CLAY COUNTY COMPREHENSIVE ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY

Final Report

AUTHORS:
Audrey Thomas and Michael Ann Williams,
Survey Specialists
North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office
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ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY, METHODOLOGY, AND FINDINGS OF THE CLAY COUNTY COMPREHENSIVE ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY

In October 2023, Ms. Audrey Thomas, Architectural Survey Specialist in the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (HPO), and Dr. Michael Ann Williams, who was hired as temporary employee to perform architectural survey in western North Carolina, began a comprehensive survey of historic buildings and landscapes in Clay County and its one municipality, Hayesville. Prior to 2023, systematic survey in Clay County was limited to its inclusion in the 1978 Far West Regional Survey, a reconnaissance survey of ten western counties conducted by Margaret Owen and Roger Manley that yielded 17 survey files for Clay County. A few survey site numbers were assigned to historic properties following site visits from HPO staff or to memorialize correspondence from the public. Most of the survey site numbers previously assigned in Clay County are the result of federal review and compliance documentation as part of the Section 106 process. In total, 82 survey site numbers had been assigned to historic properties in Clay County prior to the 2023-2024 architectural survey. At the outset of the survey, fewer survey site numbers had been assigned to Clay than any county in North Carolina.

Four historic properties have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places in Clay County: the Clay County Courthouse (CY0001, 1975), the Spikebuck Town Mound and Village Site (CY0004, 1982), the John Covington Moore House (CY0002, 1983), and the Chatuge Hydroelectric Project (CY0025, 2017). Prior to the current survey, the John Covington Moore House was believed to have been demolished. During fieldwork, Ms.

Thomas and Dr. Williams discovered that part of the house was moved to a new location (CY0250) in the mid-1990s. Upon removal, however, the John Covington Moore House lost its place in the National Register.[1] In 1999, the S. D. Mull House (CY0003) was approved for the National Register Study List, a mechanism for identifying properties and districts that are likely to be eligible for the National Register. The Section 106 process has yielded a determination of eligibility for six historic properties. Of the six, the Orville Lee Hall Farm (CY0026, 2005) was demolished prior to 2011, and the Hiwassee River Bridge (CY0093, 2005) has been listed as a contributing structure within the Chatuge Hydroelectric Project. The Mission Hydroelectric Dam and Powerhouse (CY0054, 2003) was inaccessible during the current survey. The McClure Farm (CY0028, 2005) lost its farmhouse prior to the survey, and the L. Wayne and Mary Etta Anderson House (CY0057, 2018) was inaccessible to the surveyors and was documented from the right-of-way. Following a comprehensive evaluation of the county, neither farm appeared to be among the best of its property type. The Cherry Farm (CY0027, 2005) was part of the Study List prepared for this survey.

The primary objectives of the Clay County Comprehensive Architectural Survey were to (1) update the documentation for 82 previously surveyed properties and (2) identify new candidates for survey that are roughly 50 years old and older and document those properties most worthy of being recorded. Ms. Thomas and Dr. Williams identified new candidates for survey by driving Clay County's public roads in November and December 2023. The surveyors prioritized historic properties with high material integrity and/or design

[1] For more information about what happens when properties enrolled in the National Register are moved, refer to Title 36 of the Code of Federal Regulations, part 60, section 14(b)(4) (2024).

elements important to local history and culture; farmsteads with complexes of intact agricultural buildings and field patterns; buildings that serve as important community gathering places, such as churches, schools, and fraternal buildings; buildings that housed major employers or other mainstays of the local economy; and properties associated with groups that have been underrepresented in published histories. As the survey progressed, the input of many local people allowed the surveyors to identify other properties meeting these criteria that were not obvious from the outset of the project.

Most fieldwork took place between January and April 2024. To update the documentation found in existing survey files, Ms. Thomas and Dr. Williams verified the location of previously surveyed properties while in Clay County and made corrections to HPOWEB, the HPO's GIS web service, as needed. The surveyors also noted the existence or loss of previously surveyed properties and made notes about the condition, including changes over time, of those properties still standing. The HPO's database and photographic record (and accompanying paper files) were updated for those properties accessible to the surveyors. Of the 82 files, 13 had been demolished or moved to a new location, seven were inaccessible, and two could not be located due to incomplete information in the older survey files. The seven inaccessible properties were surveyed from the public right-of-way. The two properties that were not definitively located during fieldwork have likely been demolished.

To create survey files for newly recorded properties, Ms. Thomas and Dr. Williams took digital photographs that meet or exceed the HPO's minimum standards using a digital SLR camera. Photographs were labeled according to the HPO's naming conventions, and

contact sheets were printed for inclusion in the paper files. The surveyors created a database record for each property surveyed, and report forms printed from the database were included in the paper files. Site plans were drawn in the field or created later by labeling aerial photographs. The site plans, as well as notes taken during fieldwork and printed copies of research material reviewed in the office, were included in the paper files. USGS quadrangle maps were used during fieldwork, and information from the paper maps was later translated into data points in HPOWEB. In total, 197 new survey files were created during the 2023-2024 survey (Appendix A).

This report provides historic and architectural context for evaluating buildings and landscapes in Clay County. The report is not an exhaustive history of Clay County or its architectural heritage, but it draws connections between the social and environmental history of Clay County and the places that best convey its history. The authors relied upon archival material and, especially, the input of local people. On February 13, 2025, Ms. Thomas and Dr. Williams presented the results of the comprehensive survey, including Study List recommendations, to the National Register Advisory Committee. The committee approved 14 historic properties, listed in Appendix B, for the Study List.

Acknowledgements (Audrey Thomas and Michael Ann Williams, February 2025)

We owe a big debt of gratitude to all those who helped make the Clay County survey a success. While we cannot mention all of them by name, thanks to everyone who contributed and helped us ground the study in local knowledge.

Many individuals at various local organizations and institutions offered assistance. Thanks to Reba Beck at the Clay County Historical and Arts Museum, Rob Tiger of Clay County Communities Revitalization Association, and Sandy Zimmerman of Historic Hayesville, Inc. Sandy, especially, went above and beyond, arranging interviews, coming along to visit sites, and gathering information. The "History Gals" are grateful to you. A thank you to Hayesville Mayor Joe Slatten and former Mayor Harrell Moore. Griffen Anderson of the Moss Memorial Library and Tyler Osborn of the Cooperative Extension Office also provided assistance.

Jacqueline Gottlieb, President of the Hinton Center, provided access to historical information about the center and also gave us contacts for other individuals who could help us. Local author and historian Michael Gora gave us a ton of historical information and pointed us in the direction of sites we might otherwise have missed. Thanks so much for sharing.

When we started the survey, there were no surveyed structures in the Brasstown area. With the help of so many, including Bass Hyatt Jr., Clay Logan, Peter Andrus, David Anderson, Sherry Dukes, Ralph Myers, and Sue Heddon, we left with a far richer understanding of the community. At the nearby John C. Campbell Folk School, help was provided early on by former archivist Travis Souther, who provided a number of historic photographs, and Program Director Darcy Holdorf, who gave us a long list of potential contacts. A special thanks goes to current archivist, Susanna Pyatt, who provided archival information, published information, and helpful feedback to our project.

Architectural survey work always includes a certain amount of knocking on strangers' doors. We were pleased to find that the western North Carolina tradition of helping strangers is still alive and well in rural Clay County. Among the spontaneous interviews were wonderful conversations with many people, including Jack Anderson, Joann Woody, Jerry Stalcup, and Buddy Lowe. So many property owners and individuals with ties to local places provided information to us and in some cases wrote up or shared written descriptions with us. A list of all the interviews is included in the bibliography of this report.

CHAPTER ONE: THE CHEROKEE VALLEY TOWNS

The cultural history of the area that is now Clay County, North Carolina, is rich and deep, despite the relative lack of age of its surviving historic buildings. There are no known buildings over 175 years old. Still, archaeological research shows that humans have occupied the area for approximately 10,000 years. By the Mississippian Period (1000-1550), a complex culture with villages and towns built along rivers and streams had developed. One of several surviving Mississippian-era mounds found in southwestern North Carolina, Spikebuck Mound, sits on the north side of Hayesville along the banks of the Hiwassee River. As human-built landscape features, these mounds can be considered the oldest architectural constructions in southwestern North Carolina. The mounds, which served as the social centers of the community, stood ten to 20 feet tall and were constructed of earth to create a flat top platform on which townhouses were built.[2]

By the time of European contact, the Cherokee were no longer building new mounds, but they continued to build council houses on them. The town surrounding Spikebuck Mound (CY0004, NR 1982) was known to the Cherokee as Quannassee, a large 17th- and early-18th-century town with a British trading post. It was abandoned in 1725 as a result of a Coosa raid but was later subsumed as part of the expansion of Tusquittee Town in the early 19th century.[3] Historical records indicate that this town was still occupied by

[2] Catherine W. Bishir, Michael T. Southern, and Jennifer F. Martin, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Western North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp. 11-12.
[3] Barbara R. Duncan and Brett H. Riggs, *Cherokee Heritage Trails Guidebook* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), p. 198.

the Cherokee at the time of the Removal in 1838. Archaeological excavations at Spikebuck Mound and Village conducted by Western Carolina University between 1973 and 1975 indicate that this site was intensively occupied for several centuries. The site is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.[4]

When Europeans first encountered them, the Cherokee had a hunting range of approximately 40,000 square miles and had three town groupings, each with separate dialects. The Valley Towns along the Hiwassee and Valley Rivers (now present-day Cherokee and Clay Counties) shared a dialect with the Overhill Towns of East Tennessee.[5] The traditional domestic architecture of the Cherokee included both winter (hot) and summer houses. The winter houses were built using wattle and daub construction: upright posts were woven with river cane or small saplings, and then covered with clay mixed with grass. Generally, the buildings were either round or square with rounded corners. The interior floors of the winter houses were built a foot or more beneath ground level, and the sides of the exterior walls were mounded with dirt. Inside, a central hearth was vented through a hole at the peak of a thatched roof. The summer houses were rectangular, with a gable roof, and typically only partially enclosed with woven walls. Corn cribs are also described in 18th-century accounts of Cherokee settlements. They were built on posts, four or five feet off the ground, and had woven walls. Reconstructions of these traditional buildings are found at the Cherokee Homestead Exhibit behind the Clay County Museum in

[4] "Spikebuck Town Mound and Village," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1980.
[5] Bishir, Southern, and Martin, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Western North Carolina*, p. 12.

Hayesville. A native botanic garden sits below this exhibit, and a trail leads to a viewing area for the Spikebuck Mound.[6]

The 18th century brought increased interaction with people of European descent, including cultural exchange and peaceful trade, as well as disease and armed conflict. The estimated population of the Cherokee fell from 35,000 in 1685 to 7,000 in the mid-1760s. As Europeans eroded Cherokee land claims and destroyed Cherokee towns, the Valley Towns increasingly became a refuge for displaced Cherokee and other Native Americans. Shooting Creek, in present-day eastern Clay County, served as a refuge after the Lower Towns in South Carolina and Georgia were destroyed in 1760 and 1761, and again in the 1820s in response to repressive Georgia laws.[7]

Among the European influences that would change the Cherokee cultural landscape in the 18th century was the adoption of horizontal log architecture for domestic structures, possibly introduced through the building of log trading posts. In 1775 naturalist William Bartram described a typical Cherokee dwelling in Cowee (now in Macon County) as an "oblong four square building, of one story high; the materials consisting of logs or trunks of trees, stripped of their bark, notched at their ends, fixed upon one another, and afterwards plaistered [*sic*] well, both inside and out." Despite the prevalence of this new building technology, older house forms persisted. Bartram added, "Each house or habitation has besides a little conical house, covered with dirt, which is called the winter or hot-house; this stands a few yards distance from the mansion-house, opposite the front

[6] Descriptions of traditional Cherokee architecture, as well as photos of the reconstructions are found at "Cherokee Homestead Exhibit by CCCRC," clayhistoryartsnc.org. Accessed January 31, 2025.
[7] Duncan and Riggs, *Cherokee Heritage Trails Guidebook*, pp. 16, 176.

door."[8] Log continued to be used by the North Carolina Cherokee throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. Photographic evidence of these later Cherokee log houses suggests that they were quite similar to those built by European Americans.[9]

By the 1830s, the Valley Towns had become one of the most thickly settled areas of the remaining Cherokee lands. More than 3,000 Cherokee lived in the Valley Towns in the 1830s, as well as 37 African Americans and 22 European Americans. Based on historic records and archaeological research, Barbara Duncan and Brett Riggs give this description of typical Cherokee households of the Valley Towns:

> A typical household of the 1830s included a log cabin or two, outbuildings, fields, and orchards. Most log cabins were one-story, made of logs with the bark still on, a wood shake roof, packed dirt floors, and a fireplace made of wood and clay. Many households still used the old *asi* or hot house, as well as a corncrib and stable. Large gardens along with cornfields occupied five to ten acres or more for each household. Dozens of peach and apple trees provided fruit.

The Valley Towns also included seven community townhouses, ball fields, stores, and a gristmill.[10]

Although the Valley Towns had a high number of full-blooded Cherokees and were generally culturally conservative, agents of change came in the form of Christian missions, trading posts, and roads linking the Cherokee Nation and European settlements. Among the most successful of the missionary efforts among the Cherokee was the Mission Farm and School, established in 1820 by the American Baptist Foreign Mission Board on the west side of the Hiwassee River near Peachtree. Under the leadership of Evan Jones, the school

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[8] William Bartram, *Travels and Other Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1996) p. 283, quoted in Bishir, Southern, and Martin, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Western North Carolina*, pp. 14-15.
[9] Michael Ann Williams, "Four Square Buildings Consisting of Log: Eastern Cherokee Log Building," paper presented to the annual meeting of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, Savannah, Georgia, 2007.
[10] Duncan and Riggs, *Cherokee Heritage Trails Guidebook*, pp. 181-182.

taught children in the Cherokee language. Consequently, the areas around Peachtree and Brasstown had a relatively high number of Christian converts, and several Cherokee preachers came from this area.

In 1813, investors in agreement with both the Cherokee Nation and the U.S. federal government chartered the Unicoi Turnpike, utilizing a system of trails the Cherokee had already developed. From Tennessee, the road cut through present-day Cherokee County, through Hanging Dog, down to the confluence of the Valley and Hiwassee Rivers, and onto Peachtree. Entering present-day Clay County near Brasstown, it roughly followed the route of Settawig Road, then continued near the route of present-day U.S. Highway 64, and then turned southward toward the Groves Farm (CY0172) before entering Georgia. "Stands," complexes of buildings that provided lodging and goods, were established along the route. At least two stands were located in what is now Clay County. Nathan B. Hyatt and his Cherokee wife Ann Reed Hyatt ran a stand on Hyatt's Mill Creek, south of present-day Hayesville. The stand included a grist mill and a store that served the local Cherokee community as well as turnpike travelers. The Brasstown stand, which was located near the present-day community building, was run by David Thompson, reputed to be Brasstown's first white settler. Although nothing remains of the stands, traces of the old turnpike can be found in Clay County.[11]

The Unicoi Turnpike would eventually be used for a different purpose, facilitating the forced removal of the Cherokee from western North Carolina. In 1830, Congress passed

[11] Bass Hyatt Jr., *Brasstown Valley Myths & History* (Blairsville, GA: Straub Publishing, 2018), pp. 7, 12-13; Carl S. Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now* (Clay County Historical and Arts Council, 2023 [2007]), pp. 27-28.

the Indian Removal Act, mandating the removal of Native peoples to lands west of the Mississippi River. In 1835, a minority faction of Cherokee tribal members signed the Treaty of New Echota, accepting payment to move west. Between 1835 and 1837, the federal government built four forts in western North Carolina. The largest was Fort Butler, near present-day Murphy, followed by Fort Delaney (present-day Andrews), Fort Montgomery (present-day Robbinsville), and Fort Hembree (present-day Hayesville). The forts served as housing for the influx of soldiers and, later, as stockades used to detain Cherokee individuals.

Fort Hembree stood on the top of Fort Hill on the western side of present-day Hayesville. The fort was located near the Unicoi Turnpike, giving the U.S. Army control of the important road. Removal operations began in June 1838. From Fort Hembree, troops began removing populations in an area that extended as far south as present-day Hiawassee, Georgia, as far north and east as Tusquittee and Shooting Creek, and as far west as Sweetwater Creek. Prisoners were detained for up to a week until they were moved, along the Unicoi Turnpike, to Fort Butler and subsequently on to Oklahoma. The Cherokee who died while detained at Fort Hembree are buried in unmarked graves on Fort Hill, only a part of the massive death toll of the Trail of Tears. Less than ten years later, a journalist noted of the Fort Hembree site that the only evidence of a fortification was the ruins of palisades and two or three dilapidated blockhouses. A few buildings located at the fort were reused as a post office and store in the early years of white settlement following the Removal.[12]

[12] Duncan and Riggs, *Cherokee Heritage Trails Guidebook*, pp. 202-203.

The extent of Cherokee habitation of the area that became Clay County is reflected in government inventories conducted in the years immediately prior to the Removal. The survey of the Tusquittee area noted 53 dwellings with chimneys, 11 dwellings without chimneys, six hothouses, corn cribs, stables, orchards, and a blacksmith shop. Downings Creek had another 14 dwellings with chimneys and two without, and at Blair Creek, south of the fort, there were nine dwellings with chimneys and four more houses at Hyatt's Mill. At Spikebuck, there were nine dwellings and 49 acres under cultivation.[13] The immediate fate of most of the Cherokee built environment was not recorded, although the townhouse at Shooting Creek was known to have been burned by white settlers on the eve of the Removal.[14] The government, however, was motivated to discourage any resettlement by Cherokee people and quickly put the lands up for sale to white settlers.

Of course, not all the Cherokee left southwestern North Carolina. A small number successfully petitioned to stay; others hid out and eluded removal; and eventually some returned from the west. While Clay County has citizens of Cherokee descent, unlike the neighboring counties of Cherokee, Graham, Swain, Jackson, and Macon, Cherokee communities did not reform after the Removal in the area that became Clay County. With the exception of the mound at Spikebuck, visible architectural remnants of the Native American presence in Clay County are now gone, and material evidence is archaeological rather than architectural.

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[13] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, pp. 20-22. Moore's data is based on the United States War Department 1835 Henderson Roll Census of the Cherokee Nation, Record Group 75, U.S. National Archives; and William Welch and Nimrod Jarrett, 1837 Valuations of Cherokee Property in North Carolina, Manuscript Record Group 75, U.S. National Archives.
[14] Duncan and Riggs, *Cherokee Heritage Trails Guidebook*, p. 198.

CHAPTER TWO: POST-REMOVAL SETTLEMENT, 1838-1861

Wishing to encourage non-Native settlement, the federal government put the former Cherokee lands up for public sale soon after the forced removal of Native peoples. Many of the buyers already lived in southwestern North Carolina and were in search of more or better land. In a few cases, white settlers had moved into the area prior to 1838, lived among the Cherokee, and then purchased property at the land sales. Another few buyers came from well-to-do families in the western piedmont of North Carolina.[15]

In 1839, North Carolina created its southwestern-most county, naming it after the people exiled from the land. By the mid-19th century, Cherokee County became administratively unwieldy. In 1861, Clay County was formed from the southeast section of Cherokee County, and in 1872, the State carved out Graham County from the northeast portion.[16]

The architectural record of the period between the Cherokee Removal and the creation of Clay County is scanty at best. Only a handful of structures survive in the area that would become Clay County, and almost all of these have either been moved or substantially altered, or survive in a deteriorated or fragmentary state. Still, examining these buildings reveals much about the early period of non-Native settlement and the variety of structures built during this era.

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[15] Of the known builders of surviving structures from this era, John Covington Moore, Harvey Monroe Penland, Abner Moore and Howell Moss all relocated from nearby Macon County to the immediate east. Joshua Harshaw, the son of a well-to-do planter, came from Burke County in the North Carolina Piedmont. See individual histories in this chapter.

[16] Carl S. Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now* (Clay County Historical and Arts Council, 2023 [2007]), pp. 37-39.

John Covington Moore House, Tusquittee (CY0002, CY0250)

Of the surviving structures of the post-Removal era, the John Covington Moore House possesses the most convoluted history. Born in 1811 in Rutherford County, Moore later moved with his wife Polly Bryson Moore to Macon County. Around 1833, the Moores and their first child moved to Cherokee land, becoming some of the first white settlers in what would become Clay County. They ultimately settled in the Tusquittee region and, after the Removal, purchased tracts of land there.

