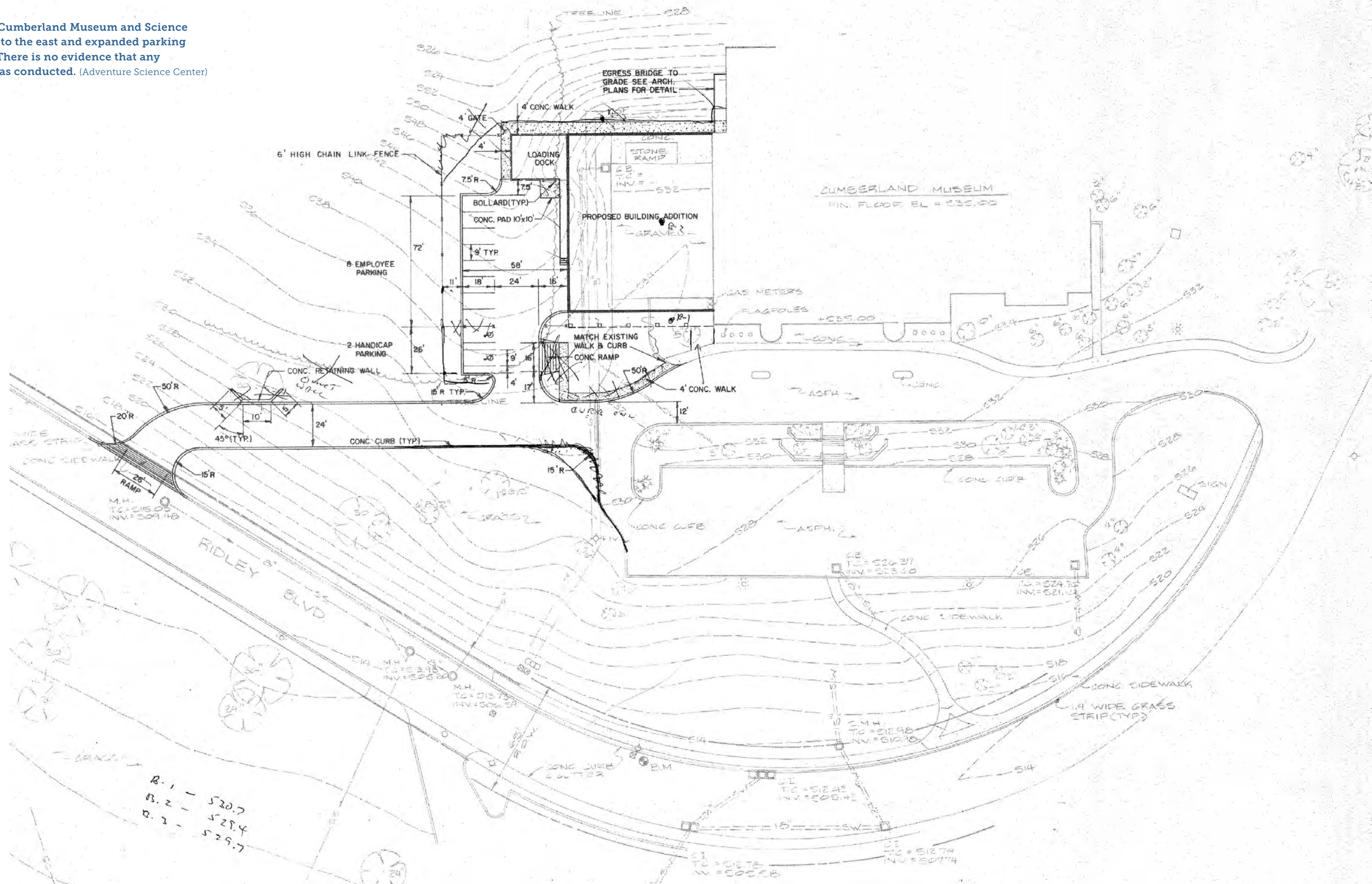
FIGURE 59. **The Tennessee Valley Authority operates nine solar arrays around the state. Located north of the parking lot of the Adventure Science Center is a 31-kilowatt facility.** (Encore Interpretive Design)



FIGURE 60. **The original Cumberland Museum and Science Center elevations and boundaries.** (Adventure Science Center)



FIGURE 61. In 1987, the Cumberland Museum and Science Center made additions to the east and expanded parking along with a new exit. There is no evidence that any archaeological study was conducted. (Adventure Science Center)



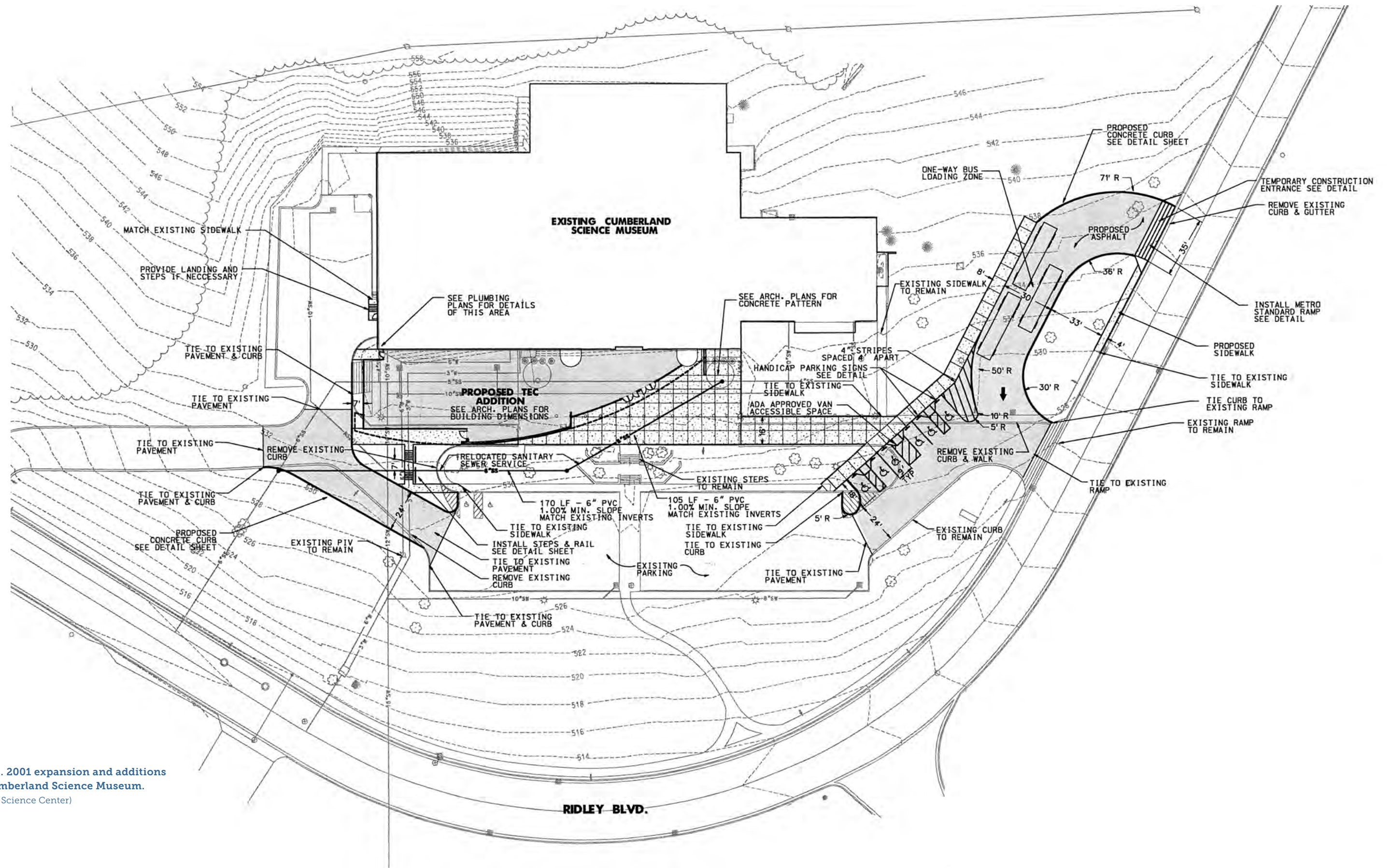


FIGURE 62. 2001 expansion and additions to the Cumberland Science Museum.
(Adventure Science Center)

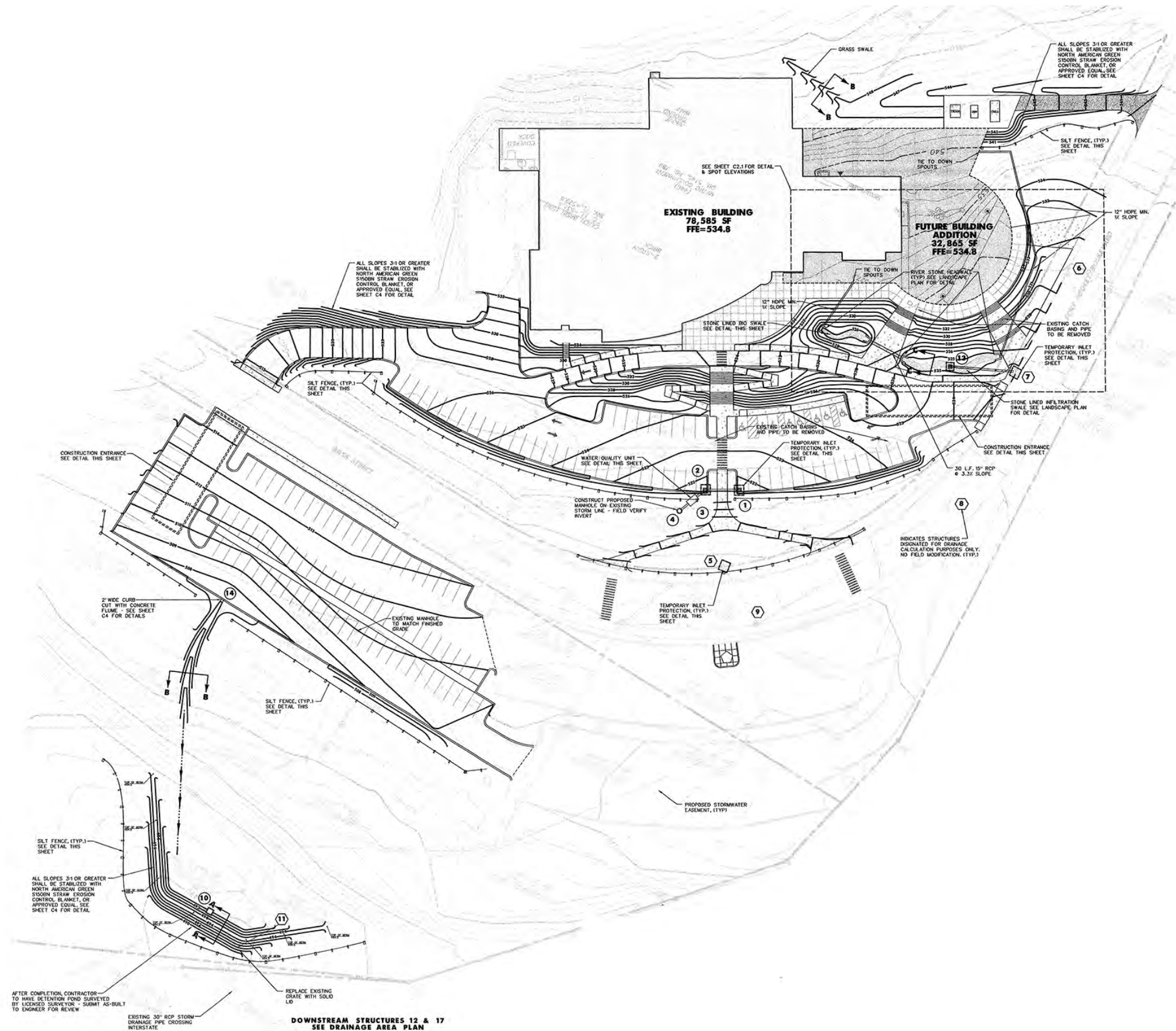


FIGURE 63. 2006 expansion and additions to the renamed "Adventure Science Center." (Adventure Science Center)



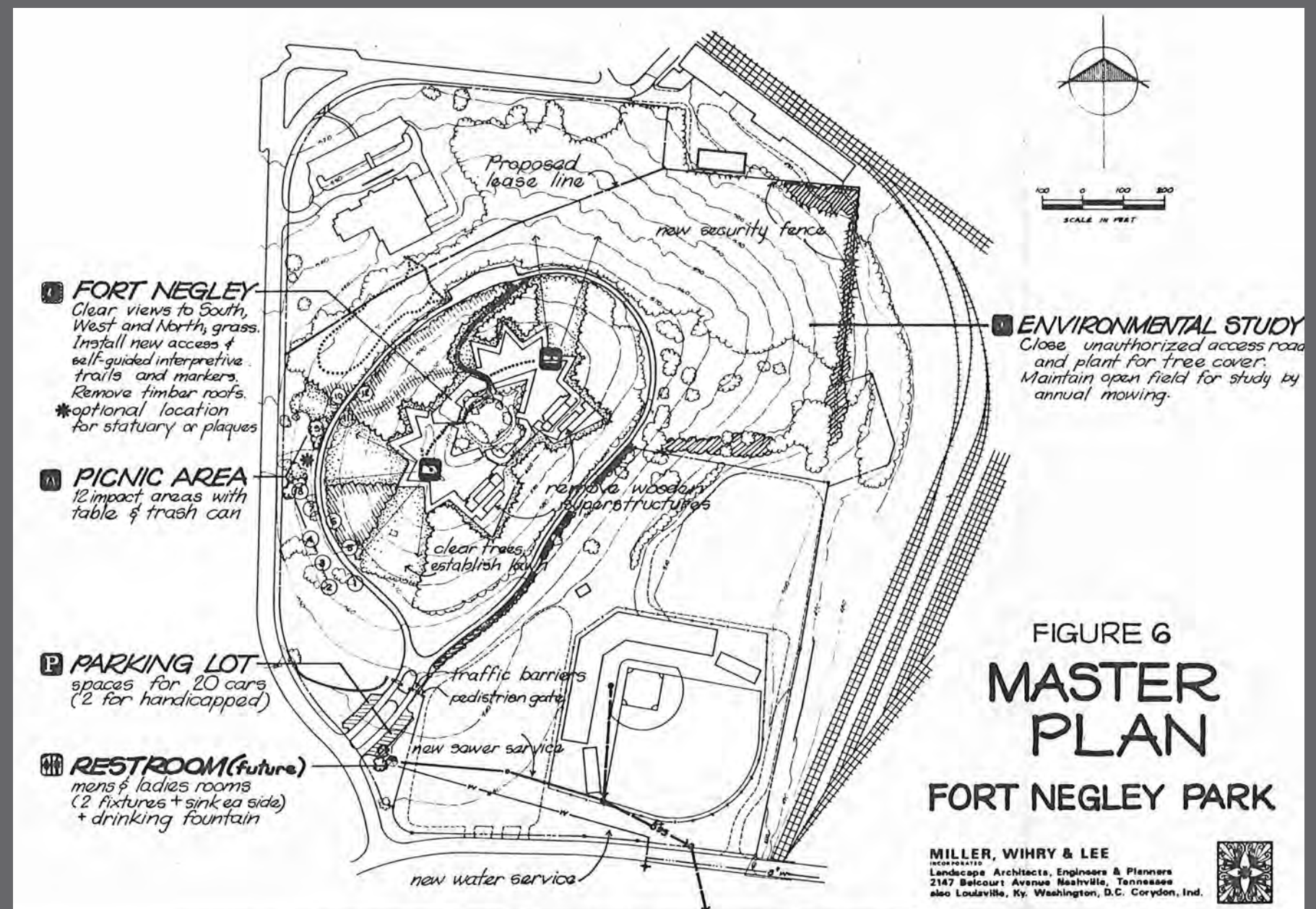
FIGURES 64–67. By 1975, Fort Negley was overgrown with trees and other vegetation. Walls had collapsed and the remaining wood structures from the WPA reconstruction had deteriorated beyond repair. That same year, the property inside the ring road was listed on the National Register of Historic Places. (Fort Negley Archives)

1980 MASTER PLAN

The 1980 Fort Negley Park Master Plan called for new restroom facilities, a picnic area, and the removal of the remaining wooden structures from the 1940s. There were no recommendations to repair the stonework. "This plan proposes no major effort on the fortress at the top of the hill, as the remains are already the best extant in the region." Also, "Visitor trails could be provided to assure access to all areas of the 'ruins.' Areas of potential hazard and danger could be placed off limits." Removing vegetation and other understory growth was a priority.

(Fort Negley Archives)

FIGURE 68: 1980 Master Plan from Miller, Wihry, and Lee. (Fort Negley Archives)



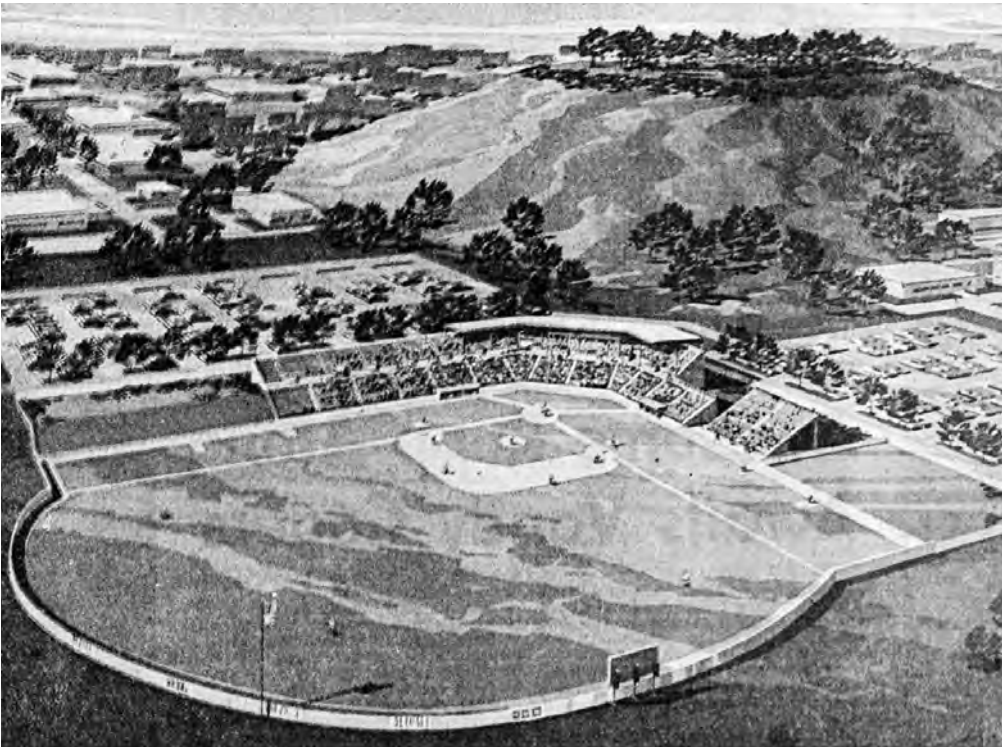


FIGURE 69. Artist's rendering of the new Greer Stadium at Fort Negley. Notice that the artist also took the liberty to develop the rest of the property around the base of St. Cloud Hill. (Tennessean, February 4, 1977)



FIGURE 70. The construction of Greer Stadium in December 1977. The footers have been poured for the bleachers and the grandstand is partially completed. Notice the bathroom facility in the upper left corner. It was removed when the stadium was completed in April 1978. (Tennessean, December 23, 1977)

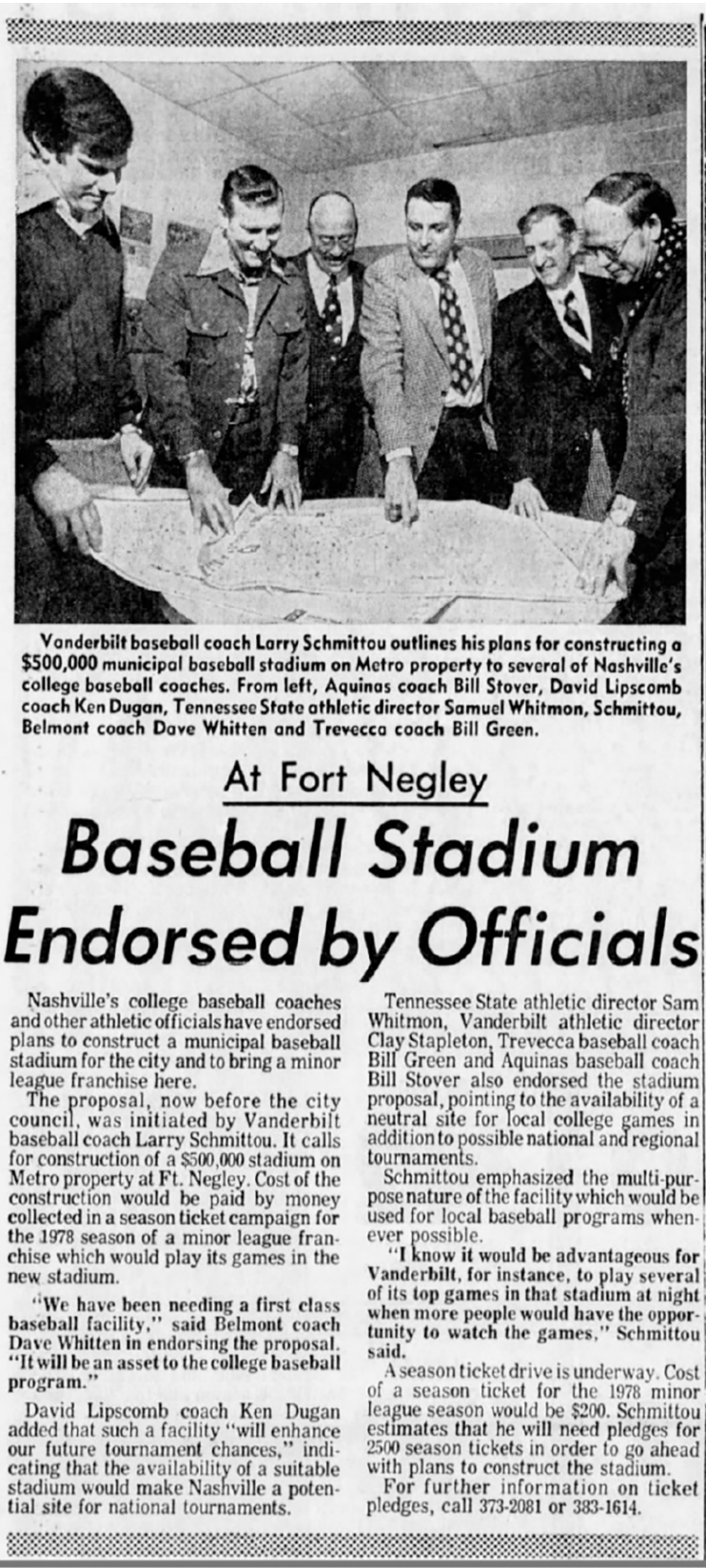


FIGURE 71. December 1976 meeting to discuss plans for the new stadium at Fort Negley Park. (Tennessean, December 29, 1976)

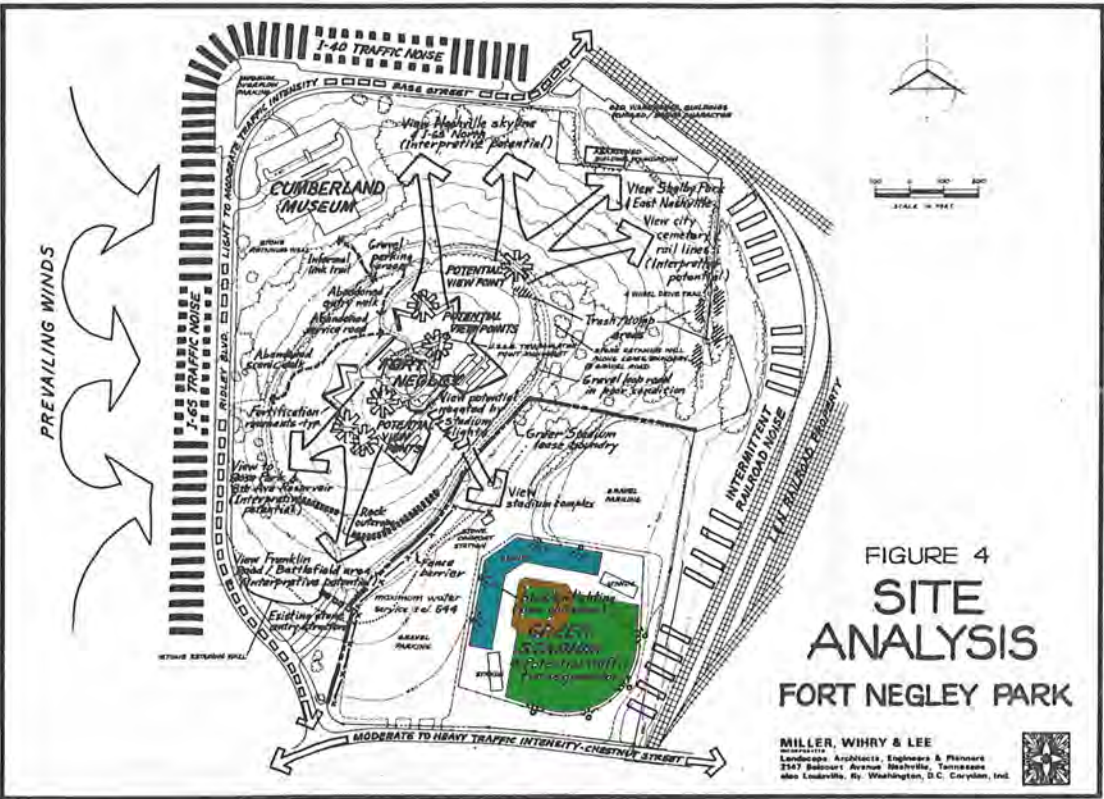


FIGURE 72. 1980 Fort Negley Park Master Plan Site Analysis with Greer Stadium as a centerpiece crowd attraction. (Fort Negley Archives)

changed to Fort Negley Blvd. The plan also reflected the museum's need to consolidate their lease agreement responsibilities to manage the entire site, except for the new Greer Stadium, due to lack of funding to support site maintenance. They petitioned Metro Parks to manage and maintain the fort and surrounding landscape. In 1982, Metro agreed to the changes:

Under the terms of the revision, the Museum returns to the Park Board the majority of the Fort Negley property as shown more particularly in the lease. Upon acceptance of the aforementioned property, the Park Board releases the Museum from any and all future responsibilities and/or liabilities.⁴²

NEW SOUTH NASHVILLE: Nashville Sounds and Greer Stadium

On June 4, 1975, the Tennessee Historical Commission notified Metro Parks that the fortification atop St. Cloud Hill had been placed on the National Register of Historic Places by the National Park Service. However, the current excitement concerned baseball. On the first of December Metro Parks approved a lease proposal to construct a baseball stadium at Negley park. The following April the Nashville Baseball Club proposed

naming the stadium for Herschel L. Greer. The Greer family pledged \$25,000 to the project, with the provision that an additional \$25,000 be raised by a community campaign.⁴³ Nashville's long history of minor league ball dates back before the Civil War. In more contemporary terms, the Nashville Vols began play in 1901 as part of the Southern Association. The team had played at several levels and been a farm club for the Reds,



FIGURE 73. **Greer Stadium, c. 2010.** (Nashville Public Radio)

Cubs, and other teams. Waite Hoyt and Kiki Cuyler had played for them. For years the team played at Sulphur Dell. This continued until the late 1950s when television began to put the minor leagues out of business. By 1963, the Vols had ceased operations, and Nashville was without a minor league affiliate at any level. Larry Schmittou, the head baseball coach at Vanderbilt who had been a vice president of the Texas Rangers, headed the campaign to place a new franchise in Nashville. In 1977 the effort was begun to replace the older ball diamonds with a new eight-thousand-seat stadium, including 4,500 seats provided by Fulton County Stadium in

Atlanta (overflow seats for Falcons games). On April 27, 1978, the Nashville Sounds opened play in the city as a Double-A affiliate of the Cincinnati Reds. So hurriedly had the process been that the field was not yet complete when the first game was played.⁴⁴

It soon became clear that Schmittou had bigger ambitions than operating a minor league franchise. By June 1987 he was announcing plans to enlarge Greer to forty thousand seats and add additional parking and concession and support facilities. In particular, he wanted a several-lane roadway to encircle the complex. Schmittou was intending to lure a major league franchise to the city by first

creating a minor league facility equal in seats and facilities to Kansas City's Kauffman stadium and similar parks. For the baseball executive, this struggle continued until 1994 when the Metro Council refused to put a stadium sales tax on the ballot. According to Schmittou,

the major league dreams ended with this vote. In 2015 the Sounds moved to a new ballpark, First Tennessee Park in Germantown on the site of the original Sulphur Dell, playing in the Pacific Coast League as the Triple-A affiliate of the Texas Rangers. Greer Stadium is scheduled

for deconstruction and removal in 2019. An archaeological study conducted on-site in 2017 revealed potential deposits, including human remains, at or near the stadium.

