

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex

Other names/site number Clark Memorial United Methodist Church (DV-7030)
Walker House (DV-7229)

Name of related multiple
property listing The Civil Rights Movement in Nashville, Tennessee, 1942–1969
(Remove "N/A" if property is part of a multiple property listing and add name)

2. Location

Street & Number: 1014 14th Avenue North and 1218–1220 Phillips Street

City or town: Nashville State: Tennessee County: Davidson

Not For Publication: N/A Vicinity: N/A Zip: 37208

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this X nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property X meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

national statewide local

Applicable National Register Criteria:

A B C D



July 1, 2024

Signature of certifying official/Title:

Date

Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, Tennessee Historical Commission

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting Official:

Date

Title:

State of Federal agency/bureau or Tribal
Government

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Davidson County,

Tennessee

County and State

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register
- determined eligible for the National Register
- determined not eligible for the National Register
- removed from the National Register
- other (explain): _____

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification**Ownership of Property**

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

Private

Public – Local

Public – State

Public – Federal

Category of Property(Check only **one** box.)

Building(s)

District

Site

Structure

Object

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing

Noncontributing

4	2	buildings
0	0	sites
1	0	structures
0	2	objects
5	4	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

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6. Function or Use**Historic Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions)

RELIGION: Religious FacilityRELIGION: Church-related ResidenceDOMESTIC: Single Dwelling**Current Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions)

RELIGION: Religious FacilityRELIGION: Church-related Residence**7. Description****Architectural Classification**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Late 19th and 20th Century Revivals: Late Gothic RevivalLate 19th and 20th Century Revivals: Colonial RevivalModern Movement: Ranch Style**Materials:** (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property:

Brick; Limestone; Concrete; Asphalt; Vinyl**Narrative Description**

The Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex is on two adjacent parcels totaling 0.90 acres in the northeast quadrant of the intersection of 14th Avenue North and Phillips Street in the northwest section of Nashville. Owned by the Clark Memorial United Methodist Church congregation, the complex is comprised of three contributing brick buildings: an English Gothic Revival-style church completed in 1945, a Ranch-style parsonage completed in 1957, and the Colonial Revival-style Walker House completed in 1941. The church faces southwest on the western half of the property, and the parsonage and dwelling face southeast on the eastern half of the property. Located at 1014 14th Avenue North, the church was enlarged in 1956 with a two-story education wing extending southeast from the southeast corner. The education wing was enlarged in 1981 with a two-story wing extending southwest from the southwest corner of the 1956 wing. The two wings created a U-shaped building with separate entrances on the southwest side. Located behind the church at 1220 Phillips Street, the one-story parsonage has a circa 1960 contributing detached carport. Located on the east side of the parsonage at 1218 Phillips Street, the one-and-one-half-story Walker House has a circa-1941 contributing detached garage. Located in front of the church on the southwest side of the property is a non-contributing monument sign erected in 2004. The property's grounds feature grassy lawns, landscaping, and mature trees. To the north is a service alley and a separate surface parking lot for church users. Two non-

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contributing sheds are located at the rear edge, alongside the alley. To the west and south are concrete sidewalks lining 14th Avenue North and Phillips Street with a non-contributing city historical marker for the church at the intersection; the marker was erected in 2019. To the east are private dwellings. The surrounding neighborhood is comprised of residential and commercial buildings and surface parking lots. The nominated property is located two blocks east of the Fisk University campus (NRHP, 1978) and one block south of the Jefferson Street corridor and headquarters of the Nashville branch of the NAACP.

1. CLARK MEMORIAL UNITED METHODIST CHURCH (1941–1981) [BUILDING—CONTRIBUTING]

Facing west on 14th Avenue North, the Clark Memorial Methodist (Clark) Church is comprised of three primary sections: the 1945 sanctuary; a two-story 1956 education wing on the southeast corner of the sanctuary; and a two-story 1981 expansion on the southwest elevation of the education wing. The three sections create a U-shaped plan with flanking two-story front-facing gables. The sanctuary has a stone foundation and brick walls. The education wing is constructed of concrete block walls with brick veneer and supported by concrete footers. The 1981 wing exhibits a brick and cast concrete façade and is supported by concrete footers. The sanctuary retains the original stained-glass windows. The entire church is covered with an asphalt shingle multi-gabled roof.¹

Sanctuary (1941–1945)

Exterior

Construction of the English Gothic Revival-style sanctuary, designed by Philadelphia-based architectural firm Sundt & Wenner, began in 1941 and ended in 1945. Predominantly used in European cathedrals and churches, defining features of English Gothic Revival architecture are pointed arches, rib vaults, buttresses, rose windows, timbered hammerbeam roofs, and stained glass. The English Gothic Revival style gained popularity in mid-nineteenth century England and was based on centuries of English Gothic precedents. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Gothic Revival style was fashionable with ecclesiastical architecture worldwide.

Measuring approximately 40 feet by 70 feet, the sanctuary is based on a cross-shaped plan with a wide, southwest-facing façade and two small gable wings, forming the transepts, extending from the north and south elevations at the rear of the sanctuary. Supported by a hewn limestone foundation, the sanctuary was constructed with solid brick walls exhibiting Tudor Revival-style brick buttresses with stone caps. A two-story belltower is in the corner of the south transept and the sanctuary. The belltower has a gabled roof and open spaces with pointed arches.

The symmetrical façade (southwest elevation) has an entrance portico with paired aluminum circa 1989 replacement doors sharing a pointed-arch transom. The entrance is reached by cast stone stairs with stone railings capped with cast stone. A stained-glass, circular rose window sits in the gable above the portico and two arched stained-glass windows flank the portico. These windows have brick hoods featuring a keystone.

¹ Patricia Starnes Stone and Geraldine D. Heath, “A Walking Tour Guide: The Facilities of Clark Memorial United Methodist Church,” unpublished brochure, 2011, revised, 2017. Patricia S. Stone (1942–2011) was the longtime facilities coordinator. Stone’s tour guide provided valuable information for the narrative description. On file at Clark.

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The northwest and southeast elevations have three, four-panel arched, stained-glass windows separated by brick buttresses with cast stone caps. Each window has a brick hood matching those on the façade. The north transept has a matching four-panel stained-glass window, and the belltower has a square window with a single stained-glass window and a flat brick lintel. All windows have brick sills. Installed during construction in 1942, a white marble cornerstone in the lower level of the southwest corner of the facade reads:

CLARK MEMORIAL
METHODIST CHURCH
1867—1942

The rear elevation of the sanctuary has an exterior brick flue and a set of stairs leading to a solid metal door and small basement containing mechanical equipment. The flue originally served a coal-burning furnace in the basement. The stairs are sheltered by a shed-roofed awning supported by wood posts. The circular, stained-glass rose window above the chancel and the paired stained-glass windows serving the interior library and prayer room are visible.

Interior

The entrance portico leads to a small narthex. A plaque on the interior of the replacement hollow core metal entry doors indicates the doors were donated and installed in 1989. The original tile floor and wood wainscoting are extant, as well as faux beams along the coffered ceiling. Original paired beadboard doors lead to the nave. Designed to seat 300 people, the nave has 15 cushioned wood pews along each side of the central aisle and a Tudor Revival open truss gable ceiling. Original decorative brackets extend down the walls ending at the projecting brick bases. Historic decorative wood beams also follow the gambrel roof over the chancel. The wood beams simulate an English Gothic hammerbeam roof structural system.

Other interior details include the beadboard wainscoting along all the walls. The ends of the benches feature paired trefoil arched carving, and the stained-glass windows feature calla lilies, also known as Easter lilies, representing the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The tops of the windows on the north side of the church feature the Ten Commandments, with the Beatitudes featured on the south side in the same place. The pendant lights have metal detailing that includes pointed arches. The stained-glass windows exhibit the names of congregation members and donors. The artist and origin of the stained-glass windows are unknown.

The elevated chancel, at the east end of the sanctuary, is reached by three central steps. The stairs are flanked by alter rails and kneeling pads. The wooden alter rails open at the top to provide a place for the communion wafers and juice cups. The chancel has six small pews that can seat about 30 choir members. Beadboard half-walls flank the top of the steps and hide storage for the lectern and the pulpit. The lectern, on the south side of the steps, is used to read religious scriptures and is marked by a shallow, flat projection from the half-wall. The pulpit is on the north side of the steps and is marked by a three-sided projection.

Beadboard doors flank the chancel. The north door leads to the library, dedicated to Roy Bartley James Campbell Sr. (1896–1964), a congregation member and civil rights attorney, and the south door leads to the prayer room. The prayer room has chairs and a bench as well as wood ceiling beams and paired stained-glass windows as well as a coffered ceiling. The library has a matching coffered ceiling and is currently used to store musical instruments. Both rooms have steps leading to the chancel and the library has an emergency exit door on the north wall.

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The north transept is used as a music area, where musicians play during services. The south transept has seating for communion stewards and, since 2010, has ADA accessible seating. The communion room is a small closet with a cabinet and drawers used to store chalices and plates. This room also has a beadboard door. In 2004, the congregation purchased a new audio console and placed it to the north of the narthex entrance. Speakers were installed along the ceiling beams and a projector screen was hung above the chancel. These contemporary alterations to the sanctuary space are minimal and the interior space retains a high level of integrity from the 1945 to 1964 period of significance.

Education Wing (1956, 1981)*Exterior*

In 1956, the Clark congregation enlarged the church with a two-story education wing extending from the south transept of the sanctuary. Measuring approximately 30 feet by 60 feet, the education wing features a concrete slab foundation with concrete block walls covered with red brick veneer. The roof of the wing was approximately 2 feet taller than the transept roof. The wing originally had a small entrance bay with paired doors on the west side next to the bell tower. The wing extends four bays to the south and has a gable on the south elevation. The south gable originally featured a side entrance flanked by windows and sheltered by a gable awning. The west window has been converted to a door and both solid metal doors are now sheltered by a shared gable awning. The original window opening on the second floor retains a window, though all the original metal casement windows on the education wing have been replaced with single pane fixed windows. The designer and builder of the 1956 wing are unknown.

A bronze plaque attached to the exterior of the west side of the sanctuary at the entrance to the wing refers to the addition as the “Religious Educational Building.” The plaque provides a completion date of 1956 and lists the name of the pastor, Rev. L. L. Haynes, and the congregation’s board of trustees: A. V. Boswell, R. B. J. Campbelle, W. A. Flowers, T. R. Hogue, Carrie P. Jones, Mary B. Kirby, Thomas E. Poag, M. F. Spalding, and Matthew Walker.

From 1980 to 1981, the congregation enlarged the 1956 education wing with a two-story expansion extending from the south end of the west side. The expansion measures approximately 39 feet by 45 feet. Designed by Memphis architect Clair Maurice Jones (b.1933), the 1981 wing was constructed of concrete block walls clad with red brick veneer. The gabled façade of this wing is dominated by an oval window on the second floor with a cast stone swag, creating a shape reminiscent of a large communion cup. Jones’s intent “was that from the inside of the building faces of individuals would be shown as God’s sacrificial offering to the community.”² The recessed entry, beneath the communion cup, is accessed by concrete stairs with metal railings. The paired glass doors have wide sidelights and metal frames. Construction of the 1981 wing required the removal of the brick veneer of the south wall of the 1956 wing and replacement of the windows along the south wall with interior entryways connecting the 1956 and 1981 wings. Some of the windows were enclosed with concrete blocks to create interior walls.

A bronze plaque attached to the southwest corner of the façade refers to the addition as the “Grady Sherrill-Matthew Walker Memorial Wing.” The plaque provides the completion date of 1981, the architect as Clair Jones, and the builder as the Steed Brothers, as well as the names of the pastor Rev. W. C. Dobbins, the

² Stone and Heath, “A Walking Tour,” 2017, 10.

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building committee chairperson O. W. Crump, and the congregation's board of trustees: Dr. A. V. Boswell (president), Mr. A. V. Hill (vice president), Mrs. Vivian Fielder, Mrs. Mattye Flowers, Mr. Theodore Hogue, Mrs. Carrie Jones, Dr. Henry Moses, Mr. Harry Lash, and Dr. Ira Thompson.

An entrance on the north elevation of the wing, adjacent to the belltower, is accessible via a concrete ADA ramp with metal railings and is sheltered by a metal awning. The ramp was added during construction of the 1981 expansion. There is also one single-pane window on each floor. In 2012, a two-story elevator tower with tan colored synthetic stucco cladding was added to the entrance bay of the education wing. The elevator tower was situated at the location of the original entrance to the 1956 education wing.

The south elevation of the education wing has two sliding windows on each floor and the cornerstone from the congregation's original church, built in 1899 on Franklin Street in downtown Nashville. The cornerstone reads "ERECTED/A.D./MDCCXCIX" and contains items from the original placement in 1899 as well as items added when it was placed in this wing in 1980.

On the rear elevation, the education wing has a fire exit with iron stairs on the second floor and three single pane windows on each floor. The entrance bay has two windows on the second floor and one on the ground floor. The ground floor also has a rear exit sheltered by a shed-roofed awning with decorative cast iron posts.

Interior

The north and west entrances to the 1981 wing lead into the first-floor fellowship hall, an open room that can seat 100 people in chairs or 75 at tables. The fellowship hall has linoleum floors, exposed concrete block walls, and a folding partition divider that can separate the hall into two spaces. The north wall incorporates the original concrete block exterior wall of the 1956 education wing; the former windows are now passthroughs to the fellowship hall kitchen. The stone nameplate slab from the original downtown church building on Franklin Street, measuring approximately 20 feet by 1.5 feet, is set into the bottom of the north wall. The stone nameplate is inscribed with "CLARK MEMORIAL M.E. CHURCH."

An open entryway on the north wall of the fellowship hall leads to the 1956 education wing, recently named the Pat Starnes Stone Annex. This room was once the entrance hall of the 1956 education wing and leads to the elevator on the west wall, the stairs to the second floor on the east wall and steps up to the south transept of the sanctuary to the north. A ramp has been added to the stairs and a canvas partition divider has been added to the entrance of the room. On the south wall paired wood panel doors lead to an office equipment room and a single matching door leads to the administrative and pastor's office. The addition of restrooms on the west wall created a narrow 12-inch gap leading to a small storage room near the rear exit. This section of the 1956 education wing has exposed concrete block walls, a carpeted floor, and dropped ceilings.

Added in 1981, the stairs begin at the west wall of the stairway and make two turns with landings, ending at the east wall. The north wall has two spherical sconces and is plaster, while the other walls are exposed concrete block. The stairs have a metal railing. The south wall features a historical photograph wall of the pastors who served the congregation and their years of service.

The stairs lead to a hallway and entrance into a large second floor assembly room in the 1956 education wing. Measuring approximately 30 feet by 50 feet, the rectangular assembly room is divided into two sections by a central partition divider. The assembly room was the primary location of James Lawson's

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nonviolent, direct-action training workshops from 1958 to 1959. The two rooms making up the assembly room are now called the Edward, Charlie & Edwina Temple Room to the north and the Samuel M. Hayden Family Choir Room to the south. The walls are exposed concrete block, and the ceiling has dropped panels. The floors have been carpeted, but few other changes have been made to these rooms. The assembly room retains integrity of design, materials, feeling, and association from the 1945 to 1964 period of significance.

The central second floor hallway extends west into the 1981 education wing ending at the oval window of the exterior communion cup. The double-loaded hallway has two rooms on each side. The north side has the library/archives room where historical materials are stored, and a computer room named for Samuel & Pauline Hayden. A classroom, office, and nursery are on the south side of the hallway. The nursery has a Dutch door. All rooms have wood doors, plaster walls, linoleum floors, and a dropped ceiling. Restrooms are located at the south end of the corridor.

Although the 1981 addition modified the integrity of the spatial relationship of these sections of the church, the Clark sanctuary retains its overall feeling and association from the 1945 to 1964 period of significance and is classified as a contributing building within the complex.

2. PARSONAGE (1956–1957) [BUILDING—CONTRIBUTING]

Exterior

The Parsonage is a one-story Ranch-style dwelling measuring approximately 25 feet by 68 feet. The wood frame house features brick veneer walls, a concrete block foundation, and asphalt shingle gabled roof. The brick veneer exhibits a running bond pattern featuring horizontal stretchers, headers above the windows and doors, protruding windowsill bricks, and raked joints. The gables have small vinyl vents with horizontal slats at the peak. Otherwise, the gables are covered with brick veneer. The easternmost bay of the five-bay, side-gabled house is a projecting gable, extending around 7 feet, with a single one-over-one replacement window. The east elevation has three one-over-one vinyl sash windows.

The two bays in the center of the main façade form a recessed porch supported by a central, vinyl-clad center post. The porch shelters the main entrance, featuring a solid wood door protected by a glass pane security door with decorative metal bars. The recessed porch has a single-pane picture window with a wood frame. The walls of the recessed porch are clad in vinyl siding. The porch is connected to the street by a concrete sidewalk. A contemporary wood ADA ramp has been placed over the concrete step to the porch. The front façade has an original octagonal window with a wood frame and two horizontal wood sashes. A one-over-one vinyl sash window is west of the octagonal window.

The westernmost bay is a telescoping gable wing containing a single car garage that was enclosed soon after the house was completed. Recessed approximately two feet from the front facade, the front and side elevations of the enclosed garage wing have one-over-one vinyl sash windows. The rear elevation has a garage door opening enclosed with a wood frame clad with vinyl siding, a single-pane window covered with metal security bars, and a wood panel entrance door protected by a glass pane door with decorative metal security bars. The rear elevation also has a picture window in the living room space and three other one-over-one vinyl sash windows. Two of the windows are protected by metal security bars. Beneath the kitchen window is the exterior HVAC unit and an entrance to the crawl space.

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In the late 1990s, the Parsonage was converted into a learning center with Sunday School classrooms and meeting spaces. The building was later leased as a residence and is currently leased as office space. The front yard features a grassy lawn and shrubs and flowers along the main façade.

Interior

The interior of the Parsonage is laid out in a traditional Ranch-style floor plan, with a large central room containing the living and dining spaces. This space is served by picture windows on the north and south sides. On the north side of the central room are two bedrooms and a bathroom. On the south side is a bedroom, bathroom, kitchen, and enclosed garage. The front door opens to an entry way served by a coat closet that separates the central room from a hallway that leads to a half-bathroom and a bedroom on the west side of the house. Lit by an octagonal window, the half-bath retains pink and brown wall tiles, a pink hexagonal floor tile, and original fixtures. A window on the rear elevation services the dining area. The full bathroom retains its original pink wall tiles, multi-shaded pink floor tiles, and narrow linen closet door. The three bedrooms have double-width closets and replacement doors with narrow windowpanes.

The bedrooms and living room have original hardwood floors, plaster walls, and strip lighting fixtures. The kitchen has been updated with contemporary cabinets, linoleum floors, and light fixtures. The enclosed garage is served by a set of three steps leading to a ground level floor. The steps have decorative linoleum tiles and a wrought iron railing. The decorative linoleum floor continues throughout the garage. The walls are clad in beadboard wood paneling, and the ceiling is covered in acoustic tiles. An extra wide closet with beadboard wood doors abuts the interior wall.

Contemporary changes to the Parsonage are limited to replacement windows and installation of vinyl siding over wood siding in the recessed front porch. Contemporary changes to the interior include replacement doors and kitchen cabinets. These changes are nominal. Therefore, the Parsonage retains sufficient integrity from the 1945 to 1964 period of significance to be classified as a contributing building within the complex.

3. CARPORT (circa 1960) [STRUCTURE—CONTRIBUTING]

A detached carport is located on the west side of the Parsonage and served by a concrete pad and driveway connected to the street. Measuring approximately 20 feet by 21 feet, the flat metal roof shelters two automobiles and is supported by six "V" shaped metal posts. Aerial photographs and other records indicated the congregation installed the carport between 1959 and 1965. There are no visible changes to the carport. Therefore, the carport retains sufficient integrity from the 1945 to 1964 period of significance to be classified as a contributing structure within the complex.

4. WALKER HOUSE (1941) [BUILDING—CONTRIBUTING]

Exterior

Constructed in 1941, the Walker House is a one-and-one-half story Colonial Revival-style dwelling with modest Cape Cod architectural details. The frame walls are covered with brick veneer with a running bond pattern featuring horizontal stretchers, vertical stretchers serving as a base course, vertical stretchers serving as headers above the windows and doors and raked joints. The house is supported by a cut limestone foundation. Measuring approximately 37 feet by 40 feet, the side-gabled roof is clad in asphalt shingles and

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has two vinyl-clad, facing gable dormers. The gables on the side elevations of the dwelling are also clad in vinyl while the first floor has brick veneer siding. The west bay of the three-bay house projects approximately 18 inches from the façade and has paired one-over-one vinyl sash windows. The east bay has paired one-over-one vinyl sash windows and matching single windows are in the dormers. The windows on the south elevation feature faux vinyl shutters.

The main entrance at the center of the south elevation contains the original wood six-panel door flanked by Colonial Revival-style fluted Doric pilasters. The wood trim above the door retains the original "1128" metal street numbers. The door retains a brass plaque inscribed with "Dr. and Mrs. Charles J. Walker." The door has raised panels and retains the original decorative brass handle, lock surround, and knocker. The door is protected by a glass pane security door with decorative metal bars. The entrance is served by a cut stone stoop with stone stairs and a metal railing. An original wall-mounted, metal mailbox is attached to the brick façade on the west side of the entrance.

A bronze plaque attached to the south façade, west of the entrance, honors Celeste Richardson Walker, who occupied the house from 1941 until her death in 1994. Commissioned by her husband Dr. Charles J. Walker as a memorial soon after her death, the plaque is inscribed with:

The Mary Celeste Richardson
Walker House
Dedicated in loving memory of
Mary Celeste Richard Walker
July 1, 1994
Devoted Public School Educator and dedicated
servant of God at
Clark Memorial United Methodist Church
1014 14th Ave. North, Nashville, TN.

The east elevation has an exterior brick chimney, which protrudes approximately three inches, three sets of paired one-over-one vinyl sash windows on the first floor, and one pair on the second floor. Two square clay flues extend from the top of the chimney. The east elevation features an HVAC unit on the ground level and a metal coal chute door at the center, which serves the basement cellar. The first floor of the west elevation has two pairs of one-over-one vinyl sash windows flanking a single window. There is a one pair of one-over-one vinyl sash windows and single one-over-one vinyl sash window on the second floor. A missing piece of vinyl siding in the peak of the west gable indicates the original wood siding is intact beneath.

A one-story, two-bay rear wing extends from the east side of the rear elevation. Added around 1950, the wing contains a den. The wing features brick veneer and a stone foundation that match the main section of the house. The north elevation of the wing has two pairs of windows containing single panes of glass and metal frames. The northwest corner of the rear elevation contains one pair of one-over-one vinyl sash windows. A wide, shed-roofed dormer extends to the second floor at the rear of the house. This dormer is clad in vinyl siding and has two pairs of one-over-one vinyl sash windows and one single one-over-one vinyl sash window. At the center of the north elevation of the wing is a contemporary metal panel door protected by a separate security door with glass panes and decorative metal bars. The entrance is served by a brick stoop with brick steps on the east and west sides and a metal railing. In the northwest corner, a set of cut

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limestone stairs leads downward to a wooden entrance to a basement cellar. The entrance is protected by a security door with vertical metal bars.