Sometime in the immediate post-Removal era, Moore built a story-and-a-half log house. Subsequently, he expanded the house to form a center-passage dwelling with chimneys at either end. Architectural evidence suggests that the eastern portion of the house was the original house. Later, a rear kitchen ell was added, and ultimately, the whole house was covered in weatherboarding. Physical evidence suggests that the initial weatherboarding was probably added in the 19th century, and records suggest that the weatherboarding was replaced in 1903.[17]

In his adult life, John Covington Moore served as an eyewitness to extraordinary historic changes between his arrival in the 1830s and his death in 1902. In 1861, Moore became one of three commissioners charged with laying out the bounds of Clay County, and he served as a county commissioner from 1869 to 1872. Although most of his pursuits were agricultural, he also played a role in the mining history of Clay County. In 1854, Moore purchased land along Brasstown Creek, where he discovered evidence of gold. In 1858, he sold this tract of land to William Calhoun and William Warne but retained interest in the

[17] John Covington Moore House, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1983, section 7.

gold mine and later assumed control of the operation. Moore also ran a gold mine in Tusquittee with partner James Shearer.[18]

As he reached old age, Moore sold off much of his land in Tusquittee but kept the house. At the time of his death in 1902 he was living in Hayesville, and he still owned his home in Tusquittee. After Moore died intestate, his inheritance was contested, and the property was sold at public sale in 1904. Although the property went through several owners, it was eventually bought by Andrew Dow Evans (1871-1959). It was probably Evans who improved the deteriorated property and, around 1930, tore down the rear ell and added rear shed rooms instead. Although the house has long held the reputation as the oldest house in the county, for many it became known as the "old Evans place" and lost its association with John Covington Moore.

In 1983, the John Covington Moore House, then owned by George Evans, became the first dwelling in Clay County to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places, and 40 years later was still the only house in the county to have been so listed. However, sometime in the mid-1990s the house was removed from its original location, and upon removal, the house lost its place in the National Register.[19] Local historian Carl Moore in *Clay County Then and Now* includes a photograph of "the Evans Homestead" and, citing Guy Padgett's earlier history, notes that it was the "oldest frame house in the county." The confusion is understandable since the house has long been weatherboarded, concealing its log construction, and for most of the 20th century the house was associated with the

[18] John Covington Moore House, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1983, section 8.
[19] For more information about what happens when properties enrolled in the National Register are moved, refer to Title 36 of the Code of Federal Regulations, part 60, section 14(b)(4) (2024).

Evans family rather than John C. Moore. However, the house photographed in Carl Moore's book and in the National Register nomination are identical. Carl Moore, in his history, notes that the house was "razed" in the 1990s.[20] The survey file maintained by the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office indicates the house had been partially moved, but the new location information was inconclusive,[21] and the house could not be located during the initial stages of the 2024 survey.

The fate of this house may have remained a mystery, but during the 2024 survey, David Anderson of Brasstown came forward to recall that in the 1990s he came upon local farmer Garnett Nelson disassembling the "Evans cabin," the oldest house in the county, and talked about Nelson's plans to relocate it to the Tusquittee Pioneer Village (CY0112), which he was constructing.[22] Based on Anderson's testimony, it appears the house was hiding in plain sight. In 1993, inspired by a trip to Cades Cove, prominent local farmer Garnett "Johnny" Nelson and his wife Kathleen, along with Gordon Parris, constructed a "pioneer village" in the Nelson's backyard. Approximately 13 historic buildings were dismantled and moved to the site, while a church building was constructed of new materials.[23] The collection of buildings includes a log blacksmith shop, a four-crib log barn and several smaller log agricultural structures, a boxed saddlebag-plan dwelling, and a single-crib log house. Both of the Nelsons passed away in 1996, and although the property

[20] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 78. See also Guy Padgett, *A History of Clay County, North Carolina* (Clay County Bicentennial Committee, 1976).
[21] Survey file CY0002 John Covington Moore House, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina.
[22] Tape recorded interview with David Anderson, May 3, 2024.
[23] Bob Scott, "Clay Men Build Pioneer Village to Preserve History," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, April 26, 1993, p. 9.

is still owned by family members, knowledge of the original locations and owners of the structures is unfortunately lost.

The John Covington Moore House, as it was recorded in the late 1970s and early 1980s, was a story-and-a-half weatherboarded log house. A stone and brick chimney was located at the west end, and, at the east end, the original chimney had been replaced with a brick flue. As is often common with houses enlarged in this manner, there are two front doors, one entering the central hallway and the other entering the east front room. The house had a low, semi-engaged front porch, which would have been added sometime after the enlargement of the house. It is possible the roof line was raised at some point to create more loft space. The dwelling at the Tusquittee Pioneer Village is a single-story, single-pen house with half-dovetailed corner joints visible now that the weatherboarding has been removed. While no measurements were taken during the earlier documentation of the Moore House, this log structure in size and layout could be the original portion of the Moore House. Probably out of necessity, the stone chimney, front porch, and roofline appear to have been newly constructed after the oldest portion of the house was moved. The house now has a boxed rear shed addition and a log meat house or can house attached to the gable end that lacks a chimney. It is unknown whether materials from the Moore House were used to construct these new features. Despite the lack of absolute certainty, it is likely that the oldest portion of the John Covington Moore House was relocated to the Tusquittee Pioneer Village in the early 1990s and reinterpreted there. During the 2024 survey, the survey site number CY0250 was assigned to the remnant of the Moore House at its new location.

Brendle House, Brasstown

Three other post-Removal-era log dwellings from Clay County have been relocated and also exist in museum contexts. The John C. Campbell Folk School opened in 1925 on the eastern edge of Cherokee County at the border with Clay County. The following year the school constructed a "Log Cabin Museum," moving two historic log houses together in imitation of a "dogtrot"-plan dwelling. The new building served initially as the temporary quarters of two Folk School staff members, Georg Bidstrup and Leon Deschamps, and was later developed into a museum. The building was repaired and rededicated in 1973. Currently it is empty, awaiting a new use.

Of the two buildings moved to create the Log Cabin Museum, one was from Cherokee County and the other from Clay. The circa 1897 Caldwell House, already once relocated, was moved from the nearby Johnson Branch in Cherokee County. The much earlier Brendle House, believed to have been constructed in the 1850s, was moved from a location within a mile of the Folk School campus on the Clay County side of Brasstown Creek. The exact original location is unknown, but in a Folk School brochure, local community leader Fred O. Scroggs described it as "standing well back on the knoll between the Brendle Branch and the Little Brasstown Road (northwest side)." The brochure describes the dwelling as a tenant house lived in by John Brendle on the John Standridge farm. The farm was later owned by Cliff Waldroup, who donated the cabin to the Folk School. The brochure also relates a story passed on by Fred O. Scroggs. He was told by Will Brendle that when Will's father Bill was in the Confederate Army, he was home visiting his parents when some Union soldiers showed up. The young Bill Brendle hid under the

puncheons of the dogtrot.[24] This story is of interest because it suggests that the portion of the Brendle House moved to the Folk School was one-half of a dogtrot-plan house originally. Although a few surviving dogtrot-plan houses (two similarly sized units with an open breezeway between) have been documented elsewhere in southwestern North Carolina, no dogtrot-plan houses are known to survive in Clay County in their original locations.

Abner S. Moore House and the John Davis House, Foxfire Museum, Mountain City, Georgia

Two log dwellings located at the Foxfire Museum in north Georgia are known to have been relocated from Clay County. The Abner S. Moore House is a substantial dogtrot-plan house with a rear kitchen attached by a covered walkway and is believed to have been built before the Civil War. Abner S. Moore was born in 1801 in Carter County, Tennessee, and moved to Macon County, North Carolina, in the 1820s and then to the Tusquittee community, probably in the late 1830s. He was probably not directly related to John Covington Moore, at least until his son Abner Jarrett Moore married John Covington Moore's daughter Miriam. The Penland family later occupied the house. In 1975, the house was relocated to the Foxfire Center.[25] Its original location in Tusquittee was not documented.

The John Davis House was built sometime before the Civil War in the Shooting Creek community. The portion of the house relocated to the Foxfire Museum served as a

[24] *Visit the Campbell Folk School's Log Cabin Museum*, undated brochure, John C. Campbell Folk School Archives.
[25] Lori Lee, "The Moore House," *Foxfire* (fall/winter 1992).

freestanding rear kitchen attached to the main house, which was a single-pen unit, by a covered walkway. Some people in the region referred to this arrangement as a "big house and kitchen."[26] The former kitchen is a half-dovetailed, single-pen unit with a stone chimney. Later owners of the house, the Duckworths, tore down the "big house" and built a frame dwelling instead. The log kitchen was used as a corn crib.[27] As with the Abner Moore House, the original location of the house is now unknown.

Harshaw Smokehouse, Brasstown (CY0185)

Not all of the early non-Native settlers built log houses. At the 1838 sale of Cherokee lands at Franklin, the Harshaw brothers, sons of a wealthy plantation owner in Burke County, bought large tracts of land. Joshua Harshaw purchased over 3,000 acres in what would eventually become Clay County, building his home in Brasstown. The house was torn down in 1930 but has been described as a two-story frame house with fireplaces in either room. The surviving structure is a common-bond brick smokehouse that was once attached by a walkway to the dwelling. The door of the smokehouse faced the dwelling, and it still has its original strap hinges. The bricks for the structure are believed to have been made locally on Dog Branch in Brasstown.

[26] This arrangement is sometimes wrongly labeled a dogtrot-plan house. While a dogtrot plan consisted of two units, side by side, connected by an open passage and with the direction of their roofs aligned, the big house and kitchen generally had the kitchen somewhat to the rear and may or may not have had a covered walkway attaching the two units. In the two units of the dogtrot, one unit was not solely used as a kitchen. See: Michael Ann Williams, *Homeplace: The Social Use and Meaning of the Folk Dwelling in Southwestern North Carolina* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1991), chapter 2.
[27] Leigh Ann Smith Nichols, "The Shooting Creek Cabin," *Foxfire* (fall/winter 1992).

In its original two-story form, the smokehouse was considerably larger than is typical of smokehouses on family farms in Clay County. The capacity of the smokehouse reflects the size of Harshaw's agricultural output, which was supported by the labor of enslaved African Americans. Joshua Harshaw held more African Americans than any other landowner in what would become Clay County. In 1860, Harshaw enslaved 33 individuals and was one of the 50 largest enslavers in western North Carolina.[28] He was undoubtedly also one of the wealthiest men in the region. Joshua Harshaw was known to his contemporaries as a pious man and is mostly remembered today as the donor of the land for the cemetery and church in Murphy that carries his name, Harshaw Chapel (CE0003, NR 1984).[29]

Despite his wealth, Joshua Harshaw's life ended sadly. In the 1860s, he lost both his young wife and his only child a few years apart. In his final decades, he employed the D. K. Dickey family to housekeep for him, and after his death in 1876, the Dickeys inherited the house and farm.[30] Much of his other extensive landholdings had already been sold off or were donated to the Methodist Church. About 1930, Marion Myers acquired the property. He demolished the deteriorating dwelling and built a new frame house (now deteriorated itself). In tearing down the old house, he damaged the upper story of the smokehouse, whose ridgepole was connected to the dwelling. Myers reduced the smokehouse to one story and reroofed it.

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[28] John C. Inscoe, *Mountain Masters: Slavery and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), Appendix, pp. 265-266.
[29] Joshua Harshaw Biography, manuscript prepared by Abram Edgar Harshaw, 1964, Harshaw Family Collection, Special Collections, Hunter Library, Western Carolina University.
[30] Bass Hyatt Jr., *Brasstown Valley Myths & History* (Blairsville: Straub Publishing, 2018), pp. 24-25.

Probably built in the 1840s, the Harshaw Smokehouse (CY0185) is the oldest known structure in western Clay County and quite possibly is the oldest building in the county still in its original location. Construction of the smokehouse probably included the labor of enslaved African Americans. Archaeological investigation of the smokehouse and the immediately surrounding land could tell us more about the lives of African Americans in far western North Carolina during the era before emancipation. Marion Meyers' son Ralph Meyers recalls that when he was a young boy (probably in the early to mid-1930s), three women from Macon County visited his home. One of the two African American women told him that she had been told that her mother was born in the smokehouse.[31]

Harvey Monroe Penland House, Elf (CY0186)

Harvey Monroe Penland was born in Haywood County and grew up in what became Macon County. Soon after the Cherokee Removal, he began to purchase land in the newly created Cherokee County. In 1842, he married Patience Moore, half-sister to John Covington Moore. After living in several other locations, the Penlands bought 300 acres from Patience's father (also named John Moore) in the Elf community in 1855 and the following year started building a house. Like his wife's half-brother, H. M. Penland was a prominent citizen and served as one of the early commissioners of Clay County.

A photo from around the turn of the 20th century shows the H. M. Penland House as a substantial two-story, single-pile, frame house with exterior-end brick chimneys. Family tradition holds that African Americans enslaved by the family made the bricks for the

[31] Interview with Ralph Myers, March 19, 2024.

chimneys. The house had a two-story, full-façade porch and a rear kitchen ell, which might have been a later addition. After Penland's death in 1889, the Lance family occupied the house. One of the Lance daughters then married Penland's grandson, Will Penland. Around the 1930s, Will and Ollie Penland substantially remodeled the house so that it now has the appearance of a bungalow. The height of the house was reduced to a story-and-a-half, and the new low gable roof covered an engaged front porch. A shed dormer was put over the front porch, and the roof has bracketed eaves. The rear kitchen ell was removed, and the depth of the house was increased to the rear under the roof line. The brick chimneys on either side of the house survive, although they have been shortened in height.

During the creation of Lake Chatuge in the early 1940s, the house was spared from flooding due to its relatively high location. The house, now located on Penland Point, overlooks the lake. It is now a rental property but is still owned by members of the Penland family.[32]

Howell Moss House, Tusquittee (CY0043)

Crestus Howell Moss Jr. was born in Haywood County and married his wife Lucinda Redmond in 1834 in Macon County. Some records indicate that the Mosses moved to the Tusquittee area prior to the Cherokee Removal. Moss was a preacher, and the family moved back to Macon County, where he was ordained, returning after a few years to their

[32] Photograph and "Extracts from a Sketch of the Life of Harvey Monroe Penland" provided by Elizabeth Wilson, great-great-granddaughter of H. M. Penland, to Audrey Thomas, via email, April 9, 2024. Her extracts are drawn from Blanche Penland Browder, *The Penland Family of North Carolina* (self-published, 1975). Survey file CY0186, Harvey Monroe Penland House, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina.

home in Tusquittee. Reverend Howell Moss gave the land and helped organize the Tusquittee United Baptist Church in 1858 (later renamed Moss Memorial in honor of him and several other members of the Moss family).[33]

The circa 1860 Howell Moss House is similar in size and construction to the H. M. Penland House as it appeared at the turn of the 20th century. Both are built of heavy frame, with unadorned two-story, full-façade front porches. Both also have brick, common-bond chimneys on either end. The roofline is slightly higher in the Moss House, and the porch is semi-engaged, rather than shed. The plan appears to be double pen, with two rooms side by side and two front doors. The Penland House in its original form appears to have a central door, possibly indicating a central hallway, although the original layout is not known. The Moss House has windows on the second-story gable end, which the Penland House does not. Early additions to the rear were shed rooms, rather than an ell. Both houses were built, in part, with locust, perhaps explaining their remarkable longevity.

When the house was first documented in 1980, it was unoccupied and in poor condition. The house is now badly overgrown, and the chimneys have fallen. However, it still stands in its original location.

African Americans after the Removal

Not all of the new arrivals to this region were of European descent. Undoubtedly, the literal builders of some of these early structures were enslaved African Americans. While slavery was not as ingrained into the agricultural life of southwestern North Carolina

[33] *The Heritage of Clay County* (Waynesville, NC: Walsworth Publishing Company, 1994), pp. 91-92.

as elsewhere in the state, it was also not uncommon. Joshua Harshaw's brick smokehouse most likely represented the labor of African Americans in the production of handmade brick, the construction of the building, and the capacity of the building, reflecting the level of agricultural output that a plantation built on enslaved labor produced. In 1850, Joshua Harshaw enslaved 28 individuals; by 1860, the number had risen to 33. While this number was relatively modest compared to plantations farther east (Harshaw's older brother enslaved 121 African Americans in Burke County), the Harshaw farm contained the largest number of enslaved African Americans in what would become Clay County the following year.[34]

A typical slaveholder in southwestern North Carolina held from one to eight African Americans. The 1860 census for the Fort Hembree area listed 14 enslavers, including John Covington Moore (three) and H. M. Penland (eight).[35] Because of the size of the Harvey Monroe Penland House, one could surmise that African American laborers had a hand in its construction.

Unfortunately, there are few other surviving artifacts of African American life in this era. Among the most notable memorials recognizing the lives of these enslaved people, **Freedom Cemetery (CY0151)**, located in the Moore Hill community outside of Hayesville, was dedicated in 2016. Long known in local tradition to be a cemetery, a team of archaeologists from Western Carolina University used ground penetrating radar to identify the location and approximate number of interments. A marker, a fence, and a bench have

[34] Inscoe, *Mountain Masters*, p. 69 and Appendix, pp. 265-266.
[35] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now,* p. 14.

been added to the site. The process of memorializing these unnamed individuals is ongoing, and the property is now owned by the Fort Hembree Baptist Church. **Herbert Hills Cemetery (CY0216)**, located southeast of Hayesville, is also maintained by the Fort Hembree church. According to local historian Carl Moore, enslaved people established the cemetery in 1850.[36] Burials have continued into the 21st century. The older graves are either unmarked or marked by uninscribed stones, or stones that are simply badly weathered. At least 75 marked stones are located at Herbert Hills, but none are dated from the 19th century. An African American community existed from the post-Civil War era to the mid-20th century in this general vicinity, including many descendants of individuals enslaved by prosperous farmer Elijah Herbert, who in 1860 held eight enslaved African Americans.[37] Individuals known to have been buried in the cemetery include these family names: Herbert, Lloyd, Worley, Mauldin, Nicely, Blackwell and Corn.[38]

Building in the Post-Removal Period

The structures surviving from the 1838 to 1861 period are small in number and, for the most part, considerably altered or moved. Still, they tell us much about this generation of settlers and the building options they had available. At least two of the builders, John Covington Moore and Howell Moss, moved into the Tusquittee region prior to the forced

[36] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now,* p. 16.
[37] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now,* p. 14. The Rosenwald school (CY0114), the only African American school in Clay County in the early 20th century, was located nearby on Hinton Center Road, and the property of the Hinton Center itself (CY0115), as well as Wonderview (CY0159, SL 2025), was purchased from African American Herberts.
[38] Herbert Cemetery, files.usgwarchives.net/nc/clay/cemeteries/herbcemt.txt. Accessed January 31, 2025. The survey was conducted by Dorothy Shepherd and John H. Corn. They identified 116 names of individuals believed to have been buried in this location.

removal of the Cherokee and then later purchased property in the land sales. According to some sources, Moore's first home in this area was a Cherokee-built log house.[39] Except for Joshua Harshaw, who moved from the western piedmont of North Carolina, all the builders of early houses came from nearby counties in southwestern North Carolina or east Tennessee, and most were at least second generation in the region.

Log was the most expedient building material for many early settlers. The Cherokee already had a well-established log building tradition by the time of the Removal. Although log was not "indigenous" to the Cherokee, neither was it part of the heritage of British and Irish settlers to North America. Several European groups brought forms of log building to America, but the log tradition in the Southern Appalachians comes most directly from south-central Pennsylvania, where there was a cultural exchange among Germanic settlers with English, Scots Irish, and other European groups. In the mid-18th century, the Great Wagon Road facilitated the migration of European Americans from Pennsylvania to Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.

For those of modest means who relied on community building traditions and communal labor into the early 20th century, log was most often utilized. Frame construction was an option for the more well-to-do. Masonry was generally not used as the main building material, though most of the surviving buildings sport substantial stone or brick chimneys, with brick probably serving as the more prestigious building material. Wood and clay could be used for chimneys (and perhaps composed the original chimney on the Brendle House), but these materials tended not to survive over time. The clear

[39] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now,* p. 8.

outlier in this sample of buildings is the Harshaw smokehouse. It is the only outbuilding known to have survived from this era, and it is a rare example of a 19th-century brick outbuilding in southwestern North Carolina.