NEW SOUTH NASHVILLE: Planning for Civil War Tourism

In 1993, a study was conducted to determine which parts of the Negley ruin dated from the Civil War and which from the New Deal. The study concluded that "virtually all the visible surface remains were WPA vintage."⁴⁵ The next year, Nashville Mayor Phil Bredesen appointed a Fort Negley Advisory Committee to evaluate use of the site to take advantage of the budding interest in Civil War tourism. In 1995 a master plan proposed a schedule for development and interpretation. The following November the master plan was completed, recommending that stabilization and restoration of the ruins be implemented in 1999. Rehabilitation on several areas was conducted that same year. Some of the work failed, causing a reevaluation of the overall direction of preservation of the site's stonework.

Interpretation of the site began in 2003 with a new plan for telling the story of Fort Negley; \$2 million was allocated for the project, to be conducted in two phases. The first phase was to add interpretive elements to the entrance gate, construct a series of wayside exhibits along the ring road and within the fort, and add walkways to restrict movement of people visiting the interior WPA works. Phase two was the construction of a 5,000-square-foot visitors center near the entrance gate.

Finally, in 2007, additions were made to the 1995 Fort Negley Master Plan to consider how the Greer Stadium portion of the property could be used after the Nashville Sounds departed the site. The report proposed creating a "Nashville Civil War Center" on the site, including a 60,000–80,000-square-foot Civil War museum.

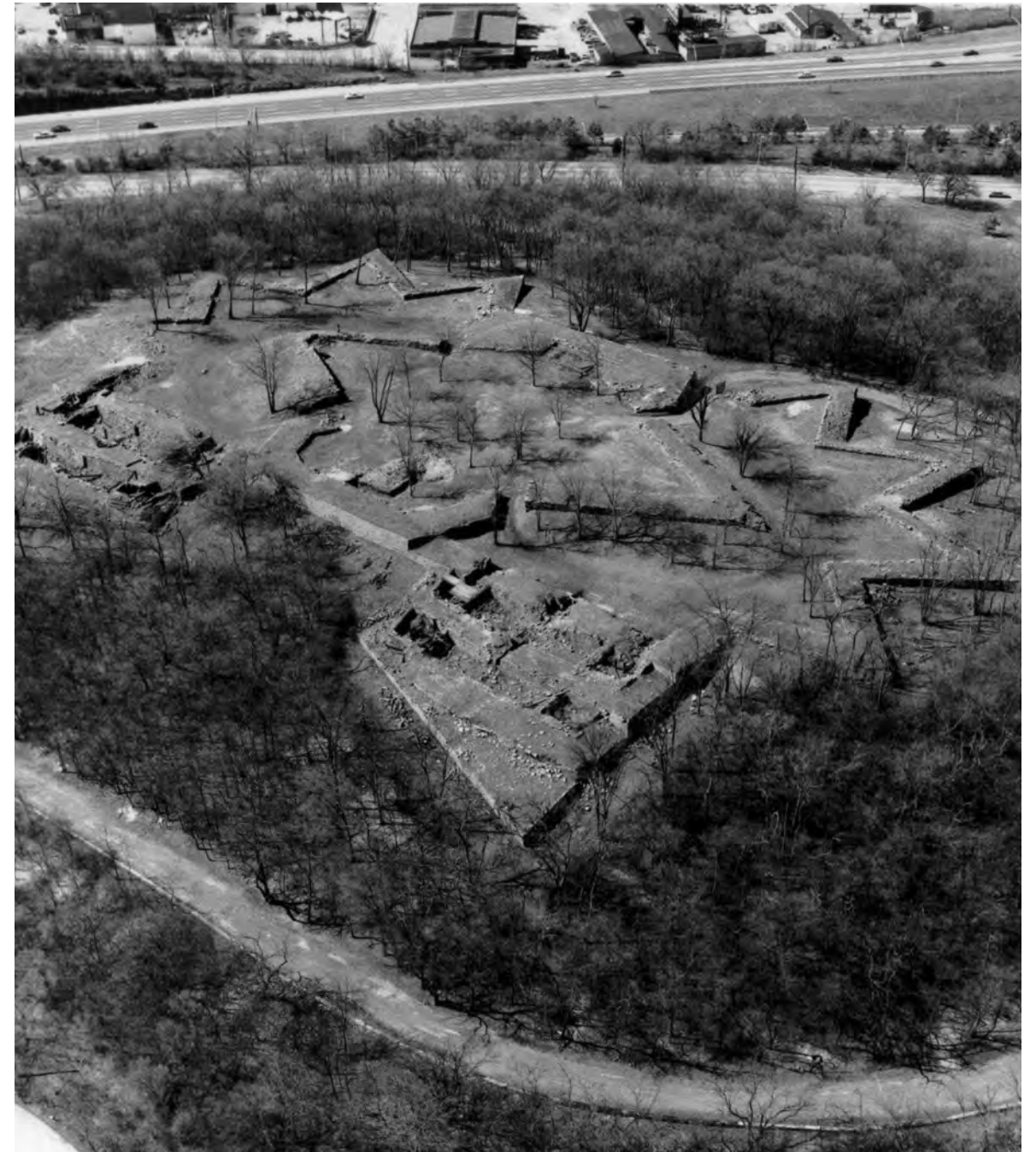


FIGURE 74. **1994 aerial view of the fort ruins. Notice that the interior bastion wall has almost totally collapsed.** (Fort Negley Archives)

NEW SOUTH NASHVILLE: Since 2007

In 2017, the city earmarked the Greer Stadium and parking lot site for mixed-use redevelopment. A primary objective was to demolish the stadium and sanction the construction of a building complex and repurposing of the grounds. With the area's changing demographics and the loss of light industrial businesses, the idea was to use the stadium and parking lot site to complement the redevelopment of the surrounding neighborhoods, especially with the rapidly growing downtown area just to the north. Cloud Hill Partnership was awarded the contract and generated a plan that offered a mix of artist and music space, housing, retail, and park space.

In early 2018, however, the project was scrapped due to pressure from preservationists, the Friends of Fort Negley and supporting organizations and individuals, and the results of an archaeological study that determined there was a potential for human remains on the site. In essence, the redevelopment did not fit with the city's new plan for growth, called NashvilleNext.

The city's NashvilleNext plan was created to guide how and where Nashville and Davidson County grow through 2040. The plan generated community goals and vision—ensuring opportunity for all, expanding accessibility, creating economic prosperity, fostering strong

neighborhoods, improving education, championing the environment, and being Nashville—building on the unique strengths of the city and of Nashvillians.

Nashville/Davidson County's population is expected to grow by 186,000 by 2040, and the region's by one million. Thus, important to the plan are:

- preserving neighborhoods while building housing close to transit and jobs
- protecting rural character and natural resources
- creating walkable centers with jobs, housing, and services in suburban and urban areas
- expanding walking, biking, and transit
- making the city affordable for all Nashvillians

In mid-2017, in the midst of the Cloud Hill project, the Friends of Fort Negley Park and the Nashville branch of the NAACP nominated Fort Negley Park to the UNESCO Slave Route Project, and in May 2019, Fort Negley's designation by UNESCO as a "Site of Memory" was announced. The other Sites of Memory in the U.S. are the Statue of Liberty, Philadelphia's Independence Hall, and the University of Virginia and Monticello in Charlottesville, Virginia. According to the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), "the Slave Route Project started in 1994, and was



FIGURE 75. The Fort Negley Visitors Center opened in December 2007. (Metropolitan Nashville/ Davidson County Archives)

an initiative designed to encourage Member States to inventory, protect, and promote these memorial sites and places and to include them in national and regional tourism itineraries. The project has three main objectives: the first is to contribute to a better understanding of the causes, forms of operation, issues, and consequences of slavery in the world; the second is to highlight the global transformations and cultural interactions that have resulted from this history; and lastly to contribute to a culture of peace by promoting reflection on cultural pluralism, intercultural dialogue, and the construction of new identities and citizenships."⁴⁶

Historic Context of the Nashville Plant Community

Most people imagine the landscape of the Nashville region at the time of European settlement as a dense, vast forest. In reality, the area was home to a diverse mosaic of forests and open, grassy woodlands punctuated by scattered grasslands of several different kinds, including meadows, limestone barrens and glades, and savannas.

It is likely that the Nashville Basin has had abundant grasslands for tens of thousands of years. A suite of large mammals was present during the latter stages of the last Ice Age as evidenced by fossils of extinct mastodons near Cool Springs Mall in Brentwood and

extinct Giant Ground Sloths near McMinnville. Certain tree species that are common today in the Nashville Basin such as honeylocust (*Gleditsia triacanthos*) and Kentucky coffee tree (*Gymnocladus dioica*) have seeds thought to have been dispersed by these and other extinct mammals.

The fertile meadows and savannas that once occupied the Cumberland, Stones, Harpeth, and Duck river valleys and rolling landscapes of the Outer Nashville Basin were once home to vibrant towns and villages of Mississippian Indians. Native Americans used fire to maintain many areas in the Nashville

Basin as open landscapes, and this was supplemented by grazing of large animals such as bison, elk, and deer.

The meadows, savannas, and open woodlands near Nashville were important natural features that attracted the earliest Anglo-American settlers, who arrived in the mid- to late-eighteenth century. Some open meadows supported salt licks that attracted great herds of bison that would congregate to lick the salt-rich rocks and soil. In the 1760s, French fur traders were the first to arrive, followed by the English-speaking longhunters. These early settlers were drawn to the open



FIGURE 76. The 2004 Interpretive Plan for wayside exhibits and walkways. (Ashworth Environmental Design)

meadows to hunt the abundant game.

It was the region's beauty and abundance of natural resources that led to the founding of French's Lick, which eventually became Nashville following settlement by two of Tennessee's patriarchs, James Robertson and John Donelson, who arrived in 1779–1780.

It is believed that much of the Nashville Basin was still open as meadows, savannas, open woodlands, and canebrakes by



"The WPA reconstruction of Fort Negley closely follows the ground plan of the original."

-Archaeological Assessment, Panamerican Consultants (1994)

DECLINE AND RESTORATION OF FORT NEGLEY

Renamed near the end of the war in honor of Union Brigadier General Charles Harker who was killed at Kennesaw Mountain (GA), the fort was occupied by Federal troops till 1867. Military redistricting in the remaining Confederate states began in 1867 as part of the federal government's Congressional Reconstruction plan. Tennessee rejoined the Union in 1866, avoiding many of the excesses of Reconstruction. Nashvillians, however, continued to remember the fort named for Brigadier General James Negley.

The contraband camp at the base of St. Cloud Hill lingered after the war for refugees, eventually becoming the foundation for Edgehill's African American community. In 1867, Ku Klux Klan activity at the site began, but use of Fort Negley as a meeting place for the clan was quelled by government pressure on the organization. They disbanded in late 1867. The Fort deteriorated in the years that followed and in 1928, St. Cloud Hill was purchased by the city of Nashville amid proposals to create a military park.



Parts of Fort Negley remain protected underground. Further archaeological study may reveal new clues to the site's historic past.

Painting of Nashville from Fort Negley Ruins (c.1880)

In 1936 the Work's Progress Administration (WPA) recreated part of Fort Negley - the dry-stack limestone walls you see today at the site - and built the stone entrance gates. The wooden stockade was also rebuilt, and a small museum was added in the north main works underground magazine. Eight hundred men worked on the project at a cost of \$84,000. The fort remained open until 1945 when the deteriorated stockade was removed and the site was closed to the public.



WPA workers reconstructing the limestone walls

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"The evacuation of Nashville was attended by scenes of panic and distress on the part of the population unparalleled in the annals of any American City"

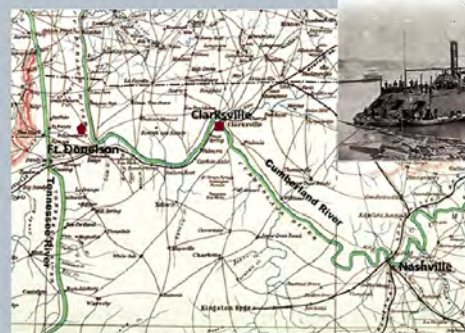
-John Miller McKee
Unionist and editor of The Nashville Times

NASHVILLE SURRENDERED

When the Confederate garrison at Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River was captured by Union forces on February 15, 1862, the gateway to Nashville was opened. Hope created by earlier reports of a Southern victory quickly turned to fear as news of the surrender spread around the city. Within hours, a Confederate army encamped across the river at Edgefield retreated through town toward Murfreesboro, unable to defend the city against a certain Union assault. Many prominent Confederate supporters fled as well, including members of the Tennessee legislature, and Governor Isham Harris with the state's archival records in tow. The exodus was known as "the Great Panic."



Union troops enter Nashville, February 25, 1862



Union gunboat Cairo



Major General Don Carlos Buell

The distance between Ft. Donelson and Nashville was 85 miles.

Though the majority of the population remained, the flight of Confederate supporters continued for days. Finally, on the morning of February 25, the Union gunboat *Cairo*, followed by several troop-laden transports, arrived at the Cumberland River wharf below Front Street (First Avenue). At 11 a.m., Mayor R. B. Cheatham officially surrendered the city to Union Major General Don Carlos Buell. Nashville was the first Confederate state capital captured and would remain under Union control until after the end of the war.

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FIGURE 79. Paved road leading into the sallyport. (Carol Ashworth, 2004)



FIGURE 80. New plaza entrance. (Carol Ashworth, 2004)

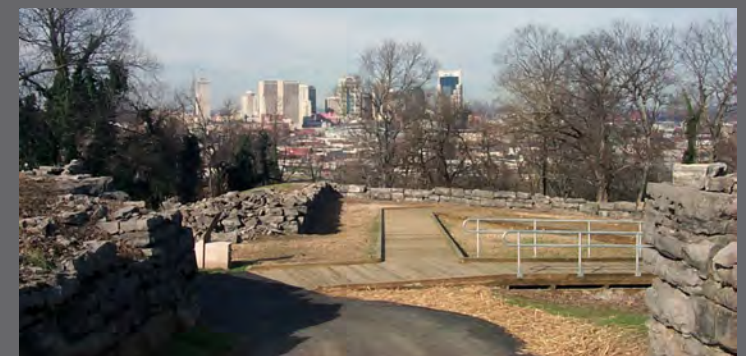


FIGURE 81. View of downtown from the upper main works. (Carol Ashworth, 2004)



FIGURE 82. Front entrance gate. (Carol Ashworth, 2004)

COMMON TREES RECORDED ON EARLY LAND SURVEYS
IN THE FORT NEGLEY VICINITY

Walnut—*Juglans nigra*

Mulberry—*Morus rubra*

Coffeetree—*Gymnocladus dioicus*

Honeylocust—*Gleditsia triacanthos*

Sugar Maple—*Acer saccharum*

White Basswood—*Tilia heterophylla*

Red Oak—*Quercus rubra*

Shumard Oak—*Quercus shumardii*

White Oak—*Quercus alba*

Chinkapin Oak—*Quercus muehlenbergii*

Bur Oak—*Quercus macrocarpa*

Post Oak—*Quercus stellata*

Shagbark Hickory—*Carya ovata*

Elm—*Ulmus americana & serotina*

(Early Tennessee Land Records, 1773–1922. Records of the Land Office, State of Tennessee. Records of the Board of Land Commissioners, Record Group 50, Tennessee State Library and Archives.)

the time Revolutionary War veterans were awarded land grants in the late 1780s–1790s. To this day, a number of communities in north-central Tennessee bear names that reflect their much more open, grassy past, including Belle Meade (French for “beautiful meadow”), Fairview (in Williamson County), Pleasant View (in Cheatham County), Gladeview (in Rutherford County), and Barren Plains (in Robertson County).

Following settlement by Anglo-Americans came rapid degradation and loss of Nashville’s grasslands. The fertile grassy meadows, savannas, and open woodlands were likely abundant in the broad valleys around Nashville and probably extended

onto rocky south- and west-facing slopes of surrounding rolling hills. These were among the first places settled as Revolutionary War veterans were awarded plots of land in the 1780s–1790s.

When early land surveyors first surveyed land grants between the 1780s and 1804, they would indicate property boundaries by recording trees. Common species in the region today, such as eastern red cedar and hackberry, were scarcely noted on early land surveys, indicating they were not nearly as abundant.

The species of trees recorded show evidence that southern Davidson County was a mosaic of species that require moist, shaded

forests, such as sugar maple, and open woodlands, such as white oak, mulberry, and honeylocust. Surveyors also frequently used “stakes” to mark property boundaries when there were no trees at a given site to serve as a marker. The relative abundance of stakes mentioned in southern Davidson County in wide valleys and low hillslopes suggests that the area contained numerous open meadows.

As settlers brought cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, and other livestock, widespread overgrazing is thought to have resulted in rapid degradation of the region’s grasslands. Overgrazing reached a zenith in the first few decades of the 1800s. Soon the bison and elk disappeared because of overhunting. The phosphate-rich and highly fertile lands of the Nashville area were rapidly converted to fields of corn and cotton. As fire suppression practices began, many open woodlands and savannas became thickets and forests.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, native meadows were displaced by non-native species such as bluegrass (*Poa pratensis*), orchard grass (*Dactylis glomerata*), timothy (*Phleum pratense*), red (*Trifolium pratense*) and white clover (*T. repens*), and sweet clovers (*Melilotus albus* and *M. officinalis*).

In the 1940s, “improvement” of pastures commenced as tall fescue (*Festuca arundinacea*) was introduced on a wide scale. The native grasslands that managed to survive into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries are now largely confined to the rockiest sites where they have escaped the plow; these are limestone glades that are now isolated, tiny, rocky grasslands surrounded by fire-suppressed thickets of red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*) and forests of oak and hickory.

While many limestone glades remain in the Nashville Basin, the same cannot be said of the original deep-soiled meadows and savannas. In fact, more than 99.9 percent of these have been eliminated. Some remnants can be seen on low hills in and around Nashville where massive old oaks, with broad, spreading crowns, tell a story. Their wide crowns and massive size are the result of having grown for centuries in relatively open conditions. Early in the lives of these trees, they would have existed in open savannas, but following Anglo-American settlement, they grew in open pastures.

In areas too wet to cultivate, remnant wet

grasslands still can be found. Thin strips of native grasses and grassland wildflowers hug the banks of streams.

In pastures, along roadsides, or at the edges of woods, we can still find the remnant species that once dominated the grasslands of the Nashville Basin. Many of these plants are relics of the former rich meadows and savannas that occurred in deep, rich, fertile soils of the East. Examples include tall ironweed (*Vernonia gigantea*), purpletop grass (*Tridens flavus*), nimblewill (*Muhlenbergia schreberi*), eastern gama grass (*Tripsacum dactyloides*), and wild senna (*Senna marilandica*).



FIGURE 83. 1960s photo of Nashville’s changing landscape. Four lane highways, like Briley Parkway over the Cumberland River at Pennington Bend, replaced smaller two lane roads, like McGavock Pike. (Tennessean, 1977)

Archaeology History

Preparatory to its geophysical survey of Fort Negley, the consulting firm Tennessee Valley Archaeological Research (TVAR) conducted background research in order to provide a comprehensive record of previous archaeological investigations in proximity to and within the current site boundaries. A site file search and records review was conducted at the Tennessee Division of Archaeology (TDOA) where copies of the Fort Negley (40DV189) Site Survey Record and relevant reports were obtained. Krista Castillo, museum coordinator for the Fort Negley Visitors Center and Park,

and Zada Law, director of the Geospatial Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, provided additional background information. Relevant background information collected and examined for the current project includes five archaeological studies and one geotechnical report completed at Fort Negley prior to the current study. These reports indicate the nature and extent of archaeological deposits within the fort walls, areas immediately outside the walls, and in the area near Greer Stadium (Figure 85) and provide context for the present study (Figure 97). There is also the

possibility of cultural resources associated with the war, the development of the surrounding neighborhood, or WPA reconstruction within the footprint of the Adventure Science Center. Once the ASC moves/is removed can a full archaeological survey be conducted. Other materials, both historical and technical in scope, that provide valuable information about the construction and reconstruction phases of the fort were also consulted and are summarized below.

FIGURE 84. These archaeological investigations reveal that St. Cloud Hill has gone through tremendous changes between 1860 and 1940. The residue of human occupation is littered around the fort site.

REPORT	FIELD METHODS	DESCRIPTION OF FEATURES AND ARTIFACTS
Bergstresser et al., 1994	29 test units, 6 trenches	Probable occupational floor of original Civil War fort; possible buried wall of original Civil War fort; parapet of the south main works wall; limestone finishing chips; transfer print porcelain saucer; ironstone saucer; light blue container glass; amethyst container glass; dark green container glass; dark amber container glass; marbles; molded vase fragment; orange bowl base fragment; silver tablespoon; 1925 “wheat” penny; 1952D “wheat” penny; cut nails; pocket watch.
Allen, 2000	14 test units, 63 shovel tests, 27 auger tests	WPA-era fill sequence of large limestone cobbles; WPA-era trench; subsurface of north masonry wall; midden deposit; remnant of Civil War–era masonry; porcelain; clear container glass; refined earthenware; whiteware; redware; salt-glazed stoneware; Bristol/Albany-glazed stoneware; ironstone; flat glass; cut nails; wire nails; brick; mortar; unidentified metal; bullets; shells; cartridges; shell buttons; metal buttons; glass buttons; shoe parts; buckles; wire; plastic; coal.
Alexander et al., 2007	11 test units	V-shaped trench associated with north bastion of Civil War–era stockade; clear container glass; amber container glass; aqua container glass; light green container glass; amethyst container glass; window glass; brick; mortar; cut nails; wire nails; cartridges; bullets; .57 caliber Minié ball; lead shot; whiteware; earthenware; unidentified metal; unidentified bone; coal.
Robinson, 2013	4 test units, 2 trenches	Clear container glass; green container glass; light green container glass; olive green container glass; amber container glass; aqua container glass; milk glass container glass; flat glass; chimney glass; stoneware; whiteware; earthenware; milk glass canning seal; cut nails; unidentified metal; porcelain button; plastic; brass grommet.
Terracon, 2015	49 test units	Machine-cut nail, brick, brick fragment, modern glass, unidentified metal.
Beasley et al., 2018	16 shovel tests, 11 trenches	Clear container glass; amber container glass; cobalt blue container glass; milk glass; pressed glass; jadeite glass; ironstone; Bristol/Albany-glazed stoneware; Fiestaware; whiteware; transfer print porcelain; decal print porcelain; cosmetic jars; brick; ferrous metal pipe; salt-glazed drainage pipe; ceramic tile; intact Civil War–era and WPA-era deposits.