The front yard has a grassy lawn with a cut stone retaining wall along the sidewalk and a concrete retaining wall capped with bricks along the west side. A concrete walkway connects the sidewalk to the entrance stoop, flanked by mature boxwoods. A concrete driveway along the east side of the house serves the rear detached garage. The rear yard is landscaped with a sunken garden in the northwest corner of the parcel. The garden is lined by brick retaining walls approximately 12 inches in height. A chain link fence along the north side of the parcel abuts the service alley and has a gate serving the sunken garden. A brick paved sitting area surrounds a large tree in the northwest corner of the rear yard.

Interior

The interior of the Walker House retains its original floor plan with a large living room at the front of the first floor. To the rear of the living room is a dining room and kitchen on the east side, and a bathroom and stair hall on the west side. At the rear of the first floor is a den. The second level contains a central stair hall serving three bedrooms, a bathroom, and an office. A small, unfinished basement contains HVAC equipment and storage. The front entrance opens to a combined living and sitting room that extends the width of the house. This wide room has cove ceiling trim and a single overhead light in the center of the room. On the east wall is a fireplace with a Colonial Revival-style mantel and a black marble surround. The fireplace is flanked by built-in bookshelves with radiators and radiator cover doors near the floor. The doorway across from the entrance door leads to the stair hall. A double-width doorway on the east end of the room leads to the dining room. The dining room has contemporary folding doors and narrow ceiling trim. A pendant light fixture hangs near the middle of the room. A doorway on the east wall of the room opens to the stair hall and a doorway on the north wall opens to the kitchen.

The kitchen has a pass-through and doorway to the den on its north wall and a blank wall and pantry on the west wall. The tracks for the pantry's folding door are extant. The basement entrance, with its original wood door and crystal doorknob are in the pantry. The kitchen retains the original metal St. Charles brand steel cabinets and Formica countertops running along the north, west and south walls. The cabinets include two glass-front doors for display and a pull-out cutting board. The countertop has a built-in wood cutting board near the stove. The walls retain the original faux-tile wainscoting, and the floor is linoleum.

The rear den has wood paneled walls, a built-in bar beneath the kitchen pass-through, and built-in bookshelves along the west wall. A full bathroom accessed via the stair hall retains original pink wall tile with black trim and soap holder, original blue-and-white floor tiles, and pink porcelain bathtub. The doors to the bathroom and linen closet retain their original crystal knobs. The rear bedroom has crystal knobs on the entrance and closet doors. The straight-run staircase to the upper floor has a wood baluster and handrail and lands on the second floor at the rear of the building. The walkway around the stairwell has a wood banister with square newel posts with plain wood balusters. The primary bedroom, on the west side of the house, has an original cedar-lined closet with sliding doors and a nook beneath the dormer. The secondary bedroom has a matching nook and built-in bookshelves near the door.

The upper-floor bathroom retains its original blue wall tile with white trim, blue floor tile, and matching tiled sink. The sink has four side drawers and a sink drawer with horizontal details and vertical details next to the under-sink cabinet door. The over-sink mirror, white tub and built-in metal towel rack are original. The

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office in the northwest corner retains original wood panel walls and bookshelves along the west wall. The pendant light is also original. All the rooms on the second floor retain their original three-panel doors and crystal doorknobs. The floors in the bedrooms, living and sitting rooms, dining room and hallways are original hardwood floors. The windows and doors throughout the house have matching wood trim.

Contemporary changes to the Walker House are limited to replacement windows and installation of vinyl siding over the original wood siding, which appears to be intact beneath. The interior of the dwelling is essentially intact. Therefore, the Walker House retains sufficient integrity from the 1945 to 1964 period of significance to be classified as a contributing building within the complex.

5. GARAGE (circa 1941) [BUILDING—CONTRIBUTING]

Constructed around the same time as the Walker House in 1941, the detached garage is in the northeast corner of the parcel. Measuring approximately 22 feet by 25 feet, the one-story concrete block garage has a side-gabled roof clad in asphalt shingles. There are two original wood garage doors, which feature 24 wood panels. The eye level panels are filled with glass panes. An original two-panel wood door is in the southwest corner of the building. The interior was inaccessible. The garage is undergone little to no changes since construction and retains sufficient integrity from the 1945 to 1964 period of significance to be classified as contributing building within the complex.

6. SIGN (2004) [OBJECT—NONCONTRIBUTING]

Located in front of the church sanctuary is an aluminum monument sign erected in 2004 by Nashville-based Joslin Sign Company. Painted with a maroon powder-coat, the sign is 3.5-feet tall and 6-feet wide. Set 15-feet back from the street, the overall height of the sign is approximately 6 feet. Surmounted by a triangular gable containing the church logo, the sign features a double-sided sign cabinet with three lines of changeable letters. The sign reads:

Clark Memorial
United Methodist Church
An Oasis of Hope, Help, Healing & Hospitality
[Changeable Line]
[Changeable Line]
[Changeable Line]
Rev. Toi M. King
Pastor

The sign is classified as a noncontributing object within the complex because it does not date to the period of significance and does not contribute to the property's historical significance.

7. HISTORICAL MARKER (2019) [OBJECT—NONCONTRIBUTING]

Located in the southwest corner of the church parcel is a commemorative historical marker erected in 2019. The congregation sponsored the Metro Historical Commission marker, which was erected by Metro Public Works adjacent to the city-owned sidewalk. Manufactured by Sewah Studios in Marietta, Ohio, the cast

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aluminum, four-foot-tall marker features the city's emblem and is mounted on an octagonal, seven-foot-tall, aluminum post. The text of the marker reads:

CLARK MEMORIAL UNITED METHODIST CHURCH

Founded in South Nashville in 1865, Clark Memorial moved to North Nashville in 1936 and to this location in 1945. The church was central to the Civil Rights movement in Nashville, with activist James M. Lawson conducting classes here in 1959 on non-violent protests. Lawson was a founding member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), whose Nashville members included students at American Baptist College, Fisk Univ., Tenn. A&I (now Tenn. State) and Vanderbilt Univ.

IN HONOR OF MATTHEW WALKER JR.

THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION OF METROPOLITAN NASHVILLE AND DAVIDSON COUNTY

NO. 213

ERECTED 2019

The historical marker is classified as a noncontributing object within the complex because it does not date to the period of significance and does not contribute to the property's historical significance.

8. SHED (circa 2005) [BUILDING – NONCONTRIBUTING]

Located at the north property edge is a one-story prefabricated shed with asphalt shingle front-gable roof and vertical wood cladding. Double-leaf wood doors with metal strap hinges are on south elevation. The shed is classified as a noncontributing building because it does not date to the period of significance and does not contribute to the property's historical significance.

9. SHED (circa 2010) [BUILDING – NONCONTRIBUTING]

Located at the north property edge is a one-story prefabricated shed with asphalt gambrel roof and vertical wood cladding. Double-leaf wood doors with metal strap hinges are on south elevation. The shed is classified as a noncontributing building because it does not date to the period of significance and does not contribute to the property's historical significance.

Integrity Statement

To be eligible for listing in the NRHP, a resource must possess sufficient integrity from the period of significance. The seven aspects of integrity are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The following section describes the integrity of the Clark complex.

Location: The Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex retains its original location in North Nashville.

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Design: Besides a two-story addition completed from 1980 to 1981 to the education wing, the Clark church has remained relatively unaltered since 1956. The sanctuary retains its original floor plans, configuration of interior spaces, materials, and room uses from the period of significance (1945–1964). Although the floor plans, interior spaces, and room uses were altered during construction of the 1981 addition, the education wing retains most of the original layout of the second-floor assembly room. The Parsonage and Walker House have undergone only nominal changes since their construction in 1957 and 1941, respectively. The circa 1941 garage and circa 1960 carport are essentially unchanged since their original construction.

Setting: The setting immediately surrounding the Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex has been impacted in recent years by the demolition of numerous buildings along 14th Avenue North and Phillips Street, leaving vacant lots and surface parking lots. However, the complex retains mature trees and landscaping within the 0.90-acre property boundary. Additionally, the complex retains its larger overall setting and visual connection with Fisk University two blocks to the west and the offices of the Nashville chapter of the NAACP, built in 1954 at the intersection of 14th Avenue North and Jefferson Street, one block to the north. The strong visual connection to Fisk University, the NAACP office, and the Jefferson Street corridor, where numerous protest marches took place between 1960 and 1964, contributes to the complex's historic sense of place.

Materials: The complex retains much of the original materials from the 1945 to 1964 period of significance, such as the brick exteriors, masonry and stone foundations, concrete block walls, and wood trim and stained-glass windows within the sanctuary. The garage and carport are unchanged from original construction.

Workmanship: The complex retains its workmanship from the 1945 to 1964 period of significance. This is particularly evident in the sanctuary, which retains original architectural features such as stained-glass windows, wood wainscoting and pulpit, ceiling truss, and coffers. The Walker House is essentially unchanged since its construction, and retains original doors, living room fireplace and mantel, wood paneled woods and built-in bookshelves in the den and office, two tiled bathrooms, and metal kitchen cabinets. The Parsonage retains its original tiled bathroom, floorplan, and paneled walls in the enclosed garage.

Feeling: The complex retains a palpable sense of feeling, which conveys the significant role the church complex played during the Civil Rights Movement. Though some changes have been made to the church building, the tangible spaces that held significant events, especially the sanctuary and 1956 assembly room, remain largely unaltered, conveying the sense of place that existed during the period of significance. The complex retains an intangible spirit of place, which connects the civil rights events to the present. This intangible spiritual feeling together with the tangible spatial arrangement evokes a sacred space that connects the past to the present.

Association: The complex retains its tangible association with crucially important events during Nashville's Civil Rights Movement from the 1940s through the 1960s. The physical features that were present during the period of significance, such as the sanctuary detailing and sense of space as well as the assembly room layout and materials, remain extant, connecting the present to these significant events. The assembly room is where James Lawson led nonviolent workshops in 1958–1959 that played an essential role in the Nashville Student Movement. The Walker House retains the original office with paneled walls and built-in bookshelves which Dr. Walker utilized during his service as a leader in Nashville's Civil Rights Movement, particularly his role as treasurer and fundraiser for the Nashville Christian Leadership Council from 1958–1964.

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The complex is “truly a portal to the past, thusly providing glimpses of the rich heritage and culture that helped to shape the Nashville and surrounding community” affirmed Dr. Jennifer Adebanjo, chair of the history department at Fisk University, “The church’s current property and location serve as tangible links to the past, reminding us of the struggles, triumphs, and contributions that were associated with the Civil Rights movement.”³

Owned by the Clark congregation, the Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex retains historic integrity and essential physical features with regards to location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association as one of the best-preserved Civil Rights Movement resources in Nashville. Although the 1981 addition to the education wing altered the exterior appearance of the church, as a whole the Clark complex continues to look, feel, and operate as it did during its period of significance (1945–1964).

³ Jennifer Adebanjo, Email to Caroline Eller, August 31, 2023.

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

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

N/A

Property is:

- A Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B removed from its original location.
- C a birthplace or grave.
- D a cemetery.
- E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F a commemorative property less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years.
- G significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Ethnic Heritage: Black

Social History: Civil Rights Movement

Period of Significance

1945–1964

Significant Dates

1958

1960

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

Lawson, James Morris, Jr.

Walker, Charles Julian

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

Sundt, Thoralf M. (Sundt & Wenner)

Wenner, Bruce Chester (Sundt & Wenner)

Fink, Alpha Hensel (Sundt & Wenner)

Jones, Clair Maurice

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Statement of Significance Summary

The Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex (Clark complex) is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) under Criterion A for its local significance in the areas of Ethnic History: Black and Social History: Civil Rights Movement from 1945 to 1964. During this period, the Clark Complex hosted training workshops, community meetings, conferences, fundraising, and other imperative events associated with Nashville's Civil Rights Movement. The complex contains a Parsonage and the Walker House, which served as the homes of key leaders in Nashville's Civil Rights Movement during the period of significance.

The Clark complex is eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion B for its historical association with James M. Lawson Jr., who led numerous nonviolent, direct-action training workshops in the church from 1958 to 1959. Lawson trained students and young people who became leaders in the Nashville Student Movement, which resulted in the desegregation of public accommodations in Nashville and elsewhere. The Clark complex is also eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion B for its historical association with Dr. Charles J. Walker, a physician at nearby Meharry Medical College, and local leader in Nashville's Civil Rights Movement. Dr. Walker lived in a home adjacent to the church and within the complex boundary from 1942 until his death in 1997. Dr. Walker utilized his home office for financial operations of the Nashville Christian Leadership Council (NCLC), which played a crucial role in the civil rights movement.

Notably, James Lawson's workshops "represent the single most important local development in Nashville prior to 1960 and perhaps the third most important regional development after the *Brown* decision and the Montgomery Bus Boycott," according to historian Everett Lee, who completed a dissertation on Nashville's Civil Rights Movement, "Lawson's workshops helped to make 1960 the most active protest year to that point in the history of the Black freedom struggle...Nashville's sit-in expertise was only possible because of the workshops." Clark's pivotal role in this regard is confirmed by workshop participants. According to Matthew Walker Jr. (1942–2016), a prominent civil rights attorney, "Clark was the birthplace of the civil rights movement in Nashville. This is the cradle."⁴

The Clark complex meets the registration requirements as identified in 'The Civil Rights Movement in Nashville, Tennessee, 1942–1969' Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) for the Strategy Centers, Conflict Centers, and Properties Associated with Prominent Persons property types. As a religious property, the Clark complex meets the requirements of Criteria Consideration A due to its historical importance in ethnic history and social history.

Narrative Statement of Significance

The Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex (Clark complex) is comprised of three buildings that played a fundamental role in Nashville's Civil Rights Movement during the period of significance (1945–1964),

⁴ Michael Cass, "A Movement Emerges in Nashville: Area Students Led the Way," *The Tennessean*, January 27, 2013, accessed May 27, 2023, <http://content-static.tennessean.com/civil-rights/index.html>; Kwame Leo Lillard, "Clark Memorial Methodist Church," *I'll Take You There: Exploring Nashville's Social Justice Sites*, edited by Amie Thurber and Learotha Williams Jr., Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2021, 163–164; Barry Everett Lee, "The Nashville Civil Rights Movement: A Study of the Phenomenon of Intentional Leadership Development and its Consequences for Local Movements and the National Civil Rights Movement," Dissertation, Georgia State University, Atlanta, 2010, 166–167.

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when the city desegregated its schools and public accommodations. The Clark complex is considered one of the principal places and focal points associated with Nashville's Civil Rights Movement as well as the cradle of the Nashville Student Movement, which propelled the sit-ins of 1960 and Freedom Riders in 1961, and continues to inspire students and young people throughout the country to effect change.

Between 1945 and 1964, the church hosted meetings and workshops for important civil rights advocacy groups, including the Southern Regional Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) in 1945, a Freedom Rally for the Nashville chapter of the NAACP in 1953, the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) Conference in 1961, and the Nashville Christian Leadership Council (NCLC) from 1958 to 1964. The Clark complex was also home to local civil rights leaders including Rev. Robert W. Kelly (1913–2006), Rev. Alexander Mattan Anderson Jr. (1928–1965), and Dr. Charles Julian Walker (1912–1997).

The Clark complex is diametrically associated with James Morris "Jim" Lawson Jr. (1928-2024) who hosted numerous nonviolent, direct-action training workshops in the sanctuary's education wing in 1958 and 1959. Through these weekly workshops, Lawson trained hundreds of students and young people in the methods of Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) to effect social change through nonviolent resistance and methods such as protest marches, demonstrations, economic boycotts, and noncompliance with local segregation laws. These methods resulted in the successful desegregation of public accommodations in Nashville and other cities throughout the U.S. Lawson's workshops held at Clark Memorial Methodist Church had a momentous impact on young people who shaped the Nashville Student Movement and altered the trajectory of the modern Civil Rights Movement.

Since its founding in 1865 under the direction of Bishop Davis W. Clark (1812–1871), first president of the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the congregation has transitioned through several name changes, including Clarke Chapel (1865–1882), Clarke Chapel Methodist Episcopal Church (1882–1899), Clark Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church (1899–1939), Clark Memorial Methodist Church (1939–1968), and Clark Memorial United Methodist Church (1968–current). (Records indicate the "e" was dropped in 1899.) Additionally, the congregation has worshipped in multiple church facilities in Nashville. Locally, the congregation and its facility are commonly known as "Clark." For the purposes of brevity and clarity, unless otherwise noted, the congregation and church will be referred to as Clark in this document. The nomination refers to Clark Memorial Methodist Church since that is the historic name used during the period of significance (1945–1964). The following is an individual historical overview of the three buildings that comprise the Clark complex.⁵

Clark Memorial Methodist Church

In early 1936, the Clark congregation made the decision to relocate to North Nashville from its longtime home in the downtown "Black Bottom" neighborhood, which was undergoing significant change due to the construction of a four-block extension of Franklin Street through a residential area. The congregation sold its Franklin Street church facility, built in 1899 across the street from St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, and temporarily relocated its worship services to the auditorium of the Seventh-Day

⁵ Clark Atlanta University, a historical Black college founded in 1869, was also named for Bishop Davis W. Clark.

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Adventist Church at the intersection of 12th Avenue North and Meharry Boulevard. In the fall of 1936, the Clark congregation launched a fundraising campaign to build a new church facility near the campuses of Fisk University and Meharry Medical College. The Clark Ladies' Guild was heavily involved with the fundraising campaign. In September 1936, Rev. Julius C. Johnson (1887–1983) issued a “call for 100 women to rally in a special drive.” A year later, the Clark congregation had raised sufficient funds to purchase a 0.69-acre corner lot at the intersection of Phillips Street and 14th Avenue North, two blocks from the Fisk campus. The heirs of Spencer G. Scovel, a white businessman, sold the lot to the congregation for \$2,000 on September 28, 1937.⁶

In March 1938, the congregation unveiled architectural plans for a new church facility estimated to cost \$30,000. The congregation hired Sundt & Wenner, an architectural firm based in Philadelphia, to prepare the schematic design of a new English Gothic Revival-style campus featuring a sanctuary, parsonage, educational building, and other support structures (Figure 1). Formed in 1929, the principals of the firm included Thoralf M. Sundt (1896–1967) and Bruce Chester Wenner (1893–1947), both graduates of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1936, the firm changed its name to Sundt, Wenner & Fink to reflect the promotion of Alpha Hensel Fink (1903–1999) as a partner. In the 1920s, both Sundt and Wenner served as architects in the Philadelphia office of the Methodist Episcopal Church’s Bureau of Architecture. The firm maintained its association with church architecture, especially that of Methodist Episcopal churches. Wenner and Fink were also professors in the Department of Architecture at Drexel University in Philadelphia. Similar churches designed by the firm during this period include St. Peter’s Evangelical Church, completed in 1935 at Wardensville, West Virginia, and the First Presbyterian Church (NRHP, 2001) completed in 1937 at Kings Mountain, North Carolina. Architectural records indicate that A. Hensel Fink was the architect-of-record for these two churches, and other similar churches from that period, thus making it likely that Fink was the lead architect for Clark as well.⁷

In March 1939, the Clark congregation relaunched their fundraising campaign for the new church facility; however, fundraising was difficult during the Great Depression. Fundraising events such as concerts and entertainment were held at other churches. On May 11, 1941, the congregation held a groundbreaking ceremony presided over by Bishop A. P. Shaw and Dr. J. A. McMillan. The ceremony raised \$1,500 for the building fund. In September, the Methodist Church appointed Rev. Dubro Merriweather Grisham (1911–2003), a recent graduate of Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, as pastor and Rev. Johnson as

⁶ Marilyn Magee Talbert, “Still on the Journey: A History of Clark Memorial United Methodist Church, 1865–2010,” unpublished document, 2010, 7–8; Calvin Atchison and Edna Minaya, “Clark Memorial United Methodist Church: One Hundred Twentieth Anniversary Celebration, 1867–1987,” unpublished document, 1987, n.p.; Mattie Carr Chavis, “Activities of Colored People,” *Nashville Banner*, September 6, 1936, 8; Mattie Carr Chavis, “News of Interest to Colored People,” *Nashville Banner*, November 29, 1936, 46; Mattie Carr Chavis, “News of Interest to Colored People,” *Nashville Banner*, September 13, 1936, 6; Luther Carmichael, “News of Colored People,” *Tennessean*, March 1, 1936, 16; Davidson County Deed Book 1049, 178–179, Davidson County Register of Deeds, Nashville, Tennessee. The Seventh-Day Adventist Church, located at 1027 12th Avenue North, was purchased by the Church of God in 1973 and replaced with a new church in 1974.

⁷ *Nashville Banner*, “Drive Is Launched To Raise Funds for Building New Church,” March 16, 1938, 18; Sarah L. Tatman, “Sundt & Wenner Architects,” Philadelphia Architects and Buildings, 2023, accessed June 11, 2023, https://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display_relations.cfm/55140; George S. Koyl, ed. *American Architects Directory*. New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1956, 171. First Presbyterian Church at Kings Mountain was NRHP listed as a contributing resource in the Central School Historic District.

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superintendent. That December, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, and the U.S. entered World War II. This succession of disruptive events delayed construction of the new church facility. During construction, the congregation held a cornerstone laying ceremony on July 13, 1942 (Figure 2). Construction was slow and continued for the next two years. After three years, the church was ready (Figure 3). On Palm Sunday, March 25, 1945, the congregation ceremoniously marched two blocks from their temporary worship facility at the Seventh-Day Adventist auditorium to the completed sanctuary.⁸

One of the first community events held in the new sanctuary was a benefit concert on May 6, 1945, featuring performances by students representing the drama and music departments at Fisk University, Meharry Medical College, and the Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University, better known as Tennessee A&I (NRHP, 1996). Proceeds from the event went to purchasing new hymn books and to the building fund. Within months of opening the new church facility, Rev. Grisham and the Clark congregation began hosting community meetings at the sanctuary focused on race relations. From October 5–7, 1945, Clark hosted the Southern Regional Conference of FOR. Founded in 1915, FOR was an interfaith pacifist organization that emphasized Gandhian nonviolent alternatives to conflict and the rights of conscience, as well as an interracial organization that advocated for African American civil rights. During the three-day conference, Clark hosted prominent speakers such as Bishop Paul B. Kern of the Methodist Church; Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, pastor of Central Methodist Church in Detroit; and Dr. Broadus Mitchell, an academic economist from New York. A few days earlier, Dr. Mitchell had spoken in Richmond, Virginia, to Phi Beta Kappa against segregated schools. The FOR conference held its worship services at the Fisk University Memorial Chapel (NRHP, 1978). All sessions at Clark were open to the public.⁹

Rev. Dubro Merriweather Grisham, a Murfreesboro native and graduate of Tennessee A&I, continued to pastor at Clark until May 1953, when he was transferred to Memphis and replaced by Rev. Leonard L. Haynes (1898–1996). A native of Texas, Haynes was involved with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In October 1953, he served as the keynote speaker for a Freedom Rally hosted by the NAACP at Mt. Olive Baptist Church. At the rally, Haynes declared, “The one weak spot in the armor of American democracy—racial segregation—is showing a serious defect before the world in the struggle with communism. America is telling the dark people of the world about democracy, but they know there are 15,000,000 American Negroes still living under the caste system. As long as there is one segment of [America’s] citizens bound to second class citizenship, America itself is not free.”¹⁰

⁸ “Negro Church To Launch Drive For Building Fund,” *Nashville Banner*, March 10, 1939, 23; “Clark Memorial Church Seeks New Building,” *Nashville Banner*, March 24, 1939, 18; “Men’s Day Program,” *Nashville Banner*, February 2, 1940, 11; “Ministers Solo Contest,” *Nashville Banner*, April 25, 1941, 34; “Solo Contest,” *Tennessean*, April 27, 1941, 40; Atchison and Minaya, “Anniversary Celebration,” 1987, n.p.; Talbert 2010, 9; “Ground Breaking,” *Tennessean*, May 11, 1941, 44; *The Tennessean*, May 18, 1941, 39. The Seventh-Day Adventist Church auditorium is no longer extant.