Generally, 19th-century rural vernacular building in southwestern North Carolina drew from a limited repertoire of house types and forms. The smallest was the single-pen-plan house, consisting of one unit, though it was sometimes internally subdivided into two unevenly sized rooms. Larger houses relied on the arrangement of two equal-sized units: the double-pen, with exterior-end chimneys; the saddlebag, with an interior double-sided chimney between the two rooms; the dogtrot, in which an open-air passage separated the two units; and the center-passage house, with an interior hallway that runs the depth of the house. All of these house plans were found in single-story, story-and-a-half, and two-story versions. All could also be built of either log or frame, though single-pen houses were more typically log and center-passage houses were more typically frame, given that frame construction includes a "skeleton" of loadbearing framing members that makes it easier to expand the footprint of the house upward and out.

With such a small sample, it is not possible to come to statistical conclusions about the prevalence of certain house types or plans, but it is worth noting that the survivors demonstrate the range of dwelling types that could be found in the early years of post-Removal settlement. Surprisingly, the one house plan that is not represented in this sample is the saddlebag house with its central double-sided chimney. In the second half of the 19th century and into the early 20th, the saddlebag-plan dwelling became one of the most popular rural house types in Clay County. Dogtrot-plan houses are relatively rare in

southwestern North Carolina, and when they are found, they tend to have been constructed prior to the Civil War. The Brendle House possibly represents half a log dogtrot-plan house, and when it was moved and reconfigured, it became part of a dogtrot house again, suggesting the overall house form existed within the living memory of the local residents who built the Log Cabin Museum at the Folk School. The Abner S. Moore House, formerly located in Tusquittee prior to its removal to Foxfire, also represents this arrangement of two log pens.

Several men who became the leading citizens of the new county when it was created in 1861 had already constructed substantial two-story frame houses. The dwellings of Howell Moss and Harvey Monroe Penland would have been among the most impressive rural houses in the region. It is worth considering why certain structures survive while others do not, and how unequal survival rates might skew what we know or perceive about the past. Generally, it seems the case that structures may survive because of their association with prominent individuals, a factor that may favor larger buildings over smaller. Continuous family ownership is also a factor, as at the Harvey Monroe Penland House. The ability of a house to accommodate changes in needs and tastes may also be a factor. Rather than replace his single-pen log dwelling as he prospered, John Covington Moore expanded it into a more substantial, center-passage house and disguised its log construction with weatherboarding.

Materials also played some role in longevity. In the case of the Harshaw smokehouse, the size and masonry construction of the outbuilding were curious enough that subsequent owners chose not to remove it. In the case of the Howell Moss House and

the Harvey Monroe Penland House, extensive use of rot-resistant locust wood in the framing probably helped preserve these buildings.

Finally, four of the buildings have been preserved through museumization. It is unlikely that either the John Covington Moore House or the Brendle House would have survived into the 21st century if they had not been moved and reconstructed in a museum context. The Moore House continues to be endangered because the buildings moved to the Tusquittee Pioneer Village are no longer cared for as part of a site open to the public. The Brendle House, part of the Log Cabin Museum at the John C. Campbell Folk School, is no longer used as a museum, but its immediate future is probably assured as part of the Folk School campus. In both these cases, the original histories of these dwellings and their associations with specific individuals have largely been obscured as the dwellings were re-contextualized to represent a more general Appalachian heritage. The same is true of the Abner S. Moore House and John Davis House at the Foxfire Museum.

Creation of the County and the County Seat, Hayesville

Barely two decades into the creation of Cherokee County, the newly settled eastern residents of the county grew dissatisfied with the distance to the county seat of Murphy. Politician George Hayes of Tomotla took up their cause and, when elected state representative, introduced legislation to form a new county. The North Carolina General Assembly created Clay County in 1861.

The selection of a new seat of government became one of the first orders of business within the new county. Fort Hembree, where a general store, churches, and a post office had already been constructed, seemed an obvious choice. However, the sale of whiskey (which was permitted at Fort Hembree) became an issue, and the Commissioners instead chose a location on donated land less than a mile to the northeast. The new town was named Hayesville after the county's champion, George Hayes.[40] During the Civil War, Fort Hembree continued to serve as the center of government until the first courthouse, a wooden building, was built in 1866. Four years later, an escaped prisoner burned this building, and for well over a decade and a half the County made use of the Masonic Hall, a makeshift frame building, and a local church for courthouse functions. In 1882, the Commissioners finally ordered the survey and platting of Hayesville.[41]

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[40] Carl S. Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now* (Clay County Historical and Arts Council, 2023 [2007]), p. 48.

[41] North Carolina Department of Transportation, Human Environment Section, Historic Structures Report, "Widen US 64 from US 64 Business West of Hayesville to East of NC 141 at Hiawassee [*sic*] River, Clay County, North Carolina," prepared by Cardno, Inc., November 30, 2018.

In 1887, the Commissioners got down to the task of building a new, more permanent courthouse and turned to other counties in southwestern North Carolina for models and specifications. Transylvania County, also created in 1861, replaced its frame courthouse in 1873 with a brick, two-story, Italianate-style building (TV0005, NR 1979). Unable to procure specifications and costs from Transylvania County, the Commissioners turned to neighboring Macon County and obtained plans and specifications from G. W. Burgin, who had built the brick courthouse in Franklin (MA0624, demolished 1970s).[42] Burgin also built the St. Agnes Episcopal Church (MA0006, NR 1987) in Franklin at about the same time he built the Hayesville courthouse.

Completed in 1889, the brick, Italianate-style Clay County Courthouse (CY0001, NR 1975) is the second-oldest surviving courthouse in North Carolina west of Asheville, second only to the Transylvania County Courthouse. The courthouse building sits in the middle of a large square with the major roads meeting at each corner, a common 19th-century urban plan called a "Shelbyville square." While no other 19th-century buildings are known to survive in downtown Hayesville, the courthouse (now the Beal Center) and the courthouse square still anchor downtown Hayesville. A new judicial center was completed in 2007, one mile southwest of downtown.

A little over two decades after completing the courthouse, the county built a new brick jail (CY0032). The two-story building, the third jail constructed in Hayesville (previous jails had been of log and frame), has a hipped roof and contained not only cells, but also

[42]"Clay County Courthouse," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1975.

living quarters for the jailer and his family.[43] Completed in 1912, the building now serves as a museum run by the Clay County Historical & Arts Council.

Building Material and Techniques in the 19th Century

The construction of the brick courthouse in the late 1880s must have signaled a new era of optimism and permanence for Clay County. However, most of the county's buildings continued to be constructed of wood. Masonry, whether stone or brick, largely played a supporting role. Prior to 1861, brick tended to be handmade on site and was generally used by individuals who had access to enslaved labor. Examples of early brickwork include Joshua Harshaw's smokehouse and the prominent exterior-end chimneys on H. M. Penland's house. Stone masonry continued within the local vernacular building tradition, used primarily in the construction of chimneys and the foundations of houses and some outbuildings. Although Cass Fain is believed to have built the first brick house in Hayesville in the late 19th century, no surviving brick or stone 19th-century dwellings exist in Clay County.[44]

European-derived log construction techniques had been widely adopted by the Cherokee by the late 18th century, and at the time of the Removal, the majority of Cherokee dwellings would have looked familiar to the European Americans who usurped the land. Log was not used exclusively by the pioneer generation, however. Farmers of modest means continued to construct dwellings of log throughout much of the 19th century and in

[43] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 56.
[44] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 79.

the early 20th century continued to use traditional methods of log construction for agricultural outbuildings. Heavy frame dwellings were also constructed by the first generations of European American settlers, especially those settlers of means who brought enslaved African Americans with them to Clay County. Throughout the 19th century, frame construction evolved, moving toward lighter, less labor-intensive building as access to milled lumber and manufactured nails increased.

Continuation of the Log Tradition

In the earliest years of the post-Removal era of settlement, log construction served as the default building technology for most of the new arrivals, though some would have the means to construct houses of heavy timber frame. In the second half of the 19th century, the more affluent rural dwellers increasingly turned to frame construction as sawn lumber became more readily available. However, for subsistence farmers who operated largely outside the cash economy, log continued to offer an affordable alternative. The cooperative exchange of work in most rural communities further supported the use of log construction and the building of modestly sized dwellings. A person who wanted a house considerably different from the status quo would probably not have benefitted from the free exchange of labor.

Even those who turned to frame construction for their dwellings during this era still often utilized log construction in the building of agricultural outbuildings. Until the era of large-scale egg, dairy, and cattle production in the 20th century, most Clay County farmers followed the Upper South tradition of building a scattering of small, often single-purpose,

agricultural structures. Of the surviving traditional log structures in Clay County, the majority are outbuildings, rather than dwellings. These include a variety of single-crib outbuildings (corn cribs being the most common), double-crib barns with hay lofts, and, in a few instances, four-crib barns.

The two most intact late-19th-century log dwellings in Clay County are both located in Upper Tusquittee and associated with the Mull family. The Luther Mull Farm (CY0183, SL 2025) contains a circa 1895, single-pen, story-and-a-half, log house with half-dovetail corner notching. Luther Mull and Nancy Pruett Mull raised nine children in this house. The boys slept under the eaves upstairs, which was accessed by a boxed-in staircase. Originally, the dwelling had a separate detached kitchen several yards behind the "big house." A portion of this kitchen's chimney survives. Later, the family added a small, shed-roofed kitchen addition to the rear of the log dwelling, possibly coinciding with the acquisition of a cookstove.

The Mull family raised sheep and cattle that were once allowed to free-range in the mountains. The farm included a variety of outbuildings, including a v-notched log corn crib, a blacksmith shop, and several small sheds. The largest outbuilding, a v-notched, four-crib barn, possibly predates the house and is believed to have been built by Luther Mull's uncle, Monroe Mull. In 1938, Luther's son Paul Mull built a frame house above the log house, also a story-and-a-half in height, with additions to the rear and side. According to her grandson Rick, Nancy Mull, who died in 1965, preferred to stay in her log house after her husband passed away rather than move into her son's frame house a few yards away.[45]

[45] Interview with Rick Mull, March 22, 2024.

The second log dwelling associated with the Mull family is the S. D. Mull House (CY0003, SL 1999). Samuel Dewey Mull and his wife Edith Gertrude Nelson Mull moved to the property in 1927. According to Gertrude Nelson Mull, the house had been built by her uncle about 1870; however, at some point, the house came into the hands of Luther Mull, and he sold it to his son Dewey.[46] Similar to the Luther Mull House, this dwelling is a single-pen log structure with a stone chimney, but the logs are v-notched, rather than half-dovetailed. The chinking is largely absent from the house, but the house is finished inside with hand-planed siding. A boxed shed-roofed kitchen was added to the house around 1900. The house had originally been a single story, but in 1927, the roof was raised to create a loft, and the new roof extends over the gable end of the house (with the chimney piercing the crest of the roof). In the 1940s, a boxed bedroom addition was added to the other (south) gable end, and a small "parson's room" was added in front of this addition.

The Mulls lived in this house the rest of their lives with their daughter Effie, who continued to farm the land after their deaths. She finally sold the property in 1999, and the new owners have made few changes to the house and outbuildings in the years since. An intriguing aspect of the Mull farm is that although the house may date to 1870, the outbuildings were all built in the 1920s or later. The Mulls, in moving to the farm, found the dwelling to be useable but needed to replace the agricultural structures. Dewey Mull built a large double-crib barn with a stone foundation, a single-crib log corn crib with a log addition to one side, a log pig barn, and, behind the house, a log smokehouse. The property

[46] Gwen Leavens and Sarah Wallace, "I Would Rather Do Without," *Foxfire Magazine* Summer 1983, p. 98. The article is based on an interview with Gertrude and Effie Mull.

also includes a frame chicken house and a tool shed. The barns date from the late 1920s, while the smokehouse and chicken house date from the 1930s.[47] The farmstead illustrates the continuity of log construction in rural Clay County, from the building of a small log dwelling around 1870 to the continued construction of log agricultural structures into the 1920s and 1930s. Notably, the log structures built by Dewey Mull all utilize unhewn logs "in-the-round" and saddle notching, rather than the tighter hewn logs of his house or the dwelling and log agricultural structures on the Luther Mull Farm. This may simply reflect expediency, since hewn timbers and tighter notches were not needed for farm outbuildings, but it could also suggest a decline in log building skills as the 20th century progressed. In either case, the site is a testament to the continuation of self-sufficient farming, utilizing traditional construction plans and methods throughout the 20th century, even as others in the county turned to large-scale dairy and egg production.

Few other intact log dwellings from the late 19th century survive in Clay County, although photographic and documentary evidence suggest that they were not rare. The State Historic Preservation Office's Far West Regional Survey, a reconnaissance-level architectural survey conducted in 1979, documented several log dwellings that are now gone. Among them is the John Jackson Gribble House (CY0035) in upper Tusquittee, a double-pen house that had exterior-end stone chimneys, tentatively dated to 1893. One pen, which had lost its chimney, was of v-notched log construction; the second pen, a later addition, was of "boxed" construction. Vertical-plank, single-wall, boxed construction

[47] "S. D. Mull Homestead" Study List Application. Survey file CY0003 S. D. Mull House, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina.

started to become common in southwestern North Carolina in the late 19th century, and while it was particularly common in timber camps and at other industrial sites, it also became common in rural areas, especially as local people were increasingly drawn into paid labor. Although boxed construction utilizes milled lumber (which was typically left unfinished), it eschewed internal framing in the form of studs and cross beams. Construction involved simply nailing vertical boards to posts and plates. Boxed houses were quick to build and, in the case of farm dwellings, were often constructed through free community labor, just as many log houses had been. Later additions to log dwellings often utilized boxed construction, as seen in both Mull log dwellings and the Gribble House.

The 1979 survey also documented the Coleman-Wike House (CY0033) in Carter's Cove, broadly dated from the mid- to late 19th century. The original part of the house had half-dovetailed notching and a corner stairway. The house had a later frame addition, and the roof was raised to a full two stories. In the 1970s the dwelling was used to hang tobacco. The remnants of a stone chimney and a boxed structure are all that remain at the house site now. However, the property still contains a v-notched, double-crib barn across the road from the house site and a v-notched, single-crib structure nearer to the house site, which possibly served as a smokehouse.

The majority of log houses built in the latter half of the 19th century appear to have been mostly smaller, single-pen dwellings. If they were later expanded, typically frame or boxed construction would have been used. For the most part in southwestern North Carolina, larger double-pen log houses, and especially dogtrot-plan houses, date from before the Civil War. As the 19th century progressed, individuals with the means and desire

for a larger house would have chosen frame construction. Still, even these persons often chose log in the construction of small outbuildings and barns.

Late-19th and Early-20th-Century Rural Frame Houses

Even with the optimism that might otherwise have accompanied the creation of a new county, the economic and social disruptions of the Civil War delayed a construction boom during the 1860s and 1870s. Most 19th-century frame structures built after the Civil War in Clay County date from the last two decades of the century, and even those are relatively few. As can be seen at the Howell Moss House and the H. M. Penland House, the two-story, single-pile (one room in depth) frame house epitomized economic achievement in rural southwestern North Carolina in the mid-19th century. These were houses with imposing facades but otherwise were not huge in size, being two rooms over two rooms in the main block. In its most common form, the "I-house" (as it is usually called by vernacular architecture scholars) has central hallways on each floor and an exterior-end chimney at each gable end. Typically, a kitchen wing (also called an "ell") was built onto the rear of the house, either as part of the original design or as a later addition.

Ironically, the dwelling that best epitomizes the late-19th-century I-house is one that in the past has been dated circa 1860. The Captain Bill P. Moore House (CY0041, SL 2025), in Tusquittee, has often been cited as one of the oldest houses in the county, although it is unclear what portion, if any, of the current structure pre-dates the 1880s. Moore was an unmarried man when he went off to join the Confederate Army, and he didn't marry until the late 1860s. Family tradition holds that Moore and his new bride first lived in a small log

house.[48] The two matching stone chimneys on either side of the Captain Bill Moore House bear the date 1887, and that is probably the rough construction date of the two-story, single-bay, gable-roofed front porch with sawnwork trim that was stylish in the late 19th century. Some portion of the main block of the house might have an earlier construction date, although it is also possible that the older log house was incorporated into the rear ell, which was torn away in 1997 and replaced by a modern addition. Even with the additions and alterations, the Captain Bill Moore House is Clay County's best example of a late-19th-century I-house.

An I-house that has disappeared in recent decades is the Rice House (CY0044) on Sawyer Cove Road in lower Tusquittee. This late-19th-century center-passage house differs from the configuration of the Captain Moore House in its possession of twin interior brick chimneys, rather than exterior-end chimneys, a feature found on several other, smaller late-19th-century houses in Clay County. The house was accompanied by a massive, V-notched log, transverse-crib barn (probably originally constructed as a four-crib barn), which is also now gone. Other, more diminutive examples of houses with twin interior brick chimneys are the circa 1880 James M. Coleman House (CY0182) in the Jarrett Road community and the late-19th-century Fred Moss House (CY0042) in Tusquittee.

Another surviving example of a two-story, center-passage I-house, the circa 1898 P. N. Tiger House (part of CY0045, SL 2025), sits along Old U.S. Highway 64E in Shooting Creek. Peter N. Tiger left New York after the Civil War for Colorado, where he met and

[48] "William Patton Moore," *Foxfire Magazine* Fall 1980, p. 226. The article is based on the memories of Frank Moore, William Patton Moore's grandson.

married Mary Patterson in Silverton. Peter and Mary Tiger eventually returned east to her home in southwestern North Carolina. The rear ell of the Tiger House is a single story in height and was possibly an older building. This wing once had a massive stone chimney that is no longer standing; however, the mantle is still in place in the kitchen. The main two-story block of the house has a brick-on-stone chimney on the west gable end. Rather than having another external chimney on the other gable end, as would be typical of older I-houses in the region, the east end of the house is served by a stove flue. A storekeeper, P. N. Tiger was the progenitor of several generations of store owners. Next to the house is a front-gabled, vertical-boarded store built on stone piers. This store is quite possibly the oldest rural store in Clay County. Around 1908, Tiger moved his business to the courthouse square in Hayesville. His son John M. Tiger continued to run a store in Shooting Creek.

By the end of the 19th century, the preference for the I-house form in rural parts of Clay County began to fade, and a few builders experimented with projecting front wings and cross gables. Logs and heavy-timber framing members resulted in houses that were boxy and rectangular; however, once local sawmills were established, they provided standardized dimensional lumber, and builders were no longer restricted to traditional house forms and footprints. Light framing simplified the construction of corners, wall extensions, bay windows, overhangs, and irregular floorplans, leading to new house forms in which wings transected. Around 1890, James Franklin Arrant built a one-and-a-half-story, L-shaped, light-frame house near Brasstown (CY0095). The interior chimney is located at the junction of the two wings of the house. Similar to P. N. Tiger, J. M. Arrant ran a store near his house, but it has been demolished. Sometime after the turn of the century, James

Massey built a similar L-shaped, light-frame house (CY0039) south of Hayesville near Shady Grove Baptist Church (CY0109), although his dwelling had an exterior-end brick chimney. The front of the house faces away from the current highway (Old U.S. Highway 64), as it was built before the highway's construction.[49] Neither of these houses radically departed from the traditional I-house form, the major innovation being the inclusion of projecting wing on the front façade of the house. Unfortunately, both of these houses are now in derelict condition.

While other examples of two-story frame houses dating from 1861 to1911 have now disappeared from the Clay County landscape, surviving dwellings suggest that builders in the county possessed a strong preference for single-story or story-and-a-half dwellings, rather than houses a full two stories in height, in this time period. While few houses from the 1860s and 1870s survive, many more houses from the 1880s and 1890s exist, suggesting a construction boom in the late 19th century.

Colonel Hugh Harvey Davidson, similar to Captain Bill Moore, was a veteran of the Confederate Army. Around 1880, he purchased a tract of land in Pinelog, south of Brasstown, formerly part of the extensive holdings of Abram Harshaw. The land had been purchased after the Civil War by Bob Bell, who built first a temporary log cabin and, later, a more permanent log house. Both structures survived into the 1900s. Davidson later used the newer of the two log houses as the detached kitchen for his new frame dwelling, a single-story house with stone chimneys.[50] About 40 years later, Davidson's grandson Bass

[49] Interview with Buddy Lowe, December 12, 2023.
[50] Bass Hyatt Jr., *Brasstown Valley Myths & History* (Blairsville, GA: Straub Publishing, 2018), p. 27.