Archaeological Investigations

Panamerican Consultants Inc. conducted an archaeological assessment and a historical study of Fort Negley in 1993 (Bergstresser et al., 1994). The purpose of the study was to determine if the existing structure could be temporally affiliated with the original Civil War–era construction and to what extent portions date to the Works Progress Administration (WPA) reconstruction. Prior to fieldwork, extensive mapping produced an overlay map showing the outline of both the Civil War–era fort and the WPA reconstruction. Six areas that included test trenches and twenty-seven excavation units were investigated (Figure 86). Investigation of Area 2 confirmed the location of cisterns near the stockade. The excavation of Area 3 established the probable occupational floor of the original Civil War–era fort, and Area 6 uncovered the parapet of the south main works wall (Figure 88). Results of the investigation indicate that the WPA reconstruction of Fort Negley closely follows the original ground plan and that portions of the existing structure likely date to the WPA reconstruction. The study also indicated that sections of the WPA walls may have been constructed on top of remnants of the Civil War structure. While the existing structure closely mirrors the shape of, and is directly atop, the original, the WPA reconstruction is also different in some respects. Wall dimensions and construction materials differ from the original structure (Figure 88), and none of the original wooden construction has survived. In particular, the original stockade was completely removed by the WPA construction crew and replaced with an accurate replica. Isometric drawings indicate that the inner wall of the underground area of the original fort has probably survived and is sealed beneath a protective layer of limestone and clay brought in by the WPA restoration team. The investigation also revealed that while artifacts from the Union occupation of the fort were redeposited in twentieth-century fill layers associated with the WPA reconstruction, intact Civil War–era

archaeological deposits may be preserved below the twentieth-century deposits (Bergstresser et al., 1994). DuVall & Associates Inc. conducted archaeological investigations at Fort Negley in 1999 (Allen, 2000). Investigations were associated with efforts to stabilize and repair portions of the WPA masonry walls and were designed to test and assess the nature of archaeological deposits within a series of impact areas scheduled to be restored or stabilized. The investigations had three primary research goals: 1) evaluating subsurface contexts related to the WPA restoration work to determine the presence of Civil War–era architectural and archaeological features; 2) evaluating the masonry and earthwork under repair to determine its association with either Civil War occupation or WPA-era reconstruction; and 3) comparing the visible ruins of the WPA restoration with work known to be associated with the original Civil War period fortification. Excavations included sixty-three shovel tests, twenty-seven auger tests, and fourteen hand-excavated test units (Figure 90). Test Units 7 and 8 revealed a fill sequence of WPA-era limestone cobbles, as well as the original Civil War–era surface (Figure 91). Surviving masonry from the original Civil War–era fort was encountered 50 centimeters below surface (cmbs) in Test Units 9 and 10 (Figure 92), and a possible remnant of Civil War–era masonry was found approximately 20 cmbs in Test Unit 1. Additionally, a WPA-era trench was discovered in Test Unit 4, and a midden deposit containing nineteenth-century brick fragments and cut nails was excavated in Shovel Test 63. Testing within the interior of the bastion indicated that both the east and west bastions were largely reconstructed during the WPA era and revealed no discernible changes in the coursework of the masonry walls to a depth of 50 cmbs. However, intact Civil War deposits may be present at these locations below 50 cmbs. Deposits investigated within the activity

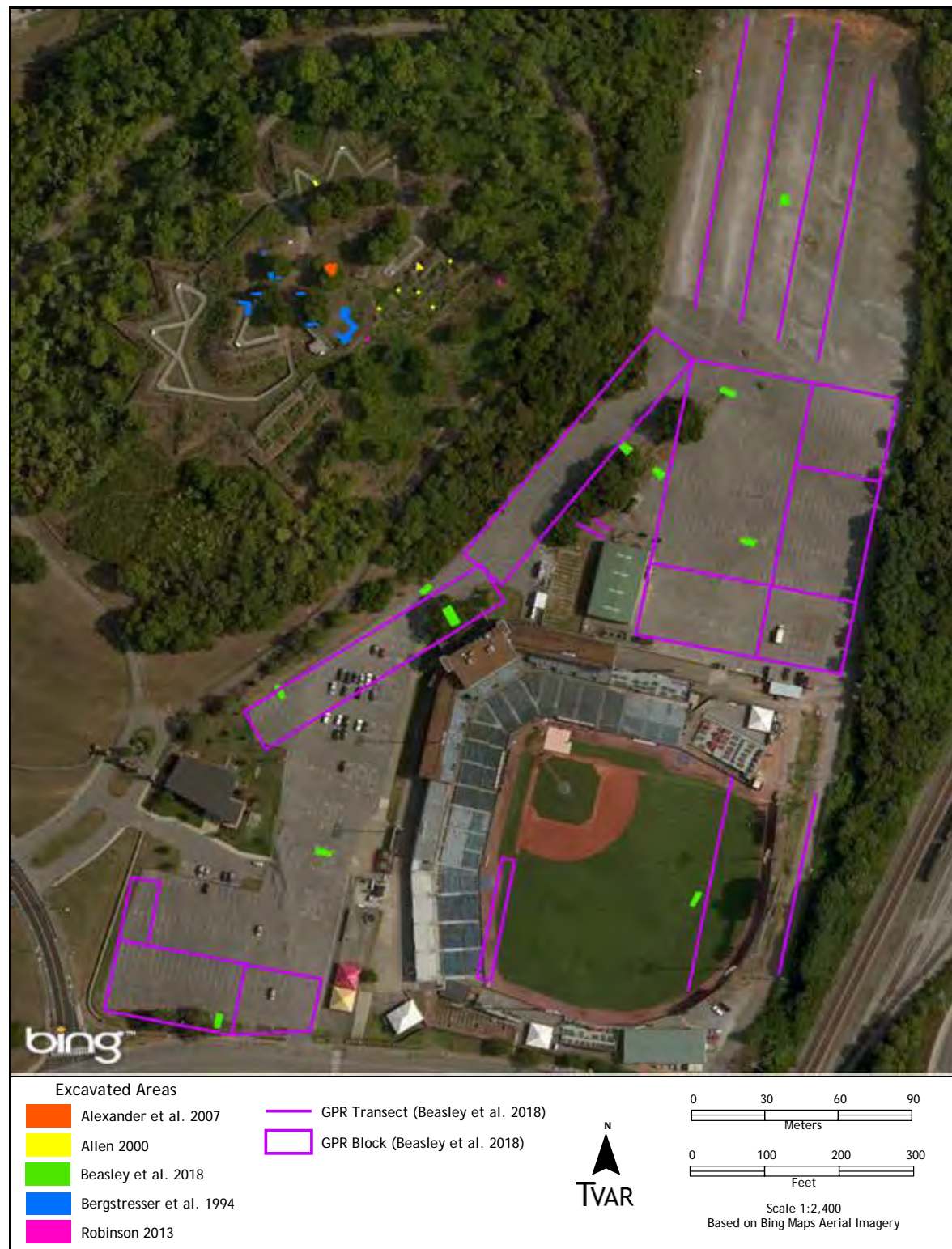


FIGURE 85. Map showing previous archaeological investigations at Fort Negley. (Tennessee Valley Archaeology Research)

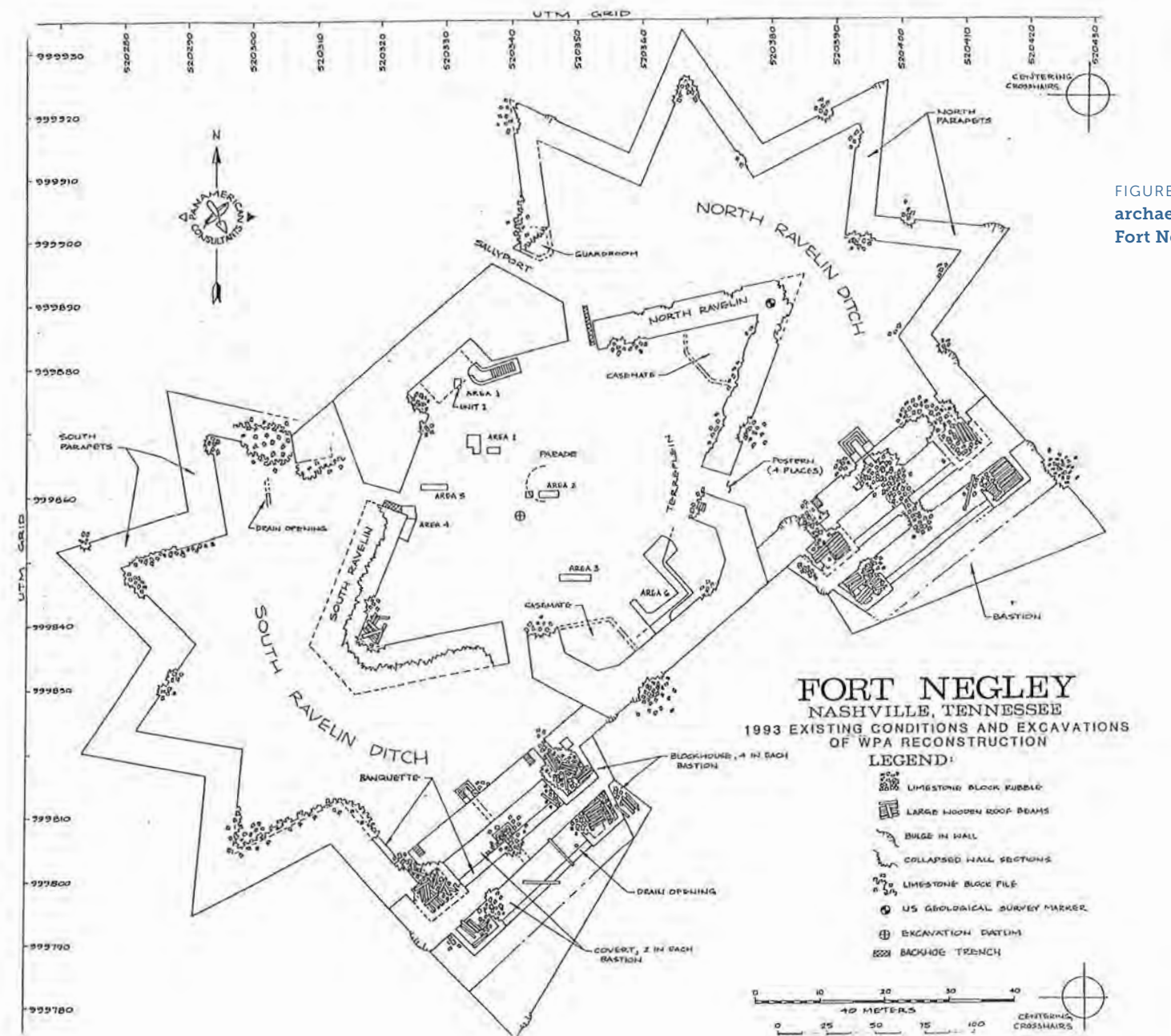


FIGURE 86. Map showing 1993 archaeological investigations at Fort Negley. (Bergstresser et al., 1994)

area north of the sally port retained a higher degree of integrity than the disturbed deposits adjacent to the masonry walls in the interior of the fort. These deposits were associated with a troop quartering area northwest of the main gate. Artifacts recovered from this area were limited to materials temporally affiliated with the Civil War occupation of the fort. In general, results of the investigations indicated that Civil War-era deposits found at shallow depths along the fort's interior walls were likely

disturbed by the WPA restoration efforts, while Civil War-era deposits may also be preserved at shallower depths on the exterior of the fort outside of the main gate (Allen, 2000).

Alexander Archaeological Consultants Inc. conducted Phase II investigations at Fort Negley in 2007 (Alexander et al., 2007). The investigations included eleven excavation units and were designed to evaluate archaeological resources at the location of a proposed flagpole installation in the stockade area of the

fort (Figure 93). Test excavations revealed a moderately dense historic artifact assemblage (n=929) at the proposed flagpole installation site, reflecting both Civil War-era and WPA activities. A V-shaped trench extending through all eleven test units was observed (Figure 93). The feature represented the entire north bastion of the stockade and its intersection with the north wall of the stockade. The trench was used by both Civil War-era laborers during the construction of the original fort

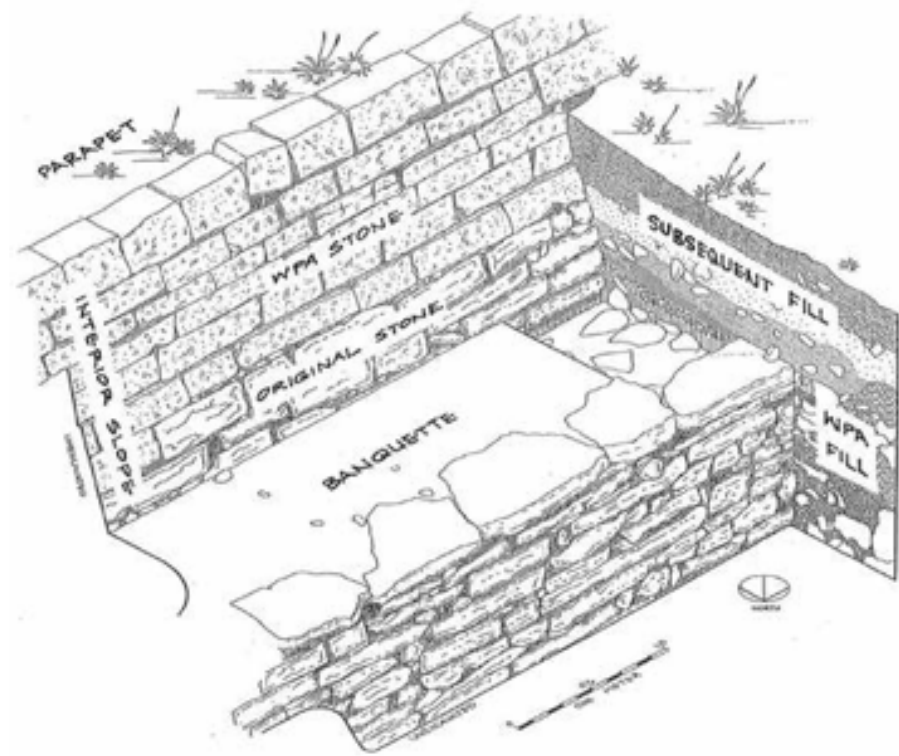


FIGURE 87. Isometric view of banquette and parapet of the south main works, showing WPA additions to the original Civil War fort. (Bergstresser et al., 1994)

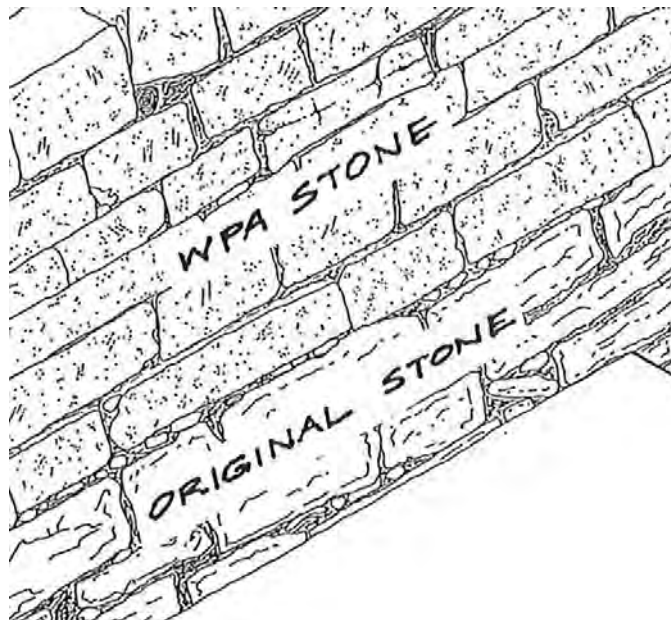


FIGURE 88. Close-up showing differences between WPA-era and Civil War construction materials. (Bergstresser et al., 1994)

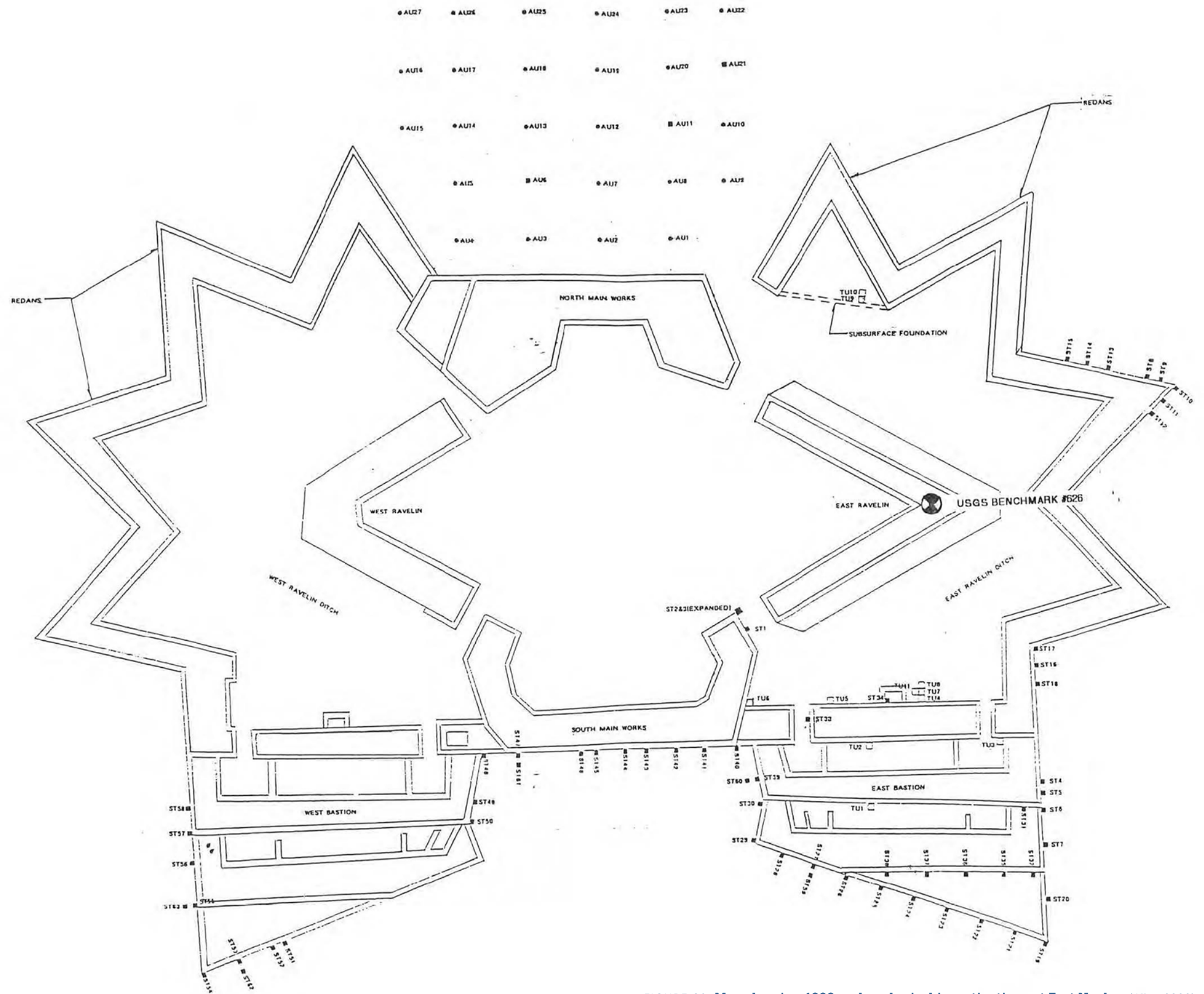


FIGURE 89. Map showing 1999 archaeological investigations at Fort Negley. (Allen 2000)

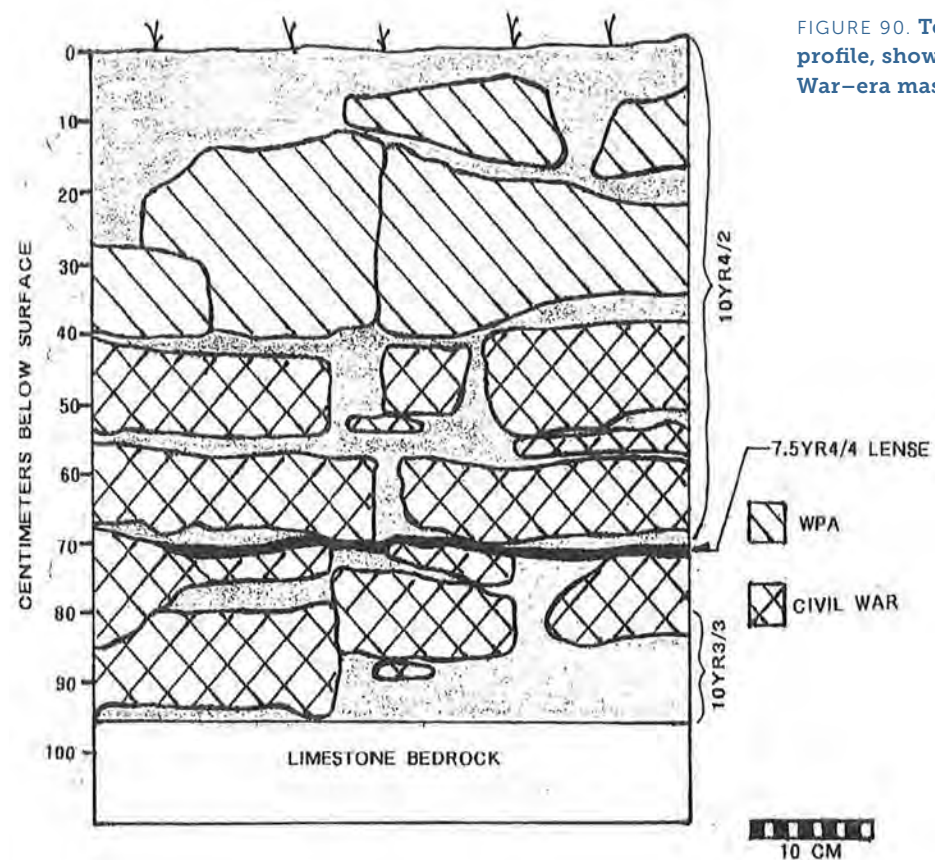


FIGURE 90. Test Unit 9 south profile, showing WPA-era and Civil War-era masonry. (Allen, 2000)

and WPA-era workers in the 1930s during the reconstruction of the stockade. Limited testing at the base of the stockade trench indicated that it had been excavated into bedrock to a depth of approximately thirty centimeters. Investigations uncovered the main palisade line to the east and west of the bastion. Two circular cuts in the bedrock indicate that large posts were placed in circular holes cut into bedrock where the west bastion wall and main palisade intersected. The remains of a timber post were found extending from the two circular cuts into the north wall of Test Unit 1. This is consistent with the re-excavation of the original Civil War-era trench by WPA workers for the palisade reconstruction. The trench was refilled in 1944 after the removal of the WPA-era palisade reconstruction. The excavations also revealed the original location and configuration of the north bastion of the Civil War-era stockade. Recovery of artifacts in test units occurred mainly in

FIGURE 91. Western profile of test trench formed by Test Units 4, 7, and 8, showing fill sequence of WPA-era limestone cobbles. (Allen, 2000)

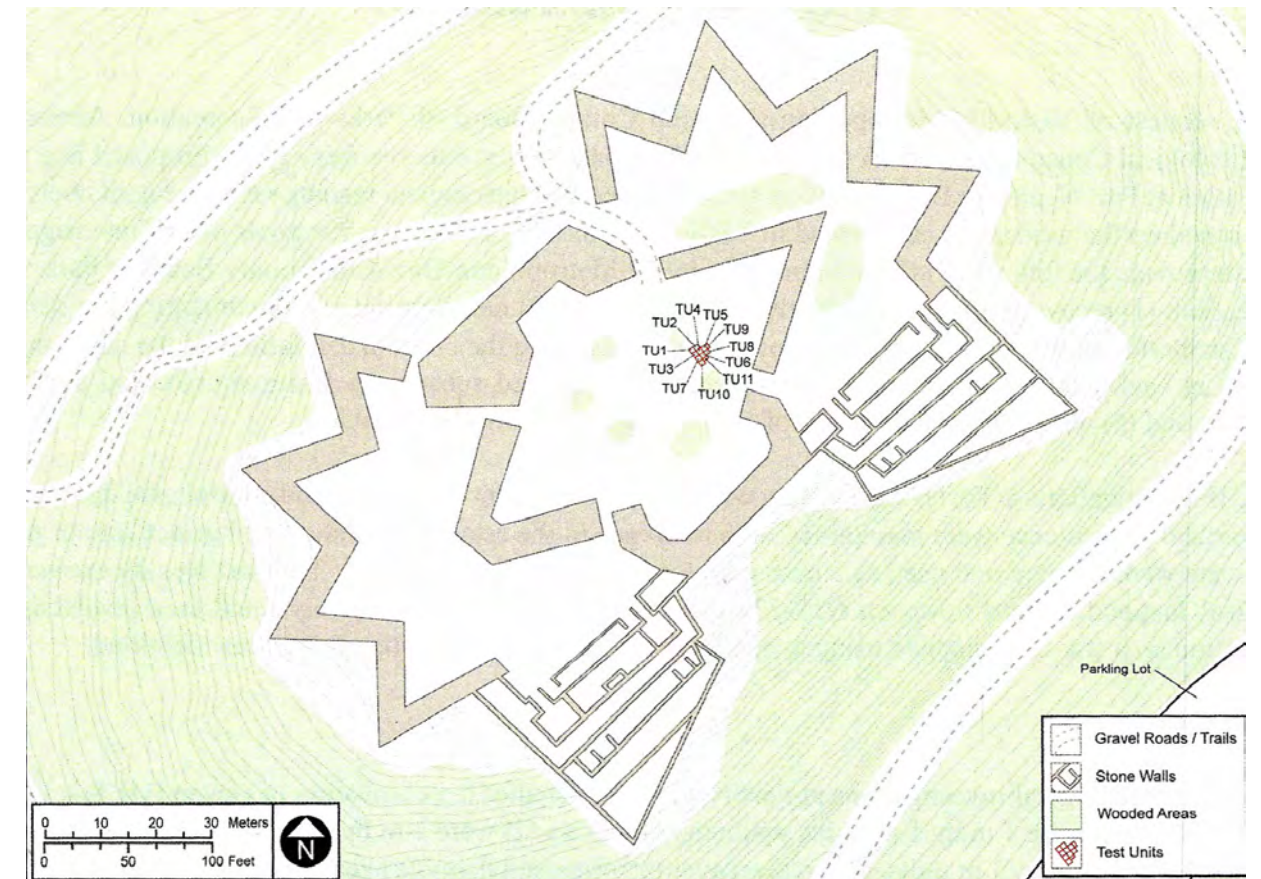
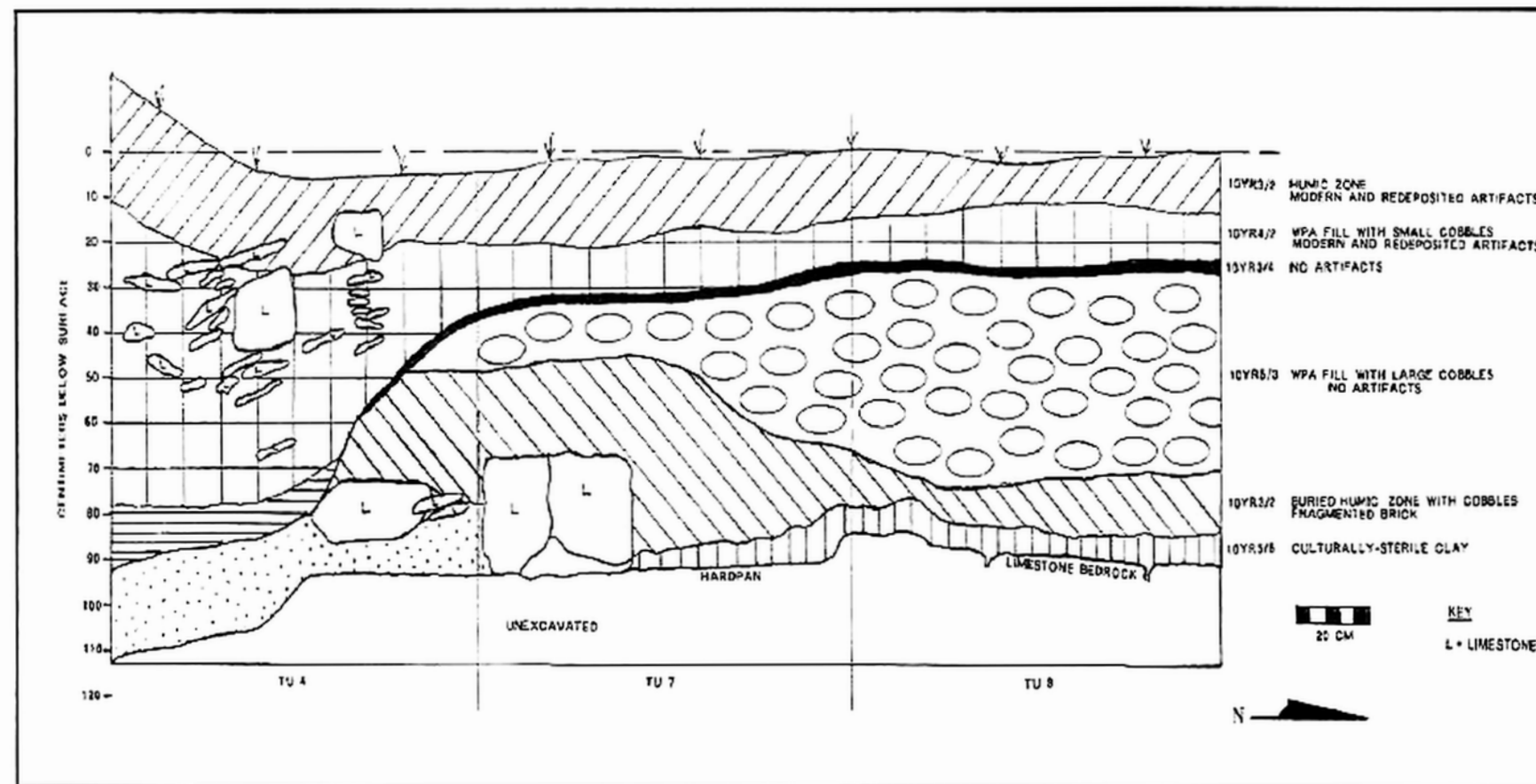


FIGURE 92. Map showing 2007 archaeological investigations at Fort Negley. (Alexander, 2007)

the upper 30 centimeters; no artifacts were recovered beyond a maximum depth of 43 cmbs. In general, the artifact assemblage recovered during investigations reflected twentieth-century activities (Alexander et al., 2007).