⁹ “Drama and Music Concert,” *The Tennessean*, May 6, 1945, 48; “Phi Beta Kappa Segregation Stand Debated,” *Nashville Banner*, October 3, 1945, 1; “Pacifist and Race Group To Meet Here,” *Nashville Banner*, September 28, 1945, 1, 4; “Detroit Pastor To Speak Here,” *Tennessean*, September 30, 1945, 30; “Labor Director To Speak Here,” *The Tennessean*, October 6, 1945, 4. The Memorial Chapel is NRHP-listed as part of the Fisk University Historic District. TSU was then known as Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University or Tennessee A&I. The name was changed to Tennessee State University in 1968.

¹⁰ “Segregation Called U.S. Weak Spot Before the World,” *Nashville Banner*, October 12, 1953, 21.

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On Sunday, December 6, 1953, Rev. Haynes hosted a Freedom Rally at Clark for the Nashville chapter of the NAACP. At the rally, local attorney Avon N. Williams Jr. (1921–1994) told attendees they were “in a fight for scores of their rights denied them by laws and customs.” The event was one of two events the NAACP hosted in Nashville that year as part of demonstrations held across the country to raise funds for school desegregation lawsuits, including one scheduled to be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court the next day. Williams told the audience “A large group of white people in the South and other parts of the United States are determined to keep the Negro in his place and Negroes may have become too blinded by the dangerous tradition of conformity to realize we are in a fight.”¹¹

After the U.S. Supreme Court issued their ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* in May 1954, which determined racial segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional, the Nashville chapter of the NAACP created a committee to develop a “plan of positive action to seek immediate desegregation of Nashville schools.” Rev. Haynes was chosen to chair the committee, which included several professors at nearby Fisk University.¹²

One of the first actions taken by Rev. Haynes was an initiative to enlarge the Clark church facility with a two-story education wing extending from the south side, as shown in the original 1937 architectural plans created by Sundt & Wenner. After \$33,000 in funds were secured, construction began in January 1956 and was completed on July 8, 1956. The wing contained a nursery, classrooms, pastor’s study, kitchen, and large assembly area on the second floor (Figures 4–5). By expanding the existing sanctuary, the congregation was able to avoid relocating to a larger church building and to host community events for the surrounding neighborhoods and students at Fisk and Meharry.¹³

In July 1957, Rev. Haynes was replaced by Rev. Robert William Kelly (1913–2006). A native of Springfield, Ohio, Rev. Kelly attended Ohio Wesleyan University and New York’s Union Theological Seminary, a center of liberal Christianity affiliated with neighboring Columbia University. He also completed graduate work at Cornell University and the University of Minnesota. Prior to Clark, Rev. Kelly was a Methodist minister in New York, Minneapolis, and St. Louis. He also taught briefly in the late 1930s at Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina. At Clark, Rev. Kelly’s household included his wife Mattie Edna Johnson Kelly (1918–2003), a nurse originally from Arkansas, and their two children who attended Pearl High School. A few years after marriage in 1943, Rev. Kelly and his wife served as Methodist missionaries in Liberia. In St. Louis, Rev. Kelly was involved with the NAACP and the social justice movement. In Nashville, he served on the board of directors as chaplain for the Nashville chapter of the NAACP.¹⁴

¹¹ “Negroes Told They are In Fight for Rights,” *Nashville Banner*, December 7, 1953, 3

¹² “Negro Leaders Agree to Seek School Rights Now,” *Nashville Banner*, May 26, 1954, 2

¹³ “Clark Memorial Opens New Building Today,” *The Tennessean*, July 8, 1956, 35; Atchison and Minaya, “Anniversary Celebration,” 1987, n.p.; “Dubro M. Grisham Obituary,” *The Index-Journal* [Greenwood, SC], October 11, 2003, 4.

¹⁴ “Kelley Elected President of Local NAACP,” *Nashville Banner*, December 24, 1968, 4; “Tenn. Annual Conference Methodist Church Meets,” *Memphis World*, July 4, 1959, 3; “Methodists to Convene Wednesday,” *Nashville Banner*, June 4, 1957, 3; Board of Missions of the United Methodist Church, “Mission Photograph Album - Portraits #06 Page 118,” *UMC Digital Galleries*, accessed June 10, 2023, <https://catalog.gcah.org/omeka/items/show/60442>; *Springfield News-Sun*, “Religious Notes,” July 2, 1938, 5; “Former Stowite to Wed Minneapolis Pastor,” *St. Louis Argus*, May 21, 1943, 2; “Rally Sparks NAACP Drive Here,” *St. Louis*

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Rev. Kelly continued the church's role as host for community meetings focused on race relations. In June 1957, Clark hosted a meeting about school desegregation in Nashville. At this meeting JohnEtta Hayes (1915–2008), vice president of the Nashville chapter of the NAACP, advised parents of Black children to be integrated to remain cooperative and have faith in the board of education to comply with *Brown*. In August 1957, the church hosted an interracial meeting with an address by Rev. Ashton Jones, a white Quaker minister from Atlanta, who had been arrested in Miami after challenging members of the White Citizens Council about integrating a neighborhood there.¹⁵

Rev. Kelly was passionate about school desegregation and quickly became involved with the movement in Nashville. On September 9, 1957, Rev. Kelly accompanied Black parents and their children as they desegregated Glenn Elementary School in East Nashville. During the event, teenage white boys stood behind Rev. Kelly and pretended to measure him for a coffin. He remained undeterred. "We encouraged them to assert their citizenship rights by going to the public school nearest them," stated Rev. Kelly. "If aid to these parents had not been given, Nashville would have failed to have desegregated." Rev. Kelly met with school board leaders to try to convince them to allow more Black students to transfer to white schools nearest to their homes. His efforts were unsuccessful. In October 1957, Rev. Kelly published a letter to the editor of *The Tennessean* arguing for full school desegregation instead of the grade-per-year plan.¹⁶ Entitled "The Moral and Spiritual Obligation to the World," the letter stated:

There are indications that the officials involved in the desegregation struggle are being asked to be patient, kind and considerate of the stern segregationist. I think that all persons who have studied the story of desegregation are conscious of the emotional upheaval and the social reorientation that must take place in the thinking and living of all Americans.

Some Americans face the desegregation order and their heads fail them so they argue with their feet.

The federal courts must keep the segregationist's feet to the fire of divine and human indignation. The separate but equal philosophy and pattern has had its day. In spite of a fine new school building with fine new equipment provided for Negro children occasionally, the great bulk of the Negro children and youth go to the poorest schools. The dual education system has been a drain upon the public funds and blind use of human and material resources. If the segregated school system has been a blessing for Negro and white children and for the states which have provided such education why are the lowest standards of education found in these very school systems? Booker T. Washington said 'The only way to keep a man in the ditch is to stay with him.' This is the sad debacle of the segregated school system.

¹⁵ Argus, May 2, 1952, 1; "Pastor is Wed," *Springfield News-Sun* [Springfield, Ohio], October 1, 1943, 2; "Robert W. Kelly, Border Church Pastor, Married," *St. Paul Recorder*, September 24, 1943, 3.

¹⁶ Caroline Eller, "JohnEtta Hayes (1915–2008)," Nashville Conference on African American History and Culture, 2023; "Atlantan to Tell Of His Racial Clash," *The Tennessean*, September 1, 1957, 4.

¹⁶ Wallace Westfeldt, "Attendance Off By 25–30 Pct.," *The Tennessean*, September 10, 1957, 1–2; Anna Holden, *A First Step Toward School Integration*. New York, Congress for Racial Equality, June 1958, 5, 10, 12. Glenn Elementary School was demolished in 1988.

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The process of desegregation has been working in American society for the past 87 years. The mixed school which has been the prevailing educational unit has been producing students who have learned that racial educational differences are of minor rather than major significance. The similarities of children trained in the same school outweigh the differences which may show. The so-called racial intelligence myth has been exploded. The myth of racial supremacy has disappeared. We must build for the future on the basis of interracial goodwill.

For the past 87 years the reaction against the prevailing pattern of the mixed school has been going on. The reaction has spent itself against the rising tide of the interracial goodwill. Too many Negro and white teachers have been trained in integrated institutions to believe in the assumed values of segregated education.

Americans have a moral and spiritual obligation to tell the world that the reaction of segregation is evil and divisive. Governor Faubus says that he must not put bayonets in the back of Arkansas citizens but he forgets that he used the national guard to prevent desegregation and the entrance to nine Negro pupils into Central High school, Little Rock. I guess that he has forgotten that he is governor of all the citizens of Arkansas.

Let us unite and build a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. We have nothing to lose but our neuroses, psychosis, hypertension and our coronary thrombosis.¹⁷

In June 1958, Anna Holden (1929–2023), a white professor at Fisk University and member of the Nashville chapter of the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), published a booklet on efforts to desegregate schools in Nashville. Holden noted Rev. Kelly's role in desegregating Glenn Elementary School the year before and included several quotes from him due to his integral efforts in school desegregation. The CORE booklet contained a forward by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968), who wrote: "Nashville was an important test of non-violent techniques in the schools. The outcome suggests the same methods can be used in other southern communities where court-ordered integration is being thwarted by terrorism."¹⁸

On August 24, 1958, Rev. Kelly and Clark hosted the "Forum on Desegregation of the First and Second Grades of the Nashville Public Schools," sponsored by the Commission of Christian Social Relations of the Methodist Church and the Women's Society of Christian Service at Clark. Superintendent of Nashville Public Schools W. H. Oliver and consultants on racial matters spoke on procedures for registering Black first graders at desegregated elementary schools. John Kasper (1929–1998), a notorious white supremacist, and several associates with the White Citizens Council attended the forum. They stood at the back wall or sat in the rear rows (Figure 6). The meeting was disrupted by a bomb threat telephone call to the Nashville police and fire departments. No bomb was found so the meeting resumed after a 25-minute delay. Around 125 people were in attendance. Afterwards, the FBI interviewed Dr. Vivian W. Henderson (1923–1976), a professor at Fisk and member of Clark who had chaired the event. Based on this and other interviews, the

¹⁷ Rev. R. W. Kelly, "Moral and Spiritual Obligation to the World," *Tennessean*, October 18, 1957, 19.

¹⁸ Holden, *A First Step*, 1958, 1; Paul Murray, "Anna Holden: Civil Rights Activist and Social Scientist," Civil Rights Movement Archive, April 4, 2023, accessed June 11, 2023, <https://www.crmvet.org/mem/holdena.htm>.

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FBI determined that three white men, including Kasper, had arrived at the church in a 1940 Plymouth registered to Lee Foster, secretary of the White Citizens Council at Knoxville.¹⁹

In September 1958, Rev. Kelly and Clark opened the new education wing to James M. Lawson Jr., a student at Vanderbilt University's Divinity School, for hosting nonviolent, direct-action training workshops. The workshops were sponsored by the NCLC, which held regular business meetings at Clark. Rev. Glenn E. Smiley (1910–1993), a white minister and national field secretary for the FOR, hosted the initial nonviolent workshops in Nashville from March 26 to March 28, 1958, at the Bethel AME Church in the Edgehill neighborhood. Rev. Smiley was assisted by Lawson, representing FOR, and Anna Holden, representing CORE. The interracial workshops were on "Christian non-violence and love." Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy (1926–1990) of Montgomery, Alabama, spoke during the two-day event, which was open to the public.²⁰

James M. Lawson Jr.

James Morris "Jim" Lawson Jr. (1928-2024) grew up in Ohio. His father was an itinerant Methodist minister and social justice activist, and his mother was a Jamaican immigrant. Lawson received his ministry license in 1947. While attending Baldwin-Wallace College, an integrated Methodist institution in Berea, Ohio, he joined both CORE and FOR, a New York-based Christian peace group committed to promoting racial integration and nonviolent direct action. FOR director A.J. Muste stressed that pacifism originated with Christianity, which had a decisive impact on Lawson. Lawson refused to report for duty in the U.S. military when drafted during the Korean conflict. Lawson was found guilty of draft evasion and sentenced to two years in federal prison. He served 13 months at Mill Point, West Virginia, and Ashland, Kentucky, before being paroled in May 1952. He then finished his degree at Baldwin-Wallace. From 1953 to 1956, Lawson studied the principles of nonviolent resistance developed by Mohandas Gandhi while working as a Methodist missionary teacher at Hislop College in Nagpur, India. As such, Lawson followed in the footsteps of other individuals who brought the Gandhian dogma to the U.S. from India in the 1940s and 1950s where the principles were discovered and taught firsthand.²¹

¹⁹ "Kasper Joins Evacuees," *Nashville Banner*, August 25, 1958, 1; *Nashville Banner*, August 25, 1958, 1; FBI Files: Frederick John Kasper, 1957–1961; White Citizens Councils Internal Security FBI Memo, August 27, 1958; Betsy Phillips, "Ordinary Bravery at Clark Memorial Methodist Church," *Nashville Scene*, May 15, 2017; Bobby L. Lovett, *The Civil Rights Movement in Tennessee: A Narrative History*, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 2005, 75-76.

²⁰ David Halberstam, *The Children*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1998, 49; Lovett 2005, 122; Samuel Dingkee Momodu, "In it for the Long Haul: The Nashville Sit-Ins, Pioneering Non-Violence Training and National Leadership," Thesis, Southern New Hampshire University, 2019:19; Samuel Momodu, "Nashville Christian Leadership Council (1958-1964)," Blackpast, June 3, 2020, accessed August 1, 2023, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/institutions-african-american-history/nashville-christian-leadership-council-1958-1964/>; Nashville Christian Leadership Council, "Toward the Beloved Community: Story of the Nashville Christian Leadership Council," Nashville, 1961; *The Tennessean*, "Church To Study Non-Violence," March 24, 1958, 4; Linda T. Wynn, "The Dawning of a New Day: The Nashville Sit-Ins, February 13-May 10, 1960," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Spring 1991), 44; David E. Sumner, "The Local Press and the Nashville Student Movement," Dissertation, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1989, 22.

²¹ David E. Sumner, "James M. Lawson Jr.," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, accessed June 18, 2023, <https://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entries/james-e-lawson-jr/>; Halberstam 1998, 13–14, 20–50; Wynn 1991, 44; Caroline Eller, "John Robert Lewis (1940–2022)," in Bobby Lovett, Linda T. Wynn, and Caroline Eller, editors, *Profiles of African Americans in Tennessee*. Nashville, Tennessee, 2021, 163–165; Isaac, Larry W., Daniel B. Cornfield, Dennis C. Dickerson, James M. Lawson

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Upon returning to Ohio in 1956, he entered graduate school at Oberlin College's Divinity School, where in the fall of 1956 he met Dr. King during a private luncheon in the campus cafeteria. Professor Harvey Cox had arranged for Dr. King and Lawson to sit at the same table, where they engaged in a long conversation. Dr. King encouraged Lawson to move to Nashville. "We don't have anyone like you down there," he stated. "We need you right now. Please don't delay. Come as quickly as you can." The request was urgent. "Yes, I understand," replied Lawson. "I'll arrange my affairs, and I'll come as quickly as I can."²²

An emergency appendectomy required Lawson to stay in Ohio longer than he anticipated. Meanwhile, Rev. Glenn E. Smiley offered Lawson a job as a FOR field secretary in the South. Lawson accepted. After considering Atlanta, Rev. Smiley instead stationed Lawson in Nashville, which Rev. Smiley viewed as the "Protestant Vatican" since it served as the headquarters for so many Southern religious groups, their publishing arms, and their sectarian colleges. Nashville was also home to four prominent Black colleges, moderate political leaders, and progressive journalists. Furthermore, Nashville was home to the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University and located near the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, where Lawson would "make many Montgomerys," referring to the 1955–1956 Montgomery Bus Boycott.²³

In February 1958, Lawson moved to Nashville where he enrolled in Vanderbilt University's Divinity School and soon became the NCLC's special projects director, where he worked with Rev. Kelly Miller Smith Sr. (1924–1980), pastor at First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill. Rev. Smith had been exposed to the Gandhian doctrine during his religious studies at Howard University, whose religious scholars employed discourse about Gandhian strategy and civil rights. Through this role, the NCLC assigned Lawson the task of leading nonviolent training workshops. Since Lawson's classes at Vanderbilt would not begin until September, he initially rented an apartment owned by attorney and Meharry instructor Murray G. Blakemore (1912–1972) in Nashville's Edgehill neighborhood. By August 1959, he had moved to the College Hill Apartments near the Tennessee A&I campus, living in the same building as Rev. C. T. Vivian (1924–2020), the pastor of First Community Church in North Nashville.²⁴

In a letter to Dr. Mel O. Williams Jr., a senior staff member for the Methodist Church Board of Missions in New York, Lawson stated:

I came to Nashville on Feb 3rd. I took a job for three months. Along with Glenn Smiley and Ralph Abernathy, we are a special three month team to preach and teach the theology and techniques of Christian non-violence as related to racial problems, specifically to

Jr., and Jonathan S. Coley, "'Movement Schools' and Dialogical Diffusion of Nonviolent Praxis: Nashville Workshops in the Southern Civil Rights Movement," in *Nonviolent Conflict and Civil Resistance: Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, Emerald Group Publishing, Vol. 34, 2012, 160, 165. The "Movement Schools" article was based on lengthy interviews conducted from 2007–2012 with 38 veterans of the Nashville Student Movement and James Lawson.

²² Halberstam 1998, 13–14, 20–50.

²³ Sumner 2018; Halberstam 1998, 13–14, 20–50; Wynn 1991, 44; Isaac 2012, 162–163, 166. Lawson quote from 2007 interview with Isaac.

²⁴ Sumner 2018; Halberstam 1998, 13–14, 20–50; Wynn 1991, 44; James M. Lawson Jr. Papers, Vanderbilt University Special Collections; Isaac 2012, 164. Lawson initially lived in Murray G. Blakemore's house at 1404 South Street, before moving into an apartment that Blakemore owned across the street at 1407 South Street. Blakemore was a prominent Black attorney, dentistry instructor at Meharry Medical College, and former member of the Tennessee House of Representative.

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integration. Thus far, returning to Nashville has been like old home week because I had the chance to renew friendships with so many former colleagues. After the three month period, the FOR will likely want me to stay on either out of New York or Nashville.²⁵

Rev. Smiley and Lawson convinced Rev. Smith to allow them to present the Gandhian doctrine of nonviolence to the NCLC. He agreed. Subsequently, the NCLC and FOR hosted their first nonviolent direct-action workshops in March 1958 at Bethel AME Church in Edgehill. Beginning in September 1958, the NCLC and FOR sponsored a protracted series of Lawson's nonviolent direct-action workshops. The workshops were held weekly on Tuesday evenings. The small group of students who initially attended the workshops included John Lewis (1940–2020) and Bernard Lafayette (b.1940) from American Baptist Theological Seminary (NRHP, 2013). In October, more students joined the workshops, including Diane Nash, Marion Barry (1936–2014), Angeline Butler, Peggy Alexander, Paul LaPrad, and James Zwerg, all from Fisk University. Other participants included Rev. C. T. Vivian and James Bevel (1936–2008) from American Baptist College, Rodney N. Powell and Gloria Johnson (1936–2017) from Meharry Medical College, and Novella Page from Tennessee A&I. Students at Pearl High School such as Vencen Horsley participated as well. Although Lawson initially hosted workshops at First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill, the majority were held at Clark due to its proximity to students from Fisk University, Meharry Medical College, and Tennessee A&I. Lawson's workshops at Clark continued through December 1959 (Figures 7–8).²⁶

While teaching the workshops, Lawson traveled the South, lecturing, teaching workshops, and coordinating action plans for the sit-in movement to come. In the fall of 1958, Lawson took several students, including John Lewis and James Bevel, to a weekend retreat at the Highlander Folk School, where they participated in sessions with civil rights activists Myles Horton (1905–1990), Septima Clark (1898–1987), Guy Carawan (1927–2015), and others. The workshops with Horton and Clark particularly inspired Lewis, who left Highlander deeply inspired to act.²⁷

Initially the workshops focused on adults and included films about the Montgomery bus boycott. However, they quickly evolved into primarily student workshops. Lawson had an extraordinary impact on the students who participated in the workshops. At one of the initial workshops held at First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill, John Lewis recalled:

²⁵ James M. Lawson, letter to Dr. M.O. Miller, February 14, 1958. James M. Lawson Jr. Papers, Vanderbilt University.

²⁶ Kelly Miller Smith Sr. Papers; Lovett 2005 122; Lewis 1998, 83–93; Halberstam 1998, 56, 59–82; Vencen Horsley, telephone interview with Natalie Bell, September 15, 2023; Interview with Rev. James Lawson, interview with Blackside, Inc. on December 2, 1985, for *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1954-1964)*, Washington University Libraries, Film and Media Archive, Henry Hampton Collection; Sumner 2018; Isaac, 2012, 166; Linda T. Wynn, "Diane J. Nash," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, accessed June 18, 2023, <https://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entries/diane-j-nash/>; Amanda Huggett, "Always the Backbone, Rarely the Leaders: Young Black Women Activists and the Reconceptualization of Respectability during the Nashville Sit-in Movement," Thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 2008, 8-12. While a student at Vanderbilt, James Lawson was a licensed minister; however, since he was not a pastor for a congregation, he did not use the Reverend title at that time. Workshops were held in the basement of First Baptist Church, which was demolished in the late 1970s, but not in the small basement of Clark, which houses HVAC equipment. Some records have erroneously confused the two churches.

²⁷ Lewis 1998, 83–93; Isaac 2012, 166.