Hyatt Sr. built a new two-story house, incorporating the older frame house as the rear ell (part of CY0153). Although the new house has some stylistic features from the 1920s, especially the brackets under the eaves and the stonework at the base of the front porch, and also features an unusual enclosed sleeping porch on the second floor of the front-gabled porch, from a distance, the dwelling looks very much like an I-house.

Another frame house dating from about 1880, the G. M. Fleming House (CY0111) south of Hayesville is a story-and-a-half dwelling with an exterior-end stone chimney. Replacing a log house, Fleming built his house of sawn lumber hauled by wagon from a sawmill located on Brasstown Creek.[51] A prominent citizen, Fleming served as Register of Deeds and as County School Superintendent.[52] The house was renovated in the 1980s after Fleming's family sold it. As with the nearby Massey House, the building of new roads has left the dwelling facing away from the highway. The rear ell of the house has now been replaced by a screened porch.

Another prominent citizen, Dr. Paul Killian, built his house (CY0187) south of Hayesville in 1897. This house has exterior-end brick chimneys and is one-and-a-half-stories in height. The house had a front-gabled, centered front porch, which originally had sawnwork trim stylish in the late 19th century. The lower half of the porch was later replaced by Craftsman-style brick piers. Killian practiced medicine in a small office to the side of the house. His office is now located in the Clay County Museum.

[51] *The Heritage of Clay County, NC* (Waynesville: Walsworth Publishing, 1994), pp. 46-47.
[52] Interview with Buddy Lowe, December 12, 2023.

While some of the one- and one-and-a-half-story frame houses had exterior-end chimneys, a popular vernacular house form utilizing the saddlebag plan had an interior double-sided chimney with fireplaces that served two side-by-side rooms. A good example of a late-19th-century, story-and-a-half saddlebag-plan house (CY0198) is located on Stewarts Cove Road, west of Hayesville. Similar to many houses in the region, the upstairs was not a fully finished space but served as bedrooms for children. The original mantles are still in place, although the hearths themselves have been covered. A concrete-block flue serves the rear kitchen wing, and a bathroom and screen porch are later additions to the house. The house is believed to date from about 1895.[53]

A slightly later example, the circa 1908 Cordie Coleman Padgett House (CY0224) is also a story-and-half saddlebag-plan house. Padgett was widowed at a young age. To provide her children with better educations, she left the Sweetwater community and bought a farm close to Hayesville. Along with the double chimney in the main block of the house, there is also a chimney between the living room and dining room. As with the Stewart House, the upstairs is only partially finished. The front of the house has a gabled dormer above the front porch, which is now screened. An able farm manager, Padgett ran the farm for almost 40 years. Outbuildings included a log barn that possibly predated the house, a smokehouse, chicken houses, various cribs, and a springhouse. All the outbuildings except the springhouse are now gone.[54]

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[53] Interview with Antoinette Moral, May 29, 2024.

[54]Cordie Coleman Padgett, family history compiled by the Padgett family. The report was provided by Joanna Padgett-Atkisson, April 24, 2024. A copy of the architectural chapter is available in survey file CY0224 Cordie Coleman Padgett House, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina. Interview with Joanna Padgett-Atkisson, April 24, 2024. Phone interview with Jerry Padgett, April 24, 2024.

The growing fondness for a gabled bay projecting from the primary elevation of the house is found in the circa 1887 J. B. Mease House (CY0175). As with the J. F. Arrant House, this one-story dwelling has an interior chimney at the intersection of the gable roofs. The gable ends have returning eaves. James Bradford Mease and Lou Smathers Mease moved from Haywood County to Clay County in 1865 and in 1886 bought the property along the Hiwassee River, as Lou was an avid fisherwoman. J. B. Mease worked as a surveyor and was elected as a county commissioner in 1896.[55] The farm includes a frame, double-crib barn and a notable two-story meat house and can house with a stone base built into a bank. The dwelling is now in poor condition.

The circa 1900 Cherry House and Farm (CY0027, SL 2025) south of Hayesville represents a compromise between the center-passage I-house and the saddlebag-plan house. The house has a center passage, though it rises to slightly less than a full two stories (the half-story being partially under the roofline of the house). Rather than having exterior-end chimneys or a central chimney, the Cherry House has an interior brick chimney at the junction with the rear ell. The house is believed to have been built by Robert C. Cherry and, according to family tradition, was relocated for climatic reasons a year after it was constructed. In 1915 the original 100-acre tract was subdivided between two brothers. John R. Cherry, who was married to J. B. Mease's daughter Minnie Josephine, acquired the portion of the farm that included the homestead.[56] Notable for its array of well-preserved outbuildings, the Cherry Farm includes a smokehouse, a number of sheds,

[55] Interview with Dub Cheeks and Sandy Zimmerman, March 7, 2024.
[56] Survey file CY0027 Cherry Farm, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina; *The Heritage of Clay County, NC*, p. 67.

a springhouse with a stone foundation and a projecting gable roof, a granary raised on stone piers, and an exceptionally well-preserved v-notched log, four-crib barn. A house with a similar configuration, the circa 1900 Payne-Stalcup House (CY0094), is also a story-and-a-half in height and has its only chimney at the rear of the house at the junction with a later rear ell. The massive chimney is of stone construction.

Overall, the builders of rural frame houses in Clay County from 1861 to1911 stuck to a relatively limited architectural vocabulary. The full two-story I-house was not as popular here as elsewhere in western North Carolina, and many builders made do with a single story or story-and-a-half in which the upper floor was often unfinished. Although some housebuilders broke free of the strictly rectangular block near the end of the 19th century, they only strayed as far as an additional rectangular ell joined to the rear or front. Victorian-era style, to the extent that it was utilized at all, was generally expressed in a bit of trim on the porches or under the eaves of the house.

CHAPTER FOUR: CHANGES IN AGRICULTURE IN THE 20TH CENTURY

During the 20th century, agricultural practice in Clay County experienced profound changes as many farmers moved from primarily subsistence-based farming into a more cash-driven economy, with burley tobacco, cattle, dairy, and poultry being the primary cash-producing products. This would create changes in house and barn types, as well as across the agricultural landscape as a whole.

Changes in Barn and House Types

For most of the 19th century in Clay County, the majority of barns were relatively simple double-crib forms: two units with a central drive through the non-gable sides and united by a second-story hayloft and a simple gable roof. The strong preference for log construction likely contributed to the widespread use of these forms, though frame double-crib barns were also common. Occasionally, as is the case at the Luther Mull Farm (CY0183, SL 2025) and the Cherry Farm (CY0027, SL 2025), two double cribs were built side by side, creating a large four-crib barn with two central drives crossing in the middle of the barn.

While four-crib barns were almost exclusively built of log, they facilitated the transition to a new form, the transverse-crib barn, which was typically constructed of frame. Often, owners of four-crib barns enclosed the side drives of the barn (although typically with milled lumber, not log), creating a barn with a single drive running from gable end to gable end. When built as a unit in frame, this constituted a transverse-crib plan. A good example of an early-20th-century transverse-crib barn is the 1928 barn on the Hewlett

Crawford Farm (CY0160) in Shooting Creek. The barn has a gable roof and a side addition. The farm itself, which features a story-and-a-half dwelling with a stone exterior-end chimney and a central shed dormer, has a number of other small structures typical of a semi-self-sufficient mountain farm, including a blacksmith shop, a corn crib, a springhouse, and a wash house. In the 1940s, Crawford served on the Advisory Board of the Clay County Federation of Farmers. Across the street, on an earlier farm site also once owned by the Crawford family (CY0142), sits a two-story frame smokehouse built on stone piers and a stone potato curing house built into a hill. The site also includes an older frame house with a boxed addition, now in poor condition.[57]

While early transverse-crib barns tended to be considerably larger than double-pen barns, they still were relatively modest in size. An exception is the large, gabled-roofed, transverse-crib, frame barn built of oak by Lee Penland in 1919. Along with farming, Penland was a teacher and served as a legislator. The Penland Farm (CY0173) in Oak Forest also contains a granary, a later chicken house and brooder house, and a stone well house, which was once attached to a cross-gabled frame house. The dwelling was torn down in the 1980s, replaced by a modern house built of white pine that Charles Penland planted when he was in 4-H.[58]

With the decline of the open range system, and as farmers expanded their livestock herds, they often faced the need to increase the storage space for hay. One solution was to

[57] Interview with Chet Hogsed, February 8, 2024.
[58] Interview with Charles Penland, March 7, 2024; Charles Penland, "I Grew My Own House," Survey file CY0173 Penland Farm, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina. Solicited by Sandy Zimmerman, Historic Hayesville.

increase the size of the second floor of the transverse-crib barn by adding a gambrel roof rather than a simple gable roof. The double-sloped sides of the gambrel roof provided more space and aeration. A good example is the oldest barn at Staurolite Farm (CY0228) near Brasstown. The foundation of the barn has the date 1911 inscribed in it. However, the gambrel roof may be a later (circa 1930) addition. The relatively small barn contrasts with the circa 1950s large dairy barn immediately above it, which has supported cantilevered bays on each side. This latter barn is built into a bank, an uncommon method of building barns in the mountain South. The 1931 dairy and hay barn built nearby on the model farm at the John C. Campbell Folk School may have influenced the handful of early- to mid-20th-century bank barns found in the Brasstown and Warne areas.

Commercial milk production began to grow in Clay County in the 1920s with the establishment of dairies in the region, including the Mountain Valley Creamery, formed in Brasstown as a cooperative in 1929, which later became part of the Coble Dairy. Rural electrification following World War II and the widespread adoption of tractors increased the productivity of dairy and cattle farming. The classic dairy and cattle barn of the mid-20th century was essentially an extra-large transverse-crib barn with a gambrel roof. Frequently, there was a peaked hood at one end of the roof that protected the pully mechanism and hay hook used to transport loose hay to the loft. Good examples of this type are the two Tiger barns (CY0179) built at the north edge of the Hayesville city limits in the 1940s. Both barns have additions or sheds attached to either side of the long elevations. An in-ground silo was added in the 1960s. The barns could accommodate 30 to 40 head of cattle.[59]

[59] Interview with Jim Tiger, March 20, 2024.

Another excellent example of a mid-20th-century dairy barn is at the Anderson Dairy Farm (CY0221) in Meyers Chapel. Originally a 300-acre farm, W. C. Anderson acquired the land through marriage to Maymie Curtis in 1921. The barn was built in 1936 of oak timbers cut by Anderson and a neighbor. It also has a gambrel roof and low shed and crib additions on either side of the long elevations and at the rear. The builders applied the siding on the gable ends in a distinctive diagonal pattern often found in western North Carolina. The herd of 30 to 40 cows was initially milked by hand. With the acquisition of electric power in 1943, the Andersons were able to purchase an electric milker and, in 1958, a cooler tank for the milk. A horse and pulley and humans with pitchforks originally loaded hay into the loft. In 1959, the Andersons acquired a tractor. The milk was originally sold to the Mountain Valley Cooperative and later to Coble and Sealtest. The Anderson Dairy Farm quit production in 1994, one of the last of the dairy farms in Clay County to discontinue operation.[60]

Rural houses, similar to barns, generally adhered to a limited repertoire of traditional types during the 19th century. Most houses were rectangular, one- to two-stories in height (most typically a story-and-a-half), with side-facing gable roofs. Rear ells were often added, especially as stoves became common. By the end of the 19th century, protruding front bays were sometimes incorporated into the footprint of the house. Some more prosperous owners signaled their awareness of style by a bit of trim on the porch or under the eaves but otherwise did not cater to architectural styles.

[60] Interview with Jerry Anderson and Betty Davis Anderson, April 23, 2024.

While builders of barns in the early 20th century transitioned from gable to gambrel roofs, some rural home builders experimented with pyramidal or hipped roofs. A good example is the Hampton House (CY0103), built in 1914 in Brasstown. The center-passage house is double-pile (two rooms deep) and has a pyramidal roof with two gabled dormers to the front. A porch wraps around two sides of the house.

Another early-20th-century dwelling with an emergent roof structure, the W. R. Gray House (CY0012) on U.S. Highway 64 also is one-and-a-half stories tall but has a high hipped roof with two front-gabled wings on either side of the main block of the house. While these changes may not directly relate to agriculture, they signal a large shift in the economy of Clay County. During the early decades of the 20th century, many individuals turned to "public work," paid employment away from the farm, such as in the timber camps or, later, working for the Tennessee Valley Authority. Or, if they stayed on the farm, many people increasingly began to grow cash crops. Therefore, families relied less upon the unpaid, cooperative labor of neighbors to build their houses and, especially the most prosperous, paid specialized carpenters to build their houses. After working in the timber industry, W. R. Gray moved to Clay County in 1920 and ran a planing mill. He also helped introduce burley tobacco to Clay County. By the mid-1930s, about 25 farmers were growing burley as a cash crop.[61]

For rural people of more modest means, a common change in roof preference was the realignment of the roof 90 degrees. During the 1930s and 1940s, especially, simple

[61] "Couple Observes Golden Wedding Anniversary," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, October 1, 1937; "Clay County to Market 25 Burley Crops," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, December 5, 1934.

front-gable houses became common in Clay County. A good example of this type of house is the Rondy and Blanche Lee Ledford House (CY0180) on Swaims Road, built circa 1940 by store owner Wally Gibson and sold to the Ledfords shortly after. The small, front-gabled house is built of boxed (vertical plank) construction and has a hipped-roof porch on the front. Rondy Ledford was a Baptist minister. The house served as the family dwelling until 1984.[62] A similar house is the Enoch and Ethel Hogsed House (CY0132) in Warne. Built circa 1930, the Hogseds purchased the two-bedroom boxed house in the early 1940s. Ethel Hogsed was a well-known Brasstown Carver, and her carving house is located next to the dwelling. Recently, the house has been renovated by the Hogseds' grandson Keith. A substantial addition was made to the front, but the renovation retained the overall appearance of the house, including a porch and the front-gable roof.[63]

To the extent that any particular architectural style was influential in rural Clay County during the first half of the 20th century, a modest interpretation of the nationally popular Craftsman style held sway. A particularly well-preserved example of a Craftsman-style bungalow is the Victor Bell House (CY0135) on Old U.S. Highway 64 near Brasstown. Vic Bell, a rural mail carrier, grew up in the Davidson-Hyatt House (part of CY0153) and helped his half-brother build the new part of the house in 1920. While that house resembles an I-house in form, with a few features typical of the 1920s, for his own house, Bell chose to build a bungalow. The circa 1930 Victor Bell House is a story-and-a-half, side-

[62] Brenda Kay Ledford, "History of Rev. Rondy and Blanche Ledford's Red-Plank House," Survey file CY0180, Rondy and Blanche Lee Ledford House, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina. Interview with Brenda Kay Ledford, March 8, 2024.
[63] Tape-recorded interview with Keith Hogsed, January 24, 2024.

gabled dwelling with a semi-engaged porch, a shed dormer in the front, and prominent brackets under the eaves. The front and side steps are made of fieldstone. The farm includes a double-crib frame barn with a stone foundation, a smokehouse, and a can house built into a bank.

A less typical example of a rural bungalow is the R. L. McGlamery House and Farm (CY0174) on U.S. Highway 64 east of Hayesville. The Tennessee Valley Authority moved this circa 1930s bungalow to its present location in 1941 during the construction of Chatuge Lake. The story-and-a-half bungalow has exposed rafters and a prominent shingled front-gabled porch with steps made of native stone. A stone can house that was also used to store potatoes is built into the bank behind the house. In the late 1940s, a large dairy barn and a milking parlor were added to the farm. Coble Dairies collected and processed the milk. Then in the 1950s, the McGlamerys built a chicken house. A commercial poultry company furnished both the chickens and the feed, and the farmers were paid per dozen eggs.[64]

Other notable rural bungalows in Clay County include the brick-veneered Benjamin Harrison Phillips House (CY0210) in Tusquittee, the stone-veneered Fred and Cora Woodard House (CY0204) between Shooting Creek and Elf, and the frame Hub and Eva Danielson House (CY0276) east of Hayesville. While many bungalows made limited use of stonework in the foundation and porches, three 1940s Brasstown-area bungalows made more exuberant use of stonework in construction. The Loy and Flonnie Payne House

[64] Fannie Louise McGlamery Watson, "McGlamery Farm House History," Survey file CY0174 McGlamery House and Barn, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina. Solicited by Sandy Zimmerman, Historic Hayesville.

(CY0226) and the Loy and Rosalie Payne House (CY0227) on Greasy Creek, as well as the Walter Arrant and Carrie Arrant Payne House (CY0155) on Settawig Road possibly reflect the influence of Leon Deschamps, the Belgian engineer who built many of the historic buildings at the John C. Campbell Folk School. The alteration of older dwellings, most notably the pre-Civil War H. M. Penland House (CY0186) and the more modest changes to the 1897 Killian-McGlamery House (CY0187), also demonstrate the influence of the Craftsman style and the bungalow house form in Clay County.

Agricultural changes in Clay County can be tracked through the evolution of structural forms exemplified by specific buildings; however, a close look at the evolution of farmsteads, especially those owned by a single family over generations, can best reveal the evolution of self-sufficiency or modest involvement in the cash economy (often through the sale of milk and eggs by women) to the large-scale poultry and dairy industry that gripped the county in the mid-20th century. Of course, some people, such as Dewey and Gertrude Moss and their daughter Effie in Tusquittee, stuck to the old ways, farming into the late 20th century in a manner that had changed little from the previous century.

The Anderson Farm (CY0146) and the Woody Farm (CY0170), Shooting Creek

Lazarus and Nancy Anderson came to Clay County in the 1840s. Their grandson Robert Glenn Anderson began farming in the Bethabara section and then swapped land with his brother to gain a farm on Eagle Fork (CY0146, SL 2025) sometime in the early 20th century, possibly about the time of his marriage to Myrtle Patterson in 1917. The couple moved into an existing house and later updated it to resemble a circa 1930 front-gable

farmhouse with a front porch with a stone foundation and stone steps. The stone chimney at the rear of the house suggests that the original front of the house was on one of the long elevations before the house was expanded. This suggests that this one dwelling exemplifies the transition from the preference for side-gable houses to front-gable houses in rural Clay County. A can house with a stone base built partially into the bank sits behind the house. Anderson built a double-pen, saddle-notched log barn, one of the best-preserved log barns in Clay County. The farm also has a frame corn crib and a later, modest-sized chicken coop. A modern ranch house sits at the top of the hill overlooking the farms. The farm, now owned by Robert Anderson's son Jack, exemplifies an early- to mid-20th-century farmstead that was not greatly altered by large-scale dairying or poultry production.[65]

Up the road from the Anderson Farm is a farm that has been owned by the Woody family for over 100 years (CY0170). The oldest structure on the farm is a double-crib, v-notched log barn, built in the mid-1940s. When he was still a boy, Clarence Woody won some timber from Ritter Lumber at a Farmer's Foundation Picnic. With help from a "community raising," he built this log barn, which now has additions on the long elevations. The gable end visible from the road is adorned with a large W and a barn star, and the whole barn is painted red, therefore making it difficult to identify the barn as log from a distance. After a stint in the military, Clarence Woody and his wife Joann settled back on the family farm in the mid-1950s and built a ranch house. Clarence Woody was a rural mail carrier,

[65] *The Heritage of Clay County, NC* (Waynesville: Walsworth Publishing, 1994), p. 21; Interview with Jack Anderson, January 31, 2024.

but he also became a successful poultry farmer. Investing in equipment to mechanize the process, the Woodys built a large, low chicken house, many times larger than the chicken house found on the Anderson Farm.[66] While the Anderson farm represents the continuity of the farming traditions of Robert Glenn Anderson over almost half a century, the nearby Clarence and Joann Woody Farm suggests the radical changes of the mid-20th century, from the community-built log barn of the mid-1940s to a modern chicken production facility started in the late 1950s.

Groves Farm (CY0172), Hyatt's Creek

The Groves family came to Clay County in the 1840s after the Cherokee Removal. Charles Nelson Groves and his wife Ollie built the house on this farm (CY0172, SL 2025) in the late 19th century. The story-and-a-half saddlebag house, now covered in asphalt siding, is the oldest structure on this large farm complex. The Groves' son Frank and his wife Virgie moved to Colorado after World War I and returned to the farm in the late 1920s with their son, William Franklin "Jack" Groves, who was born in Colorado. Through the Depression, the farm existed on a subsistence basis, the sale of turkeys being one of the few cash crops. Jack Groves, however, was an ambitious young man. After graduating as valedictorian from Hayesville High School, he served in World War II and then obtained a degree in agriculture from Berry College in 1949.