New South Associates Inc. conducted archaeological investigations at Fort Negley in 2013 (Robinson, 2014). The investigations were designed to expose and examine the foundation of existing wall structures and to determine the chronology of significant periods of construction. Two trenches were excavated along the outer walls of the fort (Figure 95). Trench 1 included three test units; one test unit was excavated in Trench 2. Trench 2 exposed the foundation of the east bastion wall, which was constructed in a stepped fashion to accommodate the southward slope of the hillside on which it was located (Figure 95). Though precise

chronology of the walls could not be determined, fill layers indicated that material associated with the construction of a berm along the south wall of the fort was likely deposited in the twentieth century. As a result, the study could not conclusively determine the dates of wall construction (Robinson, 2014).

Tennessee Valley Archaeological Research Inc. conducted historical background research and a ground penetrating radar (GPR) assessment of Herschel Greer Stadium during the fall of 2017 (Beasley et al., 2018). The stadium falls within the boundaries of 40DV189, which represents Fort Negley and associated features (Figure 97). The investigations were intended to inventory and evaluate archaeological deposits and to assess the extent of previous impacts and construction disturbances in the project area. Limited subsurface testing targeted specific areas of interest in order to ground-truth the



FIGURE 93. V-shaped trench feature from the 2007 investigations at Fort Negley. (Alexander, 2007)

GPR data. Eleven GPR blocks were surveyed prior to field excavations. Additionally, GPR transects were surveyed across the baseball field, along the road east of the baseball field, in the northern gravel parking lot, and along the remnant hillside that separates Greer Stadium from Fort Negley. Sixteen shovel tests

and eleven trenches were excavated during the investigations. Investigations revealed that intact anthropogenic deposits predating the WPA park construction efforts are buried under substantial overburden of asphalt and rubble fill (Figure 96). Investigations also resulted in the identification of intact cultural features that

likely contain human remains associated with the “contraband camps” that were part of the construction of Fort Negley. A recommendation was made that this portion of the project area be reintegrated into Fort Negley Park (Beasley et al., 2018).

Geotechnical Survey

Terracon Consultants Inc. conducted both archaeological monitoring and geotechnical engineering services as part of a cultural resource restoration assessment at Fort Negley in 2015 (Terracon Consultants Inc., 2015a,

2015b). The purpose of the combined survey was to examine and evaluate the condition of the fort foundation and to document cultural materials exposed during geotechnical subsurface exploration around the outer perimeter

of the fortification. Subsurface testing was conducted near collapsed wall faces, toppling areas, and areas of the wall that exhibited bulging and sagging. Thirty-five test units around the perimeter of the fort foundation



FIGURE 94. Map showing 2013 archaeological investigations at Fort Negley. (Robinson, 2013)



FIGURE 95. North wall profile of Trench 2, showing foundation of east bastion wall. (Robinson, 2013)

were excavated; an additional fourteen test units were placed along the slopes adjacent to the fortification (Figure 98). Six test units produced a total of eleven artifacts. With the exception of a single machine-cut nail and an intact brick whose maker's mark indicates a manufacturing date between 1865 and 1906, all recovered cultural materials were temporally affiliated with the WPA-era reconstruction program. All artifacts were recovered from the uppermost 50 centimeters of disturbed soil,

indicating that the Civil War-era artifacts were probably redeposited into fill layers associated with the later WPA reconstruction efforts (Terracon Consultants, 2015a). Terracon's geotechnical survey determined that breach failures on the fort walls were not the result of compromised foundation support but rather the subgrade condition of limestone elements and lack of adequate drainage behind, beneath, and through the walls (Terracon Consultants, 2015b).

Historical and Architectural Studies

Zada Law (2009) provides a construction history of Fort Negley that also serves as a compendium of archival sources available for research on the park.⁴¹ The fort's history encompasses three periods: the original construction of the fort during the Civil War, its reconstruction by the WPA, and the development of visitor facilities for the fort's transformation into a historic park. Law examines clues about the construction sequence of the fort, as well as Civil War period architectural elements still visible today on the landscape. Law also documents the chronology of improvements that were

made to the fort after its first occupation in 1862, providing future archaeological investigations of the site with a blueprint for the identification and interpretation of possible features. Law points out that a construction history for all phases of Fort Negley's history would provide a "foundation for assessing the age of visible stonework, interpreting archaeological findings, and guiding future reconstruction, repair, or stabilization efforts." Law's construction history has provided valuable guidance for recent archaeological investigations at Fort Negley. For instance, New South Associates focused its 2013 investigations on the foundation of outer wall structures, which Law points out is crucial for determining the age of the visible stonework and interpreting archaeological findings. Law's history of occupation at the fort was used as a preliminary guide for the placement of trenches during its 2013 investigations. Similarly, during TVAR's 2017 geophysical investigations at Greer Stadium, Law's work provided valuable insights about the possible locations of cultural features associated with contraband camps associated with the original Civil War-era construction of the fort.⁴⁷ Bobby Lovett (1982) chronicles the Union Army's conscription of African Americans for use as forced labor in the construction of Fort Negley.⁴⁸ As Lovett points out, during the course of construction, impressed laborers and their families camped on nearby St. Cloud Hill, some living in tents, while others were forced

FIGURE 96. Map showing location of intact archaeological deposits along the hillside south of Fort Negley. (Beasley et al., 2018)

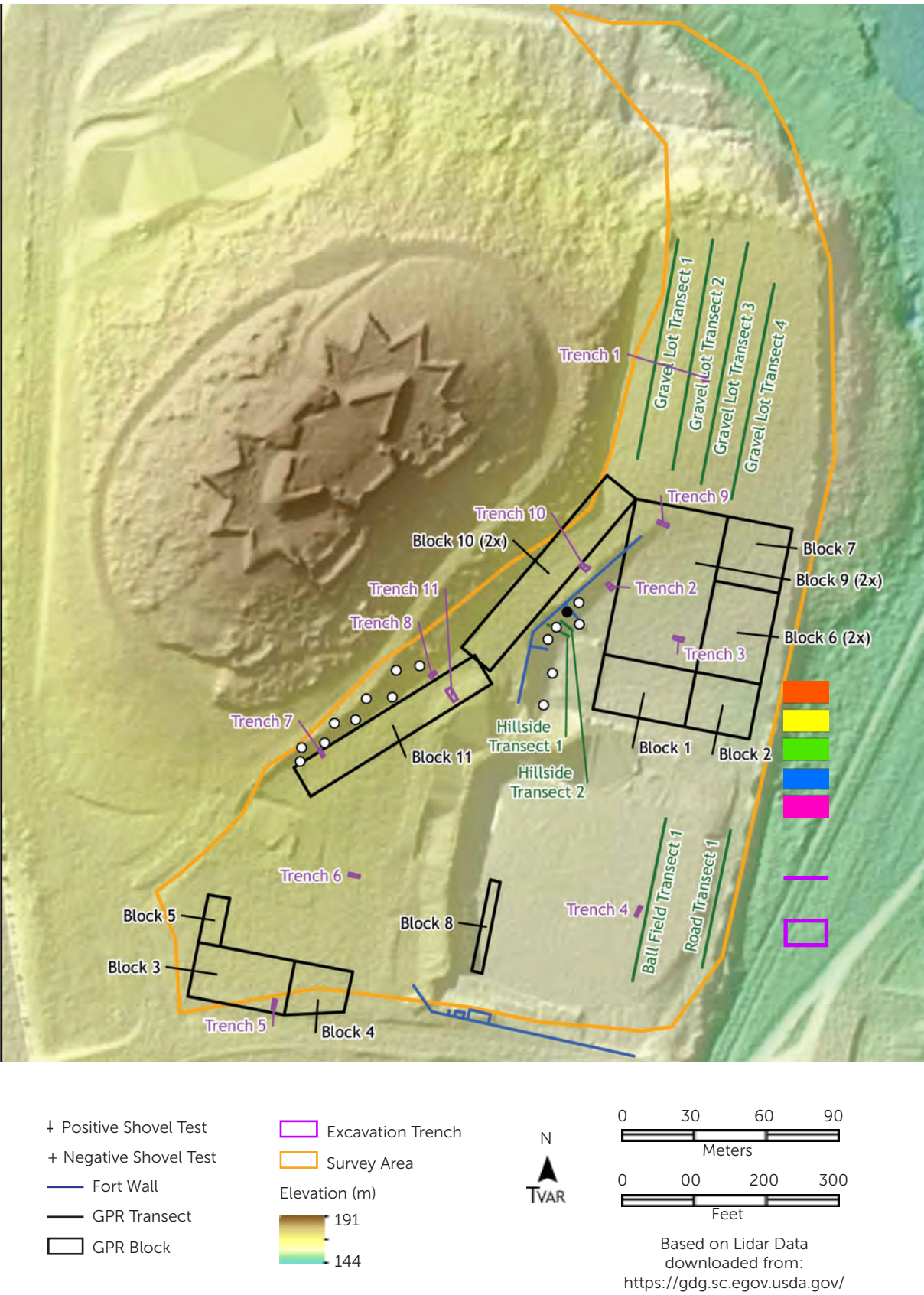
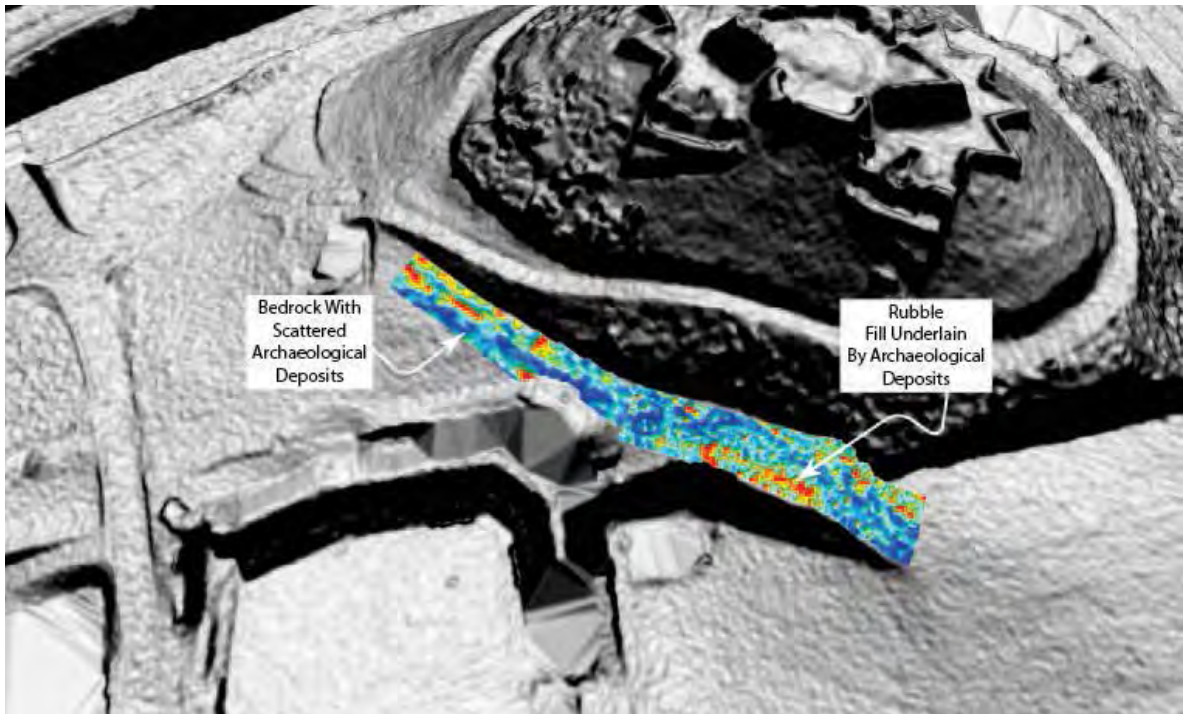


FIGURE 97. Map showing 2018 archaeological investigations at Fort Negley. (Beasley et al., 2018)

to sleep in the open air. Living conditions were so poor that as many as eight hundred African Americans died while working on the fortifications during the occupation period. According to Lovett, traces of these living quarters are still visible on the slopes of St. Cloud Hill. Lovett details the formation of contraband camps near Fort Negley after the initial construction phase of the fort had been completed. As the author points out, the federal government was eventually forced to investigate the inhumane living conditions reported at the camps. Details about the WPA restoration of the fort emphasize specific reconstruction areas, as well as several additions to the original structure to make the fort accessible to visitors (Figure 100). To date, however, no previous archaeological work at Fort Negley has directly investigated areas—such as the museum and subterranean magazines—that Lovett associates with the WPA-era restoration efforts.

A 1935 newspaper article from the *Tennessean* (Thompson, 1935) describes prerestoration excavations by WPA workers, including the removal of artifacts associated with the Civil War-era fort. The article mentions that “several skeletons and assorted

bones” were among the materials recovered by WPA workers. Though in part anecdotal, the article describes important factual details about the WPA reconstruction project. The author notes, for instance, that the WPA reconstruction “will be an exact replica” of the original fortification, with one significant difference: the steel train rails that were buried in the earthworks for additional support were omitted from the WPA restoration.

The omission of the steel train rails is also noted in the 1980 Fort Negley Park report for the Metropolitan Historical Commission (Miller, Wihry & Lee, 1980:A7). The purpose of this report was to analyze the basic architectural characteristics of Fort Negley Park and to develop a plan for its use as a recreational and historic resource for the benefit of the community at large. The study also reported that WPA documents describe the reconstruction of a subterranean magazine in 1936 (Miller, Wihry & Lee, 1980:A8). This magazine area was likely converted to a museum during the WPA reconstruction of the fort. A 1943 postcard depicting the WPA restoration shows the location of the museum (Figure 101).

General Notes

1. Site and sketch notes based on project recon performed on August 5, 2015 by S. Vance (Terracon), Matt Campbell (Collier) and Tracey of Ft. Negley staff.

2. Test pits locations are speculative and may entail multiple excavations at/near each location.

Legend

- Test pit location
- Wall collapse
- Toppling in progress or perceptibly imminent wall collapse
- Bulge or sag in wall
- Light clearing performed

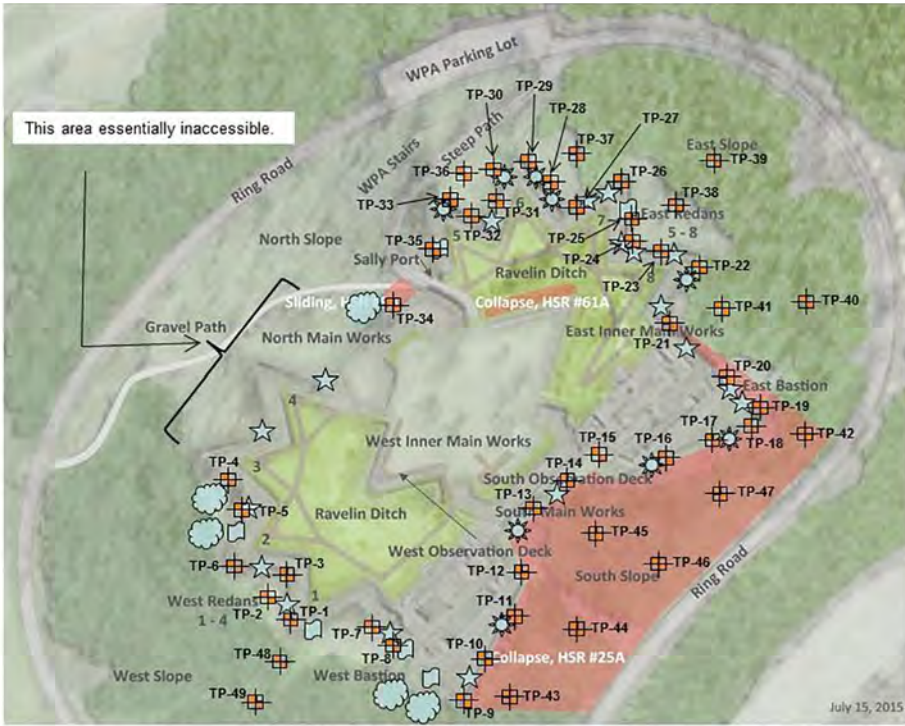


FIGURE 98. Map of 2015 archaeological monitoring at Fort Negley. (Terracon Consultants Inc., 2015)



FIGURE 99. Aerial view of Fort Negley in 1941 after WPA restoration. (Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives)



FIGURE 100. 1943 postcard showing probable location of buried magazine. (Fort Negley Archives)

CURRENT CONDITIONS

The following chapter describes the Fort Negley Park landscape as it currently exists. The information is based on past studies and current field observations of landscape features and characteristics that are within the parameters of the park’s National Register of Historic Places significance. Documenting the existing conditions is accomplished by examining and evaluating a combination of text, photographs, and past graphic plans.

"Landscape characteristics" are the tangible and intangible aspects of a landscape, ranging from small-scale features to large-scale patterns and relationships, that, both individually and collectively, give a landscape its historic character and convey its historic significance. According to *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques* (1998, U.S. Department of the Interior), there are thirteen categories of landscape characteristics, any combination of which may be present in a cultural landscape. These categories are: natural systems and features; vegetation; spatial organization; buildings and structures; land use; views and vistas; cultural traditions; constructed water features; cluster arrangement; small-scale features; circulation; archaeological sites; and topography.

The majority of the landscape characteristics present at Fort Negley can be attributed to four distinct periods in the site’s development: the Civil War and Reconstruction; the WPA reconstruction of the fort in the mid-1930s; the construction of the Adventure Science Center in the early 1970s; and the

building of Greer Stadium and the supporting parking areas in the late 1970s through the early 1990s. These major periods of development are reflected in the landscape as it exists today.

Davidson County lies within the northwestern portion of the Central Basin Geologic Province. The Central Basin is moderately rolling with elevations ranging from four hundred to seven hundred feet above mean sea level (MSL) and is surrounded by the Highland Rim. The Highland Rim is hilly and marked by many narrow ridges and steep-sided valleys. Elevations range between seven hundred and eight hundred feet above MSL. The Cumberland River meanders from east to west across the center of the county.

The south and east portions of Nashville–Davidson County are located in the EPA’s Ecoregion known as the Inner Nashville Basin. In this lower-elevation portion of the state, limestone outcrops and shallow soils are common. The soil chemistry favors a rich diversity of native hardwoods and cedar glade species.

Most hilltops in the northwest section have approximately two to three feet of wind-deposited loamy soil. Most soils in the central and southeastern sections formed in material weathered from the underlying limestone bedrock. There are many rock outcrops and sinkholes in this region. Soils along the Cumberland River and its tributaries formed in alluvial (water) deposits.

CLIMATE

Nashville has a humid, subtropical climate with cool to moderately cold winters and hot, humid summers. Monthly averages range from about 38°F in January, typically the coldest month, to 80°F in July, typically the warmest month. The highest recorded temperature was 109°F in 2012. In recent decades, as a result of urban development, Nashville has developed an urban heat island; temperatures are up to 10°F warmer in the heart of the city than in rural, outlying areas. The entire Nashville region lies within USDA Plant Hardiness Zone 7a, which is based on the average extreme temperature during the past thirty years.

Rainfall averages 47.3 inches annually, with winter and spring the wettest and autumn the driest. Spring and fall are prone to severe thunderstorms, which occasionally bring tornadoes. The most rainfall typically occurs in May. In the winter months, snowfall does occur in Nashville but is usually not heavy. Average annual snowfall is about 5.8 inches, falling mostly in January and February and occasionally March and December.

NATURAL SYSTEMS AND FEATURES

The dominant natural feature of St. Cloud Hill is the limestone formation where Fort Negley was constructed, which rises 623 feet above sea level. The steep elevation was the determining factor in the Union army’s selection of this location to build the fort. There are no visible water features, such as springs or creeks, in the vicinity. Two cisterns were created by the military within the stockade to water troops. The water used was probably collected from nearby springs that were outside the current boundary of the park.

SPATIAL ORGANIZATION

Fort Negley Park is a rectangle bounded on the north and west sides by interstate highway I-65, to the east by the CSX railroad line, and to the south by Chestnut Street. Because

of these features, the park is land locked and the potential for expansion or threats from encroachment are nonexistent.

The park also contains a combination of asphalt and gravel lots, woody vegetation, indigenous grasses, and recreational amenities. On the southeast corner is the former Greer baseball stadium site and on the northwest corner is the Adventure Science Center.

LAND USE

Fort Negley Park is approximately sixty-four acres in size and is one of approximately 160 parks in Metro Nashville’s 12,000-acre park system. The landscape is dominated by two facilities: the Adventure Science Center and the WPA-reconstructed fort. Aside from their main building, Adventure Science Center’s leased area includes a one-and-a-half-acre asphalt parking lot, an outdoor classroom, and a TVA solar station. They welcome more than 350,000 visitors a year. On the opposite side of the park is the former site of Greer Stadium, which was home to the Nashville Sounds, the city’s professional baseball team. The Greer Stadium site is currently being deconstructed.

CIRCULATION

Two paved roads currently move traffic, pedestrians, and visitors in and through the park. The primary access road, Fort Negley Blvd., is a public right of way that skirts the western boundary of the park from Chestnut Street, then swings east before exiting at Sixth Avenue. Before construction of the interstate highway in the early 1970s, the road was actually two separate streets that intersected: Ridley Blvd., which ran parallel to I-65, and Bass Street, a road that served as the northern property boundary until the site was expanded in the early 1970s. Bass Street became a dead end with the addition of I-65.

The ring road constructed by the WPA in 1936 is the primary visitor accessway from

Fort Negley Blvd. to the reconstructed fort. Originally the road was gravel. In 2004, however, it was paved with asphalt to meet ADA standards. Metro Parks maintenance vehicles are the only vehicles allowed to use the road.

For access to the works, a paved pathway extends from the ring road to the inner main works. This path was also originally gravel but was paved in 2004 to meet ADA standards. Inside the fort are a combination of wooden boardwalks constructed within the north and south ravelin ditch and turf grasses within the inner main works that help to move visitors around the site and to help restrict access to the stonework.

TOPOGRAPHY

As noted in the "Natural Features" section, the landscape is predominantly a limestone hill 623 feet in elevation with a few stone outcroppings on the inward slope of the south ring road. The slope on the hill is steep on all sides but especially on the southeast quadrant of the property below the bastion front of the fort. The crest was excavated and leveled by the Union army to accommodate the fort. There is a thin layer of topsoil covering the banks above the ring road. The ridge is more than one hundred feet higher than the surrounding landscape.

VEGETATION

The vegetation and appearance of Fort Negley have changed dramatically through the years, but for much of the past century the vegetation has existed in an ecologically degraded condition. Nearly four decades ago, the site was covered with dense tree cover and a thick understory of shrubs, many introduced in the 1930s and considered invasive. In the early 1990s trees were cleared from the stoneworks within a thirty-foot zone but left along the slopes to protect the site from erosion and to shade-out invasive plant species. During that time, and again in 2004,

trees were cleared from the slopes to open views to the surrounding points of interest. Over the years many efforts were undertaken to remove the woody vegetation from the knoll, especially dense infestations of mature bush honeysuckle (*Lonicera maackii*) and Chinese privet (*Ligustrum sinense*). In 2016, a significant portion of tree canopy was removed from the hill and surrounding area. This was a loss of approximately three hundred trees ranging in size from six-inch caliper to 36-inch caliper. Species were predominantly hackberry, hickory, Osage orange, and locust.