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Even before he began speaking, I could see that there was something special about this man. He just had a way about him, an aura of inner peace and wisdom that you could sense immediately upon simply seeing him. He was tall, bespectacled, and about to turn thirty...Lawson gave a very general talk, an overview of the great religions of the world—Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity—and he offered the suggestion that all these religions share a fundamental tenant: the concept of justice. This, he told us, would be the theme we were going to explore in the workshops that would begin that Tuesday night—and every Tuesday night thereafter—at a little church over near the Fisk campus called Clark Memorial United Methodist.²⁸

One of the most faithful participants, Lewis later described Lawson's workshops:

It was like going to class; we would go and study the philosophy and discipline of nonviolence. There was very little discussion during the early workshops about segregation or racial discrimination or about the possibility of being involved in a sit-in or freedom ride. I did sense that it was going to lead to something...²⁹

Another regular participant, Rev. C. T. Vivian, then a student at American Baptist College, described Lawson's workshops:

When Jim Lawson came to the city, he began to organize students, right. And most of that for both the students and we who were ministers, was that we had workshops. And the workshops in nonviolence made the difference. We began to, first, understand the theory, understand the philosophy behind it. The great religious imperatives that were important in terms of understanding people. Then, finally, the tactics. Then, finally, the techniques. How to, in fact, begin to take the blows. Cigarettes put out on you. The fact that you were being spit on and still, still respond with some sense of dignity and with a loving concept to what you were about. To be hit and to be knocked down and to understand that in terms of struggle and in terms of reaching conscience. In terms of, of gaining the greater goals for which you sought. Now, we actually done that, I mean, we actually beat people to the ground. We actually poured coffee on people. We actually did the various things to people. Kicked chairs out from under them, all right. Came on them in a crowded situation so that they could begin to get used to it. How did they respond? So, they could begin to understand, respond not in terms of verbiage, but in terms of actuality. You see, it is in the action that ethics is tested and this is one of the great learnings of the nonviolent movement.”³⁰

²⁸ Lewis 1998, 83–84; Isaac 2012, 166.

²⁹ Jim Sessions and Sue Thrasher. “A New Day Begun: Interview with John Lewis.” *Southern Exposure*, No. 4, Fall 1976, 19, as quoted in Sumner 1989, 24.

³⁰ C.T. Vivian, interview with Blackside, Inc. on January 23, 1986, for *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1954–1964)*, Washington University Libraries, Film and Media Archive, Henry Hampton Collection.

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As a child growing up in segregated Florida, Bernard Lafayette was taught that when “I got grown I would work to change things.” Lewis convinced Lafayette to attend one of Lawson’s workshops. “In the Nonviolence Workshop, all of this came together,” explained Lafayette. “The concept of love and segregation and bringing about change. I was thrilled my life goals were coming together.” At the workshops, Lawson taught Lafayette to face fear and how to avoid using violent force to achieve his goals. “Nonviolence was another way of using force without bringing hate to other people,” stated Lafayette. “This was a whole new revelation to me...Jim Lawson put this together for me and helped me understand it as a strategy for Social Action.”³¹ Lafayette recalled his time at Clark:

In Jim Lawson’s workshop, we trained people to put together a strategy to bring about change. It wasn’t getting together to protest. It’s where we were first starting our training to protest, i.e. sit-in at whites only lunch counters. After we sat down at the counter, we left when the police came to arrest us. We would go back to Clark and do more simulations, and then we would go back through what we had experienced at the lunch counters. We were preparing ourselves to respond to what we experienced. We didn’t just go to protest. We went through simulations. In our workshops, we practiced through what we would be going through. It was like practicing Boot Camp, to prepare yourself emotionally for what to expect, to condition your emotions, so that you don’t react [to violence, instead] you ‘respond.’ You’re doing this based on your training.³²

According to Lawson, in March 1959 the NCLC decided during a workshop at First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill that making the “opening of the rest rooms and dining rooms [at Cain-Sloan Department Store] to Negroes [was] a specific goal.” Members of the NCLC felt that the white-only facilities within the departments stores illustrated the hypocrisy of the governing economic policies of allowing Black customers to purchase goods in the aisles, but not meals in the dining areas. The NCLC attempted to negotiate with downtown merchants but failed to reach their goal of desegregated lunch counters. “So, in the workshops role playing was often realistic, that is, we would set up confrontations in workshops where a person might get slapped or hit or knocked down and we would experiment, you know, we would help the person walk through how do you respond to this kind of hostile situation,” explained Lawson. “So, the role playing was a part of it.”³³

In 1960, Lawson told *The Tennessean* reporter Wallace Westfeldt (1924–2015), “I held a couple of training sessions [in the fall of 1959] on non-violence at Clark Memorial. Their purpose is to inoculate in people the idea of Christian non-violence and at the same time, I wanted to give the people a chance at role playing. Set up situations and roles they may run into within their own experience.” Lawson stated, “The students started to enter the picture at this point, sometime along in November, and by the time the first sit in group went to Harveys [Department Store], there were more students in the workshop than anyone else.” Westfeldt asked Lawson about his role. Lawson replied, “I was not the leader. My understanding of the Christian non-

³¹ Bernard Lafayette, telephone interview with Natalie Bell, August 11, 2023.

³² Bernard Lafayette, telephone interview with Natalie Bell, August 11, 2023.

³³ Westfeldt 1960, 14; NCLC, “Toward the Beloved Community: Story of the Nashville Christian Leadership Council,” 1962, 3; Wynn 1991, 45; James Lawson interview with Blackside, Inc. 1985.

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violence concept is that you don't have a single leader but group leadership. You try to pull together, be creative together, have mutual trust. I sort of look on it like a small group trying to become a church, working together in the Christian spirit.”³⁴

As a result of the training workshops, on November 28, 1959, the NCLC staged a test sit-in with 12 students at Harvey's Department Store on Church Street. The store managers were made aware that the students were coming. Black customers were refused service. A few days later, on December 5, the NCLC staged a second test sit-in at Cain-Sloan Department Store on Church Street. Black customers were again refused service. “The purpose of these visits,” said Rev. Smith, “was to establish in an action situation what the store policy was and to engage representatives of the management in conversation about the situation.” Lawson headed both test sit-ins, which ceased during the students’ winter holiday break.³⁵

John Lewis recalled they continued after the students returned from winter break in January 1960. The training workshops had relocated from the basement at First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill to the assembly room at Clark Memorial Methodist Church. Angeline Butler, a workshop participant and Diane Nash’s roommate at Fisk, recalled that the move to Clark was so the workshops could be closer to the college campuses and gain participation from more students.³⁶ In his memoir, Lewis wrote:

Throughout that January [1960] the numbers at our weekly workshops swelled. Dozens of students, black and white, joined us and began taking crash courses in nonviolent action. Blacks played white roles in our training sociodramas, and whites played black. It was strange—unsettling but effective, and very eye-opening as well... We had moved to a larger upstairs room at Clark now, and we sometimes met on Thursdays in addition to our standard Tuesday evening gatherings. We were getting all kinds of involvement and all kinds of responses from those who came.”³⁷

On Monday, February 1, 1960, four Black students from North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University held a sit-in at the Woolworth Department Store’s whites-only lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. Black customers were refused service. The next day, more than 20 students returned to Woolworth’s. By Wednesday, the number had ballooned to 85. Planned with the assistance of Black female students at the Bennett College campus, the sit-ins captured national media attention and sparked a movement. On February 10, Lawson received a phone call from Rev. Douglas E. Moore (1928–2019), a civil rights activist and friend in Durham, North Carolina, encouraging him to do something in Nashville “to show their sympathy for the North Carolina sit ins.” Lawson asked Paul LaPrad, a white Fisk University student, if

³⁴ Westfeldt 1960, 14–15; Momodu 2020; Caridad de la Vega, “Clark Memorial United Methodist Church,” Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2003, 2–3. Unpublished draft National Historic Landmark Nomination. In an interview with Caridad de la Vega in 2003, Lawson stated that he did not lead any workshops at Clark in 1960.

³⁵ Westfeldt 1960, 13–14; Momodu 2020; NCLC “Story” 1962, 3; Lovett 2005, 123; Wynn 1991, 45.

³⁶ Angeline Butler, telephone interview with Natalie Bell, September 11, 2023.

³⁷ Lewis 1998, 98–99. According to Caridad de la Vega, a historian with the NPS who prepared a draft NHL nomination for Clark in 2003, Lawson stated in an interview that his workshops did not extend beyond December 1959.

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his fellow students at Fisk and Tennessee A&I would be interested in participating. LaPrad said he thought they would.³⁸

On February 11, Lawson and about 50 students from American Baptist College, Fisk University, and Tennessee A&I gathered in the auditorium of Talley-Brady Hall (NRHP, 1978) at Fisk to discuss hosting Nashville's first major sit-ins. At this meeting, the students created the Student Central Committee (SCC) with Fisk students Luther Harris and Earl Mays as the first co-chairs. However, Harris and Mays resigned about a week later and the committee elected Diane Nash as its chairperson. The SCC consisted of two Black members from each of the four Black universities and two white members from the white universities, Vanderbilt and Scarritt. Lawson set the date of the first sit-ins for February 13, a Saturday.³⁹

On February 12, Lawson and about 75 students met at First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill to plan the first sit-ins. The following day, a group of 124 people—mostly Black students—staged a massive sit-in at whites-only lunch counters at department stores, five and dime stores, and bus stations in downtown Nashville. The group walked from First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill to the stores along Church Street, the Arcade (NRHP, 1973), and 5th Avenue North, now named Rep. John Lewis Way North (NRHP, 1983). White store owners and managers immediately closed the counters and stores in response. Gloria McKissack, a freshman at Tennessee A&I, recalled that prior to the sit-ins, she and other students were given a brief orientation by Rev. Smith, Marion Barry, and John Lewis in the basement of First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill. “They showed us how to act” during the demonstration, she recalled. “After requesting service, they were to remain seated, read, or do homework. If they were attacked, they were not to hit anyone; if pushed, they were to allow their bodies to go limp.” McKissack was indeed attacked and knocked off her stool onto the floor when she attempted to integrate the lunch counter at the Wilson Quick Soda Shop.⁴⁰

The infrastructure of the workshops developed by Lawson, Smith, and others linked student leaders from the universities and colleges via the Student Central Committee to the movement churches and the broader Black community via the NCLC. Lawson’s workshops at First Baptist and Clark “served as ‘command central’ for recruiting, training, planning, organizing, and eventually launching the insurgent actions of the Nashville movement,” according to Larry W. Isaac. “This set of organizational linkages constituted a local movement center, with workshops embedded in and fueled by the local student and community organizations.” Led by Rev. Smith, the NCLC provided revenue, legal and medical assistance, and community support. The Student Central Committee mobilized students from the four Black universities. And Lawson’s workshops at First Baptist and Clark “were literally *local movement schools*.⁴¹

³⁸ Westfeldt 1960, 16; Lovett 2005, 124; Lewis 1998, 100.

³⁹ Westfeldt 1960, 16; Andy Shopler, “Shock Troops”: The Story of Nashville’s Nonviolent Army, 1959–1964,” Thesis, Dartmouth College, 1994, 24–26; Lovett 2005, 124; Lewis, 1998, 93–94, 100; Wynn, “Nash,” 2018. Shopler said it was the night of the Douglas Moore phone call, Westfeldt said it was the next day. Talley-Brady Hall is NRHP-listed as part of the Fisk University Historic District.

⁴⁰ SNCC *Student Voice*, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1960, 6; Westfeldt 1960, 13; Shopler 1994, 25–26; Sumner 1989, 68; Lovett 2005, 124; Gloria McKissack, interview with Natalie Bell, July 1, 2023. The 5th Avenue Historic District was NRHP-listed in 1983.

⁴¹ Isaac 2012, 169. Emphasis in original.

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The workshops functioned as schools where the “mental and moral dispositions” of the participants could be “shaped and influenced,” according to Larry W. Isaac. “The deliberately constructed environments, the physical places, were important. The oppositional culture and philosophical and practical conversations that were to lead insurgent actions were largely hidden in relatively safe spaces of basements and backrooms of various black churches, especially Clark Memorial United Methodist (near Fisk University) and Smith’s First Baptist.” The workshops were the “laboratory to experiment with and cultivate the beginning of ‘many Montgomerys,’ Lawson’s hope for expanding and accelerating the pace of the movement into a nonviolent revolution.”⁴²

The workshops were transformative for the students, most of whom were uncertain at first. According to James Zwerg, the students acquired strength from one another that progressed into “an incredible, spiritual bond...what Lawson used to call a soul force.” Based on interviews with many participants, Larry W. Isaac concluded that “Lawson’s movement workshops took angry, skeptical, shy, self-doubting young people and thoroughly resocialized them into effective leaders and an effective fighting force.”⁴³

Using nonviolent, direct-action techniques that Lawson taught in his weekly training workshops at Clark, the students continued the interracial sit-in demonstrations in downtown Nashville every Saturday through March 2. Hundreds of students, both Black and white, were arrested, fined, and sentenced to serve time in the city jail. “Some of the things they did to us was atrocious—spitting, cursing, pouring ketchup, mustard all over us—such hatred, heckling, taunting; we were traumatized,” recalled Novella Page. “Putting lit cigarettes on our skins and putting them out there.” The interracial sit-ins and their aftermath brought national media attention to Nashville. At a press conference held at First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill on March 1, Lawson explained that the Nashville students adopted their own rules. “When the sit-ins began in North Carolina, we were not thinking at that time in terms of mixed [race] sit-ins (in Nashville),” said Lawson. “[W]henever a movement representing real progress developed among Negroes in other cities, every Negro instinctively feels it is their movement.” However, in Nashville white students from Fisk University, Scarritt College for Christian Workers (NRHP, 1982), Vanderbilt University, and George Peabody College for Teachers (NRHP, 1966; NHL, 1965) had joined the Black students in the nonviolent workshops and sit-in demonstrations. When pressed on why college students were leading the demonstrations, Lawson said it was “because students were somewhat discontented with the conduct of their elders and because they felt...adults were seemingly not going to do anything.”⁴⁴

Dr. Charles J. Walker, a local physician and NCLC treasurer, described the relationship between the students and adults this way: “The students were the workhorses. The Nashville Christian Leadership Conference [sic] were the ones who supported them with money, moral support, encouragement, and control.” (Dr. Walker lived at 1218 Phillips Street, which is now part of the Clark complex.)⁴⁵

⁴² Isaac 2012, 170–173.

⁴³ Isaac 2012, 173–174.

⁴⁴ Dick Battle, “Negro Minister Denies ‘Sit-In’ Leadership In Nashville,” *Nashville Banner*, March 2, 1960, 16; Linda T. Wynn, “Sit-ins, Nashville,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 2018, accessed June 18, 2023, <https://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entries/sit-ins-nashville/>; Novella Page, telephone interview with Natalie Bell, August 1, 2023.

⁴⁵ Sumner 1989, 23–24.

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On March 2, the executive board at Vanderbilt University reacted to the media attention by pressuring Vanderbilt chancellor Harvie Branscomb (1894–1998) to force Lawson to withdraw from the Divinity School or give up his leadership role with the sit-in demonstrations. Lawson refused to do either. The following day, Branscomb expelled Lawson, claiming the action “in no way inferred an attempt to deny freedom of thought, conscience or speech or of the right to protest against social custom.” According to Wallace Westfeldt, Branscomb stated, “The issue is whether or not the university can be identified (through Lawson) with a continuing campaign of mass disobedience of law as a means of protest.” Eleven of sixteen members of Vanderbilt’s Divinity School faculty and 111 of the 428 full-time Vanderbilt faculty members rejected Branscomb’s reasoning for the expulsion and issued opposition statements.⁴⁶

On March 4, Nashville’s police chief Douglas E. Hossee (1926–2004) ordered four Nashville policemen to arrest Lawson at First Baptist Church on the charge of “unlawful conspiracy to commit acts injurious to public trade and commerce.” Additionally, 79 of the 80 students arrested during the sit-ins on February 27 were re-arrested under the same conspiracy charges. Students at Vanderbilt protested the expulsion of Lawson and picketed at Kirkland Hall.⁴⁷

After Lawson’s arrest, Mayor Ben West (1911–1974) created a Biracial Committee, which resulted in a temporary suspension of the sit-in demonstrations. Meanwhile, members of the SCC continued to meet daily. Likewise, Judge Andrew Doyle delayed the trials of students to give the Biracial Committee a chance to seek a solution to the volatile situation. By the end of March, Lawson had been offered scholarships to resume his theological studies at Yale and Boston universities. He chose Boston University. When the Biracial Committee did not come to an acceptable resolution, the sit-in demonstrations resumed. In April 1960, Lawson served as the keynote speaker at the SCLC’s conference at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. Lawson, who some students considered to be “the young people’s Martin Luther King,” received a standing ovation. On the last day of the conference, the SCLC formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).⁴⁸

Clark after James M. Lawson Jr.

Clark continued to extend the use of the sanctuary and assembly room in the education wing for community events such as meetings of the Nashville chapter of the NAACP, headquartered one block north on Jefferson Street. In July 1959, at a meeting of the Tennessee Conference of the Methodist Church held in Lebanon, the conference transferred Rev. Robert W. Kelly from Clark to the Lexington Conference and appointed Rev. Alexander M. Anderson Jr. of the Southwest Conference as pastor of Clark.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Westfeldt 1960, 8–10; Lovett 2005, 129–130; Sumner 2018.

⁴⁷ Westfeldt 1960, 4, 6; Lovett 2005, 130.

⁴⁸ Sumner 1989, 68; Westfeldt 1960, 4; Halberstam 1998, 206–207; Daniel B. Cornfield, Jonathan S. Coley, Larry W. Isaac, and Dennis C. Dickerson, “The Making of a Movement: An Intergenerational Mobilization Model of the Nonviolent Nashville Civil Rights Movement,” *Social Science History*, No. 45, 2021, 478.

⁴⁹ “Tenn. Annual Conference Methodist Church Meets,” *Memphis World*, July 4, 1959; “Religious News Notes,” *Springfield Daily News*, March 26, 1965, 11; *Springfield News-Sun*, “Rev. Robert W. Kelly Obituary,” July 2, 2006, 33; “All-Night Riot at Cleveland Leaves 15 Hurt: Violence Result of Pastor’s Death in Rights Picketing,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 8, 1964, 1, 4. Rev. Kelly later served as a missionary to Africa and a pastor in several cities in Ohio, including Cleveland where in 1964 he

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During the pastorship of Rev. Anderson from 1959 to 1965, Clark continued to play a critical role in Nashville's Civil Rights Movement. Rev. Anderson was a central participant in the NCLC, serving on committees and the board of directors. In 1964, Rev. Anderson served as board secretary. He participated in Lawson's workshops held at Clark. In April 1960, Rev. Anderson joined several members of the NCLC and its Student Advisory Council in rejecting a proposal presented by the Nashville Biracial Committee. This proposal would have divided downtown dining rooms into two sections—one for whites only and one for whites and Blacks—for 90 days as a compromise, which would have resulted in the charges being dropped against the 150 demonstrators arrested during the sit-ins. Rev. Anderson joined other vocal members of the movement such as Diane Nash, James Bevel, Rev. C. T. Vivian, Rev. Kelly Miller Smith Sr., and Herman H. Long (1912–1976), director of the Race Relations Institute (RRI) at Fisk. The RRI was headquartered in Park-Johnson Hall, located less than two blocks from Clark.⁵⁰

At 5:30 a.m. on April 19, 1960, a passenger in a moving car tossed a bomb into the front window of the home of Z. Alexander Looby, lead attorney for the students and longtime civil rights leader, and his wife Grafta Looby (1905–1997). Looby's home was next to the Fisk and Meharry campuses. Although the bomb destroyed much of the house, Looby and his wife were asleep in the rear bedroom and were not injured in the blast. The neighboring house occupied by David and Josephine Ezell sustained significant damage, and 120 windows were blown out of a Meharry campus building across the street, where student Garry Hamilton Radford was sleeping. Thirty minutes later, the SCC, including John Lewis and Diane Nash, held a meeting at Clark in response to the bombing. After hearing the explosion, the previously scheduled meeting was made more urgent. During the meeting, the students decided to organize a spontaneous Silent March down Jefferson Street to the courthouse in response to the act of domestic terrorism.⁵¹

Nash was unsure if the "mass march, that fast, that day, was the thing to do, at that time." "The movement has a way of reaching inside you and bringing out things that even you didn't know were there...such as courage," reflected Nash during a 1985 interview. The students met with Lawson and Rev. Vivian, who later claimed the idea of a Silent March was borrowed from the powerful silent anti-lynching parades of the early twentieth century, such as the one held in downtown Nashville in 1918. "It [the bombing] was such an outrageous act that it...could be very useful to the nonviolent movement then to move," explained Rev. Vivian during a 1986 interview. "It was a uniting of the city, but the outcome would be decided by how we, in fact, channeled that energy. And then we had the first major march of the movement."⁵²

argued against civil disobedience during a violent civil rights confrontation with police that resulted in the death of a local pastor and an all-night riot.

⁵⁰ "98 Per Cent," *Nashville Banner*, April 11, 1960; Sumner 1989, 69; Talbert 2010, 11; R. Bartley Campbell Sr., "The History of Clark Methodist Church," 1967, n.p.

⁵¹ Lovett 2005, 138; Lee 2010, 214; Halberstam 1998, 228; C.T. Vivian, interview with Blackside, Inc. on January 23, 1986, for *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1954–1964)*. Washington University Libraries, Film and Media Archive, Henry Hampton Collection; Diane Nash, interview with Blackside, Inc. on November 12, 1985, for *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1954–1964)*. Washington University Libraries, Film and Media Archive, Henry Hampton Collection; Garry Hamilton Radford, Response to Nashville Civil Rights Movement Documentation Project, June 21, 2023.

⁵² Lovett 2005, 138; Lee 2010, 214; Halberstam 1998, 228; C.T. Vivian, interview with Blackside, Inc., 1986; Diane Nash, interview with Blackside, Inc., 1985. Nashville's 1918 Silent Parade was organized in part by Rev. W.R. Stephens of Clark (*Nashville Globe*, February 22, 1918, 1, 8).