Jack Groves set upon modernizing the family farm, starting with dairy farming. The older dairy barn is a frame, transverse-crib barn now used to stable horses. In 1972 the

[66] Interview with Joann Woody, February 22, 2024.

Asheville Citizen-Times described Groves' milking parlor as looking "like a barn from the outside but is like a modern factory on the inside." It is a "two-story structure, 24 by 60 feet in dimension, with a hip roof over the upper level where feed is stored to go by gravity flow into feeders of the parlor below." The newspaper noted that Groves was "one of Clay County's progressive farmers." Groves expanded the farm to include both poultry and cattle operations as well. With over a dozen structures, the complex includes dairy buildings, cattle barns and yards, grain and storage buildings, a small tobacco curing barn, and a concrete-block garage. In the 1972 article, Groves noted that "subsistence farming is going out" and the trend is "toward bigger, more specialized farming units."[67]

An active member of his community, Jack Groves died in 2004. A portion of the farm is now owned by Keith and Karen Holcomb, who raise Angus cattle and run the Groves Farm Market.

Davidson-Hyatt Farm (CY0153), Brasstown

Perhaps no farm in Clay County has as long a history of continuous cultivation by the same family as the Davidson-Hyatt Farm (CY0153, SL 2025). Once part of the extensive holdings of Joshua Harshaw, Hugh Harvey Davidson purchased the land in Pinelog in the late 1870s. As previously discussed, the dwelling on the farm is an interesting amalgam of a one-story, 19th-century, frame house, built by Davidson around 1880, and a two-story front extension, built by his grandson Bass Hyatt Sr. 40 years later. The dwelling is now rented out, but the farm itself is still cultivated by the Hyatt family. Features of the property

[67] Ed Spears, "W. T. Groves Is Progressive Farmer," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, October 29, 1972.

include the concrete bridge over Brasstown Creek, built in the 1920s by Bass Hyatt Sr., the smokehouse near the house, constructed in the 1950s from stones from a fallen chimney on the original portion of the house, a native stone milking parlor, also constructed in the 1950s, and an assortment of concrete block and frame structures for raising and feeding cattle. In the 1950s and 1960s, the farm produced Grade A milk from a herd of about 12 cows. In subsequent years, Bass Hyatt Jr. has focused on a grassfed Angus cattle operation. The family has also committed to actively repairing and conserving natural resources on the 650-acre farm.[68]

From the examples of barns and farms, the range of different types of farmers is evident. Some, such as Dewey and Gertrude Mull, clung to traditional ways of farming, while others, such as Jack Groves, pursued progressive farming techniques. Many were full-time farmers, but others, especially during the boom in dairy and poultry, also pursued other careers, whether they were postal carriers, teachers, politicians, or businesspeople. The Killian-McGlamery Farm (CY0187) exemplifies this trend. After building his house in 1897, Dr. Paul Killian practiced medicine in a separate office adjacent to the house. The farm also had a scattering of agricultural structures, including a 19th-century smokehouse and some sheds and corn cribs. Dr. Killian's son-in-law Wylie McGlamery took over the farm and sometimes used a shed to stow a new model car before it was officially revealed

[68] Interview with Bass Hyatt Jr., February 6, 2024.

at the Ford Dealership he co-owned in downtown Hayesville. In 1955, the McGlamerys joined the chicken boom, building a large chicken house that could hold 1,500 chickens.[69]

The boom in dairy and poultry also required other businesses to support, process, or market the products. The first milk processing plant, owned by the Nantahala Creamery based in Franklin, opened in Hayesville in 1927. The John C. Campbell Folk School was also on the cutting edge of dairy industry growth in Clay County, opening the cooperative Mountain Valley Creamery (CY0098) in 1929. The creamery purchased milk as well as eggs from local farmers to process and resell. The handsome stone creamery building, probably designed by Leon Deschamps, now serves as the Highlander Gallery. A number of local farmers including Jack Groves and the Andersons sold milk to Mountain Valley and then, in 1952, to Coble after the bankruptcy of the Mountain Valley Cooperative. Coble, who bought the building and all the equipment, held a virtual monopoly on the dairy business in Clay County during the mid-20th century.[70]

The development of the poultry business ran parallel to the dairy industry and, by the 1950s, became the largest farming industry in Clay County. Among the specialized egg processing facilities was the Egg House (CY0110), a front-gable, stuccoed frame structure built by Dale Lowe on Old U.S. Highway 64, south of Hayesville, as a processing and retail business. The business was not as lucrative as hoped and ran only from 1957 to 1961. Buddy Lowe eventually bought back his father's building, adding a front porch to make it look more like an old store, and the building served as a craft and antiques shop for a

[69] Interview with Dan McGlamery, March 19, 2024.
[70] Carl S. Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now* (Clay County Historical and Arts County, 2023 [2007]), p. 66.

number of years. The Hogsed Store (CY0196), a mid-20th-century concrete-block store in Hayesville, is also believed to have served as an egg processing facility, later becoming an appliance store and upholstery shop.[71]

Feed mills were also an essential part of the dairy, cattle, and poultry industry. The circa 1940s Waldroup Supply and Feed Mill (CY0166) on Qualla Road is a relatively intact example of a hammermill operation and supply store. The Waldroup family moved the business to this location in the 1940s after the construction of the Chatuge Dam. The mill building, whose roof has been partially lowered after the collapse of the roof, housed the hammermill, which processed the raw materials into feed. Behind the complex is the tractor shed where grain was unloaded and stored in a silo, a corn crib, a warehouse, and a scale house. The business was later operated as Quality Feed & Poultry, Inc., which focused on the raising and sale of chicks.[72]

Of course, smaller milling operations also once spotted the county, many serving the express purpose of milling corn into meal. A common practice was for the miller to claim a certain portion of the meal as payment for the milling service. A good example of an older, probably early-20th-century corn mill (CY0137) is located on U.S. Highway 64E above Shooting Creek. The small frame building has a cupola on top to promote circulation and a shuttered front window that could be opened to serve customers. Rural stores also sometimes provided corn milling service.

[71] Interview with Gina Rivers, May 25, 2024.
[72] Interview with Sam Snowden and Sandy Zimmerman, February 20, 2024.

CHAPTER FIVE: COMMERCE, MANUFACTURING, AND RECREATION

Natural Resource Extraction

In the 19th and 20th centuries, many Clay County residents were occupied in agricultural pursuits, but commerce and, to a lesser extent, manufacturing were also components of the local economy. Extraction of natural resources in the form of mining and timbering offered promise, although limited transportation links in and out of the county hindered its full commercial potential. Early white settler John Covington Moore was credited with discovering gold in southwest Clay County in the 1850s, and he sold the rights to William Calhoun and William Warne. Moore also co-owned a gold mine in Tusquittee. Much later, Gold Mine Ridge operated commercially from the 1920s to the 1930s in the Tusquittee community.[73] In the 1920s, large deposits of kaolin, a clay used for pottery, were discovered west of Hayesville. The kaolin was shipped to Andrews, in Cherokee County, on the newly created Peavine Railroad, which was built primarily to service the timber industry. From there, the clay was shipped on to Ohio and New Jersey.[74]

The mineral mined in Clay County with perhaps the greatest impact on the local economy was corundum, a crystalline form of aluminum oxide. Rubies and sapphires are examples of corundum that has been colored by trace elements of other minerals, but pure corundum, which is colorless, is primarily valuable in manufacturing. Due to its density and extreme hardness, corundum is used in making sandpapers and certain tools.

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[73] Carl S. Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now* (Clay County Historical and Arts County, 2023 [2007]), p. 70.
[74] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now,* p. 72.

Corundum was discovered in Buck Creek in the 1870s, and mining operations developed in the northeast section of Clay County into the early 20th century. One of the largest operations, the Herbert Mine, also had a large corundum mill, which operated from 1903 to 1905. A post office named Corundum was established in 1903, as well as a school and church by the same name. The Corundum Post Office was closed in 1905, and with the closure of the mine and mill, much of the local community left.[75] Now part of the Nantahala National Forest, the U.S. Forest Service maintains the former mine openings.

Unlike in central Appalachia, where coal reigned supreme, mining did not transform the economy of Clay County. Had the economic rewards been sufficient, the limitations of transportation could have been overcome, but no mining venture provided the motivation to construct additional infrastructure. While Clay County held a variety of minerals, both useful and precious, it was unable to capitalize on even its touristic potential, as did neighboring Macon County, with its ruby mine attractions and status as a "gem capital." Still, Clay County continues to have a reputation as a site of interest for rock and gem collectors.

Commercial timbering developed in the early 20th century in Clay County. In 1918, W. T. Latham of the Andrews Lumber Company purchased the 1,230 acres belonging to the North Carolina Corundum Company in Buck Creek. He built a railroad up the Nantahala River to his property.[76] The Kanawha Hardwood Company started cutting timber in 1920 in

[75] Michael Gora, "A Brief History of Buck Creek," *Clay County Progress*, February 22, 2024. Delilah Davenport Elsen, *Buck Creek: A Closer Look,* pp. 31-35, privately published. Copy available at Moss Memorial Library, Hayesville, North Carolina.
[76] Gora, "A Brief History of Buck Creek," *Clay County Progress*, February 22, 2024.

the Tusquittee Mountains near Tuni Gap, and the hardwood company also built a narrow-gauge railroad to transport timber. A more public venture in railroad construction began in 1913 when Cherokee and Clay Counties passed a referendum to construct a railway from Andrews to Hayesville, ultimately connecting Hayesville to the Southern Railroad. World War I delayed construction, and the "Peavine" ultimately began operating in 1920. Timber was shipped from Clay County to Andrews, as well as acid wood and tan bark that supplied the tannery located in Andrews. Blighted chestnut trees and red oaks were harvested and used to create tanning acid. The Peavine operated for about three decades under several different owners until 1951, when the rail tracks were sold as scrap metal.

Starting in 1939, two large band sawmills operated in Clay County. The Jannett Mill was located on Fires Creek Road.[77] The timber company that most affected Hayesville was the Ritter Lumber Company. W. M. Ritter started his first sawmill in West Virginia in 1890 and in 1901 incorporated his company and expanded his operations throughout the Southern and Central Appalachians. In southwestern North Carolina, Ritter Lumber Company began a massive timbering operation on Hazel Creek in Swain County, and in 1927, it transferred its operations from there to Nantahala. About 1940, Ritter established a band mill at Hayesville, one of nine band mills operated by Ritter throughout its operations.[78] Along with the construction activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Ritter helped transform Hayesville in the 1940s and ultimately employed 90 persons. Along with new people moving into the area, Ritter employed local people, and much of the expansion

[77] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now,* pp. 75-76.
[78] Dennis E. Reedy, *The W. M. Ritter Lumber Company Family History Book,* 1983, pp. 5-7. Western Carolina University, Hunter Library Special Collections, W. M. Ritter & Ritter Lumber Company Collection, MSS 88-03.

of the residential district on the west side of town was linked to families associated with Ritter. An example of a house belonging to an individual employed at Ritter is the circa 1943 Fred and Eula Mae White House (CY0241), a one-story, frame house with a front-gabled bay on Hiawassee Street. The Whites' daughter recalled that when she was growing up, many of the children in the neighborhood had family members employed by Ritter.[79]

Aside from the residential growth that Ritter helped expand in Hayesville, there are relatively few physical reminders of the once sprawling Ritter band mill operation. A commemorative project created by an Eagle Scout in 1989, consisting of a large log under a pavilion, marks the location of the mill (CY0191). Across Ritter Road is the former clubhouse, a 2,874 square-foot frame building now converted to a private residence (CY0192). In Ritter timber towns, clubhouses provided spaces for meetings, socials, movies, and recreation.

Another site that has links to the timber industry is Boice Supply (CY0165, SL 2025) at the junction of Tusquittee and Jarrett Roads. The Boice Hardwood Company purchased the Peavine Railroad in 1927, and Mack Hall and Weaver Anderson built the Boice Hardwood Store Building at the end of the train line. In 1929, Ernest Moore moved to Hayesville to run the company's commissary. Eventually Boice sold the rail line to W. T. Holland of Andrews, and the store became a wholesale and retail store that supplied much of the county. When the railroad fell into disuse around 1950, deliveries were made by truck.[80]

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[79] Interview with Margaret White Armstrong, April 11, 2024.
[80] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 75; Interview with Harrell Moore, April 10, 2024; Opal Tiger, "Growing Up in Hayesville, Clay County, North Carolina," unpublished manuscript.

Eventually much of the timber lands became part of the Nantahala National Forest, which was first authorized in 1920. One site that linked the early days of mining and timbering to later recreational uses for the forest was Buck Creek Lodge (CY0030), which was lost in 1981. In 1932, W. T. Latham, who had purchased an extensive piece of Buck Creek for timbering, built a 16-bedroom lodge on the foundation of the old corundum mill. The first lodge burned in 1934, and an even larger lodge building opened in 1938. The lodge would subsequently offer visitors horseback riding, golf, a swimming pool, and trout fishing. In 1953, the lodge was purchased by George and Virginia Wright, who several years later gave the lodge and 45 acres to the Glenmary Home Missioners. The Glenmary Missioners added a chapel to the property, creating the Pope Pius XII Pastoral Center, which served as a religious retreat and a boys' summer camp. The Glenmary Missioners sold the property in 1968, and eventually the land became part of the Nantahala National Forest. In 1980, the U.S. Forest Service made plans to demolish the lodge, garnering local and statewide opposition. However, in 1981, before a final determination of the fate of the building was made, it was destroyed by fire, the result of a suspected arson.[81]

The Tennessee Valley Authority and Lake Chatuge

Created in 1933 as part of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was established to address flood control and navigation along the Tennessee River and its tributaries and to spur economic and agricultural development in the Tennessee Valley. In 1940, the TVA selected an area to the southwest of Hayesville for

[81] Michael Gora, "A Brief History of Buck Creek," *Clay County Progress*, February 22, 2024.

the proposed Chatuge Hydroelectric Project (CY0025, NR 2017) as part of a collection of dams to be constructed to provide emergency electrical power to produce aluminum. The project required the relocation of 278 families, of which 106 were farm owners, 52 were farm tenants, and the remainder were non-farming families. The TVA acquired 6,048 acres in Clay County and a similar amount of acreage in Towns County, Georgia. Construction began in 1941, and at the height of the Chatuge project, it employed 2,200 people. Over 8,700 workers were employed in total in the four hydroelectric projects along the Hiwassee River.

The initial project, completed in 1942, consisted of a rolled-earth dam, concrete spillway, and intake and valve house. The addition of power generation facilities was not considered economically viable in 1942, but in 1952, a powerhouse, a generating unit, and a switchyard were added to the site, and commercial operation of the power unit began in 1954. In 2017, a 508-acre area at Chatuge Dam, including the original dam and spillway, the powerhouse and generator, the recreational area, and the 1922 Hiwassee River bridge, was listed in the National Register of Historic Places as part of the Chatuge Hydroelectric Project nomination.[82]

As a small, mountainous county, Clay County felt a significant loss of prime river valley land after the construction of the dam and lake, and lost houses and farms, 40 miles of roads, schools, and churches. The TVA relocated 20 cemeteries,[83] including the Ledford Chapel Cemetery (CY0123) in the Scrougtown community, which was originally located on

[82] "Chatuge Hydroelectric Project," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2016.
[83] "Chatuge Hydroelectric Project."

land donated by Peter Ledford, a Revolutionary War veteran, who was reinterred by the TVA. Some of the more substantial domestic structures were relocated away from the lake area. One example is the house R. L. and Laura Jarrett McGlamery purchased after it was rebuilt on U.S. Highway 64E. The McGlamerys subsequently developed the land into a successful dairy and poultry farm (CY0174). In 1941, the McGlamerys rented their front bedroom to TVA workers. The demand for housing was so high that they rented the room to two men at a time in two 12-hour shifts.[84]

Families in Hayesville also met the need for temporary lodging for TVA workers. Among those who took in boarders was the family of Tom Gray, who served as Mayor of Hayesville from 1938 to 1946. A bedroom in the front-gabled bay on the primary elevation of the house (CY0238) served as a room for boarders. A separate door onto the porch allowed the tenants to come and go without intruding on the family's private space.[85] With the building of the Ritter Lumber Mill and the influx, albeit temporary, of TVA workers, Hayesville was transformed by a younger, male population. Farther west, in Brasstown, Bass Duval built two boxed houses (CY0236, CY0237) to house TVA workers across from the store he rented from Fred O. Scroggs.[86] African American workers were among those attracted by the relatively high TVA wages, coming from Hayesville, as well as from nearby towns such as Murphy and Andrews. According to Anne Miller Woodford, Black laborers were paid 50 cents an hour, rather than the going rate of 10 cents an hour for manual labor.

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[84] Fannie Louise McGlamery Watson, "McGlamery Farm House History," Survey file CY0174 McGlamery House and Barn, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina. Solicited by Sandy Zimmerman, Historic Hayesville.
[85] Interview with Sandra Gray Turner, May 8, 2024.
[86] Eleanor Lambert Wilson, *My Journey to Appalachia: A Year at the Folk School* (Fairview, NC: Bright Mountain Books, 2004), pp. 56, 136.

African Americans were employed by the TVA for tasks that included pouring concrete, running jackhammers, and breaking up rock for rip rap.[87] For both white and Black laborers, employment opportunities with the TVA were brief, and after the dam was completed, many African Americans returned to their old forms of employment or left the area altogether.

After the end of World War II, the newly constructed lake attracted a new wave of part-time residents seeking the cool mountain summers and the scenic beauty of the lake. Around 1946, Harold Hinton, a successful businessman from Athens, Georgia, and his wife Alice bought 12 to 14 acres along the edge of the lake from an African American family named Herbert. Naming their new property "Wonderview" (CY0159, SL 2025), they built four houses, including the "Big House," a two-story frame house with a gabled porch extending to a view of the lake, and three cottages, "Tree Tops," "White Pine," and another cottage, McCall House, now part of the adjoining retreat center. The complex is landscaped with native stone and boxwoods and offers spectacular views of Lake Chatuge.

In the mid-1950s, the Hintons began construction on a large lodge, but Harold Hinton's death in 1956 halted further building. In 1958, J. Walter Moore, a local educator, and his wife Velma Beam Moore, a long-time employee of the Cooperative Extension Service in Clay County, purchased Wonderland. The Moores gave the unfinished lodge to the Methodist Church, which developed it into the Hinton Center. The rest of the property,

[87] Ann Miller Woodford, *When All God's Children Get Together: A Celebration of the Lives and Music of African American People in Far Western North Carolina* (self-published, 2021), p. 203.

with an added cottage, was run as "Wonderview Ranch," a popular bed and breakfast and restaurant, which operated from the 1960s into the 1970s.[88]

Recreation and Tourism

The natural resources of Clay County provided ample opportunity for outdoor recreation. In the early 20th century, Buck Creek in particular became a popular place for both the open range of livestock and picnicking. The timbered land in Buck Creek and elsewhere was absorbed into the Nantahala National Forest in the 1920s and relatively few structures now survive. A small, gated inholding owned by a few families long associated with the area is found in Buck Creek.[89] Recreational facilities have been built by the U.S. Forest Service at Fires Creek, with a picnic area at Leatherwood Falls and hiking trails and camping sites. The Tennessee Valley Authority also planned for recreational use of the newly constructed lakes, and, after the end of World War II, a campground and boat launch were created just east of the spillway, and another launch and campground west of the dam at Gibson Cove. Part of the latter area was subsequently leased to the city of Hayesville. In 1951, the Lions Club of Clay County built a recreational pavilion (CY0188) to serve the local community in the area leased to Hayesville. The pavilion was expanded in 2002.

Privately-owned campgrounds also existed in Clay County. One mid-20th-century example, Shooting Creek Camptown (CY0167), included 100 campsites and 40 trailer sites

[88] Interview with Dr. Abner Moore, February 6, 2024.
[89] Delilah Davenport Elsen, *Buck Creek: A Closer Look,* pp. 126-127.

and hook-ups for water, light, and sewer. The site also included a store and a bathhouse (now converted to a dwelling). Its motto was "Rough It in Comfort." The layout of the campground is still visible, as is the children's playground and the stonework that surrounded a series of manmade ponds formed from the creek.