Currently, the vegetation of Fort Negley exists as an open, grassy knoll represented by eighty-three plant species and dotted with widely spaced trees that were spared during

the 2016 removal. The trees that exist on the site include common or weedy species, indicative of low- to medium-quality habitats in the Nashville Basin and include southern hackberry (*Celtis laevigata*), black walnut (*Juglans nigra*), Osage orange (*Maclura pomifera*), black locust (*Robinia pseudoacacia*), and American elm (*Ulmus americana*). Several species are also non-native and invasive such as mimosa (*Albizzia julibrissin*), paper mulberry (*Brousonettia papyrifera*), white mulberry (*Morus alba*), Bradford pear (*Pyrus calleryana*), tree-of-heaven (*Ailanthus altissima*), and Siberian elm (*Ulmus pumila*). The wide spacing of these trees is probably similar to or slightly sparser than the historical spacing of trees that would have existed on the site, and at similar sites, in

FIGURE 101. Gradients are as follows: southeastern slope gradient 20–25 percent; southwestern slope gradient 15–17 percent; northeastern slope gradient 17–20 percent; northwestern slope gradient 15–17 percent. (USGS Topographical Map, 1977)

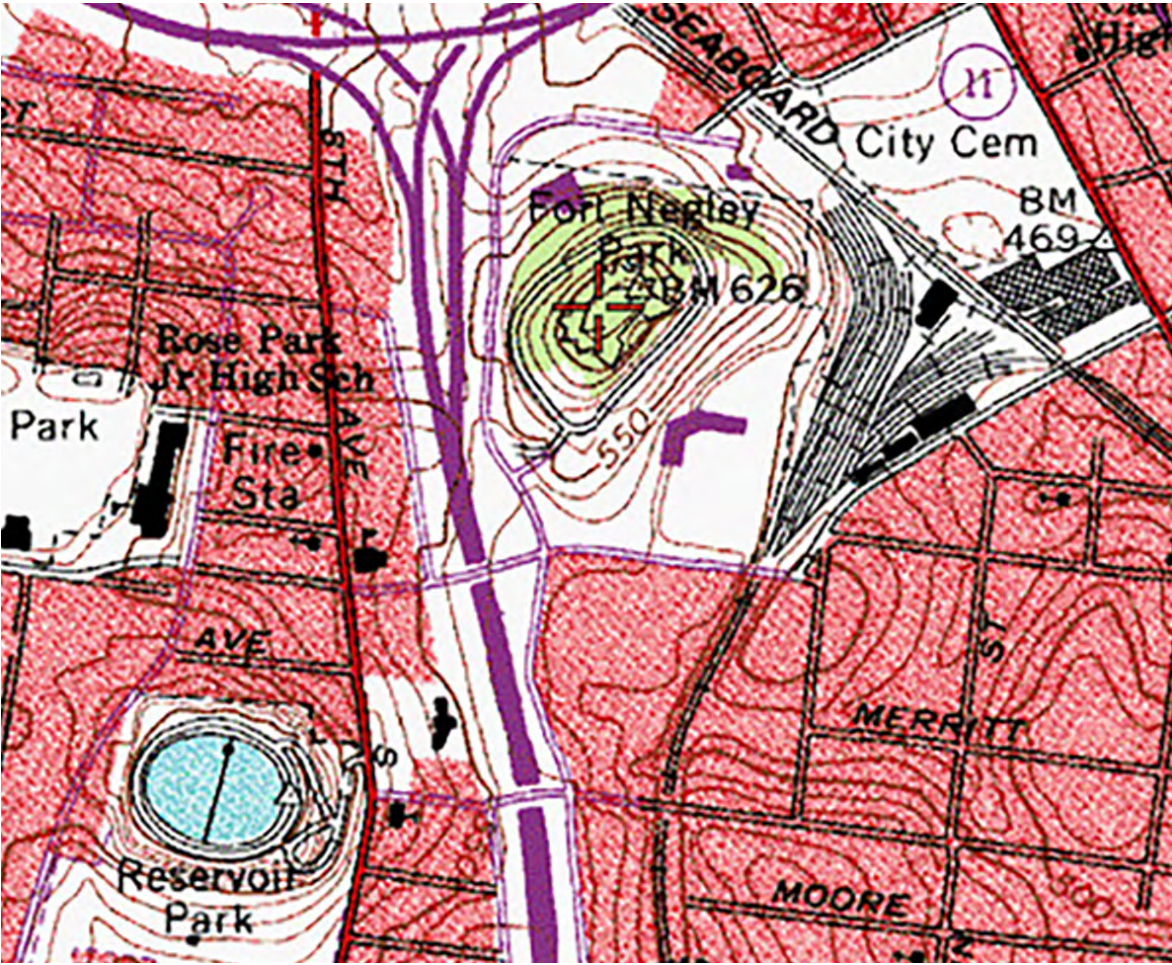


FIGURE 102. 2018 Fort Negley Park boundaries and circulation. (Encore Interpretive Design)

the Nashville Basin at the time Nashville was founded. These species are of relatively low ecological value. More ecologically valuable species are largely missing, especially chinkapin oak (*Quercus muehlenbergii*), Shumard oak (*Q. shumardii*), white oak (*Q. alba*), bur oak (*Q. macrocarpa*), shingle oak (*Q. imbricaria*), and shagbark hickory (*Carya ovata*).

Shrubs are largely absent from this open, park-like landscape today because of frequent mowing/management within recent years, although native shrubs were likely present historically before being displaced by non-native exotic species. Native shrubs that would be expected include glade privet (*Forestiera ligustrina*), aromatic sumac (*Rhus aromatica*), hawthorn (*Crataegus* spp.), and southern buckthorn (*Sideroxylon lycioides*).

At the top of the knoll, on and around the earthworks, native grasses were introduced

to the site in 2004, including little bluestem (*Schizachyrium scoparium*), big bluestem (*Andropogon gerardii*), and sideoats grama (*Bouteloua curtipendula*). The vast majority of the grassy ground layer of Fort Negley consists of non-native Eurasian cool-season grasses, herbs, and twining vines. Important grasses include Bermuda grass (*Cynodon dactylon*), crabgrass (*Digitaria ciliaris*), tall fescue (*Festuca arundinacea*), bristlegrass (*Setaria faberi*, *S. viridis*), and Johnson grass (*Sorghum halepense*). Some native cool-season grasses are also found at the site and probably were among the dominant native grasses historically. These include purpletop (*Tridens flavus*), Virginia wild rye (*Elymus virginicus*), MacGregor's wild rye (*Elymus macgregorii*), bluegrass (*Poa* spp.), nimblewill (*Muhlenbergia schreberi*), and deer-tongue panic grass (*Dichanthelium clandestinum*).

FIGURE 103. The boardwalk guides visitors through the site while restricting their access to the stonework. (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 104. Adventure Science Center pyramid dome obstructs the viewshed to downtown. (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)

The herbs and vines of the site also largely consist of weedy and often invasive species, with a few exceptions. Many of the species are adapted to highly disturbed and frequently disturbed sites. On the south side of the site are some glade-like areas underlain by shallow soils and an abundance of limestone outcrops, whereas most of the site has deeper soil layers.

Today, common weedy and non-native species such as white sweet clover (*Melilotus albus*), nodding thistle (*Carduus nutans*), Queen Anne's lace (*Daucus carota*), common hedge parsley (*Torilis arvensis*), and Chinese bush clover (*Lespedeza cuneata*) are abundant at the site. Numerous species represent common weeds that have been naturalized in Tennessee since shortly after Nashville was founded, including white clover (*Trifolium*

repens) and red clover (*T. pratense*). A few native herbs are found, including brown-eyed Susan (*Rudbeckia triloba*), tall thoroughwort (*Eupatorium altissimum*), ground cherry (*Physalis longifolia*), Canada wild lettuce (*Lactuca canadensis*), pink thoroughwort (*Fleischmannia incarnata*), panicled tick trefoil (*Desmodium paniculatum*), white wingstem (*Verbesina virginica*), Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), and prairie tea (*Croton monanthoynus*).

Native vines include passion flower (*Passiflora incarnata*), blue vine (*Cynanchum laeve*), poison ivy (*Toxicodendron radicans*), coral vine (*Cocculus carolinus*), bull-brier (*Smilax bona-nox*), Virginia creeper (*Parthenocissus quinquefolia*), and wild grape (*Vitis cinerea* var. *baileyana*).

BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

The buildings and structures on the site can be broken down into three specific areas and periods of development: the historic fort, the Adventure Science Center, and the former Greer Stadium site. There is one building associated with the historic Fort Negley property, the 2007 visitors center. Structures include the fort stonework, a series of stone freestanding and retaining walls around the site, and the stone entrance, all associated with the WPA period (1930s and 1940s). The Adventure Science Center, constructed in 1974 with additions in the 1990s and 2000s, dominates the north end of the park. In the late 1990s, TVA built a solar station north of the Adventure Science Center parking area. Structures associated with the former Greer Stadium site, located in the southeast corner of the park, were demolished in May 2019. There are no other extant buildings or structures on the site.

VISTAS AND VIEWSHEDS

The Union army installed Fort Negley atop St. Cloud Hill in 1862 because the heights commanded the ground below and provided a 360-degree view of Nashville and the surrounding landscape. That remained the case until the turn of the twentieth century. Then, in the 1930s, when the WPA reconstructed the fort, those viewsheds returned. In the mid-1940s, however, the site was closed to the public. Foliage once again covered the elevated areas of the park. In 1974, the Adventure Science Center was built. Additions were made to the building that doubled the height of the building, obscuring the view to downtown. Portions of the understory were cleared in 2004 when the current boardwalks and paved ring road were established. The addition of two observation decks inside the upper main works and the clearing of the understory once again provided visitors with an opportunity to view sites associated with the Battle of Nashville, the Nashville City Cemetery, Rose Park (Fort Morton), and areas of downtown. Between 2004 and 2012, the understory was

again allowed to accumulate. In 2013, a viewshed was opened with an unobstructed view of the reservoir. Then, in 2016, trees and foliage on the hillside were identified and selectively removed. Today, the only major obstruction

of the view of downtown Nashville from the upper main works are the tower and pyramid atop the Adventure Science Center

On-Site Facilities

THE ADVENTURE SCIENCE CENTER

Currently, roughly eleven acres are leased to the Adventure Science Center. The administration is exploring the potential expansion of the facility's programming through a new outdoor recreation venue north of the current parking lot. A site survey and an archaeology study are planned. However, the center has no current strategy to expand the footprint of the building.

GREER STADIUM

Deconstruction of the 18.12-acre Greer Stadium site and the supporting visitor parking began in May 2019. A preliminary, though incomplete, assessment was made of the area that had been under the bleachers. Some of the WPA stonework was evident. A full assessment is not possible, however, until the deconstruction is completed. An archaeology study will be conducted as part of the deconstruction.

VISITOR EXPERIENCE

The park provides visitors with opportunities to enhance their understanding of Fort Negley and the role the installation played during the Civil War, and after 1937 when the WPA constructed a new fort facility. Interpretation includes wayside exhibits and signage, a visitors center, and strategic programming geared specifically toward Civil War audiences.

INTERPRETIVE ELEMENTS

Beginning in 2004, Metro Parks began a two-phase process to add interpretive enhancements and visitor resources to the site. Phase I addressed exterior elements that included an orientation plaza with interpretive panels and seating at the gate; upright interpretive panels and wayfinding along the ring road; interpretive wayside exhibits outside the sally port and within the fort structure; boardwalks in the north and south ravelin ditch and redans; and two observation decks where the casemates were historically located. Saw horses were also added to keep visitors out of restricted areas and away from the stonework. In 2007, the Fort Negley Visitors Center was constructed east of the WPA entry gate. The new interpretive facility consists of six hundred square feet of exhibit space, two interactive exhibits, a meeting room for up to sixty people, a covered exterior gathering/classroom pavilion, and restrooms.

THE ORIENTATION PLAZA AND RING ROAD

The orientation plaza at the front gate is the first on-site visitor touchpoint. The plaza has four large wayside exhibits and a granite relief from an 1864 panoramic photograph taken from atop the fort. There are also brush-finished limestone seats. The Corten panel standards for the waysides are in excellent condition and have reached an acceptable level of patina. The mounted wayside panels are in an acceptable condition.

The panels along the ring road also have Corten standards and laminated upright panels. The standards are in excellent condition, but the laminated panels need replacing because of excessive deterioration.

THE FORT PANELS

Inside the fort, the same conditions exist. The Corten standards are in excellent condition. As with the ring road, all of the wayside exhibits need replacing. The wooden observation decks in the upper main works are in good condition overall. There are areas where the wood needs replacing.

THE BOARDWALKS

The elevated wood boardwalks within the ravelin ditch and the redans initially served to restrict access to the stonework and to provide ADA-approved pathways for the handicapped. The surfaces, however, were never treated. Thus, the accumulation of mold, mildew, moss, pollen, and algae has made them slippery. In other areas, the wood planks have weakened from natural deterioration and lack of maintenance. These areas pose a risk to visitors.

THE FORT NEGLEY VISITORS CENTER

The primary interpretive venue at the site is the visitors center. Completed in December 2007, the five-thousand-square-foot facility is operated and managed by park staff. Except for occasional electronic issues with the interactive elements, the interior exhibits demonstrate few structural or graphic flaws. The meeting room is a useful resource for the community as a program venue.



FIGURE 105. **The collapsed retaining wall at the ring road parking lot.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 106. **Deteriorated boardwalk.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 107. **Deteriorated wayside panel.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)

Existing Stonework

As previous reports have illustrated, all of the stonework at Fort Negley Park was laid after 1936 when the WPA fort reconstruction project was initiated. The fortification walls were last evaluated in 2014 as part of a documented report titled, *Historic Structures Report, Fort Negley, Nashville, Tennessee*, prepared by John Milner Associates Inc. This current assessment will not attempt to review all of the conditions and recommendations made in the 2014 historic structures report (HSR). However, the following report summarizes our recent observations and provides a brief comparison of current conditions to those documented in the 2014 HSR and in other previous stonework evaluations. Thus, the objective of this report is to focus on the rehabilitation, restoration, and controlled collapse of prescribed stonework areas for the long-term maintenance and sustainability of Fort Negley Park as both a cultural artifact and an interpretive venue. It should be noted that some parts of the fort were not accessible for inspection, namely the inner works at the north and south bastions, because of the overgrowth of vegetation. For these areas, we relied on the 2014 HSR.

FORT STONEWORK

The 2014 HSR notes that much of the stonework at Fort Negley suffers from several naturally occurring deteriorating effects associated with either weather or lack of maintenance. These include stone delamination, disaggregation, and material loss; chinking loss; capstone loss or dislocation; stone cracking and spalling; and vegetation and animal burrows. The report also states that there is considerable variation in the size and pattern of the site’s dry-stacked stone gravity fortification walls. These variations make WPA reconstruction and subsequent repairs difficult to distinguish. That being said, all of the walls at Fort Negley consist of dry-stacked limestone masonry, although there are a few locations where repairs have been made using mortared masonry (e.g., sally port). Dry-stacked limestone masonry walls are gravity-type retaining walls, meaning they derive stability from having enough weight to resist sliding and overturning, yet are not so heavy as to cause a bearing capacity failure of the foundation soils.

The maximum wall height at Fort Negley

is approximately ten feet. All of these walls appear to have little to no batter (wall inclination). Maximum reported batter in the 2014 HSR was around 0.12 (one foot horizontal for every 8.3 feet vertically). Some walls have a level backfill surface behind the wall while others slope upward from the wall approximately 2.8 feet horizontally to every one foot vertically. Slopes in front of the walls range from approximately 2.8 feet horizontally to every one foot vertically downward away from the wall.

Observations reveal the walls are in fair to poor condition, as evidenced by full and partial failures, toppling of capstones, rotation (tilting), and bulging. Causes of instability involve specific details about how the walls were constructed including (1) vertical faces rather than angled (battered) faces, (2) insufficient use of tie stones extending through the wall, and (3) inadequate packing. These can be considered a result of poor craftsmanship.

We suspect some of the rotation and bulging is caused by insufficient wall thickness to resist lateral earth pressures, particularly where the backfill surface slopes upward away

from the wall, and the ground surface in front of the wall slopes away from the toe. Analyses in the 2014 HSR indicate marginal factors of safety for sliding and overturning. While the dimensions of the walls were historically completed on an empirical basis, we consider this type of external instability as being related to engineering causes.

Instability at Fort Negley is also the result

of degradation of the stones over time. Much of the limestone available locally contains thin lenses and bands of shale which weather rapidly when exposed to water intrusion and free-thaw. This type of degradation is prevalent at some wall locations and relatively insignificant at other wall locations. Deterioration of the stones has caused relatively large gaps in both horizontal and vertical joints, spalls,

2014 HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORT

In 2014, a historic structures report was completed to provide a baseline for decision making in terms of the preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and/or reconstruction of Fort Negley. An immediate priority of the report was stabilizing collapsing walls. The following conclusion was reached:

The dry-stacked construction technique of gravity stone retaining walls which sped construction of the fort in 1862 also contributes to their instability. The inherent properties of the locally quarried limestone and underlying native soils, as well as external forces applied to the walls by the weight of earth fill and water saturation of that fill, have

caused a high percentage of retaining wall profiles to exhibit out-of-plane movement including exterior bulges within the vertical planes and rotation, a common sign of wall overturning. Out-of-plane rotations and displacements in concentrated areas, if not temporarily shored, stabilized, or reinforced, most likely presage future partial and complete collapse of these walls.¹

In direct relationship to the current conditions of the WPA-era stonework, the HSR recommends that Metro Parks:

Stabilize the fortification ruins to address immediate life safety hazards, maintain the highest levels of integrity of the existing historic fabric, allow reversibility, minimize

the addition of incompatible materials, and promote conservation of the mechanical behavior of the antiquated structural system. First install temporary bracing to correct life safety deficiencies and limit further deterioration until repairs can be undertaken. Install soil anchors and make related localized repairs as needed. Reconstruct localized areas of collapse only where necessary for interpretive purposes.²

None of the bracing or related repair recommendations from the HSR have been applied to the site. Instead, the rehabilitation or restoration of stonework in high-risk visitor areas, such as the sally port, was reconsidered by Metro Parks in 2016.

FIGURE 108. Fort Negley layout and design with the addition of boardwalks from the 2004 interpretive plan. (2014 Historic Structures Report)

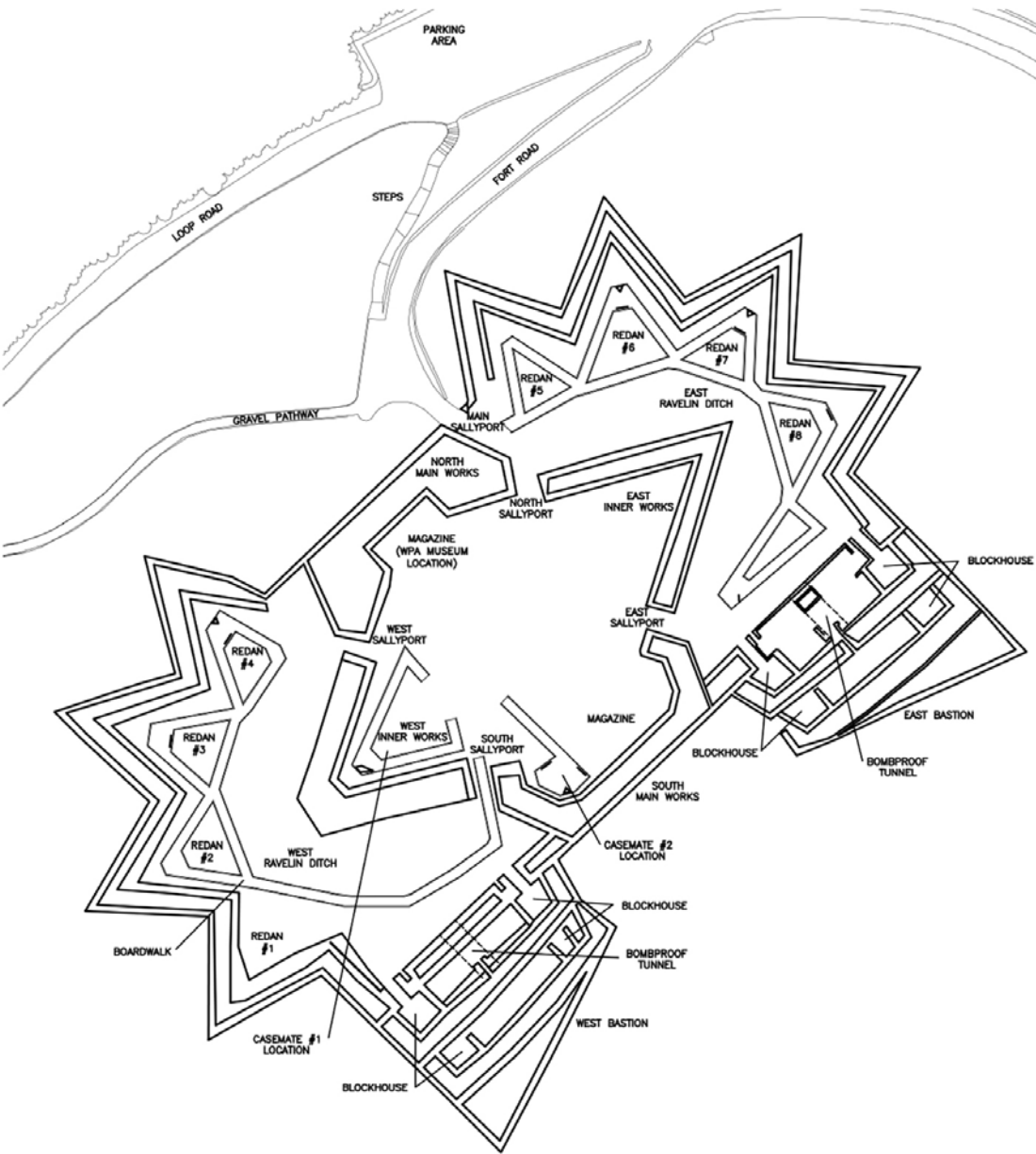




FIGURE 109. **Collapsed stonework at the exterior south bastion.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 110. **The bastion front is consumed with overgrowth.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 111. **Ring road, north parking lot, shows the failing wall due to excessive weight of the cap.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 112. **Deterioration of cap wall.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 113. **Deteriorating wall along Chestnut Street in front of the former stadium site.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)

redistribution of vertical stresses, and cracking in individual stones.

In general, the paved ring road is in excellent condition. Only maintenance vehicles use the road, so the wear and tear are minimized.

The gravel pathway that stretches from the sally port southwest to the ring road is washed out in areas. This makes the pathway unstable and a potential safety threat. Loose gravel accumulates at the base because of runoff.

EFFECTS OF VEGETATION AND WATER ACCUMULATION

Though the limited wall maintenance since the WPA reconstruction (1936) is a primary factor in the collapse and deterioration of the stonework, tree growth in and near the walls is another major contributing element to wall instability. Tree roots can displace stones and lead to water content changes in the soils with corresponding volume fluctuation (i.e., swelling and shrinking of the retained soils).

We considered the possibility of water pressure accumulating behind the walls, thereby increasing the lateral pressure. Based on observations by the assessment team's civil engineer (Lose Design), there do not appear to be areas of excessive flow concentration (drainage generally occurs radially off the hill). Thus, there does not appear to be a correlation between drainage and where failures have occurred.

NEW FAILURES

Walls rebuilt in 1999 consist of dry-stacked limestone facing combined with geogrids embedded in crushed limestone gravel backfill. Some of these walls began failing shortly after construction and have performed poorly in general. In fact, though some areas have continued to deteriorate, the only new failures that have occurred since the 2014 HSR was completed are in one of these re-built walls and part of the east bastion entrance. A failure evaluation completed in 1999 listed the causes of failure as: (1) lack of a strong connection between the dry-stacked limestone facing and geogrids, and (2) inadequate geogrid lengths. This and other types of traditional retaining walls are not being considered as a means for restoration at this time (based on information from a meeting with Metro Parks on July 31, 2018).

It should also be noted that collapsed rock has remained roughly in place throughout the site since the 1930s. There seems to have been no effort to remove or restore collapsed areas outside of the work attempted in 1999.

SURROUNDING BOUNDARY STONEWORK

WPA stonework not only includes the reconstructed fortification, but also stands along Chestnut Street, Fort Negley Blvd., the inner and outer edges of the ring road, and the site entrance, and makes up an extensive

set of retainer walls at and along the lower southeastern boundary above the railroad. There is an additional wall to the rear of the Adventure Science Center. These walls seem to have been constructed in two phases, first in 1936 and then circa 1940, probably when the baseball fields and bleachers were constructed.

At least 30 percent of the mortared stone walls along Chestnut Street, to both the left and right of the entrance, are in various states of deterioration. Most of the decay is due to weathering. The rest has dislodged or is missing entirely. The front gate, though repaired in 2004, suffers from the same issues as the rock walls, with missing and cracked stone and repointing. The exterior ring road wall, though much lower in height, matches the stone along Chestnut Street and Fort Negley Blvd. in terms of deterioration. Concrete capstones are missing in areas, along with dislodged and spalling limestone. The interior ring road curb demonstrates weathering as well. Because the wall is little more than a border, it fails to suffer the fate of the higher dry-stacked or mortared walls.

DRAINAGE INLETS AND CULVERTS

The drainage system built in the 1930s has been intricately detailed in the 2014 HSR.

Immediate Areas of Concern

THE SALLY PORT

Numerous areas of stonework have deteriorated to the point that total or limited reconstruction is necessary. An immediate concern is instability observed at the sally port. The pathway between the sally port and north upper main works through which visitors access the interior areas of the fort is narrow. Loose and unstable limestone block that is part of the entrance makes the only access point to the fort a potential hazard to visitors and park personnel. As one moves into the upper north main works, bulging and tilting have occurred that make those walls unstable as well. A partial or complete collapse of this wall is also a potential hazard to park guests.

FIGURE 114. **Deteriorating wall along Chestnut Street close to back service road.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



NORTH PARKING LOT

Another area of concern is along the ring road at the north parking lot. It appears the parking area was created by extending the original wall and placing additional backfill to create a level surface. Sometime after the wall was completed (early 1940s), an additional wall was constructed as a retaining cap on top of the WPA dry-stacked stone construction. Later, possibly in the 1960s, buttressing was added below the stacked stone as a stabilizing feature. In general, the upper wall has performed poorly and constitutes a potential hazard if this area is going to be used for parking or other purposes in the future. It should also be noted that the growth of trees around the base of the wall has also impacted its condition. In summary, while there is progressive degradation occurring to the stones in some locations, the wall conditions observed during this assessment were similar to the conditions described in the 2014 HSR.

Additional photographs of the site conditions observed during this cultural resource assessment are included on the following pages.