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On the afternoon of April 19, Bernard Lafayette and members of the SCC gathered students at the Tennessee A&I campus and initiated the Silent March, which followed Jefferson Street east to Fisk University and Meharry Medical College, then turned south at 3rd Avenue North before ending at the Davidson County Courthouse (NRHP, 1987) on the downtown public square. Led by Diane Nash, Bernard Lafayette, Angeline Butler, Rev. C. T. Vivian, and other members of the SCC, the Silent March started with 1,500 people and grew to around 3,000 participants by the time the group reached the courthouse where they met with Mayor Ben West. People left their homes and students left their classrooms and dormitories to join the march. Motorists drove along at the speed of the marchers. “The last mile or so,” said John Lewis, “The only sound was the sound of our footsteps, all those feet.” At the public square, folk musician Guy Carawan played his guitar and led the song “We Shall Overcome.”⁵³

According to John Lewis, Lawson’s workshops at Clark “played a major role in educating, preparing and shaping a group of young men and women who would lead the way for years to come in the nonviolent struggle for civil rights in America.”⁵⁴ In his memoir, Lewis asserted that Lawson’s workshops:

...became the focus of my life, more important even than my classes. I’d finally found the setting and the subject that spoke to everything that had been stirring in my soul for so long. This was stronger than school, stronger than church. This was the word made *real*, made whole. It was something I’d been searching for my whole life.⁵⁵

Dr. King spoke at Fisk University’s Johnson Gymnasium on April 20, 1960, he praised the Nashville Student Movement as “the best organized and most disciplined in the Southland” and that the students had a “better understanding of the philosophy of the [nonviolent] movement than any other group.” According to historian David Sumner, this praise was based largely on Lawson’s nonviolent training workshops.⁵⁶

On May 10, six downtown stores desegregated their lunch counters without incident. The first two were Harvey’s and Cain-Sloan. That afternoon, a small group of African American students walked up to several downtown lunch counters, sat down, and ordered food. Other stores followed suit, and some hired African American workers for the first time. Although cities in other parts of the U.S. such as Wichita, Kansas, and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, had previously desegregated their lunch counters (both in 1958), most historians agree that the desegregation of Nashville’s lunch counters was the first in a major southern city. Soon, other cities in the South would follow Nashville’s lead.⁵⁷

⁵³ Lovett 2005, 138–139; Lee 2010, 212–214; Diane Nash and James Lawson, interviews with Blackside, 1985. A modern version of “We Shall Overcome” was first introduced as a protest song by tobacco workers led by Lucille Simmons during the 1946–1947 Charleston Cigar Factory strike in Charleston, South Carolina. Simmons taught the song to Highlander Folk School’s Zilphia Horton, and folk singer Pete Seeger; they published it in 1947. Accounts to the total number of people who participated in the Silent march varies from 2,000 to 5,000.

⁵⁴ Lewis 1998, 84.

⁵⁵ Lewis 1998, 84.

⁵⁶ “King Urges Sit-Ins Continue,” *Nashville Banner*, April 21, 1960, 4; Sumner 1989, 20.

⁵⁷ Lovett 2005, 140; Morgan Jackson Willis, “‘Walking the Edge’: Vanderbilt University and the Nashville Sit-In Crisis of 1960,” Thesis, Princeton University, 1990, 120; Sumner 1989, 69; SNCC *Student Voice*, Vol. 1, No. 2, August 1960, 6.

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A few weeks after the bombing of Looby's home, Clark hosted a meeting and fundraiser. The meeting included addresses by JohnEtta Hayes, NCLC president Rev. Kelly Miller Smith Sr., NCLC treasurer Dr. Charles J. Walker, Z. Alexander Looby, and Rev. Ralph Abernathy of Montgomery, Alabama. This public meeting brought together some of the most significant civil rights leaders in the South and spurred community contributions to the Looby-Ezzell fund for repairs to the bomb-damaged properties.⁵⁸

At the end of June 1960, James Lawson, and his wife Dorothy, whom he had married the previous July, relocated from Nashville to Boston so he could complete his studies at Boston University's School of Theology during the summer semester. Boston University accepted all his academic credits, so he was able to graduate in August. In July, the Methodist Church assigned Lawson as the ordained pastor for the Scott Chapel Methodist Church in Shelbyville, Tennessee, located about 50 miles south of Nashville. The media posited that the "Negro Sit-in Chief" was not assigned to a Nashville since it "was feared that radical elements might bomb the church to which he would be assigned in Nashville." However, Lawson maintained a residence in Nashville, remained on the NCLC board of directors, and continued to participate in mass meetings in Nashville where he spoke on nonviolence. His graduation from Boston University and subsequent assignment to pastor Scott Chapel in Shelbyville made news throughout Tennessee. (Once he assumed the formal role as pastor of a congregation, Lawson assumed the title of Reverend.)⁵⁹

Rev. Lawson and Rev. Vivian spoke at a student mass meeting at the Fisk University gymnasium on January 29, 1961, where participants viewed NBC's *White Paper Sit-Ins* and CBS's *Anatomy of a Sit-In*, television programs about the Nashville sit-ins that had been shown nationally. In February 1961, Rev. Robert W. Anderson of Clark supported the desegregation of Nashville's four downtown movie theaters, which were then the focus of "stand-in" demonstrations by members of the Nashville Student Movement. The stand-ins were led by the NCLC. Rev. Anderson was vice president of the Nashville Ministers' Association, an interracial organization that requested managers of the theater to desegregate immediately.⁶⁰

On May 24, 1961, Rev. Anderson participated in a nonviolent demonstration by joining students and clergymen from Nashville on a Freedom Ride from Montgomery, Alabama, to Jackson, Mississippi. Students from American Baptist College included James Bevel, Joseph Carter, Bernard Lafayette, John Lewis, and Clarence Lloyd Thomas. Students from Fisk University included Matthew Walker Jr. and Leroy Glenn Wright. Students from Tennessee A&I included Lucretia Collins and Earnest "Rip" Patton Jr. Other Nashvillians who participated included Rev. John Lee Copeland of Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Rev. Grady Donald of Kayne Avenue Baptist Church, and Rev. James Lawson, then pastor of Scott Chapel Methodist Church in Shelbyville. Rev. C. T. Vivian, then living in Chattanooga, also participated. Prior to departure

⁵⁸ Caroline Eller, "JohnEtta Hayes (1915–2008)," Nashville Conference on African American History and Culture, 2023;

⁵⁹ Halberstam 1998, 471-472; Lovett 2005, 143; Lovett 2005, 144; Sumner 2018; "Lawson Assigned To Shelbyville: Former Vanderbilt U. Negro Sit-in Chief Gets Church Job," *The Tennessean*, August 24, 1960, 4; "Church News," *Nashville Banner*, July 19, 1960, 11; "Lawson Speaks At Mass Meeting," *The Tennessean*, October 4, 1960, 3; Sumner 2018. Soon after their marriage in July, James and Dorothy Lawson moved to an apartment at College Hill near Tennessee A&I; they lived here until moving to Boston. Lawson was pastor in Shelbyville from August 1960 to June 1962, when he was transferred to Centenary Methodist Church in Memphis. During his time in Shelbyville, he led the construction of a new sanctuary for the Scott Chapel congregation.

⁶⁰ "Pastors Urge Theater for All," *The Tennessean*, February 18, 1961, 5; Momodu 2020; Rev. Kelly Miller Smith Sr. Collection, Vanderbilt University Special Collections, Nashville, Tennessee.

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from Nashville, Rev. Lawson led a nonviolent workshop at First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill. The two buses arrived in Jackson without incident; however, the Freedom Riders were arrested as soon as they arrived at the bus station. The following day, May 25, a Jackson city judge found them guilty and sentenced them to 60 days confinement in Parchman State Prison along with a \$250 fine.⁶¹

In September 1961, Rev. Smith and the NCLC hosted the annual conference of the SCLC in Nashville with Clark serving as the general headquarters (Figure 9). Clark was the location for registration, business meetings, lunches, workshops, addresses, and sessions. More than 200 delegates from throughout the U.S. attended the conference. The general chairman was Rev. Claude Walker, pastor of Gay-Lea Christian Church. With the theme of “The Deep South and Social Revolution,” the three-day conference featured events at the church such as nonviolence training workshops led by Rev. James Lawson, SCLC staff workshop director; an address by Rev. Joseph E. Lowery, SCLC second vice president; a plenary session by Spottswood W. Robinson III (1916–1998) with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (USCRR); and an address by James Farmer, national director of CORE.⁶² The welcome address was presented by SCLC president Dr. King who stated in the program:

I am convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that the philosophy of nonviolence will redeem the soul of America. There is a great temptation to accept nonviolence solely as a strategy, a device; this we must guard against. This is one of the chief aims of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference: to broadly disseminate through intensive training the heart of nonviolence, that our commitment to nonviolence will not only be a technique, but shall become for us a way of life with love and redemption at its center.⁶³

The conference also included an attorneys’ seminar at First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill with workshops and addresses by Robinson (USCRR) and William Kuntsler (1919–1995) with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), a city-wide Freedom Rally with a keynote address by Dr. King at the War Memorial Auditorium (NRHP, 2017), and a tribute concert for the Freedom Riders at the Ryman Auditorium (NRHP, 1971; NHL, 2001). The Freedom Rally included music by Guy Carawan from the Highlander Folk School and messages from Z. Alexander Looby, Rev. J. Metz Rollins of the NCLC, and Fred Lee Shuttlesworth from Birmingham, Alabama. Rev. C. T. Vivian, introduced Dr. King. “We can’t afford to slow up,” said Dr. King. “We have our self-respect to maintain. But even more than that we have the welfare of America to maintain. The state of the world will not allow an anemic democracy.” He also praised the Nashville students who participated in the sit-in demonstrations and Freedom Rides. “When the movement started early in 1960 most Southern cities, including Nashville, practiced segregation at lunch counters,” declared Dr. King. “Now 165 cities have integrated their lunch counters—most recently Atlanta, which integrated theirs at 2 p.m. this afternoon...Not only have we come a long way, but we have a long, long way to go. Segregation is evil

⁶¹ Arsenault, Raymond. *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2011, 539–541; Lovett 2005, 166–167.

⁶² SCLC, *Annual Meeting Program*, Nashville, Tennessee, September 1961, n.p.; SCLC, *Newsletter*, Vol. 1, No. 3, September 1961, 1; SCLC, *Newsletter*, Vol. 1, No. 4, January 1962, 2; “Negroes Plan South Vote Drive: King,” *Nashville Banner*, September 29, 1961, 8; “SCLC Sets Theme of Parley Here,” *Nashville Banner*, September 15, 1961, 27.

⁶³ SCLC, *Program*, 1961, n.p.

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because it is only a new form of slavery covered up with the niceties of complexity.” Dr. King’s speech was interrupted around 20 times with applause from roughly 2,000 people in attendance.⁶⁴

During Rev. Lawson’s keynote address held earlier in the day at Clark, he called for the creation of a “trained and disciplined army for nonviolent social action.” As part of the initiative, Rev. Lawson planned to lead nonviolent training workshops monthly in communities across the South. The SCLC supported the call and encouraged “immediate and full consideration as a possible project of SCLC and sister organizations.” The SCLC affirmed its “pledge of full support to Student Non-Violent Direct Action” and called “upon both adults and youth to counsel together on plans and projects, on the raising and distribution of funds, and on strategy and tactics, in order that there shall be a high degree of understanding, cooperation and effectiveness.” Additionally, the SCLC reaffirmed their “full endorsement and support of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. as a peerless leader in the struggle for a good society. He is, we know, completely committed to non-violence in practice as well as in his public acts. We, therefore call upon all men of good will to join in the cause which Dr. King represents, and we call upon all of our responsible leaders to work together toward common goals.” The SCLC also hired Rev. Andrew W. Young and Septima Clark, formerly with the Highlander Folk School (NRHP, 2022), as paid staff members to lead the Citizenship School program in Georgia.⁶⁵

In response to the ongoing student sit-ins, in the spring of 1961 the NCLC resumed the nonviolent, direct-action workshops at Clark. The workshops continued through 1962. At the time, John Lewis was chair of the NCLC’s Student Central Committee, which met regularly at Clark, and Dr. Charles J. Walker was the treasurer for the NCLC.⁶⁶

In 1963, the NCLC invited Clark’s Rev. Robert W. Anderson to join its board of directors, along with John Lewis, Rev. Smith, Alice Walker, Mrs. J. B. Singleton, Vivian Horsely, Mrs. William Wheeler, Elder H. E. Braden, Rev. J. Metz Rollins, Rev. Grady Donald, and Frankie M. Blakely, who was named the executive secretary. Rev. Anderson served as assistant secretary, secretary, and on many committees. From 1961 through 1964, Clark regularly hosted numerous NCLC board meetings and mass meetings (Figure 10).⁶⁷

In June 1965, Rev. Anderson was transferred to the St. Andrews Methodist Church in Greensboro, North Carolina. Three months after moving to Greensboro, he was killed in an automobile accident. A native of Waycross, Georgia, Rev. Anderson had attended Macon University in Pennsylvania and Drew Seminary in New Jersey. Drew Seminary was a theological seminary for training candidates for Methodist ministry. His wife, Julia Battle, had been a teacher when they lived in Nashville.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ SCLC, *Program*, 1961, n.p.; Lewis and D’Orso 1998, 184; “Director of CORE Parley Speaker Here,” *Nashville Banner*, September 28, 1961, 18; “King Says Negroes ‘Cannot Slow Up,’ ” *The Tennessean*, September 29, 1961, 15.

⁶⁵ SCLC, *Newsletter*, Vol. 1, No. 4, January 1962, 2; “SCLC To Recruit Non-Violent ‘Army,’ ” *The Tennessean*, September 30, 1961, 7.

⁶⁶ “Workshops Resume,” *Voices of the Movement*, NCLC Newsletter, Vol. 1, May 8, 1961, 2; “Workshops Continue,” *Voices of the Movement*, NCLC Newsletter, November 1962, 2. James Lawson was pastor of Scott Chapel Methodist Church in Shelbyville from 1960-1962; however, records do not indicate that he continued to be involved with the nonviolent workshops at Clark.

⁶⁷ Lovett 2005, 179–180; Talbert 2010, 11; Kelly Miller Smith Papers, Vanderbilt University.

⁶⁸ “A.M. Anderson Dies of Injuries,” *Tennessean*, September 25, 1965, 18.

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During the pastorate of Rev. John Greely Corry (1930–2019) from 1965 to 1968, the congregation focused on community outreach to the surrounding neighborhoods. During his tenure, the Clark Memorial Methodist Church became the Clark Memorial United Methodist Church after the Methodist United Conference held in April 1968 at Dallas, Texas, resulted in the merging of the Methodist Church with the United Brethren Church. In 1968, Rev. Corry was appointed a district superintendent and Rev. W. C. Dobbins was appointed pastor. A native of North Carolina, Rev. Corry attended Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte.⁶⁹

Rev. W. C. Dobbins served as pastor of Clark from June 1968 to January 1983. Early in his pastorate, the congregation had considered relocation, but in 1973, it decided to remain at the current location, preserve the historic sanctuary, and enlarge the education wing (Figures 11–12). A fundraising campaign resulted in sufficient funding to expand the education wing with a two-story wing extending from its west side. Ground was broken on July 20, 1980, and construction was completed on April 12, 1981 (Figures 13–15). The new addition was named the Grady Sherrill-Matthew Walker Memorial Wing in honor of Grady Sherrill (1911–1977), a faculty member at Tennessee A&I, and Dr. Matthew Walker Sr. (1906–1978), an illustrious Black physician. Sherrill and Dr. Walker were both members of the congregation who had recently passed away.⁷⁰

The 39-foot by 45-foot, two-story addition was constructed by Steed Brothers, a contracting company based in Lebanon, Tennessee. The addition was designed by Clair Maurice Jones (b. 1933), AIA, a Black architect based in Memphis. A Tennessee native, Jones graduated in 1956 from Hampton University with a degree in architecture. He worked for two years in the Los Angeles city planning office before taking a job in 1958 with United Methodist Church Division of Architecture where he worked with De Witt Sanford Dykes Sr. (1903–1991), AIA, an ordained Methodist minister and prominent Black architect from Newport, Tennessee. Dykes specialized in Modernist ecclesiastical architecture. In 1972, Jones joined the American Institute of Architects (AIA) and became a member of its National Design Review Committee. Beginning in 1973, he partnered with Harold Thompson in Jones/Thompson Architects. Jones designed Modernist landmarks, primarily commercial projects, throughout Memphis and the Mid-South region. Over the span of his career, he also designed hundreds of church projects, including the St. Paul Methodist Church (1962) in Laurel, Mississippi; Key Memorial Methodist Church (1967) in Murfreesboro, Tennessee; and St. Augustine Catholic Church (1988) in Memphis.⁷¹

In 2004, the congregation installed a new 3.5-foot by 6-foot monument sign in front of the church and in 2019, a 7-foot by 12-foot, two-story elevator was installed on the west side of the education wing. A city historical marker was erected in the southwest corner of the property in 2019. Small sheds were also placed

⁶⁹ Talbert 2010, 12.

⁷⁰ Atchison and Minaya, “Anniversary Celebration,” 1987, n.p.; Damita Chavis, email to Robbie Jones, October 17, 2023. In 1963, Clark acquired the Buchanan Street United Methodist Church, built circa 1899 by a white congregation, at 1111 Buchanan Street in North Nashville; in 1973 Clark sold the church to the Dixon Memorial United Methodist Church, a Black congregation.

⁷¹ Mark Davis, “Architects of Mississippi: Clair Maurice Jones.” *Preservation in Mississippi*, Blog, September 21, 2011, accessed June 18, 2023, <https://misspreservation.com/2011/09/21/architects-of-mississippi-clair-maurice-jones/>; Mark Davis, “A Laurel Church by Clair M. Jones.” *Preservation in Mississippi*, Blog, October 12, 2011, accessed June 18, 2023, <https://misspreservation.com/2011/10/12/clair-m-jones-laurel-church/>; NCModernist, “Pioneering Black Architects in North Carolina,” *NCModernist*, 2023, accessed June 18, 2023, <https://www.ncmodernist.org/ncblack.htm>.

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at the rear of the property in the early 2000s. Otherwise, physical changes to the Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex have been minimal.

Parsonage

In the summer of 1957, the Clark congregation completed construction of a one-story Ranch-style dwelling to serve as a parsonage (Figure 16). Located at 1220 Phillips Street, directly behind the sanctuary, construction of the parsonage began on December 12, 1956, and ended on July 20, 1957. The new parsonage was funded by proceeds raised through the sale of the former parsonage at 313 21st Avenue North. During the Civil Rights Movement, the parsonage was home to Rev. Robert W. Kelly from July 1957 to July 1959, Rev. Alexander M. Anderson from 1959 to 1965, and Rev. John G. Corry from 1965 to 1968.⁷²

The parsonage was occupied by Rev. W. C. Dobbins from 1968 through 1983, Rev. Joe K. Shelton from 1983 through 1986, and Bishop James R. King Jr. from 1986 through 1996. In the late 1990s, the parsonage was converted into multi-purpose meeting and classroom space and is currently known as the “Learning Center.” The parsonage has undergone minimal changes since the period of significance.⁷³

Walker House (DV-7229)

This one-and-one-half story dwelling was constructed in early 1941 for Reuben B. Richardson (1863–1941), a retired fireman, and his wife Mary Knowles Richardson (1864–1950). They purchased the property for \$1,500 on April 27, 1938, from the heirs of Spencer Scovel, who had sold the adjacent property to the Clark congregation in 1937. Although Reuben and Mary Richardson purchased the lot in 1938, the 1940 census listed them as living at 917 15th Avenue South. The 1939 and 1940 city directories listed no dwelling at this address. However, the 1941 city directory shows them at this address, indicating the house was built in 1941 (Figure 17). A native of Athens, Alabama, Mr. Richardson had served as a longtime captain of Engine Company No. 11, a segregated all-Black fire unit at 12th Avenue North and Jefferson Street. Soon after moving into the dwelling, he died suddenly of coronary thrombosis in the house on December 15, 1941. Mr. Richardson’s widow Mary K. Richardson continued to live in this dwelling with their granddaughter Mary Celeste Richardson (1910–1994), a student at nearby Fisk University. Mary K. Richardson died in 1950. She and her husband were buried at Mount Ararat Cemetery.⁷⁴

In 1942, Mary Celeste Richardson married Charles Julian Walker, a student at Meharry Medical College. He moved into the dwelling owned by his wife and widowed mother-in-law. A native of Florida, Mr. Walker earned his M.D. from Meharry in June 1943. The graduation ceremony was held in the Fisk University Memorial Chapel. Four years later, he opened a medical office at 1120 Charlotte Avenue. On October 8,

⁷² Atchison and Minaya, “Anniversary Celebration,” 1987, n.p.; Talbert 2010, 10.

⁷³ Atchison and Minaya, “Anniversary Celebration,” 1987, n.p.; Stone and Heath 2017, 10; Damita Chavis, Email to Robbie Jones, August 15, 2023.

⁷⁴ Syd Gardner, “Capt. Reuben B. Richardson,” *Find A Grave*, memorial page, May 1, 2015, accessed June 8, 2023, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/145861603/reuben-b-richardson>; U.S. Population Census, 1940, 1950; Nashville City Directory 1940, 785; Nashville City Directory 1941, 653; Tennessee Death Records 1908–1965; *Nashville Banner*, “Remodeled Fire Hall Is Opened,” May 28, 1930, 13; Davidson County Deed Book 1072, 653–654.

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1949, Mary K. Richardson transferred the property to her granddaughter Mary C. Walker and her son-in-law Dr. Charles J. Walker. The deed transfer was notarized by local attorney Z. Alexander Looby. Mary C. Richardson Walker later earned her bachelor's and master's degrees from Fisk University.⁷⁵

Dr. Charles J. Walker was an active community leader who initially worked quietly behind the scenes during the Civil Rights Movement. He pressured local leaders to act after the bombings of the Hattie Cotton Elementary School in 1957 and of Z. Alexander Looby's home in 1960. Dr. Walker and his wife Mary, a longtime teacher at Pearl High School, posted bail for students who were arrested during demonstrations and protests. Dr. Walker served as the treasurer and a member of the executive committee for the NCLC. In this role, he was responsible for leading a fundraising campaign to rebuild Looby's home, raise bail money, and other initiatives. King Hollands, a local participant in the sit-ins, noted that some people played, such as Dr. Walker, played pivotal roles behind the scenes. "We were all in this together," explained Hollands. Due to Dr. Walker's active role in Nashville's Civil Rights Movement, in the immediate aftermath of the Looby bombing, the Nashville Police Department stationed officers to guard the Walkers' home due to anonymous bomb threats. The police put the Walkers' home under surveillance, along with the homes of Mayor Ben West, Rev. Kelly Miller Smith Sr., Councilman Robert E. Lillard, Dr. Stephen J. Wright—the president of Fisk University—and Z. Alexander Looby, who was staying at an undisclosed location.⁷⁶

The success of the Nashville Student Movement depended on humble leaders such as Dr. Walker, who did not talk about their involvement and therefore, they have not been recognized. "It was the work that many unsung heroes did," stated Rev. Troy Merritt, a high school participant in the sit-ins. "Whether they participated in a march, or made refreshments for the marchers, everybody had a role," explained Rev. Merritt, "Without each and every person involved, the movement could not have been what it was."⁷⁷

Records indicated that Dr. Walker was actively involved with the NCLC during the duration of its existence between 1958 and 1964. Besides his role as financial officer, on August 1960, he served on an NCLC panel at the First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill with movement leaders such as Rev. C. T. Vivian and Dr. Vivian W. Henderson. The panel focused on "Election Issues and the Negro." During the 1970s, Dr. Walker served on the board of trustees for Fisk University and pushed local business leaders and elected officials to invest in struggling low-income neighborhoods and to diversify their workforces. Dr. Walker was also active in politics and served briefly in the Tennessee House of Representatives in 1985 after being appointed to fill a vacancy in his district. Dr. Walker and Mary Walker were also involved in prison reform and advocated for prisoners' rights. Governor Lamar Alexander appointed Mary C. Walker to the State Parole Board after she retired from a 30-year teaching career. In 1979, President Jimmy Carter appointed Dr. Walker to serve on the

⁷⁵ Kathy B. Lauder, "Nashvillians Who Stood Behind the Sit-Ins: C. The Quiet Allies," *Nashville Historical Newsletter*, Blog post, May 27, 2022, accessed June 8, 2023, <https://nashvillehistoricalnewsletter.com/2022/05/27/nashvillians-who-stood-behind-the-sit-ins-c-the-quiet-allies/>; Nashville City Directory 1942, 737; Nashville City Directory 1947, 933; U.S. Population Census, 1950; "Meharry Graduation Set Sunday," *Nashville Banner*, June 5, 1943, 5; Davidson County Deed Book 1072, page 635.