With its limited access to rail transport and, later, interstate highways, Clay County was relatively slow to attract the type of tourism that blossomed elsewhere in southwestern North Carolina. Buck Creek Ranch and, later, Wonderview were two rural destinations for those seeking the mountain climate or lake views. Relatively little survives from the era of auto tourism of the mid-20th century. Around 1950, J. Walter Moore, who later purchased Wonderview, built the Carolina Motor Court (CY0127) in downtown Hayesville. The motel consisted of ten rooms and a restaurant. In 1959, the complex was sold to the Glenmary Mission and served as a convent and a chapel for the Glenmary Sisters.

A few cabin-style motels existed along the highways in Clay County, one near the intersection of U.S. Highway 64 and Hinton Road. A log cabin motel run by the Hyatt family once stood in Warne near the intersection of Old U.S. Highway 64 (once the major route west from Hayesville) and Young Harris Road. At least three gas stations were also located at this intersection. There was a station adjacent to the motel and another across Old 64, which along with the post office was run by Mirth and Claude Moore. On the southwest corner, there was a Gulf station (CY0234).[90] Part of this concrete-block building still stands at the intersection. Up the road in Brasstown, a gas station existed by 1940 at the Mountain

[90] Interview with Larry Ford, April 1, 2024.

Valley Cooperative (CY0126) and, by the 1950s, at Caldwell's Store, now Clay's Corner (CY0101).

Rural Commerce

Although in the 19th century many Clay County farmers were relatively self-sufficient, they still relied on the cooperative labor of their families and communities. Necessity also dictated that at least some items were purchased. After 1900, rural stores began to proliferate, especially as people became increasingly enmeshed in the cash economy. Perhaps the earliest surviving rural store in Clay County is the Tiger's Cash Store in Shooting Creek. P. N. Tiger built his house and the adjacent, front-gable store building (CY0045, SL 2025) in the final years of the 19th century. Tiger's son John M. Tiger operated a store in Shooting Creek, and in the 1920s and 1930s, he and his wife Carrie ran the Shooting Creek Post Office.

Down the road a bit, C. J. and Josie Eller opened another grocery store in 1944. Their daughter recalled that there were at least eight grocery stores in Shooting Creek and Elf when she was young. The Ellers lived next to the store and, like many rural storekeepers, kept long hours, often from 5 a.m. to 10 p.m. As with many rural stores, the Ellers' store was a place for rural people to socialize. The store ground people's corn for a portion of the meal and took chickens and eggs in swap for groceries. The Ellers added an Esso gas station to their business, and C. J. Eller also built two cabins, hoping to start a motel, although that ambition was never fulfilled. C. J. was also one of the first rural store owners in the area to make the transition to self-service selling of groceries and dry goods.

Members of the Eller family also ran a "rolling store" on the back of a two-ton truck, visiting various communities once a week.[91]

Both the Tigers and the Ellers epitomize several trends in store ownership in Clay County. One is that it has been multi-generational; both families are now in their fourth generation of store ownership. Both started in rural communities, living adjacent to the general store, and both eventually expanded or specialized and moved their businesses into Hayesville. The Tiger family still operates a store at the location P. N. Tiger purchased on the square in the early years of the 20th century. In 1962, Robert Tiger built a modern grocery store a few blocks down the road and moved his grocery operations there, while leaving the dry goods section in the old store. The B&T Grocery Store (CY0194) operated until the early 1990s, while Tiger's Store is the oldest continuously operating store in Hayesville.[92] In the late 1950s, the Ellers expanded into furniture. C. J.'s daughter, Lochie Byrd, who said, "I cut my teeth on store counters," married Basil Owens and moved back to Hayesville to help with the family business in the 1960s and moved the furniture business to Hayesville. Eller and Owens Furniture now operates in three locations in western North Carolina and one in Tennessee.[93]

Members of the Phillips family were also multi-generational store owners. In the early to mid-20th century, Benjamin Harrison Phillips built a general store on Downings Creek in Tusquittee. The concrete-block store building still stands, although it is now empty. As with other general stores of the era, Phillips ground corn for farmers. The store

[91] Interview with Lochie Byrd Eller Owens, May 8, 2024.
[92] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now,* p. 82; Interview with Rob Tiger, April 10, 2024.
[93] Interview with Lochie Byrd Eller Owens, May 8, 2024.

also had a gravity-fed Sinclair gas pump. Across the street, Phillips built a brick-veneered bungalow (CY0210), which now has a large frame addition. In the 1940s, Phillips' son Wayne "Cutworm" Phillips built a stone house (CY0243) in town and opened a store (CY0081) in Hayesville on the square. Originally a general store known as "The People's Store" and "Phillips Groceries," Cutworm's store eventually became a flea market and a place to hang out. The store building is now used by Cutworm's grandson Jeb Greenstone for custom fabrication and welding.[94]

In the "high bridge" area between Shooting Creek and Elf, Fred L. and Cora Eller Woodard opened a hardware and general store (CY0205). The concrete building still stands, although it has had multiple additions. It is now empty. Soon after the bridge was built across the Hiwassee River in 1942, the Woodards built a stone-veneered bungalow (CY0204) across the street from their store. The Woodards' son Kenneth served in the Navy during World War II and then trained as an electrician and plumber. First operating out of a truck, Woodard built an electric and appliance store (CY0206) around 1957. The store, now empty, is concrete block and has a frame false front in front of a gable roof. The business's office was in the back of the store, and the Woodards also had a poultry operation. Warren Woodard joined his father's business in 1976 and in the mid-1980s, moved the business to Hayesville. He sold the business in 2006.[95]

One final, and slightly different story, is of a construction business growing out of a family farm. The Cox family owned a large farm just west of Hayesville for several

[94] Interview with Jeb Greenstone, April 3, 2024.
[95] Interview with Warren Woodard, April 1, 2024.

generations. The oldest dwelling on the site is a front-gable, single-story, frame farmhouse with a brick foundation built circa 1940 by Alexander Campbell Cox (CY0201). The house has considerable decorative stonework in the yard. An older house had been located down the hill, but the location was deemed undesirable because of the cold and damp. There is a saddle-notched log springhouse, probably built in the early 20th century, at that site, along with a double-crib frame and concrete-block barn.

Rejecting a farming life, Timothy Cox quit school in eighth grade and moved to Chicago, where he became a union roofer in 1959. After having four children, Cox decided to move back to the family dairy farm, and he began to raise cattle and tomatoes. He built a new, frame ranch house (CY0202) in 1966 on the family land. Eventually a local businessman prevailed on Cox to begin a roofing business, since the nearest roofer to Hayesville was in Toccoa, Georgia. He trained in residential roofing and, in 1970, opened a roofing company. The original building no longer stands, but a concrete-block warehouse, built in 1972, is still part of the complex. The office was originally located in the family home (CY0203). A separate office building was built in 1984. Eventually Cox's son Steve joined his father, and the business was incorporated as Cox & Son in 1981.[96]

Family businesses with roots in agriculture or rural commerce show remarkable tenacity in Clay County. Many started as general stores, selling hardware, dry goods, and food, and offering milling services and, later, gasoline. Rural storekeepers generally lived at, or adjacent to, their places of business. As businesses were passed down through the generations, they generally became more specialized in their offerings, and owners often

[96] Interview with Steve Cox, April 1, 2024.

chose not to live so close to their place of business. Almost all the businesses eventually moved to Hayesville. The lone exception is Cox Roofers, which is located a short distance from town. Rather than starting in rural commerce, the Coxes made the leap from agriculture to a trade service, but they remained situated on the family farmland that had been held for generations.

Manufacturing

Primarily a rural region with little access to major transportation links, Clay County has a limited manufacturing history, aside from operations directly linked to the timber or mining industries. The earliest major manufacturing plant was Lidseen of North Carolina, Inc., a sheet metal fabrication and stamping plant established in the mid-1950s near Warne. The company had originally been established in 1901 in Chicago by Gustave Lidseen, a Swedish immigrant. His son Edwin purchased a summer residence in Clay County and then established the plant in Warne. The original building was a one-story, concrete-block building where about 20 people were employed. In 1963, a second building was added in front of the original structure, with 12 gabled units facing the highway. Lidseen of NC (CY0106) is still in operation. Edwin Lidseen's sister Lilith also moved to Clay County and was active in the arts. She was a central advocate for the establishment of the Peacock Theater (CY0178), a 250-seat venue built in Hayesville in 1986.

Several other plants focused on textile manufacturing and primarily employed women. Across Old U.S. Highway 64 from Lidseen, the Tellico Lace Factory (CY0107) produced raw lace from 1977 to1981, employing about 20 women. The large concrete-

block building now operates as an antique store, an entertainment space, and a tubing company. A gable has been added to the once flat roof.[97] Other sites of textile factories include the Elf School (CY0130), which served as a sewing factory after the school was closed in 1967,[98] and the N. C. Carolina Dress Factory (CY0199). Started by German immigrant Walter Fuller in an old dairy barn in 1966, the N. C. Carolina Dress Factory grew from employing 18 individuals to 230 people in western North Carolina and north Georgia.[99] Another larger textile plant was the Hayesville Manufacturing Company, established in Hayesville in 1961 for the manufacturing of ladies' dresses (CY0215). The concrete-block, barrel-vaulted building with a brick-veneer front later served as the Black Hawk Company, manufacturing items used by combat soldiers.

Other manufacturing plants in Clay County include American Components Incorporated, started in 1966 and now located on Tusquittee Road, just north of Hayesville, and Shooting Creek's Advanced Digital Cable, which is located at the site of the last Shooting Creek School (CY0145).[100]

[97] Interview with June West, December 14, 2023.
[98] Interview with Rachel Watson, January 23, 2024.
[99] "N. C. Carolina Dress Now Among Most Modern Dress Factories," *Cherokee Scout,* May 2, 1968.
[100] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now,* p. 73.

CHAPTER SIX: EDUCATION AND RELIGION IN RURAL CLAY COUNTY

Rural Education

Today, Clay County has an unusual school system in that all public-school students in the county attend school at a single campus in Hayesville. However, this has not always been the case. In the 19th century, small subscription schools developed throughout the county. Although the earliest subscription school was created around 1834, before the Cherokee Removal, the development of subscription schools is often credited to John O. Hicks, who started his first school in the Tusquittee area about 1850. He later built schools in Fires Creek, Lower Tusquittee, Fort Hembree, and Shooting Creek (Lick Log). Between 1868 and 1870, Hicks established the multiroom Hicksville Academy, which was later deeded to the Methodist Episcopal Church South, who, in 1891, turned over management to Trinity College (a predecessor to Duke University) and changed the name to the Hayesville Male and Female College.[101] A brochure from its first year noted that the college was "located on a high tract of wooded land outside of the village of Hayesville but within the corporate limits of the town." The main building was a "frame structure containing ample apartments for all the requirements of a first-class school." It was surrounded by a "grove in which cottages have been built for the accommodation of the public and families who may desire to move to the place for the education of their children." The rent was 25 cents a month for the unfurnished cottages, though students could also board with private

[101] Mark Leek, "History of Clay County Schools From 1850 to Present," doctoral project in the Issues of Rural Education class at Western Carolina University, pp. 6-22, https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fdocs.clayschools.org%2Fccshistory%2Fccshistory.doc&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK. Accessed January 31, 2025; Carl S. Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now* (Clay County Historical and Arts County, 2023 [2007]), pp. 96-99.

families for five to eight dollars a month. A headmaster's house was also located on the nine-and-a-half-acre campus. The brochure noted that the college had the use of the county courthouse for its "entertainments, exhibitions and closing exercises."[102] In 1898, Hayesville College deeded the property to the Hayesville Graded School, transforming it into a free public school. According to the State Superintendent's Biennial Report, in 1899, Clay County operated 18 public schoolhouses.[103] No 19th-century school buildings, private or public, now survive in Clay County.

In 1912, 13 of the 16 public schools in the county were one-room schoolhouses. Of the many smaller rural schools that operated in Clay County during the first few decades of the 20th century, only the foundation and chimney of the Curtis School (CY0222) remain. Also known as Lick Skillet, this school near Myers Chapel was taught by Maymie Curtis until her marriage in 1921 to W. C. Anderson, who took over her family's farm. In 1928, some of the school's patrons petitioned the Board of Education to consolidate the school with Hayesville. However, a greater number of people opposed the move, and it was decided that only grades five and above would be transferred to Hayesville. Curtis School was finally consolidated with Hayesville in 1932, and the empty building was subsequently used as a community center.[104]

During the 1920s and early 1930s, smaller schools were consolidated, and several bigger rural schools were enlarged. In the 1910s, two schools besides Hayesville had the

[102] "First Annual Catalogue and Announcement of Hayesville Male and Female College," 1891, Historic Hayesville collection.
[103] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 99.
[104] Interview with Jerry Anderson, April 23, 2024; Clay County Board of Education Minutes, December 7, 1931, Record ID: CR.025.906, State Archives of North Carolina.

capacity to teach high school-level classes; however, neither Elf nor Ogden offered a full four years.[105] Both of these school were expanded and rebuilt in the 1920s. The Ogden School (CY0105) was completed in 1926 after efforts to consolidate smaller schools in the Brasstown and Warne area. The new brick building had five classrooms, and the school taught some classes at the high school level. In 1931, the Board of Education petitioned for an extra teacher to be added so that Ogden could operate as a four-year high school. However, by 1936, Ogden seemed to serve only elementary school students. Improvements including additions to the rear were made to the school.[106] The school was consolidated in 1975 and has recently been renovated to serve as a private dwelling.

A new, large, brick school was also built at Elf (CY0130). The H-plan building, completed in 1929, held nine classrooms and an auditorium. In 1931, Shooting Creek patrons petitioned the Board of Education to transport high school-level students to Elf. The larger schools attracted some rural families who relocated to be closer to the school. Just as the newly widowed Cordie Coleman Padgett moved her family to a farm just south of Hayesville to take advantage of the schools in Hayesville, Bobby Burch recalled that his mother moved her family from the Peckerwood community to Elf so that her children could have the advantage of a better school. Burch later taught at Elf and went on to be a principal at Shooting Creek and Hayesville Elementary. Although his older siblings were able to take high school-level classes at Elf, by the time Burch attended Elf, it ran only

[105] Leek, "History of Clay County Schools From 1850 to Present," pp. 31-32.
[106] Prior to its completion, the new school at Ogden was referred to in the Board of Education Minutes as the new Brasstown School.

through the eighth grade. The school he attended had been newly rebuilt.[107] In March 1937, the Elf School was destroyed by fire. Classes were temporarily held at local churches, a store, and at a private residence, then students were transferred to either Shooting Creek (if they were elementary students) or Hayesville High School.

The rebuilding of the Elf School was delayed by lack of funds. Finally, in 1939, the county was able to secure funding from the federal Work Projects Administration, and the school was rebuilt on the foundation of the old school.[108] Although the school was rebuilt at the cost of approximately $40,000, by the time construction was underway, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) had begun building the dam and lake nearby. Much of the lowland nearby was inundated, and Elf lost about one-third of its student enrollment when the TVA relocated families. Elf School reopened in 1941 with an attendance of 283 students. The newly reopened school served only as an elementary school. Starting in 1937, all public high school-level students in Clay County attended Hayesville High School.

Former students who attended the Elf School after it reopened recalled that there were five teachers serving grades one through eight. As was also the case at Ogden and Shooting Creek, one teacher would typically teach two different grades. The grades would not necessarily be sequential; students several years apart might be taught by the same teacher. The large auditorium at Elf also served the community and was a venue for traveling musicians on various circuits, including, according to one person's memory, country music stars Minnie Pearl and Little Jimmy Dickens.[109] The school bell still sits in

[107] Interview with Bobby Burch, April 23, 2024.
[108] Clay County Board of Education Minutes, February 18, 1939.
[109] Interview with Sonja Silvers, April 11, 2024.

front of the school, and former students remembered that if they were good, they were allowed to ring the bell. Former students also recalled fondly the store that sat adjacent to the school grounds (the vacant building still stands) as a "candy store," although it apparently sold other goods as well. At one point, the Elf principal forbade students from going into the store, and the store owner, Jake McGaha, tossed candy over a stone wall to kids on the school grounds.[110]

Elf School (CY0130) continued to serve the community until 1967, when it was consolidated with Hayesville. After the school closed, the brick building served as a sewing factory, a bed and breakfast, and a wedding venue. In 2024, it reopened as an art space with areas for studios, accommodations for artist residencies, and performance space, and as a private residence.

The third larger rural school to serve Clay County in the early- to mid-20th century was located at Shooting Creek. By 1929, Shooting Creek was petitioning the Board of Education for a new school building. Finally in 1934, a new site was chosen, and some older buildings were moved to form the new school. The new school, similar to the one at Elf, consisted of two wings attached by a central auditorium. However, unlike Elf and Ogden, this building was constructed of frame. By 1949, the Shooting Creek community was once again complaining of conditions at the school.[111] Replaced in the early 1950s, only the southwest portion of the older Shooting Creek School (CY0116) survives, and it is in derelict condition.

[110] Interview with Vicky Lowe and Harley Ledford, April 22, 2024; Interview with Bobby Burch, April 23, 2024.
[111] Clay County Board of Education Minutes, April 30, 1949.

By the 1950s, Shooting Creek, Elf, and Ogden were the only remaining schools in Clay County outside of Hayesville. In the early 1950s, Shooting Creek Elementary was relocated one half mile east to Eagle Fork Road. The modern brick schoolhouse was designed by Ronald Green and Milton Robelot, who also designed the high schools at Hayesville and Franklin. Meanwhile, at Elf and Ogden, upgrades and additions were made to the existing school buildings. Shooting Creek (CY0145) was the last of the rural schools in Clay County to be consolidated. In 1978, the remaining 50 or so public-school students in the county were sent to Hayesville. Advanced Digital Cable now owns the site of the school. Part of the school building is said to remain at this facility, but it is not apparent from the exterior.

African American Education

Relatively little has been documented about African American education in Clay County prior to desegregation. Although there is no record of any public school existing in the county, in 1869, the State Superintendent noted that the county had been apportioned $415 for 770 white and 60 African American children.[112] By 1884, at least one African American school serving 36 students existed, and by the end of the century, Clay County had 15 African American students served by one school.[113]

Throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Clay County had one African American school taught by a single teacher and serving a few dozen students. The

[112] Leek, "History of Clay County Schools From 1850 to Present," p. 12.
[113] Leek, p. 15, 18.

locations of the early schools are unknown, although it is believed that at one time Fort Hembree Baptist Church served as a location for an African American school.[114] The pay for African American teachers was generally less, and the school term was generally shorter, than white teachers and schools. In the early 1920s, the Rosenwald Fund awarded the Clay County Board of Education seed money to build a new one-room school for African American students. The Rosenwald Fund was established in 1917 by Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck & Co., to address the needs of African American students in the South. Over 800 Rosenwald schools were built in North Carolina. The Rosenwald Fund provided seed money matched by contributions of money, labor, and/or construction materials from the county board of education and African American citizens. In total, the Hayesville School was constructed with $500 from the Rosenwald Fund, $500 from the Board of Education, $495 from local African American donors, and $5 from local white donors.[115] The Hayesville School was a one-teacher type school constructed according to Rosenwald school building plans and finished in 1923. A long-time teacher at the Clay County Rosenwald school was Elma Dennis, who later went on to be the principal at Texana School in Cherokee County.[116] The site of the Rosenwald school was not centrally situated within Hayesville but was located at the "old Mauldin Place" on what is now Hinton Center Road to the southeast of town. Although no physical evidence remains, the unmarked site (CY0114) is located across from the Clay County Transfer Station.

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[114] *The Heritage of Clay County, NC* (Waynesville: Walsworth Publishing, 1994), p. 20.
[115] Clay County Board of Education Minutes, August 22, 1922; "Hayesville School," Fundraising card from the Julius Rosenwald Fund Collection, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.
[116] Ann Miller Woodford, *When All God's Children Get Together: A Celebration of the Lives and Music of African American People in Far Western North Carolina* (self-published, 2021), pp. 152-153.

Despite the construction of the new schoolhouse, the African American population in Clay County and the resulting school attendance declined during the 1920s and 1930s, and by the early 1940s, fewer than ten students attended the Rosenwald school at Hayesville. In 1944, the school was closed, and its students were bused, initially by pickup truck, to the Texana School in Cherokee County. However, even the long trip to Texana did not provide Clay County's African American students with a complete high school education, as the Texana School ran only through tenth grade.[117] As in many other counties in southwestern North Carolina, African American students who wished to complete a high school education before desegregation had to move away from home and live in dormitories, rented rooms, or the homes of relatives to attend a distant public or private school in Asheville or elsewhere in the country.