FIGURES 115–116. **The stone staircase that leads from the ring road to the sally port consists of large, flat risers. Most of the limestone is cracked, heavily weathered, or missing.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 117. **The sally port, north elevation.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 118. **Northeast corner of north parking lot retainer wall.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 119. **Redan Number 2 looking east; note slight batter at end of wall.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 120. **Small void at base of exterior wall, Redan Number 2.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 121. **Deterioration of shaly limestone at west exterior wall, Redan Number 3.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 122. **Deterioration of shaly limestone at end of west wall, Redan Number 3.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 123. **Spalls on east exterior side of Redan Number 3 exposing wall packing.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 124. **North main works, wall has moved toward the left; match with Photo 7; also note missing capstones.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 125. **East wall facing sally port of the north main works; this wall has experienced bulging and has been repaired by placing mortar in the horizontal and vertical joints.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 126. **Sally port looking southeast.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 131. **Failure of reconstructed wall, Redan Number 7, exterior, south side; note filter fabric marked with yellow outline.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 132. **Failure of reconstructed east bastion, east wall, right end.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 127. **Sally port looking northeast; note the top left part has shifted and appears to be unstable and the remainder has been repaired by placing mortar in the joints.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 128. **Collapsed wall in sally port east of entryway.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 133. **Failure of east bastion, east wall, center.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 134. **Heavy growth including small trees, east bastion, east wall, left end.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 129. **Partial collapse, east inner works, exterior, north, right end.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 130. **Partial failure, east inner works, exterior, north, left end.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



FIGURE 135. **New failure since 2013 in reconstructed wall section, south main works, left.** (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

The following chapter discusses the historical significance and integrity of Fort Negley Park’s cultural landscape. It should be noted that the boundaries of the park exceed the boundaries of the 1975 National Register of Historic Places nomination, which includes only the area within the ring road. Central to our analysis is the 1975 historic context that defined the site as significant for inclusion on the National Register—Civil War Nashville. In so doing, we will review, examine, and evaluate the nomination and make updates to the current historic context and description of Fort Negley to include other significant themes important to understanding the site’s African American

past and reconstruction by the WPA in 1936. The remaining property within the boundaries of the park will be evaluated based on the updated historic context and description. The primary *historic context* for Fort Negley from the 1975 National Register nomination is: The Occupation of Nashville by the Federal army during the Civil War. The site was deemed significant under **Criterion A**—associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history, and **Criterion C**—the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction. From the 1975 nomination, the original and current site appearance states:

Fort Negley was a defensive fort built by Federal troops after they occupied Nashville in 1862. It was constructed of stone dug from the fort site and nearby hills and reinforced by steel train rails. The fort was built atop St. Cloud’s hill, whose trees were destroyed by the Union soldiers. The hill commands a view of the three major thoroughfares into the city of Nashville from the South. The fort was 600 feet long and 300 feet wide. It was a large, complex work of octagonal shape with a central structure at the top of the hill, surrounded by stone fortifications and gun positions. This was surrounded by outer fortifications and earthworks over the brow of the hill, which did not obstruct the view from the top. The entire fort occupied

four acres of land, having within it two casements protected with railroad iron. Underground tunnels and bunkers gave access to all parts of the fort, as well as providing magazines for storage of ammunition, food and other supplies. 62,500 cubic feet of stone and 18,000 cubic yards of dirt were used in the construction. According to tradition, an underground passage was dug from the top of the hill to a vault in the Nashville City Cemetery, several blocks away, through which the soldiers reportedly went on their trips from the fort to town. After the war, most of the stone from the fort was taken to build the main city water reservoir, constructed on the site of another fortification nearby, Fort Casino. The fort was neglected

and vandalized and fell into complete disrepair. In the 1930’s, Fort Negley was partially restored by the WPA under the supervision of J. C. Tyner, engineer on the job. A road was built circling the hill, and a parking lot constructed. Recreation facilities including a football field and baseball diamonds were added at the foot of the hill. The project was not completed and today the remains of this construction have greatly deteriorated and are overgrown with trees and underbrush. The road, parking lot and much of the outer stone fortifications remain, along with several gun placements and magazines. All are in great need of restoration.

THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

For a property to qualify for the National Register, it must meet one of the Criteria for Evaluation by being associated with an important historic context *and* retaining historic integrity of those features necessary to convey its significance.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

- A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. That are associated with the lives of significant persons in our past; or
- C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. That have yielded or may be likely to yield information important in history or prehistory.¹

Evaluating the National Register

Elements of the original site description are inaccurate due to the lack of available resources and documentation explored by the writer. In 1975, the nomination standards for site descriptions were not as detailed as they are today. There was no underground vault that exited at the City Cemetery, nor was the stone removed to build the city reservoir. The statement also portrays the WPA project as a partial restoration of the original works. The WPA totally reconstructed the site based on their interpretation of Fort Negley, complete with a stockade and parapets. New research and documentation on the construction of Fort Negley discovered since 1975 allows us to update that information to create a new narrative describing the original site and the changes that have taken place since 1862.

The **Statement of Significance** from 1975 also contains inaccuracies and fails to identify those who actually built the fort.

The nomination states that “the stronghold was completed in three months by conscript laborers from the city of Nashville, who were housed nearby and not allowed to go home until the job was completed.” Those laborers were African American refugees, contraband slaves, and free blacks rounded up by the Union army and forced to build the defensive works that ringed the city, including Fort Negley. They lived in squalid refugee camps at or near the site and were not adequately compensated for their labor.

Below are themes based on Fort Negley’s current historical context—the occupation of Nashville by the Union army during the Civil War—that also take into consideration additional research and documentation. New themes are based on the updated research.

UPDATING THE NATIONAL REGISTER

A site is the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity,

or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archaeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure.

—The National Register of Historic Places

As in the past, Fort Negley meets the level of significance as a historic site. However, the period of significance should be expanded to include the reconstruction of the fort by the WPA in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

In so doing, the current National Register nomination needs to be updated to eliminate the historical inaccuracies and to add to the statement of significance the story of African Americans in the Civil War and the building of Fort Negley by conscripted refugees and free blacks, and discussion of the African American communities that developed in the area around St. Cloud Hill following the war. The discussion should also include the

engineering aspects of both the Civil War-era fort and the WPA reconstruction.

As a matter of course, the area encompassed by the National Register nomination should also be expanded to include other areas of the park, excluding the 11 acres currently leased by the Adventure Science Center.

NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERION A

Theme: Civil War Nashville

In late February 1862, Nashville, the Confederate capital of Tennessee, was surrendered without a fight to the Union army under the command of Brig. Gen. Don Carlos Buell. Within months, army engineers began to encircle the city with a series of defensive works and field fortifications to thwart any Confederate attempts to retake the capital. The largest was Fort Negley. Completed in December 1862 and named in honor of Brig. Gen. James S. Negley, Post Commander at Nashville, the works were the largest inland masonry fortification constructed by the Union army during the Civil War. The fort was instrumental in protecting three major access and transportation corridors into the city from the south: the Franklin Turnpike, the Nashville and Decatur Railroad, and the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad.

Union troops were garrisoned on the outer slopes and within the fort during the occupation. Though never directly attacked at any time, the fort influenced the deployment of Confederate troops in the two weeks leading up to the December 1864 Battle of Nashville as the majority of positions held by the Army of Tennessee's right flank and center were outside the three-mile range of Negley's 30-pounder Parrott rifles. (Most positions were screened by hills.) Initially, the entire Confederate line was, according to historian James McDonough, "located too close to the Union fortifications and, in fact, was untenable. Much of the line was then hastily relocated, under terrible weather conditions, a short distance to the rear."²

However, Union army reconnaissance before the battle failed to locate a fortified Confederate position on the extreme right (they thought it was only a skirmish line with rifle pits) that was within the three-mile range at Raines Hill or an earthen lunette with four artillery pieces at the rear, overlooking the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, that had been quickly constructed the previous day. Confederate General John Bell Hood feared the main attack would be on his right and ordered the position reinforced on December 14. The Union army did not determine until late in the afternoon on the 14th that Steedman's Provisional Division was ordered to move in force against the Confederate right at sunrise the next morning. The lack of information, along with fog and low visibility on the first day of the battle and the use of untested infantry (mostly United States Colored Troops), added to massive Union casualties. If the Union army had been certain that this artillery position was in place before the morning of December 15, 1864, the first day of the battle, they might have shelled the hill or the lunette to soften the position before Steedman arrived. In theory, this would have added to Major General George H. Thomas's feint against Hood's right.

By the end of the nineteenth century, most of the works at Fort Negley had disappeared, dismantled by the local population.

Theme: African Americans in the Civil War

To help build Fort Negley and the other military installations, the Union army conscripted more than 2,500 black laborers from the ranks of newly arriving refugees, contraband slaves, and local free blacks, both men and women. Only a portion of the workers received wages. Union slaveholders, however, were paid for their requisitioned slaves. Thousands were pushed into a refugee or contraband camp at or near Fort Negley where they suffered from poor diet, exposure, and disease. The squalid conditions

claimed the lives of more than 600 black laborers. Some bodies may still rest within the park boundaries.

Theme: Post-War African American Community at St. Cloud Hill

In 1867, the fort was abandoned when enlisted men in the Union army, both black and white, were either mustered out, redeployed to other Southern states as part of military districting, or sent west. That same year, the Ku Klux Klan used the site for a brief period to stage rallies to intimidate newly freed slaves. The former refugee camp was located within the vicinity of Fort Negley and near the newly-minted African American community of New Bethel, just across the Franklin Turnpike from the site. Shanties sprang up in an area defined as "Rocktown," located near the Franklin Shops (Union army workshop where they built supply wagons), as early as 1866. It is unknown if this community was a remnant of the Civil War contraband camp or if these shanties were located within the boundaries of the park.³

When the site was purchased by the city in 1928, the African American community within the new park boundaries was removed. No structures remain. An archaeological study involving GPR (ground penetrating radar) in the area of these structures indicates the likelihood that there is a veneer of WPA-era deposition and construction overlying intact Civil War-era features and deposits.

NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERION C

Theme: Military; Engineering

Constructed in late summer and fall of 1862, Fort Negley was the largest inland masonry fortification built by the Federal army during the Civil War. Designed by West Point-trained Capt. James St. Clair Morton, lead civil engineer for the Army of the Ohio, the star-shaped works were inspired by and based on the engineering principles of seventeenth-century French military strategist Sebastien

LePrestre de Vauban. Morton was also a student of American fortification engineer and military theorist Dennis Hart Mahan, while at West Point. Four acres in size and measuring 600 feet long and 300 feet wide, the self-supporting tiered design had a 90-ft.-square central log stockade within the upper main works that contained two casemates. Lower tiered works were supported by four redans on each side for gun emplacements and a bombproof bastion front. Instead of brick, Morton used cut limestone quarried from the site and reinforced the structure with iron train rails, timbers, and earth. In all, 62,500 cubic feet of stone and 18,000 cubic yards of dirt were used in the construction. During the process, St. Cloud Hill was also cleared of trees and other foliage to create an open field of fire against an enemy attack.

Theme: The WPA; Engineering

By the late nineteenth and/or early twentieth century, much of the original military installation disappeared from the St. Cloud Hill landscape. In 1936, Fort Negley was reconstructed by the Works Progress Administration under the direction of Col. Harry S. Berry, the Tennessee administrator for the WPA, and the supervision of J. C. Tyner, project engineer, using the original plans for the fort acquired from the War Department. Twenty-five hundred perch of stone were re-quarried (61,785 cubic feet) along with 18,000 cubic yards of dirt from the site to rebuild a modified version of the original fort on as much of the 1862 foundation as possible, including the internal log stockade. The stacked stone restoration was completed in 1938 at a cost of \$84,000 and having employed 2,500 men. As part of the project, the WPA designed and built stone entrance gates, free-standing stone walls, drainage culverts, a stone stairway, gravel paths, and stone edging at the site. The fort featured an underground "museum" in the upper west main works, as well. The new

design elements took on the rustic characteristic of American public park construction prevalent between 1916 and 1942. Two "vintage" artillery pieces were provided by the War Department for exhibition at Fort Negley.

Along with the stone fort, a ring road, parking lot, and stone entrance gates were completed for the site opening in 1938. In 1940, the National Youth Administration (NYA) of Tennessee built a playground and baseball diamonds. Flood lights were added along with 5,000 wooden bleachers. Lack of maintenance during World War II, however, led to rapid site deterioration and forced the closing of the facility in 1946. Only the ball diamonds and the comfort station remained open.

NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERION D

Theme: Archaeology

An archaeological survey conducted during this report process concluded that the findings concur with the findings of previous investigations at Fort Negley, indicating the likelihood that there is a veneer of WPA-era deposition and construction overlying intact Civil War-era features and deposits. This determination can be applied to the majority of St. Cloud Hill. The contemporary surface across the site is underlain by WPA-era soils, which are then underlain by post-Civil War-era soils, which are in turn underlain by Civil War-era soils. Thus, important data expanding the knowledge of everyday life of the fort's historic occupants or those who either worked on the construction of the fort or were inhabitants of the post-war community, can be gained from the material culture gathered from these archaeological investigations.

Evaluating Fort Negley Park’s Cultural Landscape

A cultural landscape is defined by the National Park Service as “a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values.”⁴ These landscapes can include residential gardens and community parks, scenic highways, rural communities, institutional grounds, cemeteries, battlefields and zoological gardens. They are composed

of a number of character-defining features which, individually or collectively, contribute to the landscape’s physical appearance as they have evolved over time. In addition to vegetation and topography, cultural landscapes may include water features, such as ponds, streams, and fountains; circulation features, such as roads, paths, steps, and walls; buildings; and furnishings, including fences, benches, lights, and sculptural objects.

Fort Negley Park’s Period of Significance

The 1975 National Register nomination dates the period of Fort Negley’s significance to the Civil War era, specifically 1862 when the fort was originally built. However, based on the research and analysis for this

Cultural Landscape Report for Fort Negley Park, the period of significance has been expanded to include the site’s post-war years through the WPA reconstruction—1862 through 1945.

Integrity of the Fort Negley Park Landscape

Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its historic identity or the extent to which a property evokes its appearance during a particular historic period, usually the period of significance. While evaluating integrity is often subjective, particularly for a landscape, it must be grounded in an understanding of a property’s physical features and how they relate to its significance. The National Register program identifies seven aspects of integrity including location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Retention of these qualities is essential for a property to convey its significance, though all seven qualities of integrity need not be present to convey a sense of past time and place. The location, setting, and workmanship at Fort Negley remain apparent. The integrity of the design, the materials, and the feeling associated with the site as a significant historic resource, however, have diminished.

The current landscape at Fort Negley Park has changed significantly since the Federal

Civil War installation recognized on the National Register was first constructed in 1862. The loss of integrity of the site began in the late nineteenth century when the original fortification was dismantled. The location and setting have not changed. However, as St. Cloud Hill was reclaimed in the aftermath of the war, and an African American presence emerged, possibly remnants from the contraband camp, the hill became a refuge for displaced people. Much of that community was further removed when the St. Cloud Hill property was sold to the city in 1928 for use as a park. To say the least, the remaining design elements from the Civil War fortification were lost.

Then, in the mid-1930s, the WPA reconstruction wiped away the remaining Civil War-era structural elements when the hill was scraped clean and construction began on the new works. It is still a matter of debate how much of the original fort foundation remains along with significant deposits of artifacts

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

There are four general types of non-mutually exclusive cultural landscapes:

Historic Designed Landscape—a landscape that was consciously designed or laid out by a landscape architect, master gardener, architect, or horticulturist according to design principles, or an amateur gardener working in a recognized style or tradition. The landscape may be associated with a significant person(s), trend, or event in landscape architecture, or illustrate an important development in the theory and practice of landscape architecture. Aesthetic values play a significant role in designed landscapes. Examples include parks, campuses, and estates.

Historic Vernacular Landscape—a landscape that evolved through use by the people whose activities or occupancy shaped that landscape. Through social or cultural attitudes of an individual, a family or a community, the landscape reflects the

physical, biological, and cultural character of those everyday lives. Function plays a significant role in vernacular landscapes. They can be a single property such as a farm or a collection of properties such as a district of historic farms along a river valley. Examples include rural villages, industrial complexes, and agricultural landscapes.

Historic Site—a landscape significant for its association with a historic event, activity, or person. Examples include battlefields and president’s house properties.

Ethnographic Landscape—a landscape containing a variety of natural and cultural resources that associated people define as heritage resources. Examples are contemporary settlements, religious sacred sites and massive geological structures. Small plant communities, animals, subsistence and ceremonial grounds are often components.

National Park Service

from the historic contextual periods of significance. Until thorough survey and testing studies are completed, that debate will continue.

Maintaining the WPA stonework has been a low priority since the structure was built in the late 1930s. That was compounded with the closing of the site in 1945. Fort Negley was left to slowly deteriorate. Some stonework maintenance took place in 1999, but the proposed method of installation led to failures in several walls. The park was finally reopened in 2004, and, in 2007, a new visitors center was added. Stonework maintenance and repairs were not part of the project scope in 2004 or in 2007. Collapsed walls and blowouts, along with overgrown vegetation, have reduced the site almost to ruin. The integrity of the

WPA workmanship and design, along with the feeling associated with either a military installation or a publicly accessible resource is in question. Maintaining an association with the site’s periods of significance is paramount to Fort Negley Park’s integrity.

Other areas of the park’s cultural landscape have been compromised over the years, as well. Beginning in the early 1970s, the construction, and eventual expansion, of the Cumberland Science Museum (Adventure Science Center) had an adverse impact on the site’s integrity. The African American neighborhood that stood north of the original park boundary had already disappeared by the time the park boundary was expanded, a victim of urban renewal associated with the

construction of the interstate. New exterior features are currently being explored. A boundary survey and an archaeology study are planned as a part of the project. Until that time, and only if the study yields significant deposits, the science center and parking areas are non-contributing elements to Fort Negley Park’s historic contexts or the associated cultural landscape.

In the late 1990s, TVA installed a solar station north of the science center parking lot. There is no record of an archaeological study’s having been conducted when the footers were dug. The station is a non-contributing element to the site’s historic contexts or the associated cultural landscape.

In the southeast corner, the construction of Greer Stadium in 1977 and subsequent expansion of the facilities and parking areas compromised the historical and cultural integrity of both Civil War and WPA construction, not to mention damaging potential Civil War or WPA-era archaeological deposits. A 2017 archaeological study indicates Civil War, post-war, and WPA-era deposits exist, along with the possibility of human remains.

The stadium is currently scheduled for deconstruction. An archaeological survey of the site will be conducted as part of the deconstruction process. WPA bleachers that were once part of the original 1940s ballfields may be present. An early assessment indicates there may be some remains. Like the science center, however, the Greer Stadium complex and parking areas are non-contributing elements to the site’s historic contexts or the associated cultural landscape until an/or unless study yields significant deposits.

FORT NEGLEY TREATMENT GUIDELINES

As defined by the National Park Service, the purpose of a landscape treatment plan is to create guide-lines for preserving and enhancing historic landscape characteristics and features within the context of contemporary park uses. This chapter provides guidelines for the treatment of the historic Fort Negley Park landscape. They reflect recommendations based on the current conditions as well as information from previous plans and studies that have taken place since the early 1990s. There are four primary objectives addressed in the treatment section of this report:

- The rehabilitation of essential elements of the WPA works that communicate the site’s historical significance to the public.
- A plan to address the site as a “theatre of decay.”

- A plan to re-establish a natural and native landscape that enriches the site’s visitor experience.
 - A maintenance plan for the long-term sustainability of the site.
- These recommendations are intended to restore the historic character of the park’s landscape, provide direction to the treatment of the WPA stonework, and address archaeological concerns. Overall, the park landscape should be managed to retain defining features from the period of significance (1862–1945). Allowing natural succession and weathering of the stonework, roads, and other features can impart a sense of the passage of time. However, both forces have led to substantial loss of the landscape’s historic character. To allow unmitigated natural succession and lack of general maintenance to

continue throughout the fortification area will lead to further loss of landscape elements that, over time, adversely impacts the site.

TREATMENT PHILOSOPHY OF FORT NEGLEY PARK

The treatment philosophy articulates the essential qualities of the landscape that convey its significance and help to guide decisions and provide context for the treatment tasks in this report.

- The essential spatial organization and landscape features that contribute to the significance of the landscape will be perpetuated, including the WPA stonework, appropriate vegetation, and other small-scale features.
- The story of the evolution of the landscape—from the Civil War through the WPA reconstruction—will be presented

- through interpretive media and other illustrative methods.
- Visitors will be made aware of the larger Civil War era landscape that is just outside the current park boundaries, such as the City Cemetery, Rose Park (Fort Morton), and Reservoir Park (Blockhouse Casino), and the contiguous African American communities that developed after the war.
- Visitors will be aware of the history of conservation/historic preservation by the local community, the Metro Historical Commission, and Metro Parks.
- Rehabilitation of the landscape will allow visitors of all ages to experience the property, to mitigate the impact of surrounding development and noises, and to enhance opportunities for visitors to engage with the site’s history.

- The landscape will continue to be maintained in order to preserve and present the craftsmanship that characterized the Civil War through the WPA period of significance.
- Enhancement of the landscape will strengthen cooperation with individuals, associations, and communities, while advancing the preservation, education, and interpretive goals of the park.
- Park furnishings, signs, and other features necessary for public use and comfort will be inconspicuous and compatible with the historic setting and allow for tranquility, solitude, and contemplation,
- Metro Parks will work with the community and support groups, such as the Friends of Fort Negley, to protect the historic setting around the site.

Strategies for Rehabilitation

There are several factors involved when addressing the long-term preservation and rehabilitation of Fort Negley. First and foremost, neither the Civil War fort nor the WPA reconstruction were built as permanent installations. The Union army’s intent in Nashville was to put down the rebellion, reinvent the notion of unionism, convalesce wounded and sick soldiers, and eliminate the city’s capacity or ability to supply materials to the larger Southern war effort. All of the military structures built to advance those objectives, like Negley, were summarily abandoned once the conflict ended. The WPA was established in 1935 to create jobs and develop public infrastructure. State and local parks were a primary beneficiary of the program. Yet, within the pantheon of historic military site restoration by the agency, Negley was an outlier. The dry stacked stone construction and supporting wooden stockade was not only picturesque and unique,

but also fragile. Invariably, the fort’s weakness lay in a combination of its design and construction materials. Without adequate maintenance, long-term sustainability was questionable.

Other WPA projects, like Fort Negley, based their historic site rehabilitation on period construction materials and techniques. Fort Holmes, located on Mackinac Island in Michigan, was originally built by the British during the War of 1812 before being seized by the Americans after the conflict concluded. By the mid-nineteenth century, the long-abandoned fort was in ruins, and the site was used for a series of observation towers. The site became part of Michigan’s first state park in 1895. In 1907, a partial reconstruction of the fort was completed. The fort burned in 1933. When rebuilding it in 1936, the WPA used an 1817 American engineer’s detailed drawing and elevation of the redoubt as the primary blueprint for reconstruction. According to the



FIGURE 136. Fort Holmes in Michigan is also a unique (log) site. The WPA reconstructed the fort in the 1930s, and it has since been reconstructed in the last several years due to deterioration. (Tanya Moutzalias)

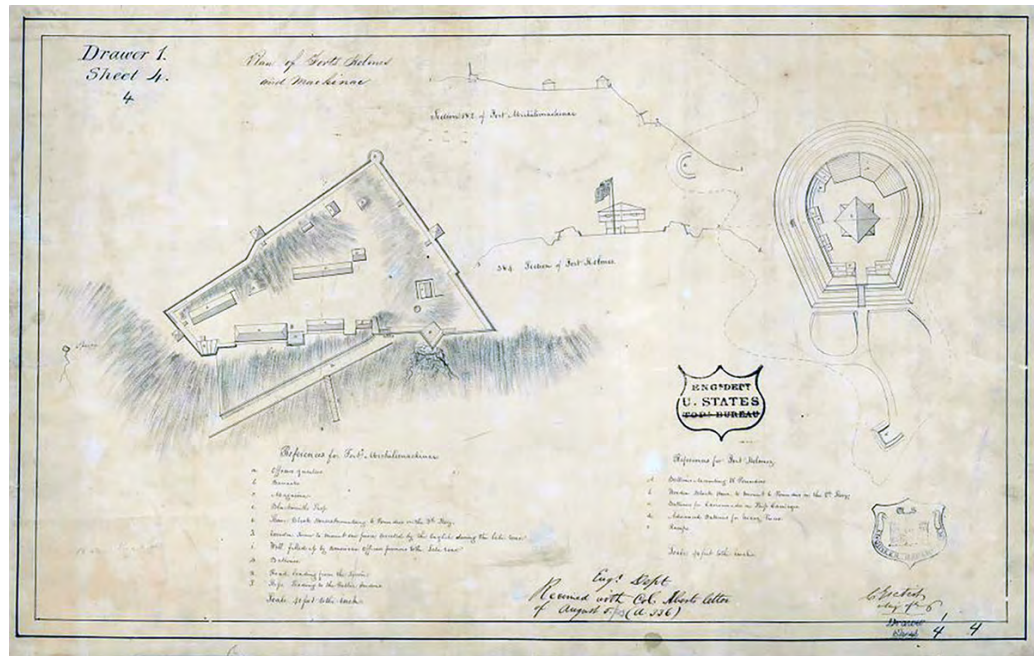


FIGURE 137. **Original Plan for Fort Holmes** (Library of Congress)

New York Times, “some of the original foundation logs of the old fort were discovered in the ground, and they are being used as location guides.”¹ Much like Negley’s redans, the earthen redoubts at Fort Holmes were fabricated entirely by the WPA. In the 1960s, the deteriorated fort was demolished, leaving the earthworks. The Mackinac Island State Park Commission, which owns 85 percent of the island, received \$250,000 from the state legislature and \$250,000 from the local community in 2014 for reconstruction and interpretation. The project was completed the following summer.

Fort Holmes commands the highest elevation on the island with majestic views of Lake Huron and beyond. The site is a contributing resource to Mackinac Island’s status as a National Historic Landmark. The state and the local community recognized Fort Holmes’s historic significance and potential tourism opportunities as catalysts for reconstruction. The log blockhouse and earthen redoubts planked with a wooden palisade wall made the work less expensive than Fort Negley’s stone to rebuild and maintain. The Mackinac Island State Park Commission receives annual funding

for ongoing maintenance of the facility, though overall the commission’s work is repeatedly compromised by state budget cuts.²

Fort Belle Fontaine, established in 1805 twenty miles north of St. Louis, was the first United States military installation west of the Mississippi River. The Lewis and Clark expedition (1804-1806) spent their first night on an island in the Missouri River opposite the site and their last night, two years later, at the fort, which was constructed in their absence. Lost to the Missouri River for almost a century, the WPA built a grand mortared limestone staircase, mortared stone changing rooms, mortared stone retaining walls, and stone patios at the site in 1936. Other structures include “Comfort Stations” and picnic facilities along the riverbank. These improvements helped make the area a popular summer retreat during the late 1930s. In the late 1980’s, land developers became interested in the river overlook. To prevent the site from becoming a subdivision, the Fort Belle Fontaine Historical Society convinced St. Louis County to purchase the land as a park. In 1986, the County acquired most of the property. Picnic facilities and



FIGURE 138. **2015 Reconstruction** (Tanya Moutzalias)



FIGURE 139. **2015 Reconstruction called for cutting into the redoubts originally built by the WPA** (Tanya Moutzalias)

a hiking trail with interpretive markers that designate points of interest about the important role the Fort played in American history were added. In 2011, the Grand Staircase was shored up using approximately 736 tons of

rock at a cost of \$12,414.00. The wood components, however, continue to deteriorate. Fort Belle Fontaine is listed on the National Register as an archeological site.

RUINS STABILIZATION

In 1974, the National Park Service issued a guide, *Vanishing Treasures: Ruins Preservation in the American Southwest*, on the methods, materials and techniques employed in the stabilization and maintenance of prehistoric and historic structures in a ruinous condition. The publication was directed mainly at historic Native American resources in Arizona and New Mexico, such as adobe structures and archaeological remains. The authors state that ruins preservation starts with “the stabilization of a structure in its existing form by preventing further change or deterioration.” In 1997, an updated version was produced for construction and maintenance personnel of local, State and Federal agencies that were stewards of landscapes where historic structures were worthy of preservation in an “as is” condition. In so doing, the definition of preservation was expanded to include actions that “minimize the loss of important scientific information, preserve examples of past technologies and architecture for future generations, and enhance the interpretation and appreciation of American cultures.”³ Informed by sites such as Fort Union in New Mexico, the new guidelines concentrate more on the protection of ruins instead of invasive structural interventions. No perfect models exist for the rehabilitation of Fort Negley. However, the stabilization of adobe ruins in the American Southwest, like abode brick buildings at Fort Union or Native American adobe or sandstone dwellings or kivas, offer a modicum of insight into dealing with structures using inadequate materials and construction techniques that foster deterioration, such as middle Tennessee limestone and un-battered walls, and where the overall policy is defined as a controlled collapse leading to the interpretation of the site as a ruin.