⁷⁶ Lauder 2022; Sumner 1989, 23-24; "Police Guard Mayor's Home: Residences of 5 Negro Leaders Also Watched After Bomb Threats," *The Tennessean*, April 24, 1960, 6; Kings Holland, interview with Natalie Bell, July 11, 2023. The *Tennessean* article indicated that Dr. Walker requested police surveillance due to bomb threats he had received. Police chief Douglas Hosse had also received bomb threats at his home.

⁷⁷ Rev. Troy Merritt, telephone interview with Natalie Bell, August 1, 2023.

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Commission for the Study of Ethical Problems in Medicine and Biomedical and Behavioral Research. The same year, local Criminal Court Judge A. A. Birch appointed him as the first Black foreman of a county grand jury. Mary C. Walker served on several educational advisory boards and as a trustee for Scarritt College and was a lifetime member of the NAACP.⁷⁸

These distinguished appointments at the local, state, and federal level are indicative of the stature Dr. Walker achieved, in part, as an unassuming but requisite leader in Nashville's Civil Rights Movement.

After their marriage in 1942, Dr. Charles J. Walker and Mary C. Walker lived the rest of their lives in this dwelling (Figure 18). They were both active members of Clark. Mary C. Walker died in 1994 and Dr. Walker died in 1997. Three years later, in 2000, the congregation of Clark took ownership of the property. Since then, the congregation has leased the dwelling for use as housing and offices. The dwelling has undergone minimal changes since the period of significance.

This dwelling is the primary building associated with Dr. Walker's role as a civil rights leader. It is where he lived for 55 years. The dwelling contains his second-floor home office where he worked as the treasurer and executive committee member of the NCLC and led fundraising efforts to bail student demonstrators out of jail, rebuild Z. Alexander Looby's bomb-damaged home, and host conferences, mass meetings, and other events associated with the movement. In April 1960, white supremacists targeted this dwelling for a bombing as a form of violent intimidation in retaliation to Dr. Walker's influential role in Nashville's Civil Rights Movement. However, due, in part, to around-the-clock police protection, the white supremacists were unsuccessful in their threat to destroy the home and to do harm to Dr. Walker or his wife, Mary. Without Dr. Walker's leadership, both in front and behind the scenes, Nashville's Civil Rights Movement would have undoubtedly been less effective and impactful.

Summary

In summary, the Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex includes three well-preserved buildings and two support structures associated with Nashville's Civil Rights Movement. All three buildings and their two support structures retain a high degree of architectural integrity from the period of significance (1945–1965) for Nashville's Civil Rights Movement resources.

The Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex is eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A for its direct association with Nashville's Civil Rights Movement. The events that took place in this complex between 1945 and 1964 had a profound impact on not only the Nashville Civil Rights Movement, but also the American Civil Rights Movement. The nonviolent training workshops led to the desegregation of Nashville and inspired students and young people to demonstrate for social justice and civil rights in segregated towns and cities throughout the U.S.

⁷⁸ Lauder 2022; "Birch Picks First Black As Foreman of Grand Jury," *Tennessean*, January 6, 1979, 7; "Carter Appoints Nashville Doctor," *Tennessean*, July 19, 1979, 22; "Leadership Group Talks on Election Issues," *Tennessean*, August 2, 1960, 9; King Hollands, interview with Natalie Bell, July 11, 2023.

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Due to the Clark complex's association with James M. Lawson Jr., who led the nonviolent, direct-action training workshops, and the important Civil Rights Movement events that took place at this complex, the Clark property is one of the principal landmarks associated with the Civil Rights Movement resources in Nashville. The workshops inspired students who became the foremost leaders and icons of the Civil Rights Movement, including John Lewis, Diane Nash, Marion Barry, James Bevel, James Zwerg, Gloria Johnson, Rodney Powell, Angeline Butler, and Bernard Lafayette. The Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex is exceptionally significant, at the local level, to the history of Nashville's Civil Rights Movement.

Additionally, the Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex's association with James M. Lawson Jr. from 1958 to 1959 is crucial to its role as a birthplace of the Nashville Student Movement. Lawson's weekly Gandhian nonviolent workshops at Clark became a foundation for his future activism in the U.S. The church is the building in Nashville most associated with Lawson during this pivotal time. Under Criterion B, the Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex is eligible for its association with James M. Lawson Jr. from 1958 to 1959, the years he led the nonviolent, direct-action workshops in the sanctuary's education wing and assembly room. Although Lawson had not been active in the Civil Rights Movement before he came to Nashville in January 1958, he gained national acclaim during his brief time in Nashville and after he left the city in June 1960, he continued his social justice activism in Memphis, Los Angeles, and elsewhere. For this reason, the level of significance is local, and the area of significance is the Civil Rights Movement.

"I think you can legitimately say that, without Jim Lawson, the Nashville movement would never have existed," said John Seigenthaler (1927–2014), a member of the Kennedy administration who was injured during the Freedom Ride in Montgomery, Alabama. "He'd be the first to deny it, but he made it. He doesn't look upon himself as an exceptional man. He did what he did because he thought it was right, and he really didn't have an option."⁷⁹

Comparative Analysis – James M. Lawson Jr.

Between February 1958 and June 1960, James M. Lawson Jr. lived in three rental apartments, none of which are still extant. Upon arriving in Nashville, Lawson lived temporarily in the home of Murray G. Blakemore (1912–1972) at 1404 South Street in the Edgehill neighborhood. Blakemore was a law partner in the office of Z. Alexander Looby, a dentistry instructor at Meharry Medical College, and a politician, serving two terms in the Tennessee House of Representatives. The Blakemore House is extant. Lawson's letters indicate he only lived in Blakemore's home for a few weeks.⁸⁰

From April 1958 to August 1959, Lawson rented an apartment at 1407 South Street, which also served as Blakemore's dental laboratory. The apartment was owned by Blakemore. According to King Hollands (b.1941), a participant of the sit-ins, Lawson met with ministers here. The apartment is no longer extant.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Heidi Hall, "Civil rights advocate James Lawson was rooted in faith," *Tennessean*, October 27, 2013, accessed June 27, 2023, <https://www.tennessean.com/story/news/local/2017/03/02/civil-rights-advocate-james-lawson-rooted-faith/98605166/>.

⁸⁰ Nashville City Directories; James M. Lawson Jr. Papers, Vanderbilt University Special Collections; "Funeral Today for Blakemore," *The Tennessean*, April 5, 1972, 26.

⁸¹ Nashville City Directories; James M. Lawson Jr. Papers, Vanderbilt University Special Collections; King Hollands, interview with Natalie Bell, June 28, 2023.

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After marrying Dorothy Wood in August 1959, the newlywed couple moved to the College Hill Apartments complex near Tennessee A&I. City directories indicate they lived in Apartment D at 3708 Clare Avenue from September 1959 to June 1960. At the time, Rev. C. T. Vivian also lived in the complex. While serving as pastor of the Scott Chapel United Methodist Church in Shelbyville, Tennessee, Lawson returned to the College Hill Apartments complex and in 1962 rented an apartment at 998 39th Avenue North. Constructed in 1951–1952, Tennessee State University demolished the College Hill Apartments complex in 1989.⁸²

James M. Lawson Jr. is also associated with the First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill where he led nonviolent training workshops in 1958 and 1959. In April 1960, the Nashville police arrested him at this church. The First Baptist Church, Capitol Hill was demolished between 1972 and 1974 for a parking lot serving the adjacent National Life and Accident Insurance Company office tower (now Tennessee Tower).

From February 1958 to March 1960, Lawson was enrolled as a graduate student in Vanderbilt University's Divinity School. During this period, Vanderbilt constructed a new Divinity School Quadrangle with administrative and faculty offices, classrooms, men's dormitory, and a 180-seat sanctuary called Benton Chapel. The Divinity School Quadrangle was dedicated on March 20, 1960. Prior to the dedication of Quadrangle, the Divinity School was housed in Wesley Hall, built around 1920 by the YMCA as a graduate school. Lawson was expelled from Vanderbilt on March 3, 1960, before the new Quadrangle was dedicated. During the dedication ceremony, Dr. Liston Pope (1909–1974), dean of the Yale University Divinity School, "took the opportunity to decry recent action of Vanderbilt in dismissing Divinity School student James M. Lawson because of his role in Negro sit-in demonstrations." Wesley Hall, where Lawson attended classes while a student at Vanderbilt, was demolished in 1990.⁸³

It should be noted that three other buildings directly associated with Lawson still stand elsewhere in Tennessee, outside the geographic boundary of the MPDF for "The Civil Rights Movement in Nashville, Tennessee, 1942-1969." These buildings include the Scott Chapel United Methodist Church at 940 Morton Street in Shelbyville and the Centenary United Methodist Church buildings at 584 East McLemore Avenue and 878 Mississippi Boulevard, both in Memphis. Rev. Lawson was pastor of Scott Chapel from 1960–1962 and oversaw construction of the Modernist church there in 1961. Rev. Lawson was pastor of Centenary United Methodist Church from 1962–1974. The Centenary congregation worshipped at 878 Mississippi Boulevard from 1937–1967 and at the current sanctuary at 584 East McLemore Avenue from 1967–1974. Both sanctuaries still stand. In 1974, Lawson relocated to Los Angeles where he served as pastor of Holman United Methodist Church at 3320 West Adams Boulevard until he retired in 1999.⁸⁴

⁸² Nashville City Directories; Kelly Miller Smith Sr. Papers, Vanderbilt University Special Collections.

⁸³ Jack Setters, "VU Board Hears Branscomb On Education Act," *Nashville Banner*, October 24, 1958, 1-2; Jean Crawford, "To Dedicate Quadrangle at Vanderbilt," *Nashville Banner*, March 14, 1960, 1-2; Jean Crawford, "Vanderbilt Divinity School Quadrangle Dedicated," *Nashville Banner*, March 21, 1960, 1-2; "Psychology Department Locations on Vanderbilt Campus," Electronic Document, accessed December 7, 2023, <http://www.psy.vanderbilt.edu/history/Locations.html>.

⁸⁴ The TN-SHPO has surveyed the Centenary M.E. Church at 878 Mississippi Boulevard (SY-3402), which the congregation built in 1937, and the Centenary Methodist Church at 584 East McLemore Avenue (SY-2635), which was built in 1925. The congregation purchased its current 1925 building from Calvary Methodist Church in December 1967. The Holman United Methodist Church at 3320 West Adams Boulevard in Los Angeles is a Modernist landmark completed in 1958.

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In summary, only two buildings directly associated with James M. Lawson Jr.'s time in Nashville still stand. These buildings are the Murray G. Blakemore House at 1404 South Street where he lived temporarily for a few weeks in February and March 1958 and the Clark Memorial Methodist Church where he led training workshops in 1958–1959. All other buildings have been demolished. Since his association with the Blakemore House is inconsequential to his role as a leader in Nashville's Civil Rights Movement, the Clark Memorial Methodist Church is the principal building associated with Rev. Lawson in Nashville during this nomination's period of significance (1945-1964).⁸⁵.

Comparative Analysis – Dr. Charles J. Walker

The Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex is also historically significant for its association with Dr. Charles J. Walker, a physician at Meharry Medical College and a key local leader in Nashville's Civil Rights Movement. Dr. Walker pressured local officials to act after the bombings of the Hattie Cotton Elementary School in 1957 and of Z. Alexander Looby's home in 1960. He served as an executive committee member and treasurer of the NCLC and led fundraising initiatives such as the campaign to rebuild Looby's bomb-damaged home. He represented the NCLC at public meetings and conferences. He also assisted in raising funds to post bail for students who were arrested during demonstrations. Records indicate he was involved with the NCLC in one capacity or another during the organization's entire lifespan between 1958 and 1964. Dr. Walker was also active in voting rights, prison reform, and politics. Dr. Walker lived in this home from 1942 until his death in 1997. Clark acquired the Walker House in 2000.

This dwelling served as Dr. Walker's home for 55 years. The dwelling also contained his home office, where he carried out his work as treasurer and fundraiser for the NCLC during Nashville's Civil Rights Movement. He attended medical school classes at Meharry Medical College from around 1940 to 1943; however, his association with Meharry is inconsequential to his role in Nashville's Civil Rights Movement. Dr. Walker opened a medical office at 1120 Charlotte Avenue in 1949, but that building was demolished around 2015. Therefore, the Walker House is the principal and only building associated with Dr. Charles J. Walker during this nomination's period of significance (1945-1964).

Property Types

The Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex is an extraordinarily important example of three property types documented and described in "The Civil Rights Movement in Nashville, Tennessee, 1942–1969" Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF).

Strategy Center: The Clark complex meets the requirements established in the MPDF for the Strategy Center property type since it is a property where leaders, instructors, and foot soldiers representing local, state, and national organizations and institutions held mass meetings, training workshops, public addresses, and strategy sessions in support of the Civil Rights Movement. The Clark complex served as a haven for community discussions, negotiations, and mass meetings for residents on civil rights topics.

⁸⁵ The TN-SHPO has surveyed the Murray G. Blakemore House (DV-236).

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Conflict Center: The Clark complex meets the requirements established in the MPDF for the Conflict Center property type since it is a property that was the target of bombings and violent intimidation in opposition to the Civil Rights Movement.

Properties Associated with Prominent Persons: The Clark complex meets the requirements established in the MPDF for the Properties Associated with Prominent Persons property type since it is associated with people who were key leaders of significant organizations and institutions in Nashville's Civil Rights Movement. The Clark complex is the property most closely associated with the productive lives of James M. Lawson Jr. and Dr. Charles J. Walker during the period of significance of 1945–1964. Lawson and Dr. Walker were both closely associated with the NCLC, which served a central role in the Nashville Civil Rights Movement.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):		Primary location of additional data:	
	preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67 has been requested)	X	State Historic Preservation Office
	previously listed in the National Register		Other State agency
	previously determined eligible by the National Register		Federal agency
	designated a National Historic Landmark	X	Local government
	recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #		University
	recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #		Other
	recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey #	Name of repository: Metro Historical Commission	
Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): DV-7030 (Clark Memorial Methodist Church) and DV-7229 (Walker House)			

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10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 0.90 **USGS Quadrangle** Nashville West, TN 308-NE**Latitude/Longitude Coordinates**

Datum if other than WGS84: N/A

A. Latitude: 36.169437 Longitude: -86.799307

B. Latitude: 36.169101 Longitude: -86.800080

C. Latitude: 36.169467 Longitude: -86.800329

D. Latitude: 36.169808 Longitude: -86.799551

Verbal Boundary Description

The NRHP boundary for the Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex is depicted on the enclosed boundary map. The boundary includes two legal parcels of land located in the northeast quadrant of the intersection of 14th Avenue North and Phillips Street. The western parcel at 1014 14th Avenue North (Davidson County Parcel ID 09204004300) contains 0.69 acres. The eastern parcel at 1218 Phillips Street (Davidson County Parcel ID 08116049200) contains 0.21 acres. The two parcels combined contain 0.90 acres. The two parcels combined measure 150 feet along 14th Avenue North and 260 feet along Phillips Street. The boundary begins at the southwest corner of Parcel 09204004300 and continues 150 feet north to an alley at the northwest corner of the same parcel, then continues 260 feet east along the south edge of the alley to the northeast corner of Parcel 08116049200, at which point it turns south 150 feet to the southeast corner of the same parcel. The boundary then turns west and continues 260 feet to the southwest corner of Parcel 09204004300 and terminates at the starting point. The coordinates noted above correspond to the corners of the boundary.

Boundary Justification

The NRHP boundary includes the two parcels containing that are historically associated with the Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex. The boundary includes all of the historically significant resources and their associated land from the Period of Significance.

Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex

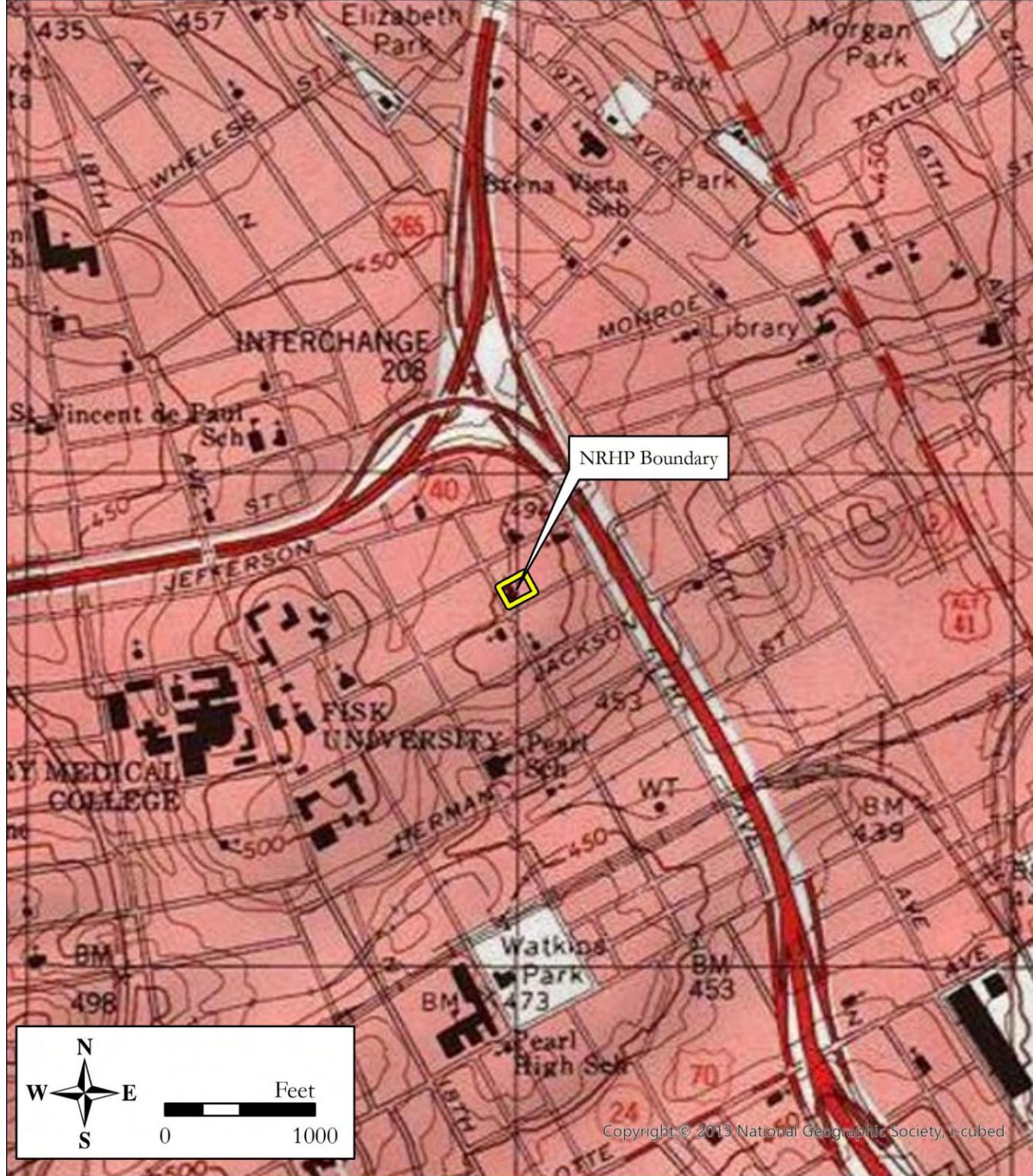
Davidson County,

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USGS Topographic Map



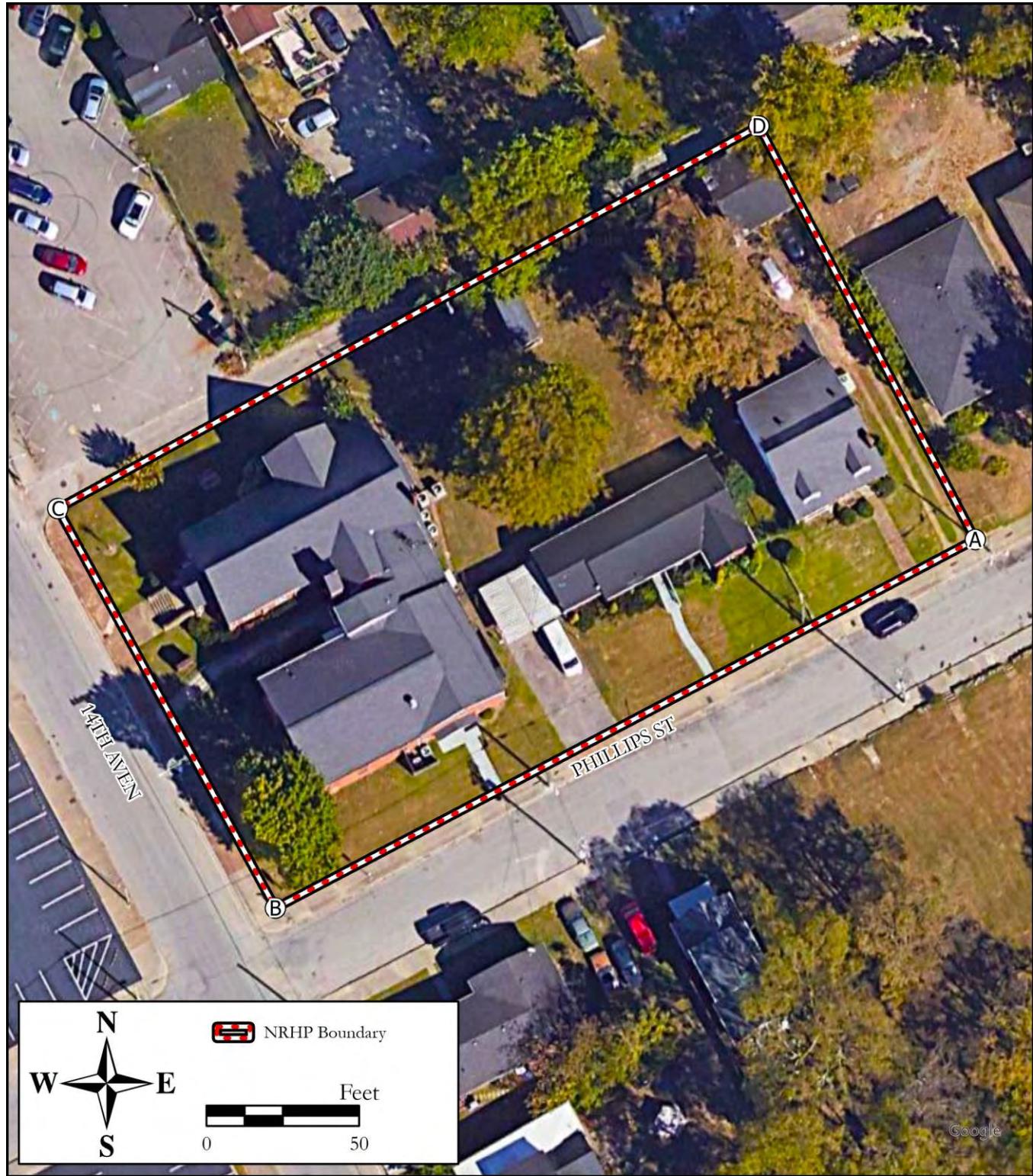
USGS Topo Quad: Nashville West, TN (308 NE)

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Boundary Map



(Source: ESRI 2022)

Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex

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11. Form Prepared By

Name Robbie D. Jones and Sydney Schoof

Organization Richard Grubb & Associates, Inc.