Following the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, North Carolina public schools began to desegregate, although in most counties this did not happen until the late 1960s or even the early 1970s. In 1965, the first African American student, Jay Tee Nicely, attended Hayesville High School.

Rural Churches

As with the schools in Clay County, churches as institutions have a much longer history than the existing structures. No confirmed 19th-century church buildings remain, and even early-20th-century churches have been either rebuilt or have been substantially

[117] Leek, "History of Clay County Schools From 1850 to Present," pp. 51-52, 54.

altered. Many of the early churches fell victim to fires, and others simply had to be replaced because of growth within the congregation or disuse.

The earliest churches to be built after the Cherokee Removal nucleated around Fort Hembree, where Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist congregations were established in the first two years after the Removal. One of the earliest rural churches was Union Hill Church (CY0131), established around 1840 near Elf on land donated by George Douglas Davis. The church operated as a "union" church, bringing together members of Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian congregations. The earliest marked grave in the adjacent cemetery is of early white settler John Moore (1777-1857), father of John Covington Moore. The church on the site now is a classic early- to mid-20th-century vernacular church with a covered entrance and modest steeple. It has an addition to the rear and is now covered in vinyl siding. The building currently serves the Saved By Grace Full Gospel Church.

The earliest rural Baptist congregation formed after the Removal is believed to have been Old Shooting Creek (CY0141), established in 1838 on land belonging to the Kitchens family. At least two of the churches built on this property burned and were replaced. When Old U.S. Highway 64 was constructed in the 1920s, the church was moved to the north side of the road; however, the cemetery, with its large number of 19th-century markers, is located on the south side. The fourth church was built in 1935.[118] It has been veneered in brick and has additions to both the front and rear.

Another pre-Civil War Baptist congregation is Moss Memorial (CY0120, SL 2025) in Tusquittee, organized in 1858 as the Tusquittee United Baptist Church on land donated by

[118] *The Heritage of Clay County,* p. 15.

Reverend Howell Moss. Some of the oldest stones in the cemetery are across the road, near the site of the second church building. After the second church burned, it was replaced in 1950 with a substantial church built of native stone. It is believed that the stonework was done by the same people who built Truett Memorial Baptist Church in Hayesville. The church in Tusquittee was rechristened Moss Memorial after Reverend Howell Moss, as well as his descendants, Dr. Fred Moss and Judge Paul Moss, who provided funding for its construction. At the request of the Moss family, the church has stained glass windows reminiscent of an English chapel.[119] The church has a raised basement and a low shed addition to the side. There is a large cemetery behind the church, as well as across the road.

Another Baptist congregation that chose to replace an older church with one of stone was at Shady Grove (CY0109) south of Hayesville in a community once known as Crawfords Creek. The church was organized in 1887 and originally met in a log school building. A frame church was built a few years later. In the early 1950s, a new stone-veneered church was built, and new wings were added in 1971 and 1990. The adjacent cemetery includes the graves of G. M. Fleming and James Massey, both of whom built nearby houses that are still standing (CY0111 and CY0039, respectively).[120]

Among the oldest of the rural Methodist congregations was Ledford Chapel, organized in the 1850s at Scrougtown on land donated by Revolutionary War veteran Peter Ledford. The last church at this site was demolished in 1942, and the cemetery was

[119] Interview with Denise Shelton, April 4, 2024.
[120] *The Heritage of Clay County,* p. 16; Interview with Buddy Lowe, December 12, 2023.

relocated by the Tennessee Valley Authority as part of the construction of the Chatuge Dam. Over 200 burials were reinterred (CY0123), including that of Ledford, on higher ground across the road.

Hickory Stand Methodist Church (CY0104) in Brasstown began in the 1880s as Mount Pleasant Sunday School, and the first church was built about 1865. When the church burned in 1935, the current church was built. It received a stone veneer, reportedly of native stone from the Hampton Farm (CY0103).[121] It now has a large stone addition containing a social hall and classrooms and a stone retaining wall around the grounds. Behind the church is a large cemetery.

A former Methodist church, Myers Chapel (CY0122), was built in the early 20th century on land donated by the Curtis family. The church was located close to the proposed lake, and at one point it looked like the church might be lost to the dam construction. The realization that the church, by that point deteriorated, was not endangered probably led to its rebuilding around 1945. In choosing to rebuild, the congregation elected to use decorative concrete block made on site. The congregation was disbanded in the 1980s, but the building has been used by other denominations.[122]

Possibly among the oldest church buildings in Clay County is Fort Hembree Baptist Church (CY0152). The African American congregation was organized in 1888 on land donated by Captain James Stanhope Anderson. The current church is on the original site but has been expanded beyond its original footprint. A full basement has been added, and

[121] Interview with Sharlene Thomas and Arnold Couch, December 14, 2023.
[122] Interview with Jerry Anderson, April 23, 2024.

the area behind the choir loft has been extended to create a pastor's study. It is unclear how much, if any, of the original church building remains, but the log joists beneath the church could indicate that the building is relatively old.[123] The church now has replacement siding. The church is believed to have once served as an African American school.

After the Cherokee Removal, most of the churches built in Clay County were for Methodist, Baptist, or Presbyterian congregations, and the early Union Hill Church was for all three. As was typical elsewhere in the southern mountains, Baptists soon took the numerical lead, in part because the less centralized structure of the Baptist denomination lent itself better to serving isolated mountain communities. Currently there are no rural Presbyterian churches in Clay County, and the number of rural Methodist churches has declined. The two rural United Methodist churches are Hickory Stand and Oak Forest. The church at Sweetwater, established in 1897, now serves as a missional center for Hayesville First United Methodist Church. As noted, several older church buildings no longer used by their original congregations have been used by non-denominational or Charismatic congregations. Additionally, Marshall Chapel Methodist Church (CY0118) in Shooting Creek now serves as the Mountain of Faith Baptist Church. This mid-20th-century structure now has a concrete-block exterior, although the vestibule and steeple are frame.

The earliest Church of God congregation in Clay County grew out of a tent revival in the early 1920s. It was originally established as the Mount Olive Church of God in 1923, and the name was changed to the Shooting Creek Church of God in 1933. Fire destroyed

[123] Interview with Pastor Harold Holbrook, April 24, 2024.

the first church building, and the congregation replaced it with the current church (CY0117), a brick-veneered structure built in 1949. Notes from the Board of Education minutes that year noted that the Church of God was using the Shooting Creek School's auditorium for Sunday school and other services while the church was being rebuilt. The church has a stone-veneer foundation and a large addition, attached by a covered drive, at the rear. Unlike many of the other rural churches in the county, it does not have a steeple or belfry. Modest churches constructed in western North Carolina sometimes did not include a steeple or belfry in the original design, but many of those rural congregations chose to add them in subsequent years.

Despite denominational differences, rural, early- to mid-20th-century churches in Clay County are remarkably similar. All have front-gable entrances, with most having either a portico or enclosed entryway, with a steeple or belfry above. Almost all the early-20th-century rural churches were built of frame, but by mid-century some were either rebuilt with or veneered in masonry. This includes the striking stone churches of Moss Memorial and Shady Grove (both Baptist), Hickory Stand Methodist, and Truett Memorial Baptist in Hayesville. Others were built of decorative concrete block (Myers Chapel) or are brick veneered. Perhaps the constant loss of churches to fire led congregations to favor churches that were fire resistant. Those churches that remained frame almost always have replacement siding (typically vinyl siding). Almost universally, churches that have remained in service have substantial additions, including finished basements with meeting spaces and kitchens, rear or side additions, or separate meeting halls for social functions. Some, though not all, still have traditional open-air shelters for homecoming events.

Another distinctive trait of some churches in the county is cemetery decoration. Among the most distinctive is the cemetery at Martin Hill Baptist Church (CY0157) in Fires Creek. The congregation was established in 1924, and the current simple frame church dates from 1947. Across the road, the cemetery has a number of traditional mounded graves with glass and gravel coverings and siding outlining the grave plots.[124]

Religious Outreach

While a multitude of small, rural churches served the people of Clay County, the region was also the recipient of various efforts at missionary and religious outreach. The earliest, of course, were the missionary efforts among the Cherokee. Among the largest and most successful was the Valleytowns Baptist Mission, the site of which is near Brasstown, just on the Cherokee County side of the county line. The John C. Campbell Folk School was not explicitly religious in intent, but as part of a larger effort of philanthropic work in the southern mountains, it initially received financial support from several northern religious organizations. Thirty years later, three separate religious outreach efforts developed in Clay County, each with a different focus.

While two of the outreach programs had local roots, the third had its foundation in the Glenmary order, which provided services in rural regions that lacked a substantial Catholic membership.[125] Father Dean, who pastored in Murphy, held the first mass in Clay

[124] For more examples of cemetery decoration in western North Carolina, see: Alan Jabbour and Karen Singer Jabbour, *Decoration Day in the Mountains: Traditions of Cemetery Decoration in the Southern Appalachians* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), chapter 2.
[125] For a history of the Glenmary sisters, see: Helen M. Lewis and Monica Appleby, *Mountain Sisters: From Convent to Community in Appalachia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), chapters 1-3.

County in a store in downtown Hayesville in 1956. In subsequent years, the Glenmary sisters began their work in Lance Cove on property donated by members of the Lance family, who were converts to Catholicism. The first services were said to have been held in a tobacco barn. Only an outhouse and the remnant of a spring are left at this first site occupied by the Glenmary sisters (CY0212). Around 1957, a chapel (CY0213) was built further south on Lance Cove Road on land donated by Glenn Lance. Overall, the Glenmary sisters were a relatively liberal order that preferred wearing modified habits and tending to the needs of their community. One member of the Lance family recalled that young people liked to go hear the sisters play guitar. He also noted that several local people would attend services at the chapel, at the same time retaining membership in their home church.[126] The Lance Cove Chapel survives and is now a private summer residence.

In 1959, the Glenmary Mission purchased the motel and restaurant in Hayesville built about ten years earlier by J. Walter Moore. The building became both a convent and the first permanent home of the Immaculate Heart of Mary Mission (CY0127). Set up just one block from the Hayesville square, the Glenmary sisters must have made quite an impression on the populace, many of whom had never seen a nun before. Trained as nurses, the Glenmary sisters provided vital help for the community. The small number of nuns (approximately seven or eight) lived in the motel quarters. One local person remembered that in appreciation of all their work, her family attended the Catholic chapel as well as the Methodist church.[127] Eventually, the Glenmary Home Nursing Services

[126] Interview with Steve Lance, April 12, 2024.
[127] Interview with Sonja Silvers, April 11, 2024.

became the Good Shepherd Home Health and Hospice and was eventually named after Sister Loretto John Meehan of the Sisters of Charity, who devoted 30 years to home nursing in Clay and Cherokee Counties. In 2000, the bridge over the Hiwassee River on U.S. Highway 64 (CY0278) was named after her. The former convent and health center now serves as the offices for Reach, a domestic violence service.

Another outreach effort with a tie to local educator J. Walter Moore, the Hinton Center was also established in the late 1950s. After the construction of Lake Chatuge in the early 1940s, Harold and Alice Hinton of Athens, Georgia, purchased between 12 and 14 acres next to the lake. After constructing several houses on the property they named Wonderview, they started construction on a lodge. However, Mr. Hinton's death in 1956 halted completion. The following year, J. Walter and Velma Moore purchased the property. The Moores in turn gave the unfinished lodge to the Methodist church in Hayesville, with the intention that it serve the needs of the rural community. Mrs. Hinton donated funds for the completion of the lodge, and the center was named for her husband. The Hinton Center for Rural Life was formally incorporated in 1961 and eventually came under the ownership of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church. Its early mission focused on revitalization of small membership churches and service as a retreat center. It later expanded its mission to include concern for the social and economic needs of rural Appalachia.[128] A retreat, conference, and mission outreach center, the Hinton Rural Life

[128] Abstract, Hinton Rural Life Center Records, Berea College Special Collections and Library, BCA 0050 SAA 050.

Center (CY0115) now has 30 acres and includes the original lodge, an administration center, a chapel, and numerous cottages and camping sites.

The final outreach program established in rural Clay County in the 1950s grew up around the childhood home of a nationally prominent Baptist church leader. George W. Truett was born in 1867 in a small frame house (CY0046) west of Hayesville. He graduated from Hayesville Academy in 1885 and a few years later followed his parents Charles Levi Truett and Mary Kimsey Truett to Texas, where he attended Baylor University. In 1897, he became pastor of the First Baptist Church of Dallas, which under his leadership (1897-1944) became the largest Baptist church in the world. Truett was internationally famous, and his childhood home was preserved as sort of a pilgrimage site for Baptists. The George W. Truett House is a small, story-and-a-half frame house with a steep roof and a later single-story front porch. The three-bay front has a central front door that leads into the larger room of the subdivided single-pen plan. The house had a single common-bond brick chimney on one gable end, but it has been removed since the house was surveyed in 1979. Since this date, the porch has also been extended around the east gable end, and there are several substantial additions to the rear of the house. The original portion of this structure now serves as a museum

A boys' camp was established on site in 1953 and subsequently a girls' camp was added. The early emphasis was on tent camping, and the first bunkhouse is now a tool shed. The current games room was once an open-air chapel. The administration center, now heavily altered, is one of the earlier structures on the premises. The property also includes a log house believed to predate Truett's birth. It had been moved away from the

property and was once used as a tobacco barn, though it has now returned to the site.[129] The Truett Conference Center and Camp (CY0190) now includes a dining hall, a worship center, a swimming pool, several bunk houses, and a lodge and now serves as both an overnight camp and as a conference and retreat center.

[129] Interview with Phillip Yarborough and Matt Brubaker, April 4, 2024; Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 150.

CHAPTER SEVEN: BRASSTOWN AND THE JOHN C. CAMPBELL FOLK SCHOOL

The southern mountains have long been the focus of missionary and philanthropic efforts to convert, educate, or better the lives of the residents. Early efforts focused on the conversion and education of the Cherokee. Founded in 1820, the Valleytowns Baptist Mission School became the most successful of the Protestant missions among the Cherokee. Located on the west side of the Hiwassee River in present day Cherokee County, the school affected the lives of many who lived nearby along Brasstown Creek. The school, which included a church and a model farm, owed much of its success to its willingness to teach in the Cherokee languages and to leader Evan Jones' advocacy in resisting the forced removal of the Cherokee.[130]

Roughly a half a century later, missionary and philanthropic attention again turned to southern Appalachia, this time focusing on the supposedly unique and isolated culture of the mountains. Settlement schools, crafts programs, and various other educational institutions grew in number in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. John C. and Olive Dame Campbell, surveying conditions in the southern mountains for the Russell Sage Foundation, developed their vision of importing the model of the Danish Folk School to Appalachia. They planned to travel to Scandinavia to investigate the folk school movement, but the outbreak of war in Europe halted their plans. John C. Campbell died shortly after the end of World War I at the age of 51. After his death, Olive Dame Campbell first took on the project of writing up, from her husband's notes, *The Southern Highlander*

[130] Barbara R. Duncan and Brett H. Riggs, *Cherokee Heritage Trails Guidebook* (University of North Carolina Press, 2003), p. 199

and his Homeland, published under John C. Campbell's name in 1921, and then turned back to the dream of establishing a folk school.

Campbell found a new ally in Marguerite Butler, who had joined the Pine Mountain Settlement School in Harlan County, Kentucky, in 1914, and, in 1922, Butler and Campbell headed overseas for the long-delayed trip to Scandinavia. Returning home the following year, Campbell and Butler set to the task of finding a location for the proposed school. The area around Brasstown came to their attention through a former Pine Mountain colleague of Butler's, Ann Ruth Metcalf, who was working in Cherokee County. Visiting Brasstown in 1925, Butler and, later, Campbell found an enthusiastic response by local people led by Luce Scroggs and his son, Fred O. Scroggs. Choosing Brasstown as their site, the Folk School founders received funding from several Protestant denominations and the Carnegie Corporation, as well as commitments of labor, land, and other goods from the local community.

Luce Scroggs gave the initial 25 acres to the school, land that had belonged to his wife's family on the Cherokee County side of Brasstown Creek. Although "Uncle" Luce became the figurehead leader of local support for the new school, ultimately it was his son, the college-educated teacher, businessman, and history enthusiast Fred O. Scroggs who became the major intermediary between the Folk School and Brasstown in the early decades of the school's operation.[131] The Folk School's co-founders, Campbell and Butler, settled in for the long term. Campbell, who moved back to Massachusetts after she retired

[131] David E. Whisnant, *All That is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), pp. 139-140.

in 1946, died in 1954, and Butler, who later married Georg Bidstrup, died in Brasstown in 1982.

Brasstown Before the Folk School

While local enthusiasm may have been one factor in Campbell and Butler selecting Brasstown as the site of their school, other factors were also at play. Campbell was resistant to locating the school in areas already wracked by social and economic change, preferring instead to find an area where most people continued to be engaged in agriculture. One of the goals of the Folk School was to provide adult education and economic programs that encouraged people to continue their rural lifestyles. If, by the 1920s, Brasstown was not especially prosperous, it was also not the Appalachian stereotype of narrow hollers and farms perched precariously on a mountainside. The wide valleys of the Hiwassee River and Brasstown Creek had long provided attractive farmland for the individuals moving into the region.

Even by the early 19th century, Brasstown was a cultural crossroads of sorts. The Unicoi Turnpike, established in 1813, linked east Tennessee to the coastal Deep South. The turnpike came right through present-day Brasstown, where David Thompson established a trading stand to serve travelers. From the stand's location near the current site of the community center, the turnpike followed roughly the same route as Settawig Road.[132] The road is named for Situwakee, a prominent Cherokee leader at the time of the Removal.

[132] Bass Hyatt Jr., *Brasstown Valley Myths & History* (Staub Publishing, 2018), pp. 12-13.

Farther west on the same road, Peter Oganaya, a Baptist preacher and Cherokee councilman, built his home and a church.[133]

The sale of Cherokee lands following the Removal attracted several well-to-do purchasers to the area around Brasstown, including Abram and Joshua Harshaw, sons of a prominent plantation owner in Burke County. Abram settled west of the current site of the Folk School, while Joshua built his home not far from where Thompson's Stand was once located. The only architectural survivor from the Harshaw Farm is the brick smokehouse (CY0185) once attached to the two-story frame dwelling. The Harshaw smokehouse is the oldest surviving structure in Brasstown.

Another early purchaser of land in 1838, Nelson Strange owned 773 acres in what is now downtown Brasstown. His sons William and Benton opened the first store in Brasstown after the Civil War near the intersection of Settawig and Green Cove Roads. Luce Scroggs married Lillie Strange, the daughter of William Strange, and the Scroggs family eventually owned a large section of the Strange land.[134] Lillie Scroggs gave the initial acreage to the Folk School in memory of her father, and much of the campus of the Folk School now lies on land that had been purchased by Nelson Strange after the Cherokee Removal.[135]

Surprisingly little 19th-century log architecture survives in western Clay County near Brasstown. The Brendle house, originally part of a large dogtrot house probably built in the

[133] Duncan and Riggs, *Cherokee Heritage Trails Guidebook*, pp. 196-197.
[134] Hyatt, *Brasstown Valley Myths & History*, p. 26. Although Luce Scroggs is often given the credit for the donation of the land to the Folk School, the parcel was actually part of land inherited through his wife's family.
[135] *The Heritage of Clay County, NC* (Waynesville: Walsworth Publishing, 1994), pp. 117-118.

1850s, was moved from Clay County to the nearby Folk School in 1926 to become half of the Log Cabin Museum. The number of local men who took part in rebuilding the houses suggests log construction techniques were within living memory at the time, and part of the intent of the project was to preserve this tradition. The only other possible surviving log dwelling is the Hyatt-Penland House (CY0277) on Settawig Road. At least one long-time resident believes that it was constructed of log,[136] although the house's construction is now obscured by later siding. However, the massing of the two-story house is unlike other frame houses in the area dating from the late 19th or turn of the 20th century and suggests a two-story, single-pen log house. Hattie Hampton, whose family lived across the road, married Charlie Hyatt in 1915 and moved into this house. She was widowed in 1935, and the house was associated with Hattie Hampton Hyatt and, later, her daughter Christine and her husband Hollis Penland.