At Fort Negley, the engineering techniques employed (lack of adequate batter with no mortared joints/structurally unsound building practices) and the materials used (local limestone, untreated wooden stockade and bombproofs all prone to rapid but relative



FIGURE 140. **The WPA mortared ruins of Fort Belle Fontaine outside St. Louis, Missouri.** (Encore Interpretive Design)

deterioration) created major maintenance issues from the start. The long-term pressures of natural and man-made forces that came to bear on these structural and interpretive elements, when they were left untended for decades, has produced numerous failures. But again, the WPA reconstruction was built as an interpretive feature and

not as a permanent landscape element.

Conventional preservation strategies are limited at Fort Negley because of the historic, physical, and fiscal restraints associated with a complete restoration of the site. Fully rebuilding the WPA stonework is cost prohibitive, because the site was never constructed to withstand long-term threats. Thus, the

overall intent associated with rehabilitation and reconstruction should recognize these inherent limitations. Key elements of the site should be reconstructed to communicate the fort's historic form, footprint, and character, and to remediate unstable areas that are a threat to visitor safety. Stonework that is not a candidate for near-term rehabilitation should

be encapsulated, or mothballed, using earthen mounding techniques. Finally, areas of the site should be allowed to deteriorate intentionally in a visually acceptable way that does not threaten public safety. It's important to share these strategies with visitors as central to the site's interpretation.

Theatre of Decay

After decades of neglect and because of inherent structural flaws of the WPA stonework, Fort Negley, almost out of necessity, is interpreted as a ruin. Since the mid-1990s, Metro Parks has treated the remains as a testament to the passage of time and has chosen not to re-create, restore, or rehabilitate the facility as an *imagined past*. In some ways, this approach is in opposition to the WPA's 1930s interpretation of the original fort. Visitors to the site, however, are uninformed about this decision.

To counter, Metro Parks should embrace the concept of controlled collapse as an aesthetic priority interpreting Fort Negley as a "theatre of decay." In so doing, substantial interpretive resources should be employed to inform the public. It is paramount that the visitor's perception of the deterioration is managed as part of an authentic experience. Audiences should be reassured that any rehabilitation effort is not seen as being staged.

The visual impact of the deterioration of a built environment can carry multiple meanings. For example, the remains of towns, villages, and military installations along Europe's Western Front destroyed by the Great War continue to bear witness to the carnage that resulted from four years of conflict. These places offer both an educational and a commemorative experience.⁵

Fort Negley gives visitors an opportunity to walk among the ruins of both the American Civil War and the New Deal, whose WPA projects and programs impacted our national infrastructure during the Great Depression. The site is not an *imagined past* anymore, but instead a *usable past*, representative of the nation's collective memory of two significant eras of American history. Within this context, the pattern of stonework rehabilitation as prescribed in this CLR is a historic and an interpretive vehicle for public consumption.⁶

THE SECRETARY’S STANDARDS FOR THE TREATMENT OF HISTORIC PROPERTIES

The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties and the Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes provide guidance to cultural landscape owners, stewards and managers, landscape architects, preservation planners, architects, contractors, and project reviewers before and during the planning and implementation of project work. Those standards recognize four specific treatment types:

- **Preservation** emphasizes the ongoing maintenance and repair of materials and features to sustain the existing form, integrity, and material of a historic property, including stabilization.
- **Rehabilitation** makes possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions, while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural, or architectural values.
- **Restoration** is the act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by removing features from other periods in its history and reconstructing missing features from the restoration period.
- **Reconstruction** is the act or process of depicting, by means of new construction, the form, features, and detailing of a non-surviving site, landscape, building, structure, or object for the purpose of replicating its appearance at a specific period of time and in its historic location.

The 2014 HSR determined that **Rehabilitation** was the most adequate

treatment for Fort Negley. This treatment focuses on managing the landscape for its historic character by preserving significant landscape characteristics and features, replacing in-kind key features, and allowing for changes in parking and circulation to accommodate park visitors. Contemporary changes will be in keeping with the historic character of the landscape and represent a minor component in the overall treatment.

The Secretary’s Standards for the Rehabilitation of a Cultural Landscape include:

1. A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use that requires minimal change to its distinctive materials, features, spaces, and spatial relationships.
2. The historic character of a property will be retained and preserved. The removal of distinctive materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize a property will be avoided.
3. Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or elements from other historic properties, will not be undertaken.
4. Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right will be retained and preserved.
5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property will be preserved.

6. Deteriorated historic features will be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature will match the old in design, color, texture, and, where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features will be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence.
7. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.
8. Archeological resources will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.
9. New additions, exterior alterations, or related new construction will not destroy historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property. The new work will be differentiated from the old and will be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of the property and its environment.
10. New additions and adjacent or related new construction will be undertaken in such a manner that, if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired.⁷

Guidelines for the Fortification Area

GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE WPA WORKS

As discussed in the Current Conditions, there are two specific types of stonework in Fort Negley Park: dry-stacked stone construction of the fortification, and stone masonry used on the boundary walls and gate. The ring road’s north parking lot has a combination of dry-stacked (lower wall) and stone masonry (upper wall). It should be noted that this has played a role in the walls’ collapse. Both of these wall types are inherently unsound because of the lack of sufficient batter. They also suffer from lack of maintenance along with limestone deterioration through weathering of the rock and concrete mortar.

Recommendations for Fort Negley will focus on a multi-step process to address long-term sustainability and rehabilitation issues at the site. Immediate areas of concentration for stonework repair, rehabilitation, or replacement include:

1. Moving all fallen or loose stonework not structural in nature to an area behind the Visitors Center for evaluation. No documentation of the stone is necessary.
2. Removal of all invasive vegetation in and around the stonework.
3. A total reconstruction of the north ring road parking lot.
4. A total reconstruction of the sally port. Area would include northwest section of upper north main works.
5. Filling in entire WPA magazine museum with dirt that has been sifted in order to reduce the possibility of introducing foreign objects or materials to the site.
6. Filling in south and north bastion with dirt up to terrace level to restrict access and mothball for potential future restoration.

All of these projects will need an archaeologist on site to determine if the removal or reconstruction will have an adverse impact on potential archaeological deposits.

STONEWORK REHABILITATION AND WALL STABILIZATION STRATEGIES

The WPA wall structures are in various states of stability ranging from generally stable to areas with small localized failures and larger areas with more catastrophic failures and collapse due to inherent properties of the wall from the original temporary nature of the stone wall construction. There are multiple approaches to stabilization of the walls. Each approach has valid justifications based on expectations for the end results and expected longevity of the repairs. Stabilization strategies should be coordinated with the general condition of each wall area. Based on those general conditions, wall areas could be characterized into four basic categories of repair:

- **No repairs needed**
- **As-built restacking:** Refers to light restacking of top courses of stone on fallen or disturbed sections of wall to produce like-original conditions to the greatest extent possible. To be implemented where light restacking of top courses of stone will result in stabilization of the wall area. The process should use the original basis of design and fabric to the greatest extent possible and should result in the least disturbance to the original fabric of the wall structures and adjacent soil.
- **Small area as-built dismantle and reconstruction:** Refers to dismantling of small areas of unstable or fallen wall sections and rebuilding sections of wall to match existing conditions. The intent is to match existing construction as best as possible in repair of unstable wall or fallen sections. To be implemented where stabilization and reconstruction of an area requires small portions of wall to be dismantled to tie into adjacent stable wall structure. The process should use the original basis of design and fabric to the greatest extent possible and should result in the least disturbance possible to the original wall structure and adjacent soil.

The process may result in wall sections with a higher probability of repeated failure and need for follow-up repairs in the future.

- **Large area as-built dismantle and reconstruction:** Refers to the same dismantling for reconstruction of unstable or fallen wall sections to match existing conditions but to large or tall areas of wall. The intent is to match existing construction in repair of unstable wall or fallen sections. To be implemented where stabilization and reconstruction of an area requires large or tall portions of wall to be dismantled to stabilize and reconstruct the wall; work should expect to significantly disturb and impact adjacent wall structure, soil, and backfill conditions. The process should use the original basis of design and fabric to the greatest extent possible and should be expected to result in significant disturbance to the original fabric of the wall, adjacent

backfill, and soil. The process may result in wall sections with higher probabilities of repeated failure and needs for follow-up repairs in the future.

Stone units used to construct the walls are in various conditions ranging from solid stone units with little to no faults or signs of deterioration, fissures, or fractures indicating failures of the stone, to stones with varying degrees of fissures, fractures, spalls, and other conditions indicating failures of those stone units. Stone units identified to be in a failing state are not recommended to be re-used in any reconstruction or repair efforts. Instead, we recommend replacing those stones with new stone matching as closely as possible in type, size, shape, color, and finish.

- **Large area reconstruction with new wall and drainage:** To be implemented where stabilization and reconstruction of an area requires large portions of wall to be

dismantled to stabilize the wall and where long term stabilization requires reconstruction to use modern engineering for the wall structure and drainage. The work should be expected to significantly disturb the original fabric of the wall, adjacent backfill, and soil. The process should result in a wall section with the lowest probability of repeated failure and the highest likelihood that the wall will perform without failure for decades to come. The process should use modern engineering as the basis of design and a combination of original and modern fabric as appropriate to best reconstruct and represent the new section of wall. The finished wall will have a stacked stone veneer.

All rehabilitation strategies take into consideration a phased approach due to funding and the changing needs associated with continued deterioration.

Budgeting Costs for Stabilization Strategies

Any strategy to maintain Fort Negley for the long term will be expensive due to the complex nature of the site. Each strategy should include a yearly maintenance allocation that is part of the budget for either Metro Parks or the Metro Historical Commission. Costs for rehabilitation strategies can be summarized by the following:

As-built restacking—Low budget costs relative to other strategies; total volume of wall area should be identified to determine a one-time cost to restack top courses of stone on all areas needed; **budget should include ongoing yearly maintenance** costs to keep top courses of stone in proper order.

Small area as-built dismantle and reconstruction—Budget should identify quantity of all areas subject to small area reconstruction; total volume of wall area should be identified to determine a one-time cost to reconstruct all small areas; **budget should include an amount for ongoing yearly maintenance** to

maintain wall areas with repeated failures.

Large area as-built dismantle and reconstruction—Budget costs should identify quantity of all areas subject to large area reconstruction; total volume of wall area and soil/backfill to be disturbed should be identified to determine a one-time cost to reconstruct all large wall areas; **budget should include an amount for ongoing yearly maintenance** to maintain wall areas with repeated failures.

Large area reconstruction with new concrete retaining wall and drainage—Budget costs should identify quantity of all areas subject to large area reconstruction with new concrete retaining wall and drainage; total volume of wall area and soil/backfill to be disturbed should be identified to determine a one-time cost to reconstruct all large or tall wall areas with new concrete retaining walls and a combination of new and original fabric

Stone wall repairs are prioritized using the following factors:

1. Walls that are structurally unsound and a threat to visitor safety are the highest priority for repair.
2. Walls that have structural defects that may threaten the integrity of the wall over time are a high priority.
3. Walls that are prominent in historic photographs or important to defining visitor pathways, such as the approach to the fort from the ring road, are a high priority.
4. Walls that have good photo documentation are a higher priority than those without adequate photo documentation.
5. Any new deterioration to stone walls through vandalism or animal or plant dislodging, etc., should be repaired as soon as possible.

PRIORITY AREAS OF FULL REHABILITATION

Rebuilding collapsed walls and reconstructing standing walls deemed to be an immediate safety issue because they are structurally unsound is paramount. They include the

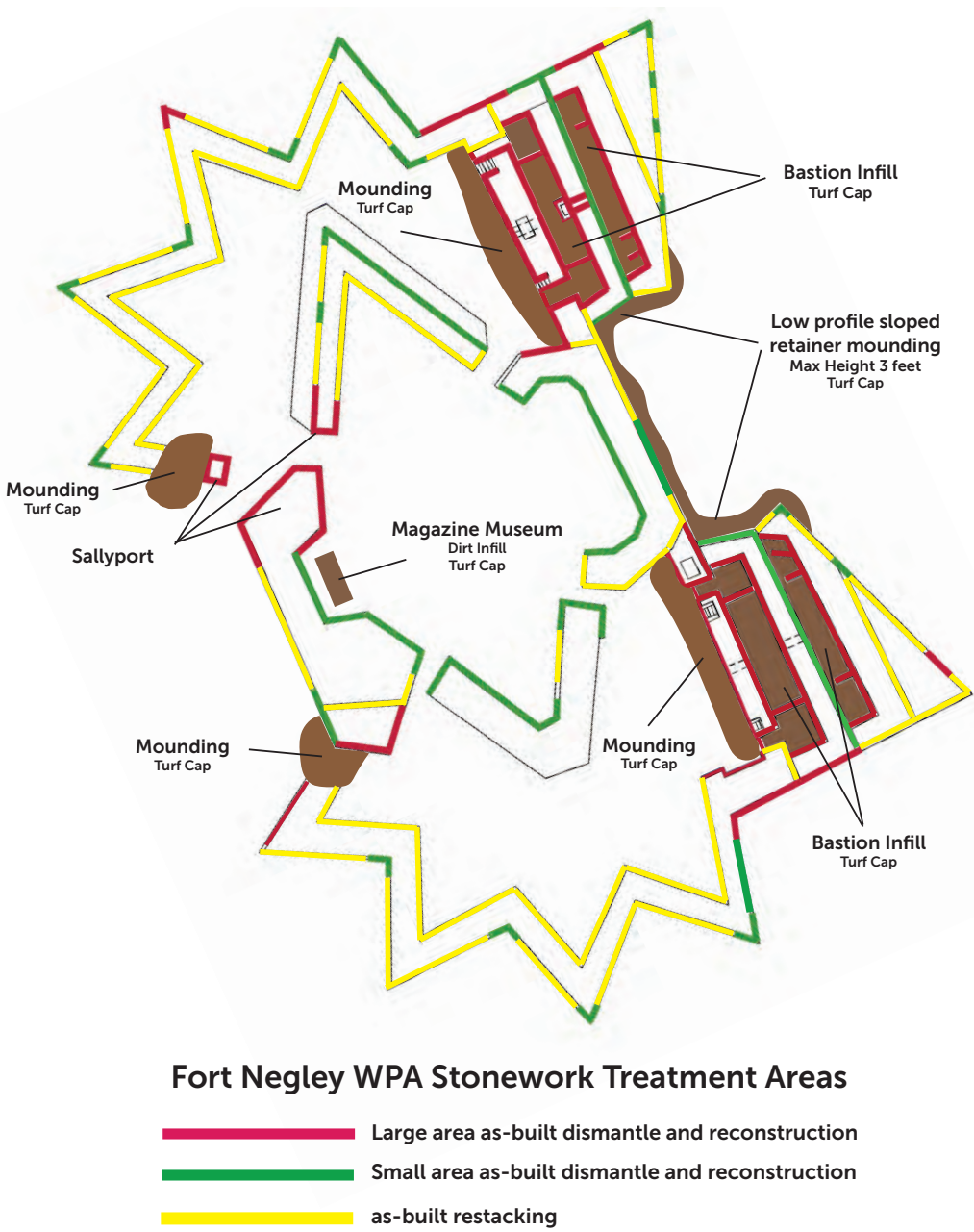


FIGURE 141. Fort Negley WPA Stonework Treatment Areas (Encore Interpretive Design)

north parking lot, the sally port, and the bastion front.

1. The north parking lot along the ring road requires complete reconstruction with a 6' retaining wall behind a façade of stacked limestone to give the area its original appearance, increase longevity, and reduce the need for detailed maintenance in the near future. The lot should also be restored to its original WPA height, 1' above grade,

- with a hand rail installed for safety and interpretive purposes.
2. The sally port is a structural hazard due to deterioration of the limestone. This is the only entrance or exhibit from the interior works. The limestone column is unstable. The retaining wall is missing chinking and rock is severely cracked. The feature needs a full restoration.

SALLY PORT REHABILITATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

Of primary concern is the sally port, the only entrance and exit from the works. The CLR calls for a complete rehabilitation of the south entrance wall with a concrete retaining wall, the north pillar, and parts of the inner main works north terrace (see Figure 141).

Sample scope of work for removal of the south entrance wall and construction of a cantilever concrete retaining wall with stacked limestone façade is as follows:

1. Remove all stone along the south entrance wall as designated, including eighty-one (81) primary stones identified herein along fifteen feet of wall in either direction from the outside corner in preparation for reconstruction of the wall with new concrete retaining wall serving as primary structural component to the wall.
 - a. Stones will be dismantled carefully to preserve the integrity and fabric of each stone to the greatest extent reasonably possible.
 - b. Stones not suitable for re-use will be set aside and/or disposed of or otherwise used/stored.
 - c. Stones 15’ from the outside corner have been inspected and indexed for suitability for re-use. See Stone Index herein. The percentage of stone salvage for remaining wall is expected to be consistent with areas represented in Stone Index.
 - d. Stones with drill marks determined not suitable for re-use will be carefully removed from the wall and set aside for interpretive purposes.
2. Excavate behind stone retaining wall approximately four to five feet (4’-5’) to allow for placement of concrete formwork necessary to construct a new retaining wall.
 - a. Excavation will be carefully conducted with use of heavy equipment and hand digging under the supervision of an approved archeologist.

- b. Provide shoring for excavation per OSHA regulations.
 - c. Store spoils at location on Fort Negley site.
3. Excavate for footer at base of the wall.
 - a. Excavation will be carefully conducted with use of heavy equipment and hand digging under the supervision of an approved archeologist.
 - b. Provide shoring for excavation per OSHA regulations.
 - c. Excavate to maximum depth of 5’ or until encountering bedrock.
 - d. Store spoils at locations on Fort Negley site, possibly behind the Visitors Center.
4. Form footer. Place compacted stone fill in footer. Footer is anticipated to be stepped, following the slope of the hill. Install gabion wall behind retaining wall.
5. Install drainage pipe with filter sock per plans.
6. Reinstall new and salvaged stone in size of stone and coursing to match existing conditions to greatest extent possible. Stones not suitable for re-use will be replaced with new Tennessee Gray Limestone matching in size and shape to greatest extent possible.
 - a. Reconstructed stones will be secured to retaining wall with stainless steel anchors.
 - b. Stones will be laid in mortar bed to achieve an appearance of a dry-stacked masonry wall consistent with adjacent wall areas.
7. Backfill retaining wall with gravel & top soil per plans.
8. Backfill retaining wall with gravel & top soil per plans.

Photographs and sample construction documents can be found in the Appendix.

- Little to no excavation is required for the wall foundation thereby reducing the potential for disturbing cultural artifacts.
- Rebuilt walls can be tied into existing walls.
- Rebuilt walls can be made to look similar to the existing construction and fit within the cultural context of Fort Negley.
- Additional limestone needed for wall construction is locally available.
- No heavy construction equipment will be needed in the interior part of the fort.

WALL MAINTENANCE

Existing and newly constructed dry-stack walls are *not* maintenance free. As a priority, it should also be noted that:

- Trees must be prevented from growing in or near the walls as part of an overall program to eradicate invasive plants and manage vegetation.
- Coating the limestone with a solution to slow deterioration should be studied.
- Existing stones exhibiting shale degradation will continue to deteriorate.
- Existing and rebuilt walls can have spalls of chink rock, dislodging of cap stones, and other localized forms of instability.
- Metro Parks should establish an ongoing maintenance contract with an experienced masonry contractor to perform regular maintenance and rebuild walls that fail or become a life safety hazard. Depending on funding and the time between maintenance efforts, it may also be advisable to perform a photographic condition survey every year or two to document changes in wall conditions and to help establish priorities for ongoing maintenance. The Dry Stone Conservancy can help in seeking a qualified and experienced stonemason.

We note the cross-section has the walls being constructed on a slight batter. Batter improves wall stability and reduces the amount of stone needed in the construction. It also helps with normal rotation that occurs as earth pressure pushes against the

back of the walls. For a 10-foot-tall wall, the amount of normal rotation for a new wall will be about 1 ¼ to 2 ½ inches. The historic structures report indicates there is a slight batter on some walls but does not cite the exact amount except to say that it is plumb or slightly out of vertical. If the recommended batter of 1:5 (1 foot horizontal for every 5 feet vertically) deviates too much from historic construction, we recommend constructing at least a slight batter so that the wall can experience normal tilting without compromising overall wall stability. A slight batter will also keep the wall from appearing as if it is getting ready to tip over. We suspect much of the existing wall tilting occurred shortly after construction and does not necessarily indicate that these walls are on the verge of an overturning failure.

Dry-stack walls involve both engineering (external stability) and craft (internal wall stability). It will be important to employ appropriate trade professionals in wall repair to address the craft elements of the construction. We recommend having the contractor submit design plans before construction of replacement walls so that engineering aspects such as wall sliding, overturning, and bearing capacity can be evaluated and plans for drainage can be reviewed.

MANAGING WALL DETERIORATION

Today, Fort Negley is interpreted primarily as a ruin. Because of cultural factors (a Union fort in a Confederate capital), lack of consensus on a plan to address the fragile condition of the WPA stonework, overwhelming costs associated with sufficient archaeological surveys and restoration and/or rehabilitation, and the lack of political will of previous city and parks administrations to address the aforementioned concerns, the site has been allowed to deteriorate.

However, recognizing Fort Negley as a ruin is not as uncommon as it may seem. In the 1990s, Fortress Rosecrans, located in nearby Murfreesboro, Tennessee, was rehabilitated and interpreted as an addition to Stones

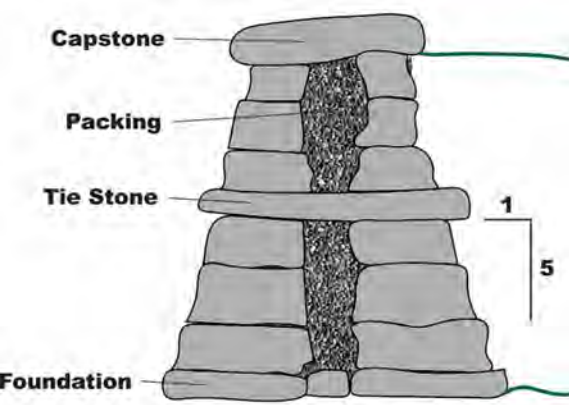
3. Collapsed walls not considered to be an immediate life safety hazard or necessary as an interpretive feature can be rebuilt using a phased approach, depending on funding.
4. Some walls will be allowed to deteriorate in a controlled collapse then will be crowned in an earthen mounding configuration to reduce public access (green areas on Figure 141).

The mounding will also encapsulate, or mothball, the stoneworks until there is funding available for rehabilitation. Sloped retainer mounding reinforces weakened areas that are awaiting rehabilitation, such as the bastion front. All areas for which mounding is prescribed should have a turf cap to help resist erosion. That cap should also allow for the tops of the stonework to be visible.

To maintain the cultural integrity of the site and the National Register nomination, restoration should consist of reconstructing the dry-stacked stone walls. There are several advantages to rebuilding the failed or unsafe walls with dry-stacked limestone:

- Relatively un-weathered stone from failed and unsafe sections can be reused in the new wall construction.

FIGURE 142. A cross-section showing a typical dry-stacked stone wall. (Encore Interpretive Design)



River National Battlefield. The site shares many historic similarities with Fort Negley. Shortly after the conclusion of the Battle of Stones River in January 1863, the Army of the Cumberland, using a combination of soldiers and contraband labor, began building this massive field fortification they named after their commander, General William S. Rosecrans, to protect vital segments of the Nashville and Chattanooga railroad and serve as a supply depot for the upcoming Tullahoma Campaign. Designed by then Brig. Gen. James St. Clair Morton, the engineer of record for Fort Negley, Fortress Rosecrans was the largest earthen fortification built during the war and covered 225 acres. The installation took six months to complete and included eight lunettes, four redoubts, a steam saw

FIGURE 143. Earthen walls at Fortress Rosecrans (Encore Interpretive Design)



mill, a magazine, and several warehouses. The final configuration was bounded by 14,000 feet of wall with the Stones River, the Nashville Turnpike, and the railroad running through its center. It was abandoned after the war. By the 1980s, most of the fort was lost due to neighborhood and industrial development along the Nashville Turnpike. Today, only 1,400 feet of the original wall remains.

The National Park Service rehabilitated sections of the fortress as an interpretive element of the war in Middle Tennessee. Pathways and wooden boardwalks were added, vegetation removed, and native grasses stored to serve as erosion control for the earthen walls. In recent years, maintenance issues due to lack of funding have adversely impacted the site, and vegetation has overrun the redoubts and other wall structures. Wooden boardwalks meant to keep visitors away from the earthen walls and act as an interpretive guide have also deteriorated.

Thus, controlled deterioration that both protects the integrity of the WPA stonework and offers visitors an opportunity to safely experience and explore the resource is the challenge at Fort Negley. It should be noted that interpreting the site as a ruin **does not** mean reduced maintenance. In fact, a more thorough and restrictive regimen that pays close attention to the details of rehabilitation associated with the existing WPA stonework and the site vegetation strategies discussed in more detail in the following section should be employed.

Previously in this section, areas of concern were identified along with several types of wall stabilization and rehabilitation treatments. These treatments are presented as long-term solutions, not short-term fixes. Preliminary recommendations for walls which have experienced failure and will not be fully rehabilitated include:

- Recovering stones from collapsed walls and removing them to an area behind the Visitors Center for future maintenance and reconstruction efforts.
- The salvaged stone should be placed on pallets and covered with tarps to reduce the

potential for degradation because of moisture intrusion.

- Gaps in walls should be filled with soil mounded to protect the exposed ends of the wall along with appropriate stabilizing vegetation to control surface drainage while fitting within the Secretary of the Interior's requirements and guidelines for maintaining the fort's NR nomination.
- Any and all excavation to remove stones should be preceded by an archaeological assessment of the removal area.
- An archaeologist should be contacted if stone removal exposed archaeological resources.

NORTH RING ROAD PARKING LOT

The north ring road parking lot is unsafe and detracts from the site's visitor experience. Full rehabilitation will require that the wall be treated in much the same way as the sally port.