Street & Number 204 Rivergate Parkway Date June 7, 2024

City or Town Nashville Telephone 615-237-1001

E-mail rjones@rgaincorporated.com State TN Zip Code 37072

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Photographs** (refer to Tennessee Historical Commission National Register *Photo Policy* for submittal of digital images and prints. Photos should be submitted separately in a JPEG or TIFF format. Do not embed these photographs into the form)
- **Additional items:** (additional supporting documentation including historic photographs, historic maps, etc. can be included on a Continuation Sheet following the photographic log and sketch maps. They can also be embedded in the Section 7 or 8 narratives)

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

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Photo Log

Name of Property: Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex

City or Vicinity: Nashville

County: Davidson

State: TN

Photographer: Sydney Schoof

Date Photographed: February 28, 2023, and August 24, 2023

Photographs are identified by the associated building(s) and include a description of the view indicating the direction of the camera.

1 of 40: Clark Church façade looking northeast from 14th Avenue North.

2 of 40: Clark Church looking north showing the Sign, Historic Marker, Parsonage, and Walker House.

3 of 40: Clark Church looking east at sanctuary. Shed is visible at left.

4 of 40: Clark Church looking west at 1956 wing (center) and 1981 addition (left).

5 of 40: Clark Church looking southwest at rear elevation with the Parsonage on the left.

6 of 40: Clark Church interior of sanctuary looking northeast toward the chancel and pulpit.

7 of 40: Clark Church interior of sanctuary looking west toward the entrance.

8 of 40: Clark Church interior of sanctuary looking east at prayer rail and chancel and pulpit.

9 of 40: Clark Church interior of sanctuary looking northwest at a typical stained-glass window.

10 of 40: Clark Church interior of sanctuary looking northeast at rose window above the stage.

11 of 40: Clark Church interior of sanctuary looking northeast at the library.

12 of 40: Clark Church interior of 1956 wing looking north in the second-floor assembly room.

13 of 40: Clark Church interior of 1956 wing looking north in the second-floor assembly room.

14 of 40: Clark Church interior of 1956 wing looking southeast in the second-floor assembly room.

15 of 40: Clark Church interior of 1956 wing looking north in the second-floor assembly room.

16 of 40: Parsonage looking northwest showing façade from Phillips Street.

17 of 40: Parsonage looking southeast showing rear elevation.

18 of 40: Parsonage looking southeast, showing the carport and exterior stair of 1956 wing.

19 of 40: Parsonage interior looking west showing the living room.

20 of 40: Parsonage interior looking northeast showing the primary bathroom.

21 of 40: Parsonage interior looking north from south bedroom towards entrance hall.

22 of 40: Parsonage interior looking southeast from entrance hall showing the half bathroom.

23 of 40: Parsonage interior looking north from enclosed garage showing steps to kitchen.

24 of 40: Walker House looking northwest showing façade and garage from Phillips Street.

25 of 40: Walker House looking north from Phillips Street.

26 of 40: Walker House looking south at rear wing from driveway and garage.

27 of 40: Walker House looking north showing the garage.

28 of 40: Walker House looking northwest showing the sunken garden.

29 of 40: Walker House interior looking southwest within the living room.

30 of 40: Walker House interior looking northeast within the living room

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- 31 of 40: Walker House interior looking north at the living room fireplace.
- 32 of 40: Walker House interior looking southeast from the dining room.
- 33 of 40: Walker House interior looking east from the den towards the kitchen.
- 34 of 40: Walker House interior looking northeast within the kitchen.
- 35 of 40: Walker House interior looking north at the kitchen cabinets.
- 36 of 40: Walker House interior looking southwest at the first-floor primary bathroom.
- 37 of 40: Walker House interior looking northwest within the stair hall.
- 38 of 40: Walker House interior looking north within the second-floor south bedroom.
- 39 of 40: Walker House interior looking southwest within the second-floor bathroom.
- 40 of 40: Walker House interior looking west within the office.

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Site Plan



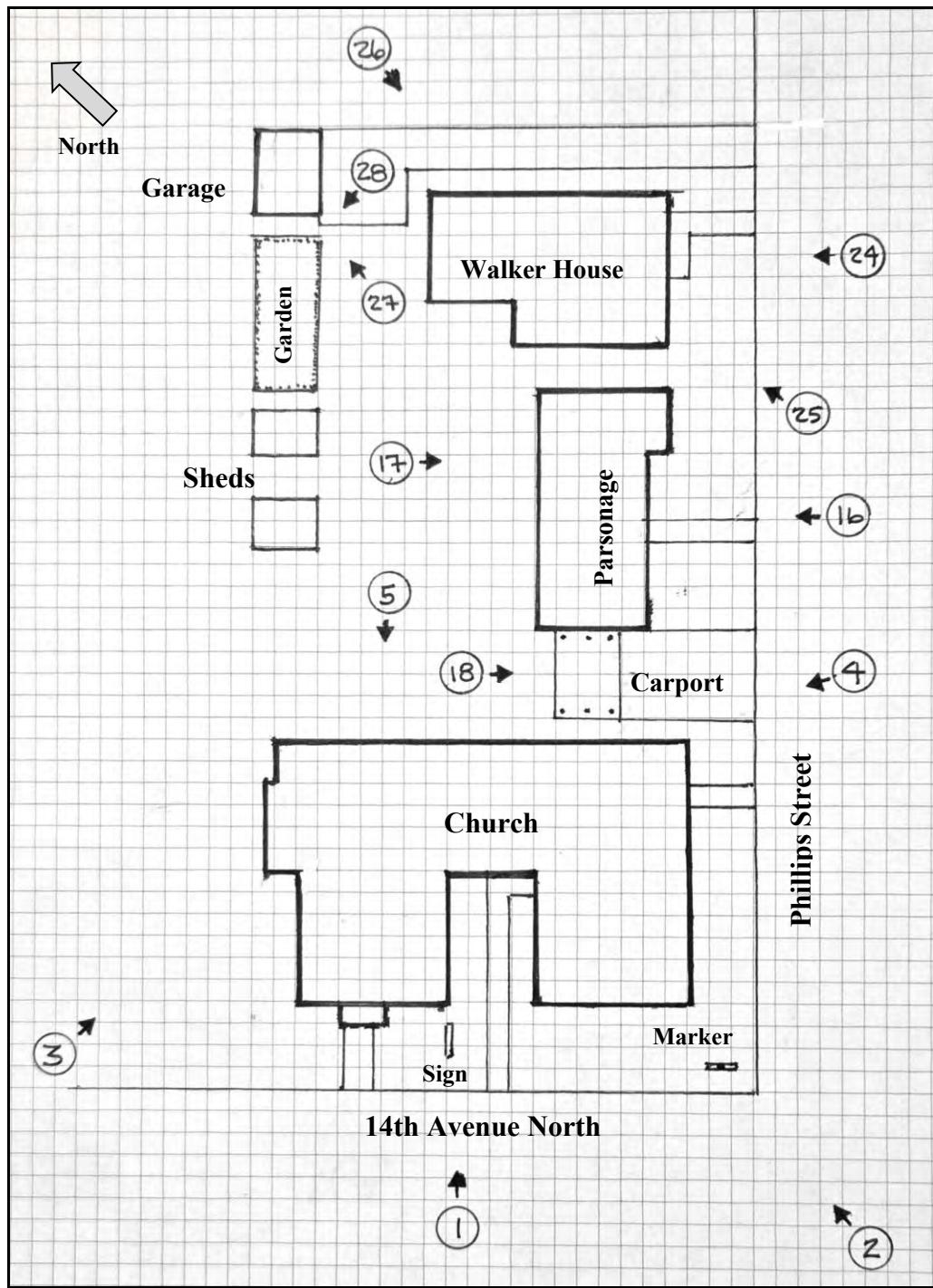
(Source: ESRI, 2022)

Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex

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Site Plan showing photograph locations (not to scale)

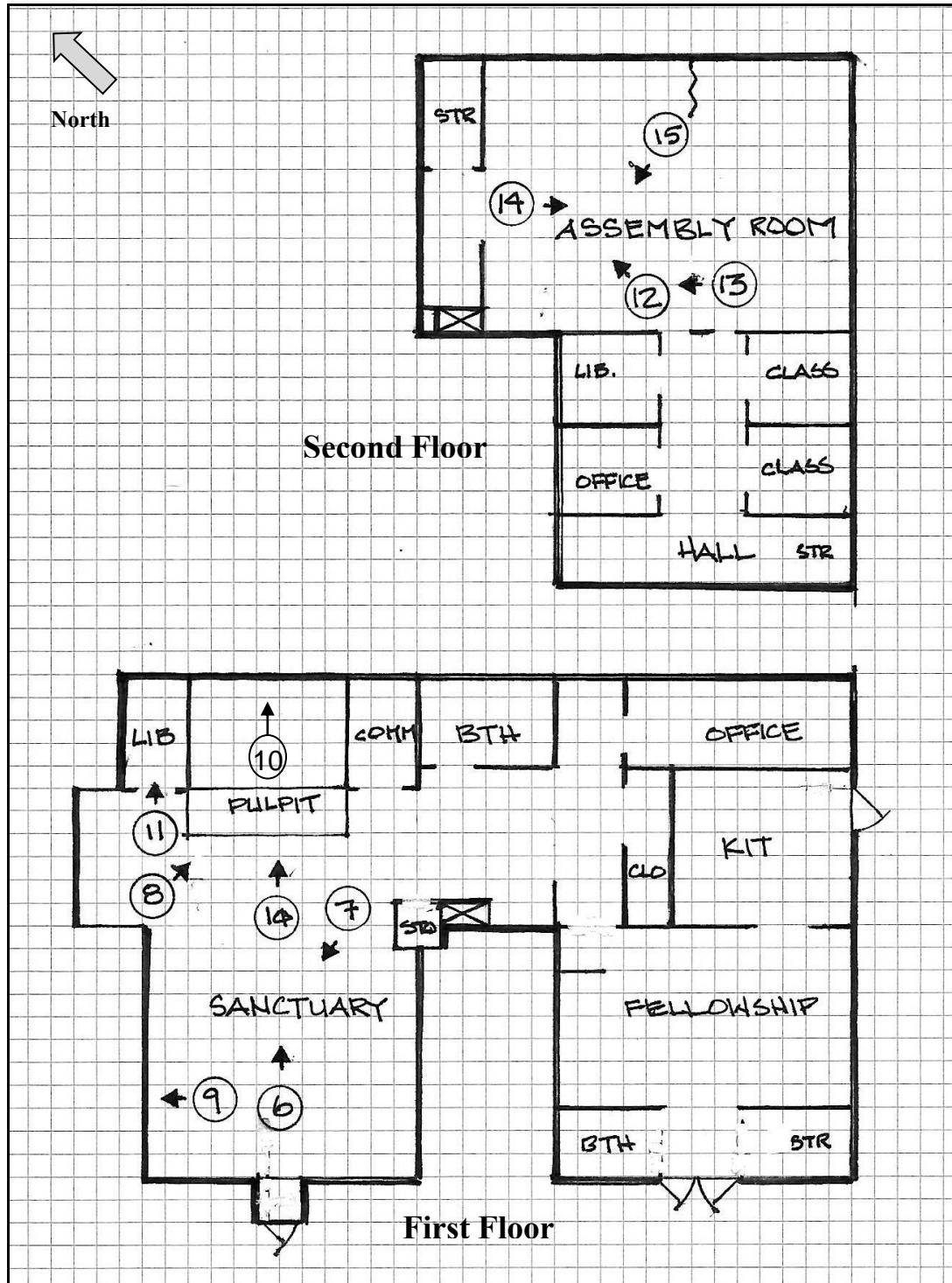


Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex

Name of Property

Davidson County,
Tennessee
County and State

Floor Plan – Church showing photograph locations (not to scale)



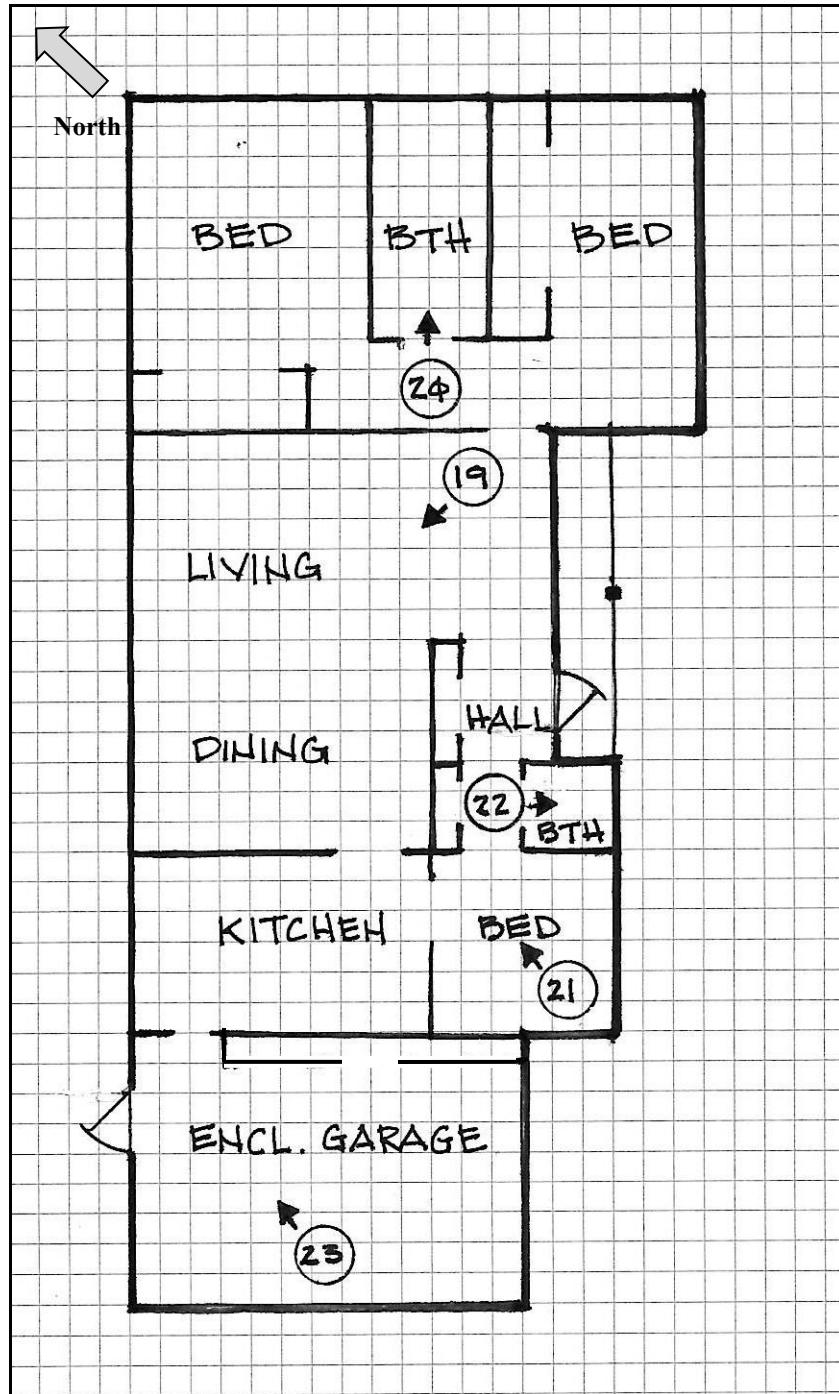
Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex

Name of Property

Davidson County,

Tennessee

County and State

Floor Plan – Parsonage showing photograph locations (not to scale)

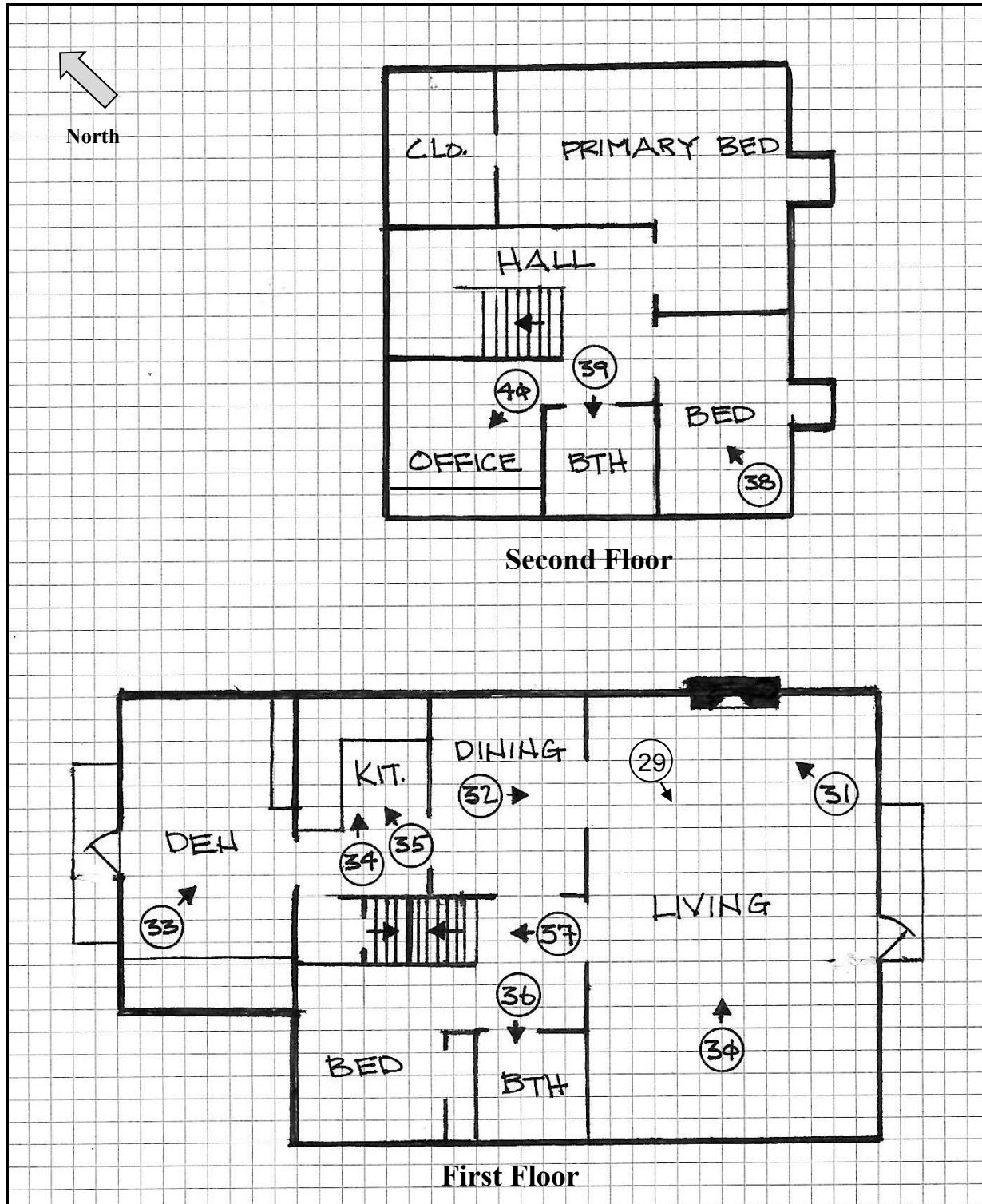
Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex

Name of Property

Davidson County,

Tennessee

County and State

Floor Plan – Walker House showing photograph locations (not to scale)

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**Clark Memorial Methodist Church
Complex**

Name of Property

Davidson, Tennessee

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Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee

Name of multiple listing (if applicable)



Figure 1. Illustration of Sundt & Wenner's architectural drawing, circa 1938
(Source: *Nashville Banner*, March 16, 1938, 18).



Figure 2. Photograph of the cornerstone laying ceremony, 1942
(Source: Campbell, "History," 1967).

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Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex

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Figure 3. Photograph of Clark showing the sanctuary, 1945
(Source: Stone and Heath, "A Walking Tour," 2017, 3).



Figure 4. Photograph of Clark showing the sanctuary and education wing, 1956
(Source: Stone and Heath, "A Walking Tour," 2017, 3).

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Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex

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Figure 5. Postcard photograph of Clark, circa 1970
(Source: Tennessee State Museum).



Figure 6. Photograph of John Kasper (back row, far right window) at Clark, 1958
(Source: *Life Magazine*, September 8, 1958, 26).

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**Clark Memorial Methodist Church
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Name of multiple listing (if applicable)



Figure 7. Photograph of James Lawson (left) leading a workshop at Clark, circa 1959
(Source: Getty Images).



Figure 8. Photograph of James Lawson (foreground) leading a workshop at Clark, circa 1959
(Source: Getty Images).