- Construction of a retaining wall behind the stacked stone as a long-term sustainability feature.
- Construction of a stacked limestone façade in front of the retaining wall to address the Secretary's appearance standards for rehabilitation.
- Replacement of the current parapet wall with a bollard system as originally built by the WPA, but that meets ADA requirements.
- Creation of a series of interpretive wayside exhibits that enhance the visitor experience.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

The RFQ for the CLR divided the property into five subareas. The objective was to address the potential in each of these subareas for significant archaeological resources. A representative sampling of the area was conducted in order to evaluate the overall richness of the park, the fortification, and potential encampment sites. The results of that geophysical study are described in the Current Conditions section of this report.

In general, the CLR sampling study concluded that extensive intact archaeological deposits are likely across the various subareas.

A history of rebuilding and land alterations have affected these deposits but have not obliterated them in any of the areas surveyed. Features relating to the Civil War and the post-war community are likely to be found across the park. Probable military constructions and domestic structures were detected during this survey, attesting to the likelihood of extensive intact archaeological deposits at the site.

Excavation is necessary to determine the nature of the deposits identified and the temporal placement of the deposits. Specifically, testing of Subarea 3 will provide important data that will aid in determining if there are archaeological features associated with the African-American community that flourished on St. Cloud Hill following the Civil War. Our knowledge of the material culture and conditions of this period is extremely limited and would greatly benefit from further investigations. It should also be noted that there is the potential for the discovery of human remains with the location of the removed Catholic Cemetery section of the Nashville City Cemetery and Federal burials (soldiers or refugees) in the vicinity.

Greer Stadium

Beneath Greer Stadium are the remains of four WPA-era baseball fields along with a stone bleacher complex. The building of the facility in 1977–78 adversely impacted Fort Negley Park, potentially damaging archaeological resources from the Civil War and structures associated with the WPA ballfield construction. Currently, Metro Parks is planning for the removal of the stadium. An integral part of the removal process is an archaeological study during deconstruction. Until that survey is completed, only preliminary treatment recommendations are possible. Metro Parks should:

- Record the disassembly of Greer Stadium so that the historic resources associated with pre-stadium construction can be evaluated and catalogued and, if necessary, protected or removed.
- Assess the micro and macro landscape changes and effects on the WPA-era

construction by the construction of Greer Stadium.

- Follow the Metro ordinance that states the Metro Historical Commission be notified of any objects unearthed before they are excavated. Standard practice and procedure for archaeological mitigation is the recording of artifacts and their in situ location.

The stadium area monitoring should also include the seating, fences, and associated stadium infrastructure, including buildings and facilities. All work needs to be consistent with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Identification* (36 CFR §61; 48 CFR §44720-23).

Archaeological Monitoring and Limited Phase I Survey

The deconstruction should adhere to the following guidelines:

- An archaeological monitor should be present during all ground-clearing activities within the designated portion of the site boundary;
- The monitor should closely observe all potentially ground-disturbing work being performed within the site, as well as the surrounding area that contributes to the site;
- In the event that artifacts or potential features are encountered during

FIGURE 144. Interpretive Exhibits at Fortress Rosecrans (Encore Interpretive Design, 2018)



ground-disturbing activities, the monitor should have the authority to temporarily stop work to determine if a significant resource is being impacted. Work stoppages will not include artifacts in secondary contexts;

- The monitor should have the authority to allow the work to continue (if the observed material appears to be non-significant) or extend work stoppage while either (a) exposed significant features are mapped and photographed, or (b) he/she calls Metro Parks for guidance.

FIGURE 145. **This image from late 1936 shows the original north ring road parking lot. Cars are parked close to the bollards. By 1941, a mortared wall was added to the top of the stacked stone.** (Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)



FIGURE 147. **The buttressing with concrete has slowed the wall failure. The concrete from the buttress has deteriorated.** (Encore Interpretive Design)



Phase II Documentation and Testing

The Phase II documentation of the exposed Works Progress Administration-era baseball field should be accomplished primarily through the use of an unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV). A limited amount of subsurface testing should also be undertaken, consisting of no more than two 1-meter x 1-meter excavation units.

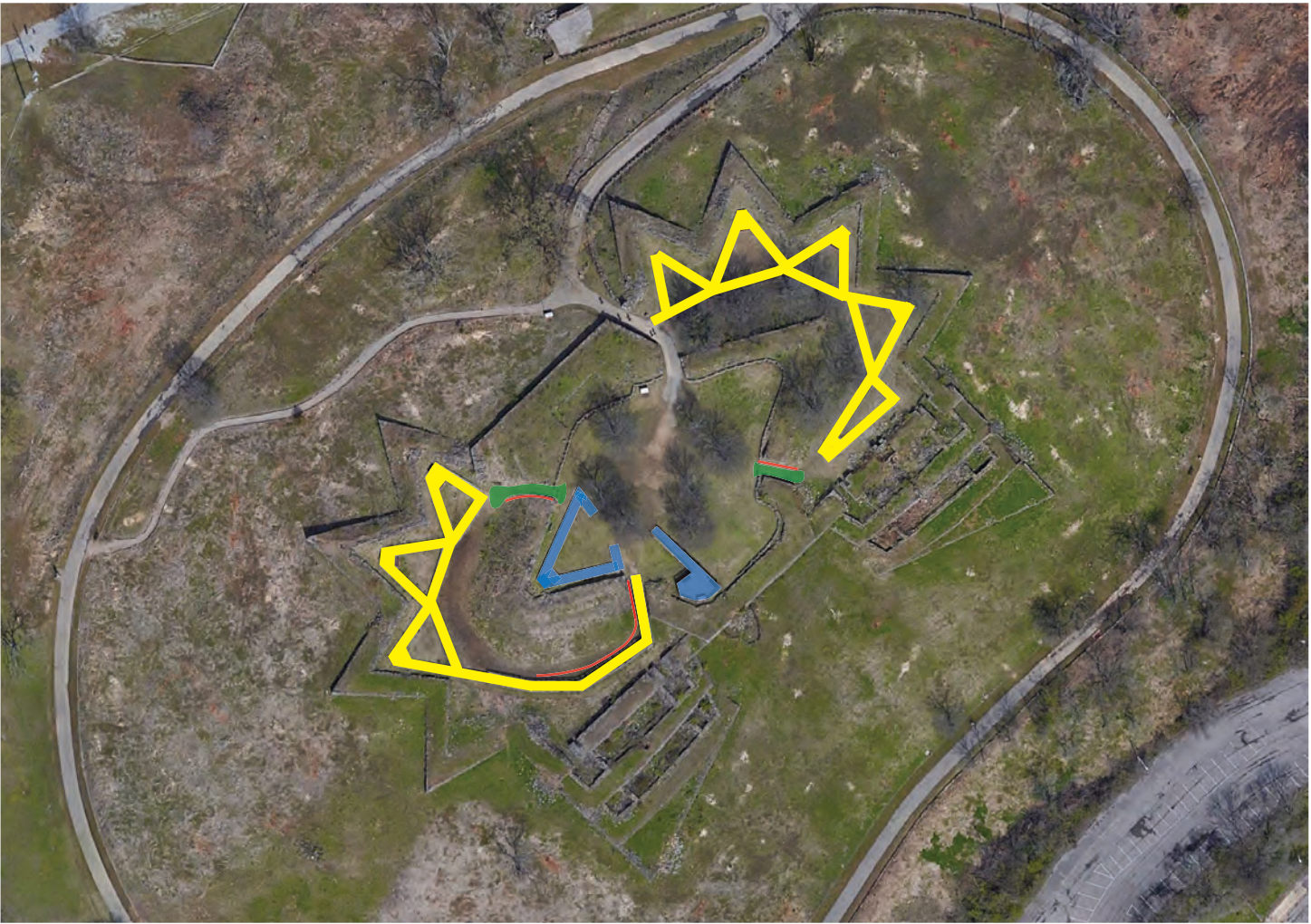
FIGURE 146. **The mortared wall of the north ring road parking lot rests on top of the dry stack. The weight of the top wall has compressed the lower wall causing failures.** (Encore Interpretive Design)



FIGURE 148. **A blowout on the northwest corner is due to water runoff and the upper wall's compromising the lower wall.** (Encore Interpretive Design)



Treatment of Boardwalks and Restricted Areas



Retain Boardwalks and Decks **Remove Boardwalks**

Removal of Sawhorses

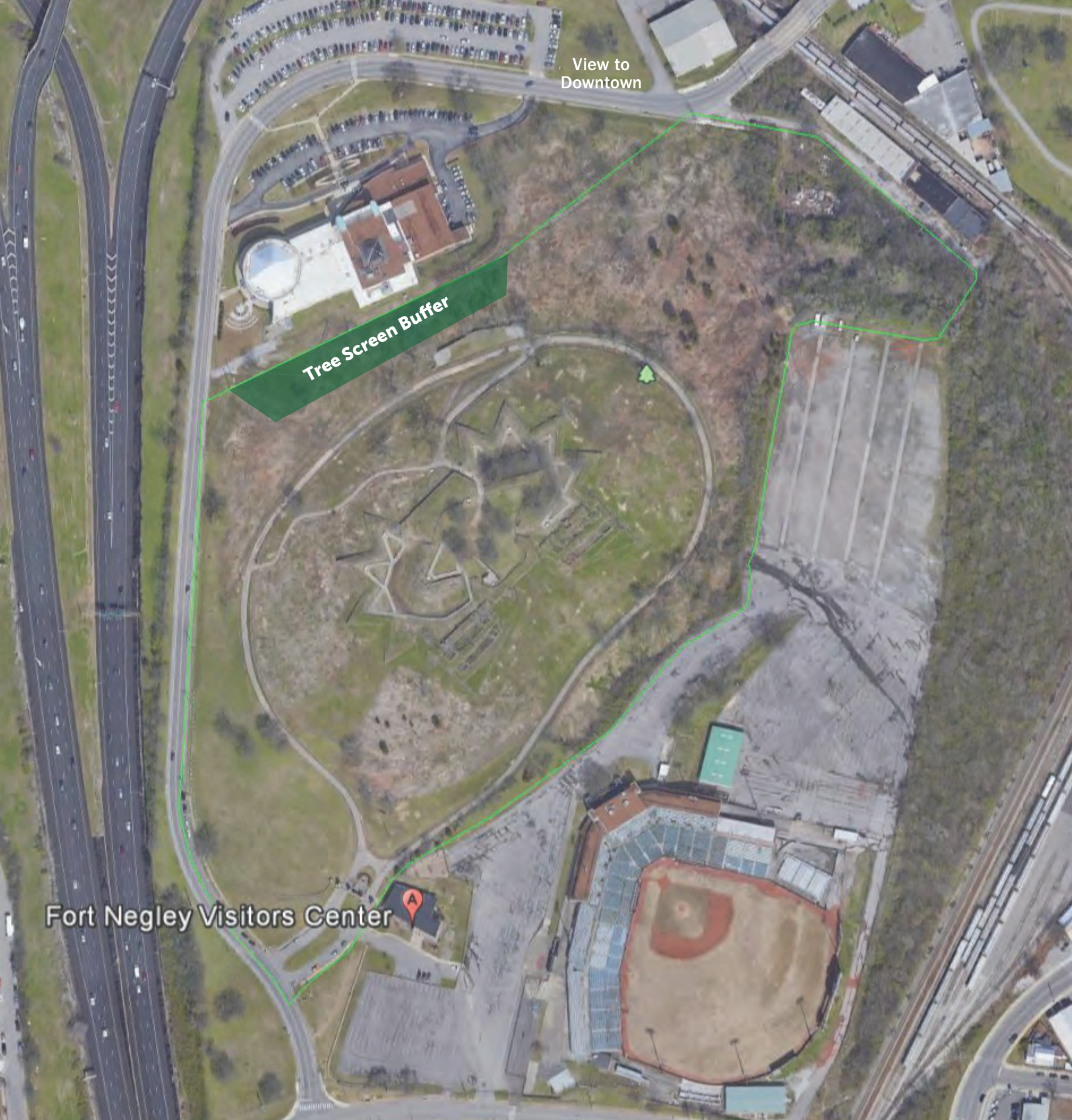
Expand access to enhance the visitor experience at Fort Negley.

Remove the current boardwalks in both ravelin ditches. They are high maintenance and an obstacle to keeping the recommended turf grass mowed.

Remove the sawhorses between the upper main works and the ravelin ditch on both the northeast and southwest corners.

After removing the long boardwalk in the south ravelin ditch, provide chain railing along this steep incline.

FIGURE 149. **Map of Boardwalk Retention and Removal**



Fort Negley Phase One Tree Planting Zone

- 1.5 acres.
- Hardwood and 80% Evergreen Mix screening buffer.
- No height limit

NOTE:

See Appendix for detailed preliminary tree planting plan. This assessment should inform a more fully developed landscape strategy in a future Fort Negley Master Plan. All landscape planning and improvements should conform to best archeological practices. The Phase One tree planting concept shown here is not anticipated to change significantly with the development of a master plan and could therefore proceed, contingent on the results of all appropriate archeological work.

FIGURE 150. Fort Negley Phase One Vegetation Management Strategy Tree Planting Zones



Fort Negley and Management Strategy—Grass Restoration

- **Zone 1- 10.75 acres—Native Grass: Slope Inside and Outside Ring Road**
Goal: Remove exotic / invasive vegetation and restore to cover of native grasses including Side-Oats Grama and Little Bluestem.
- **Zone 2- 1.5 acres—Buffalo Grass: Top of Stone Walls**
Goal: Remove exotic / invasive vegetation and restore to cover of buffalo grass.
- **Zone 3- 1.5 acres—Native Grass: Restored Slope Inside Ring Road**
Goal: Remove exotic/invasive vegetation and maintain established native Side-Oats Grama and Little Bluestem grasses.
- **Zone 4- 6 acre—Turf Grass**
Goal: Develop a low turf grass within the works for easier maintenance and for giving visitors better access to areas currently restricted by overgrown grasses and invasives. In Zone 3, restoration has already begun.



FIGURE 151. **Skara Brae, Orkney.** The ancient Neolithic site in Scotland is interpreted as a ruin. Though built 4000 years ago, Skara Brae has been restored and fortified to allow visitors to wander the site. Sodding and terracing help preserve and protect the resource. (World of Cruising)

FIGURE 152. **Fort Negley and Management Strategy—Grass Restoration** (Encore Interpretive Design)

Geophysical Survey Interpretation and Recommendations

The purpose of the geophysical survey at Fort Negley (40DV189) was to identify anomalies and provide contexts for their interpretation as archaeological features. Based on archival research and previous archaeological studies conducted in the project area, expected feature types included domestic structures, magazines, drainage ditches, cisterns, and middens. Investigations included three GPR blocks, five magnetic gradiometer blocks, and 29 radial transects. A total of 457 geophysical anomalies were encountered during the investigations. Archaeological interpretations of the geophysical data are presented in Figure 149.

Geophysical anomalies were classified based on their magnetic or reflective properties, their morphological characteristics, their spatial relationship to the fort, and their relative size. Specific nT values were used to make correlations between gradiometer anomalies and possible feature types. Thus, smaller, less magnetically enhanced features typically have lower nT values, while larger, more magnetically enhanced features have higher values. For instance, values for unburned materials usually range from 2–10 nT, whereas burned materials have values well beyond 10 nT (Kvamme 2006). Comparatively higher reflectivity values were used to establish correlations between GPR anomalies and suspected feature types. Thus, large feature types—such as middens—appear as flat bands with very strong reflections. Smaller features—such as burials—tend to display hyperbolic reflection patterns (Conyers 2013). It must be remembered, however, that quantified geophysical values are site specific and cannot be used to interpret data acquired from other sites with different depositional histories and environmental contexts.

TVAR’s 2018 geophysical investigations conducted at 40DV189 resulted in a number of discrete areas that exhibited both high reflectivity and strong magnetic gradients. The five gradiometer blocks, three GPR blocks, and

29 GPR transects, combined with the previous geophysical survey of the area surrounding Greer Stadium (Beasley, et al., 2018), provide a robust dataset that includes information from most of the site subareas.

The kinds of subsurface patterns identified using the remote sensing methods employed in this project are excellent for revealing the geometry, extent, and depth of anomalies, allowing the development of interpretive categories of potential cultural features. Large expanses can be surveyed for anomalies, resulting in the ability to index a large number of potential cultural features. However, there is virtually no data recovered regarding feature content using remote sensing. Absent ground-truthing, the analyst can assert that a particular pattern represents a particular type of cultural feature, but no direct information can be obtained about its temporal affiliation. We can sometimes date remote sensing features relatively. Thus, at Fort Negley, we know that most of the subsurface features on the hillside predate the WPA reconstruction of the park and likely postdate 1862 (Law 2009). But, without excavations, we are unable to determine if features are associated with the military or post-war domestic usage of the site.

The conclusions of this survey generally concur with the findings of previous investigations referenced throughout this report, indicating the likelihood that there is a veneer of WPA-era deposition and construction overlying intact Civil War-era features and deposits. This determination can be applied to the majority of St. Cloud Hill. The contemporary surface across the site is underlain by WPA-era soils, which are then underlain by post-Civil War-era soils, which are in turn underlain by Civil War-era soils.

The archaeological deposits display a heterogeneous distribution, with some areas more heavily impacted by subsequent landscape alterations than others. This depositional diversity is primarily the result of periodic erosion, itself dependent on existing

groundcover, underlain by a dynamic karst geology and changing groundwater behavior. However, there is a potential to encounter intact archaeological deposits anywhere within the park boundaries. Additional archaeological investigations are needed to better determine the extent of intact deposits.

SUBAREAS

For the purposes of the this report, the Fort Negley Park area is divided into five subareas. These areas are discussed below.

Subarea 1

The bulk of Subarea 1 was surveyed during the Greer Stadium project (Beasley, et al., 2018). During the current project, a portion of Subarea 1 was surveyed along the eastern slope of St. Cloud Hill using short, judgmental transects.

Based on the results of the 2017 survey and the current project, intact deposits of pre-WPA soils persist throughout the bulk of Subarea 1, with the exception of the north-eastern area where the limestone quarry was located. Andrew Wyatt of Middle Tennessee State University has conducted fieldschools in the northern portion of Subarea 1 and reports the presence of archaeological deposits and potential structures associated with the post-Civil War African-American community that developed on St. Cloud Hill (Wyatt, personal communication, 2018).

Subarea 2

Subarea 2 includes Fort Negley proper and the majority of St. Cloud Hill above the ring road that encircles the fort. This is the area with the majority of archaeological features above ground and is considered the most obviously sensitive area in the park. Previous excavations within the fort and immediately outside the fort walls have provided a substantial dataset regarding the state of archaeological deposits within the fort.

Within the scope of the current project,

INTERPRETIVE CATEGORY	ANOMALY NO.	INSTRUMENT	BLOCK
Midden	1	GPR	7
Historic	2	GPR	7
Architectural	3	GPR	7
Terracing Construction	4	GPR	7
Architectural	1	GPR	8NW
Historic	1	GPR	9
Historic	2	GPR	9
Historic	3	GPR	9
Historic	4	GPR	9
Midden	36	Gradiometer	7
Midden	37	Gradiometer	7
Midden	38	Gradiometer	7
Historic	1	Gradiometer	7
Architectural	58	Gradiometer	8
Architectural	59	Gradiometer	8
Architectural	60	Gradiometer	8
Midden	24	Gradiometer	8
Historic	1	Gradiometer	8
Historic	49	Gradiometer	9
Historic	86	Gradiometer	9
Historic	87	Gradiometer	9
Terracing Construction	28	Gradiometer	11
Terracing Construction	29	Gradiometer	11
Terracing Construction	1	Gradiometer	12
Terracing Construction	2	Gradiometer	12
Terracing Construction	3	Gradiometer	12
Terracing Construction	4	Gradiometer	12
Terracing Construction	5	Gradiometer	12
Terracing Construction	6	Gradiometer	12
Terracing Construction	7	Gradiometer	12
Terracing Construction	8	Gradiometer	12
Terracing Construction	9	Gradiometer	12

FIGURE 153. Location of subareas in the study area. (Interpretive Categories for Geophysical Anomalies.)

three gradiometer blocks (7, 9, and 12), two GPR blocks (7 and 9), 18 radial transects, and the area scans of the ring road and the sally port road encompassed Subarea 2. The remote sensing coverage of Subarea 2 is extensive and allows for a robust assessment of the area. However, ground-truthing is necessary to determine the temporal placement

of features outside the fort.

Geophysical Block 7 is located on the eastern slope immediately adjacent to the ring road. Significant deposits include a large buried iron object, a potential midden remnant, and clear indications of land alteration on the shoulder of the ring road. It is only along the ring road shoulder that extensive modification



FIGURE 154. Location of subareas in the study area.

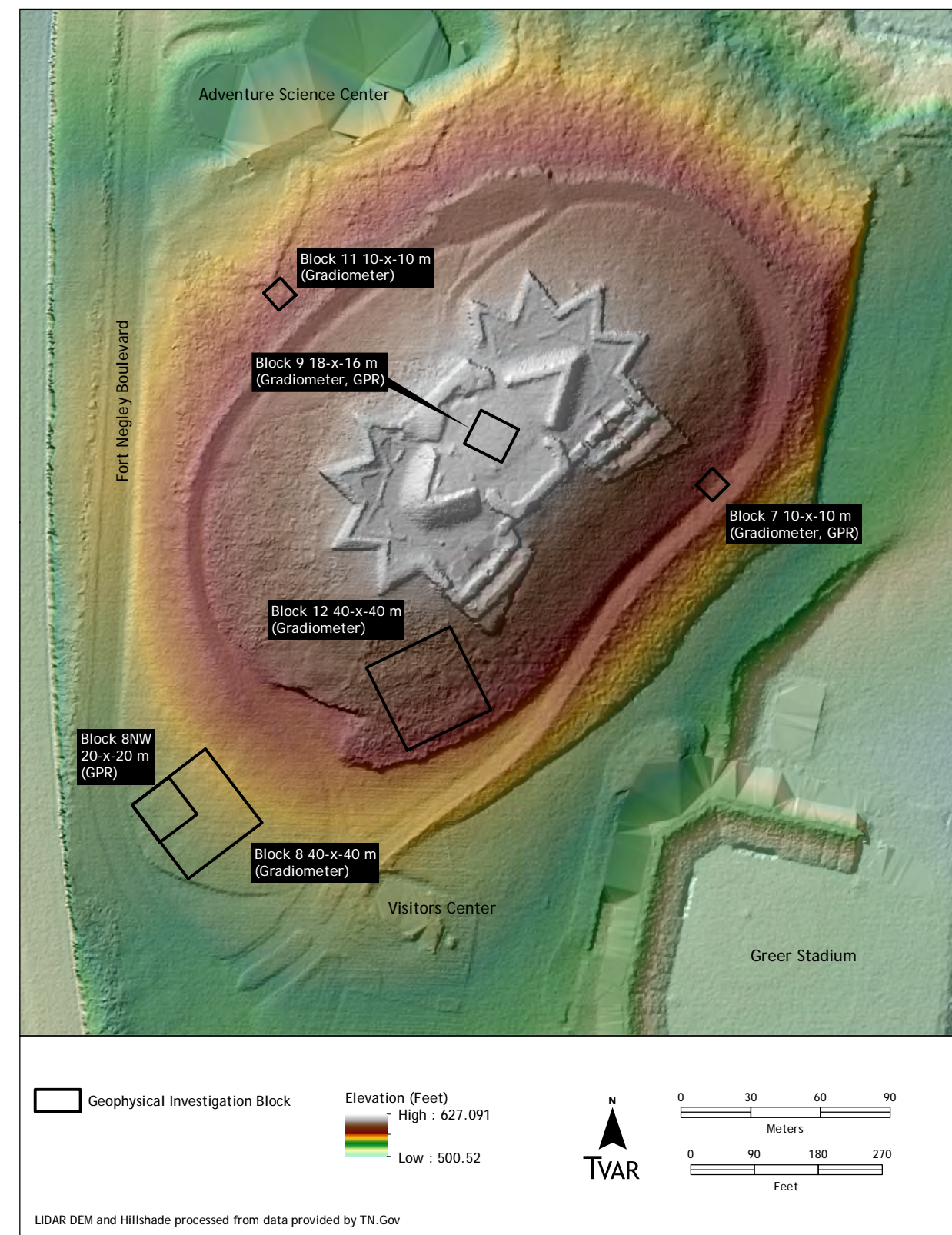


FIGURE 155. Geophysical Map showing the location of Blocks 7–12

is shown in Subarea 2. Survey of the ring road and the sally port road indicates that there are intact deposits below the asphalt.

Geophysical Block 9, located inside the fort palisade within the parade area, clearly shows the outline of the cistern (see Figure 151). There is clear evidence of in-filling, congruent with the results of Bergstresser, et al., 1994. There is an additional rectangular anomaly to the southwest and adjacent to the cistern that may represent a small magazine.

Geophysical Block 12, on the southeast-ern slope of the hill, includes several linear features that may represent modification of the hillside, presumably associated with the Civil War usage of the site. Anomalies 8 and 9 may represent an entrenchment. A feature consistent with an entrenchment is present in several of the radial transects, encircling the hill above the ring road.

Intact archaeological deposits are likely throughout Subarea 2, despite a history of land alteration and erosion. The dating of these deposits cannot be determined without further archaeological excavation. Previously undocumented features are present in this area but require ground-truthing to determine their exact nature.

Subarea 3

Subarea 3 consists primarily of the western slope of St. Cloud Hill, bounded by the entrance road on the southeast and Fort Negley Boulevard on the west. There has been very little previous archaeological investigation in Subarea 2.

Geophysical Block 8 in Subarea 2 revealed at least one rectangular structure measuring approximately 10 meters x 6 meters. This structure could date to the Civil War or postwar occupation of the site. Excavation is required to more precisely determine the structure's temporal affiliation.

Based on the results of Geophysical Block 8, there is a high probability of additional structures along the western slope of St. Cloud Hill. Disturbance looks to be minimal

in this area, and there is excellent potential for encountering deposits associated with the pre-WPA site usages.

Subarea 4

Subarea 4 consists of two areas outside the primary park boundaries. No investigations were undertaken in Subarea 4 during this project.

Subarea 5

Subarea 5 consists of the current Fort Negley Museum and the entrance road and gate. There are intact deposits located under the entrance road, and, with the exception of the contemporary museum and the immediate museum grounds, there is a high probability that archaeological deposits persist in Subarea 5.

CONCLUSIONS

The geophysical survey of Fort Negley and St. Cloud Hill demonstrates that extensive intact archaeological deposits are likely across the survey area. A history of rebuilding and land alterations have affected these deposits but have not obliterated them in any of the areas surveyed. Features relating to the Civil War and the post-war community are likely to be found across the park. Probable military constructions and domestic structures were detected during this survey, attesting to the likelihood of extensive intact archaeological deposits at the site.

Excavation is necessary to determine the nature of the deposits identified and the temporal placement of the deposits. Specifically, testing of Subarea 3 will provide important data that will aid in determining if there are archaeological features associated with the African American community that flourished on St. Cloud Hill following the Civil War. Our knowledge of the material culture and conditions of this period is extremely limited and would greatly benefit from further investigations.

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