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Complex

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Davidson, Tennessee

County and State

Historic Civil Rights Movement Resources,
Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee

Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

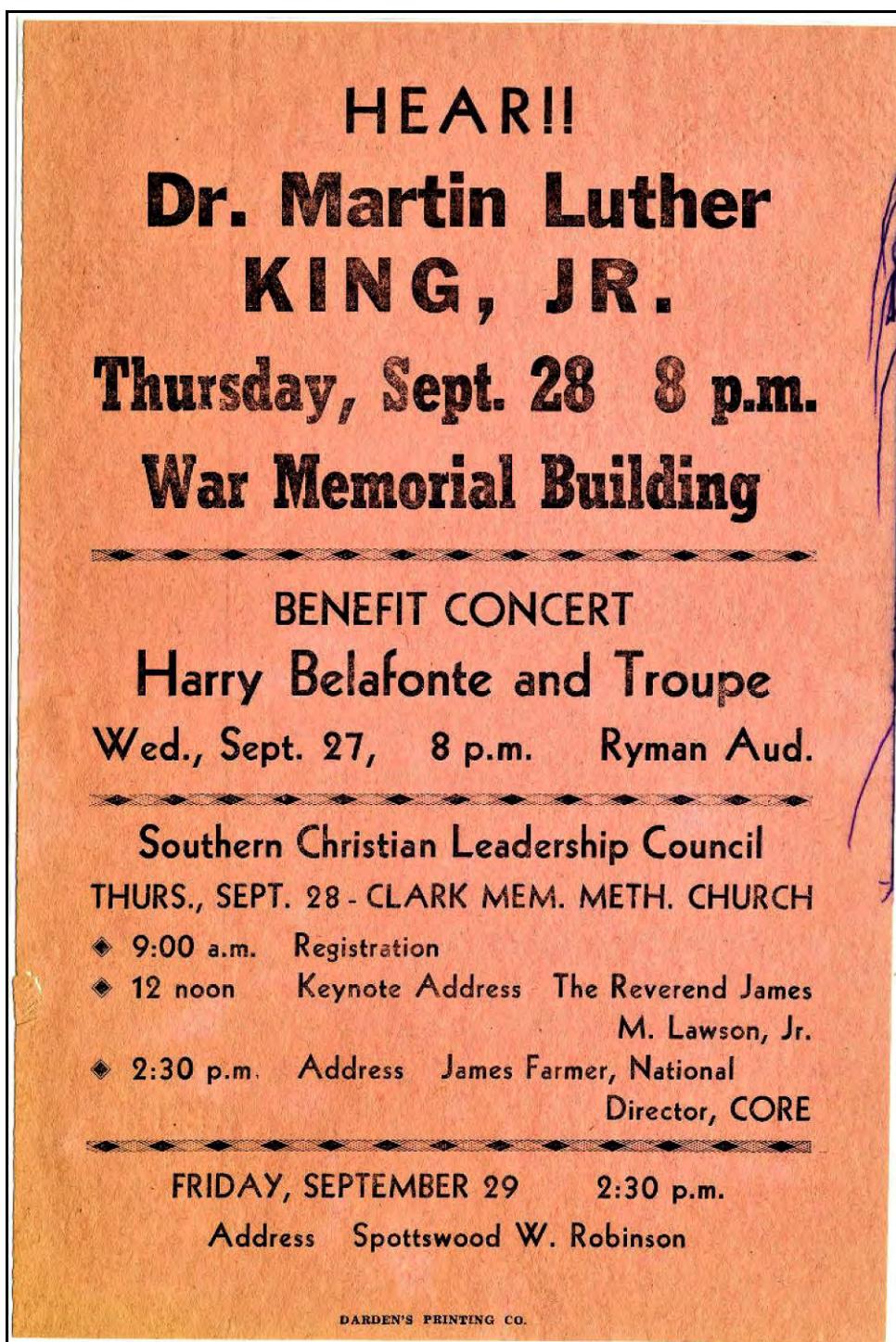


Figure 9. Broadside advertisement for SCLC Conference at Clark, 1961
(Source: Tennessee State Library and Archives).

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Clark Memorial Methodist Church

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Name of Property

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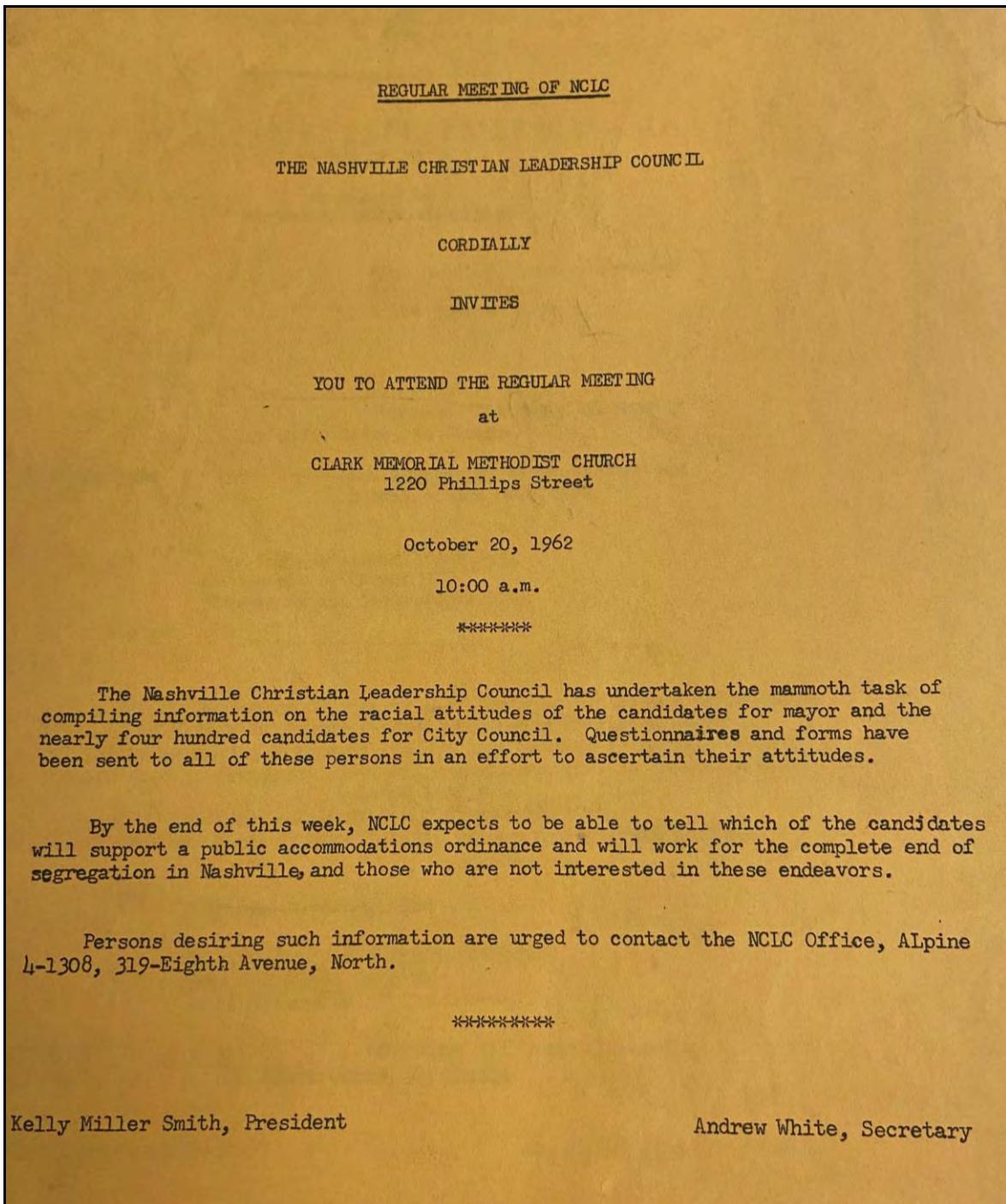


Figure 10. Flyer for an NCLC meeting at Clark, October 1962
(Source: Kelly Miller Smith Sr. Papers, Vanderbilt University).

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**Clark Memorial Methodist Church
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Figure 11. Church service in the sanctuary, circa 1967; shown (l to r) are Damita L., Jordan D., Kaye, Katherine, and Jaye Chavis (Source: Clark Memorial United Methodist Church Archives).



Figure 12. Sunday service in the sanctuary, circa 1967
(Source: Clark Memorial United Methodist Church Archives).

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National Park Service

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Clark Memorial Methodist Church

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Name of Property

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Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee**

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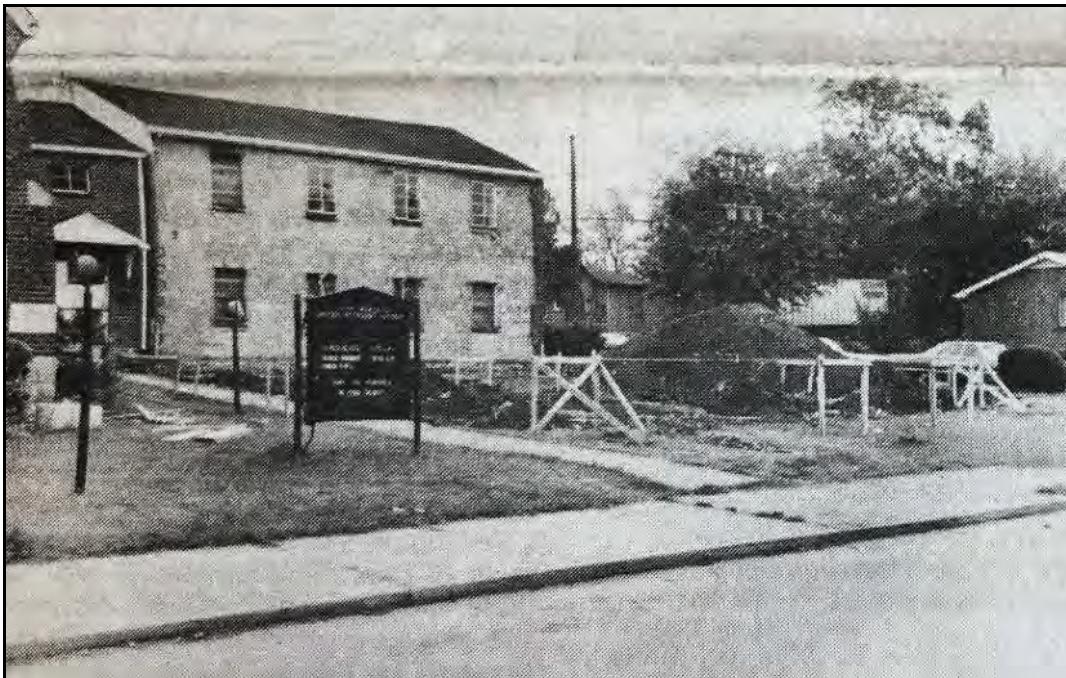


Figure 13. Photograph showing the 1981 wing under construction, looking southeast
(Source: Clark Memorial United Methodist Church Archives).



Figure 14. Photograph showing the 1981 wing under construction, circa March 1981
(Source: Clark Memorial United Methodist Church Archives).

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Clark Memorial Methodist Church Complex

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Figure 15. Photograph showing the 1981 wing (far left) under construction, looking northwest
(Source: Clark Memorial United Methodist Church Archives).



Figure 16. Photograph of the Parsonage, circa 1965
(Source: Source: Campbelle, "History," 1967).

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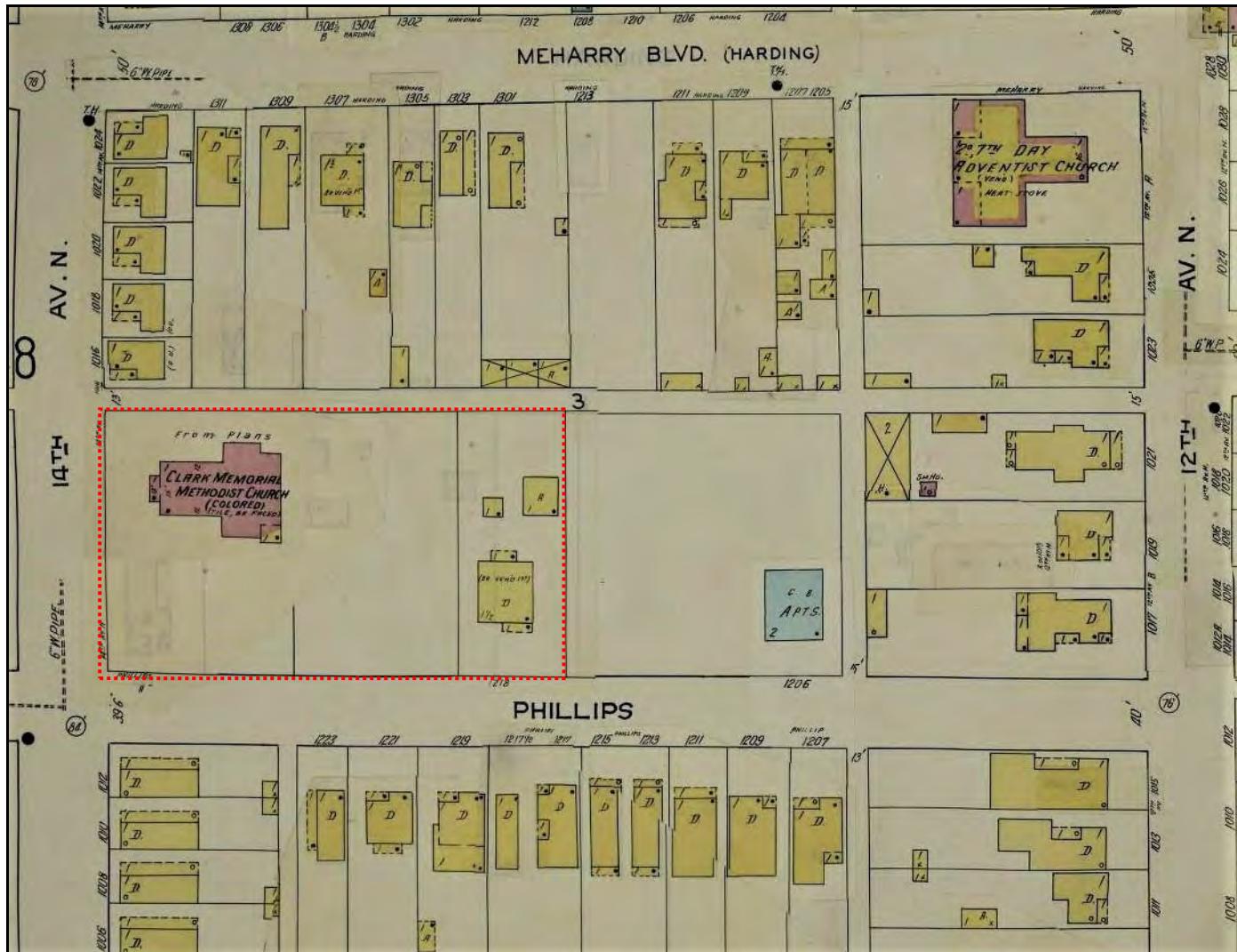


Figure 17. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map showing the Clark sanctuary and Walker House, 1950
(Source: Library of Congress).

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**Clark Memorial Methodist Church
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Figure 18. Framed photograph of Dr. Charles J. and Mary C. Walker
(Source: Clark Memorial United Methodist Church Archives).

Property Owner(s):

(This information will not be submitted to the National Park Service, but will remain on file at the Tennessee Historical Commission)

Name Clark Memorial M.E. Church (Attn: Damita Chavis)

Street &
Number 1014 14th Avenue North Telephone 615-329-4464

City or Town Nashville State/Zip TN / 37208

CLARK MEMORIAL CHURCH COMPLEX
NASHVILLE, DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

National Register Listed
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CLARK MEMORIAL CHURCH COMPLEX
NASHVILLE, DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

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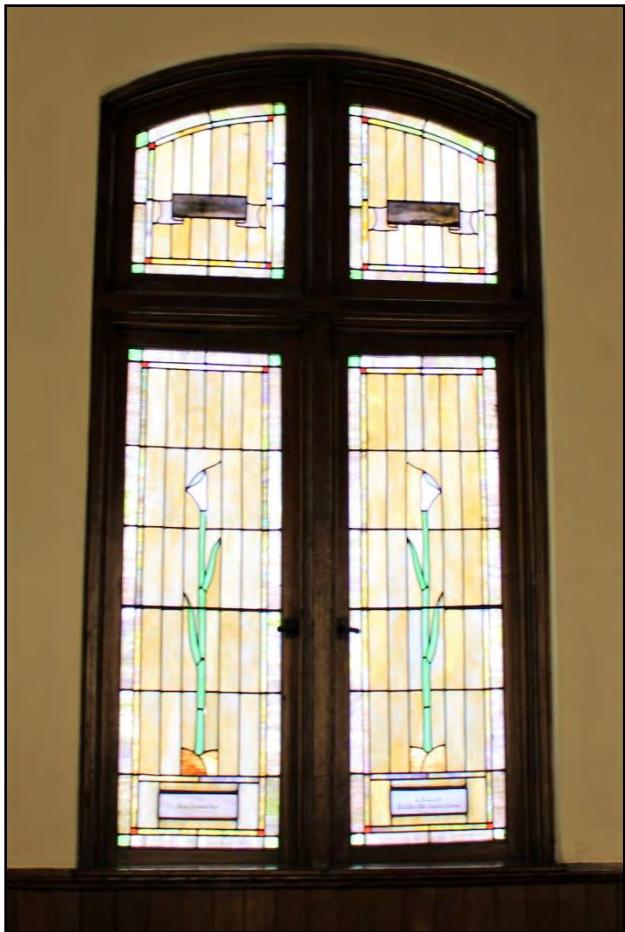
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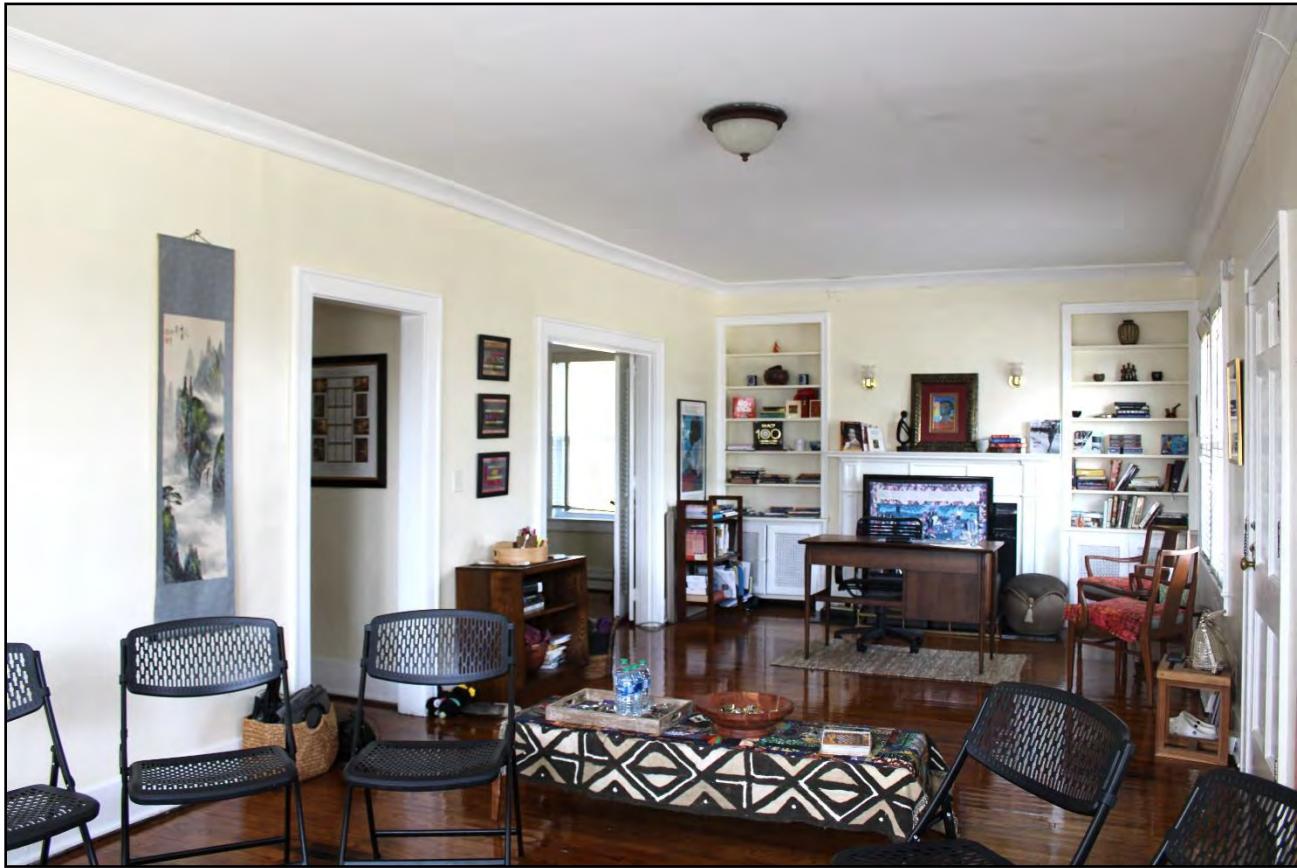
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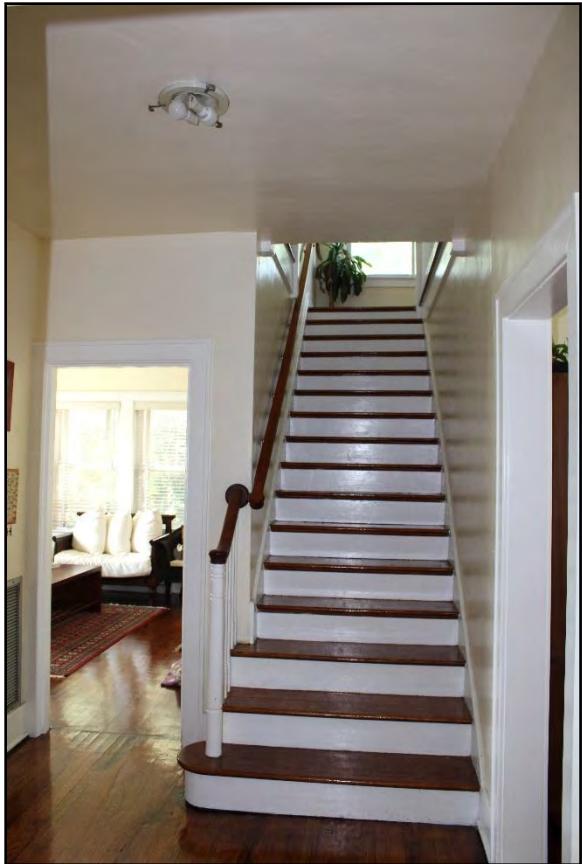
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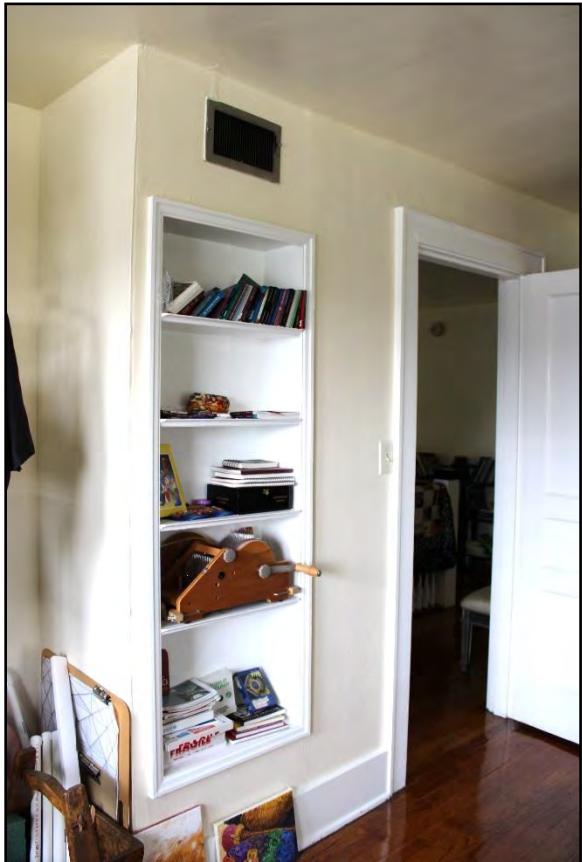
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