One moderately intact log outbuilding, a smokehouse probably dating from the early 20th century, survives in the Pinelog community accompanying the frame Peter Miller House (CY0154). The small, v-notched structure sits close to the dwelling, with the front-gable end facing the side of the house. Although few log outbuildings survive in this region, it is probable that many local people continued to build log outbuildings long after the construction of log dwellings became uncommon. Photographs and living memory give evidence of other log structures in the Brasstown area, but the structures themselves have not survived.

[136] Interview with David Anderson, May 3, 2024.

At the time of the establishment of the Folk School in 1925, log dwellings were probably not uncommon, but they were not ubiquitous. Of the surviving frame houses dating from before 1925 in the Brasstown area, the oldest surviving dwelling is the Davidson-Hyatt House (part of CY0153) in the Pinelog community. After the Civil War, Bob Bell bought this property from Bill Donaldson, who had purchased a segment of the vast tracts of land owned by Joshua Harshaw. Bell built two log structures on the property and then, around 1877, sold his land to Colonel Hugh Harvey Davidson. Using one of Bell's log houses as a kitchen, Davidson built a one-story frame house that survives as the rear ell of the current house. After Davidson's death in 1890, Viola Davidson Hyatt and Abel Hyatt bought out the other heirs to the property. Around 1920, their son Bass Hyatt Sr. built a substantial addition, a two-story, frame, side-gable house built perpendicular to the old dwelling. The house evokes the form of a 19th-century I-house, although it has a distinctive second-story sleeping porch under a projecting front gable. Other elements of the house, such as the stonework on the porch and the bracketed eaves, are typical of the 1920s. The house is still part of a working farm owned by the Hyatt family.

In considerably worse condition, the circa 1890 James Franklin Arrant House (CY0095) sits on Smith Road near the intersection with Green Cove Road. The one-and-a-half- or two-story frame house has a side-gable roof with a projecting front-gable wing and a single-story front porch. It is currently empty and overgrown. Arrant ran a store across the road, and for a while the store was the site of the Brasstown post office. While it now seems out of the way of the central part of Brasstown, the main road south toward Young

Harris, Georgia, once ran past the house and store. Fred O. Scroggs, later a store owner and postmaster himself, married the Arrants' daughter.

Just down Smith Road, the Payne-Stalcup House (CY0094) dates from the turn of the 20th century. The one-and-a half-story house has a more traditional floor plan than the Arrant House, although the stone chimney is not located at the gable end of the house or between the two front rooms, but rather at the rear, between one front room and the rear ell added by Ivan and Linda Payne a few years later. Their grandson Jerry Stalcup converted the dwelling to serve as a hunting lodge, but it still retains some of its original trimwork and chestnut paneling on the interior, as well as its original yellow poplar siding and stone foundation on the exterior.[137]

Slightly smaller than the Payne-Stalcup House, the circa 1905 Peter Miller House (CY0154) in Pinelog also is a one-and-a-half story, frame house but had the more traditional gable-end chimney, later replaced by a flue. The house has a semi-engaged front porch. The house is abandoned and in poor shape, although the log smokehouse is still fairly well-preserved.

By the second decade of the 20th century, rural houses started to break more radically from traditional vernacular forms. This is exemplified by the circa 1914 Tom and Dora Hampton House (CY0103) on Settawig Road. George Washington Hampton bought land in Brasstown after the Civil War and built a house. Only the chimney remains. His son Tom and Tom's wife Dora built a house nearby. This one- or one-and-a-half-story frame house has a pyramidal roof and twin front-gabled dormers. The porch has twinned posts

[137] Interview with Jerry Stalcup, December 2, 2023.

and runs around two sides of the house. Inside, the double-pile dwelling has a center-passage plan with a rear dining room and kitchen ell. The house is still lived in by Tom and Dora Hampton's grandchildren.[138]

These were several of the houses that might have been familiar to Olive Campbell and Marguerite Butler when they settled in Brasstown. Some of the builders or occupants of these houses, including Charlie Hyatt, Tom Hampton, and Ivan Payne, were original contributors to the Folk School in the form of goods, services, or cash. Commerce was relatively limited in Brasstown and included various mills and numerous small stores. According to Fred O. Scroggs' history of Brasstown, at the turn of the 20th century, stores in Brasstown came and went with some frequency, and the location of the post office moved along with rapid changes of the postmaster. Scroggs himself became a store owner and postmaster in 1913, but the store yielded little profit, and Scroggs went back to teaching.[139] In 1925, Iowa Green became postmistress, a position she held for three decades. An historic photograph from 1926 shows Green and several others outside the post office, a small, boxed structure with a flat roof located on (a then unpaved) Settawig Road, just down from the current circa 1960 Brasstown Post Office (CY0102).

Fred O. Scroggs owned or ran numerous businesses in Brasstown over his lifetime, which has led to some disagreement about the location of his store during the early years of the Folk School. In 1920, Scroggs, in partnership with Floyd Clayton, built a large mill building in Brasstown. Two years later, Scroggs bought an old building at the Mission Dam

[138] Interview with Charlene Thomas and Arnold Couch, December 14, 2023.
[139] "Fred O. Scroggs History," (1961), reprinted in Bass Hyatt Jr., *Brasstown Valley Myths & History*, pp. 31-42.

works, which he dismantled and reconfigured into a 20-foot by 42-foot store building near the mill. It is probable that Scrogg's store is the building (CY0100) still located at the southeast corner of Old U.S. Highway 64 and Settawig Road. Sue Heddon, one of the oldest residents of Brasstown, grew up immediately behind the store (her parents bought their land from Scroggs), and when she was young, Scroggs had the only store in Brasstown, as well as the only telephone. The store was later acquired by Bass Duvall, who added an apartment to the rear.[140] At some point the store became part of the Mountain Cooperative and, later, the Rockhounders Building. Although the outside has been vastly altered with a fake stone veneer on the front and the rear addition has been lifted because of a failing foundation, a remarkable amount of the original interior material has been retained.[141] The store now serves as a real estate office.

The Folk School and Early Outreach in Clay County

Having settled on a location for their new school, Campbell and Butler proceeded with hiring new personnel. So taken was Campbell with the Danish model of a folk school, she hired a Dane to run the model farm program. Georg Bidstrup came to Brasstown in 1926 and not only established the farm program but taught Danish gymnastics and dance. Joining the Folk School about the same time, a Belgian engineer named Leon Deschamps came to Brasstown via the Pine Mountain Settlement School, where he had worked and ultimately married Mae Ritchie of the "singing Ritchie family" of eastern Kentucky. Along

[140] Interview with Sue Heddon, May 30, 2024.
[141] Interview with Peter Andrus, May 16, 2024.

with co-founders Campbell and Butler, these two Europeans had a profound influence on shaping the Folk School. Bidstrup spent the rest of his life in Brasstown, ultimately marrying Marguerite Butler, and in the 1950s, he became the Director of the school. Deschamps left the school in the 1940s but not before designing many of the Folk School's buildings and training local men in stone masonry.

The oldest building on the Folk School campus is a turn-of-the-20th-century farmhouse that predates the school. The dwelling, with its story-and-a-half saddlebag plan, is typical of many rural houses in Cherokee and Clay Counties. It initially served as a home for Campbell and Butler and later served as a classroom. Aside from the Keith House (CE0007) (built between 1926 and 1928 and designed by Campbell's niece Dorothy Bacon) and the Log Cabin Museum, Deschamps and Bidstrup designed almost all the buildings constructed during the first decades of the Folk School's existence, and the buildings reflect the European aesthetic of these builders. The campus of the John C. Campbell Folk School (CE0005), listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1983, falls completely within Cherokee County.[142] Despite the national recognition granted by listing, no attention has been given to the influence of the Folk School on architecture in the community of Brasstown, either through its outreach programs or through the aesthetic established by Deschamps and Bidstrup.

Community outreach was central to Campbell's vision for the Folk School. Local involvement in construction of the Log Cabin Museum in 1926 was clearly a successful first

[142] For further information on the buildings at the John C. Campbell Folk School, see "John C. Campbell Folk School Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1983.

move for the Folk School, as local men moved two nearby log houses and reconstructed them on the Folk School campus. The National Register nomination for the Folk School suggests that this may have been "the first community-based effort at preservation of rural vernacular architecture, log or otherwise, in North Carolina."[143] Among the enthusiastic participants in the project was Luce Scroggs, who with his wife gave a substantial portion of the land to the Folk School. Decades later, Marguerite Butler Bidstrup recalled:

> He was one of the ones who was enormously interested in the museum, Uncle Luce Scroggs. And every day he'd be over there, because the museum was built from two log houses, one in Clay County and one in Cherokee. . . . And Mrs. Scroggs . . . his wife, Lillie Scroggs. To many, Granny Scroggs. She thought that he should be home and getting the corn ready to take to mill and so forth, and he felt that it was much more important to do the museum. And really he was one of the live wires behind the museum, that we have that museum today. I don't mean he was the sole person, but he . . . and he was present at every meeting that went on in the community.[144]

Community members not only helped reconstruct the cabins, they also donated artifacts that represented the agricultural heritage of the community to be placed in the museum. However, the initial function of the building was to serve as temporary living quarters for Georg Bidstrup and Leon Deschamps.

While the history of Folk School has generally been associated with cultural preservation and the crafts revival, economic self-help played a central role in its mission and even took precedence over setting up the educational curriculum. From her visits to Scandinavia, Campbell became an enthusiastic supporter of the concept of cooperatives

[143] John C. Campbell Folk School Historic District, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1983, Section 7, Page 1.
[144] Marguerite Bidstrup interview with Terry Thorp, January 21, 1972, Appalachian Oral History Collection SAA 59, Berea College, Hutchins Library, Department of Special Collections and Archives.

to support agricultural life.[145] The Brasstown Savings and Loan Association, a credit union established in April 1926, became the Folk School's first such venture. The first board of directors included both Campbell and Marguerite Butler, Fred O. Scroggs and his mother Lillie Scroggs, Tom Hampton, and Loy Payne, among others.[146] Fred O. Scroggs' Store (CY0100) housed the credit union. Within a few years, the credit union had over 100 members, although the advent of the Great Depression ultimately limited its growth.

By the end of 1928, the Brasstown Farmers' Association had also been founded. The organization ran a mill, a feed store, and an egg business. In early 1929, the Mountain Valley Creamery (CY0098), just south of the center of Brasstown, began production. Fred O. Scroggs served as president, Georg Bidstrup as vice-president, and Marguerite Butler as secretary. Leon Deschamps most likely designed the stone building that housed the creamery, as he was the major local advocate of building with stone and he was consulted on several instances about expanding the structure.[147]

Although the deepening of the Depression must have challenged Campbell's plans, the New Deal ushered in federal support for rural cooperatives, including a loan of $20,000 from the Tennessee Valley Associated Cooperative that allowed for the expansion of the creamery. While a merger of the creamery and the Farmer's Association had been discussed as early as 1930, in 1934, at the urging of Tennessee Valley Associated Cooperative, the two formally merged into the Mountain Valley Cooperative.[148] A photo

[145] Whisnant, *All That is Native and Fine*, p. 146
[146] *The Heritage of Clay County*, p. 9
[147] Mountain Valley Cooperative folder, John C. Campbell Folk School Archives.
[148] Mountain Valley Cooperative folder, John C. Campbell Folk School Archives.

probably dating from the late 1930s or early 1940s shows that the Cooperative Building (CY0126), with its distinctive tiled pent roof, is physically little changed from that era to the present. The photo shows that "Mountain Valley Cooperative Inc" was painted along the top of the primary elevation and other lettering advertised groceries, ice cream, and cold drinks. The building also included gas pumps and an attached garage run by Boyd Scroggs.[149]

One aspect of the New Deal that must have given Olive Campbell pause was the Tennessee Valley Authority's (TVA's) building of dams in the southern mountains, as dam building both displaced large numbers of local families and lured young men away from agricultural life with better paying jobs.[150] By the late 1930s, plans were underway for the construction of the Chatuge Dam (CY0025) in Clay County. To address the housing shortage brought on by the influx of workers, many local farmers took in boarders, but temporary housing was also constructed. Bass Duvall, who was then renting Fred O. Scroggs' store, built two boxed dwellings, still standing, to house TVA workers (CY0235, CY0236).[151] The Mountain Valley Cooperative eventually acquired these houses.

Despite the glowing reports of the Folk School's initiatives, tensions always existed in the background. Campbell wished to initiate and guide cooperative efforts but did not want the Folk School to be viewed as totally in charge of new enterprise in the region. The cooperation with federal agencies seemed to exacerbate these issues. In a 1937 letter to J.

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[149] Photo, John C. Campbell Folk School Archives. The current (inoperable) gas pumps are not original and may be reproductions.
[150] Whisnant, *All That is Native and Fine*, p. 150
[151] Eleanor Lambert Wilson, *My Journey to Appalachia: A Year at the Folk School* (Fairview, NC: Bright Mountain Books, 2004), p. 136; Interview with Peter Andrus, May 16, 2024.

Ed Campbell of the Tennessee Valley Associated Cooperative, Inc., Campbell notes tensions with former staff members, as well as her main liaison to the local community, writing, "Fred O. resents not only the School but in true mountain fashion state and government interference. I believe that is a traditional attitude, is it not?"[152]

During the 1940s, both TVA construction and World War II drew the local population away from the Folk School. In postwar newsletters, the school was still touting the merits of the Cooperative, but its purpose either had been usurped by governmental programs or had become politically unfashionable, and the school's agricultural programs were challenged by changes in agricultural production and government regulation. The late 1940s saw one final initiative, the construction of a sweet potato curing house (CY0125) on Settawig Road. Although a circa 1949 brochure touted the potato house as one more example of members of the community and staff of the Folk School working together,[153] in a letter to Olive Campbell in 1952, Georg Bidstrup described this project as "from the beginning a 'miscue'."[154] The same year, the Mountain Valley Cooperative declared bankruptcy.

Despite the eventual collapse of this dream, the extraordinary history of the Folk School's efforts in economic support of rural life from 1926 to 1952 is still well preserved in its surviving buildings in Clay County: the Scroggs Store, the Mountain Valley Cooperative Building, the Mountain Valley Creamery, the two TVA boxed dwellings, and the sweet potato

[152] Mountain Valley Cooperative Folder, John C. Campbell Folk School Archives.
[153] "Craft Revival: Shaping Western North Carolina Past and Present," digital exhibit, Hunter Library, Western Carolina University, https://www.wcu.edu/library/DigitalCollections/CraftRevival/. Accessed January 31, 2025.
[154] Mountain Valley Cooperative Folder, John C. Campbell Folk School Archives.

curing house. The creamery was taken over by Coble (and later Sealtest), and local farms including the Groves Farm (CY0172, SL 2025) and the Anderson Farm (CY0221) continued to send their milk to that location. The creamery building (CY0098), although now missing several of its additions, is still intact and is currently the Highlander Gallery. One of the TVA buildings is also a craft gallery and the other awaits restoration. The Mountain Valley Cooperative is unused but is preserved in a remarkable unaltered state. The Scroggs Store now houses a real estate business, and the sweet potato curing house, which has had substantial additions, has at various times served as a pottery and as a dwelling.

As David Whisnant suggests in his critical study of the Folk School, if helping poor mountain farmers had been the Folk School's only goal, the school would have probably folded in the 1940s, "a victim of changing economic and social circumstances: new money, new jobs, new horizons and aspirations, and the consequent waning of old social patterns and values."[155] Instead, its secondary emphasis on craft revival and folk culture prevailed. This strand of the Folk School's agenda was not totally separate from its emphasis on cooperatives and economic help. In a 1934 memo to the Tennessee Valley Associated Cooperative outlining the work the Folk School had accomplished thus far, Campbell includes the 1928 establishment of a Craft Guild, "not a true cooperative but working toward the cooperative ideal." She notes that there were presently 48 members, with the primary crafts being woodcarving, woodworking, weaving, dying, and broom making. As primary goals of the craft program, Campbell lists supplementing farm income

[155] Whisnant, *All That is Native and Fine*, p. 151.

first and then enrichment of individual and community life.[156] Among these craft activities, woodcarving proved to be one of the most enduring in involving the local community, and the group was eventually dubbed the "Brasstown Carvers."

Initially seen primarily as a man's craft, a number of women became prominent carvers within the group, especially during the war years. Ethel Hogsed of Warne, just south of Brasstown, practiced woodcarving for almost half a century, helping to supplement her family's farm income. In the early 1940s, she and her husband Enoch purchased a two-bedroom, front-gabled boxed house typical of smaller rural dwellings in Clay County at the time, and they added a "carving house" next door to the dwelling. A small "honor store," which sold produce, sat in front of the house. The house, still owned by the family, exemplifies the continued economic support provided by the Folk School to rural families during the early to mid-20th century.[157]

Folk School Architectural Influences in Clay County

Although several influences of the John C. Campbell Folk School on local vernacular building may be noted, Bidstrup Acres (CY0099, SL 2025) perhaps best exemplifies the aesthetic influence of the Folk School in the architecture of Clay County. After working together for a decade, Marguerite Butler and Georg Bidstrup married in 1936. In the mid-1940s, they built their dream home on land owned by Bidstrup just south of the creamery along Brasstown Creek. The Bidstrups did not call on the talents of a local builder in

[156] John C. Campbell and Olive Dame Campbell Papers, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 3800 folder 272, Mountain Valley Cooperative, contract negotiations with Tennessee Valley Authority, 1934-1935.
[157] Interview with Keith Hogsed, January 24, 2024.

designing their house. Instead, Bidstrup Acres is one of the few architect-designed houses of that era in Clay County.

Architect Henry Irven Gaines of Asheville designed the Bidstrups' house. A founding member of Six Associates, the prolific Gaines designed in a variety of styles, and his notable works include the Art Deco-style Woolworth Building (BN2205) and the Moderne-style Coca-Cola Bottling Company (BN0327), both in Asheville. He was also a favored designer of residential buildings among the well-to-do in the city.[158] Although the Bidstrups' house does not reflect the local vernacular, it speaks to craftsmanship and rusticity in its use of hickory siding and stonework on the first story. The interior of the house more directly reflects the craftsmanship of the Folk School with its generous use of hand-planed wood and hand-wrought iron produced at the school. The house was once filled with furniture made at the Folk School, though a later owner removed these pieces. Now used as a bed and breakfast, the dwelling is otherwise little changed, except for the inclusion of a modern apartment at the rear on the ground level.

Other architectural influences of the Folk School are a bit more subtle, but more directly shaped rural vernacular building in and around Brasstown. In designing the early buildings at the Folk School, Leon Deschamps and Georg Bidstrup tended to draw less from the local building vernacular and, instead, loosely utilized European folk traditions. Deschamps championed building with stone, and stonework is seen in a number of the

[158] Catherine W. Bishir, "Henry Irven Gaines," *North Carolina Architects & Builders: A Biographical Dictionary*. https://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P000465. Gaines' architectural designs, including ones for the Bidstrup House, are located at the Western Regional Archives of the State Archives of North Carolina, Asheville, North Carolina.

Folk School buildings. In an article published in 1932, Deschamps outlines the method he adopted to train unskilled masons to build stone-veneered structures. The method involved the use of wooden frames into which large, smooth rocks were placed. Concrete was then applied to the backs of the stones, and smaller rocks were embedded in the concrete. Deschamps noted that the local workers were initially skeptical of the method, but it proved successful in creating structures that were "built for permanence but also for an eye to beauty" at a reasonable expense.[159]

Local builders in Clay County, of course, long possessed knowledge of stone masonry, although its use in the 19th century was largely restricted to the building of chimneys, foundations, stone walls, and occasionally small outbuildings. By the 1930s and 1940s, the use of stonework grew in domestic building but was still used primarily for decorative purposes, especially in bungalows. Rural houses built primarily of stone, or "rock" as it is called regionally, are more common in the Brasstown area than elsewhere in the county. The technique advocated by Deschamps, with its use of wooden forms and cement, made stonework more accessible to local builders, and many gained direct training in the skills through their involvement in the construction of buildings at the Folk School. While there is no definitive count, local tradition holds that Deschamps was involved in building at least six or seven dwellings in Brasstown.[160]

One dwelling that is believed to show the direct influence of Deschamps' method is the Loy and Flonnie Payne House (CY0226), built in the early 1940s on Greasy Creek. A

[159] L. F. Deschamps, "Building in Stone," *Mountain Life and Work*, January 1932, pp. 18-19.
[160] Interview with Joe Bumgartner, April 24, 2024.

successful sawmiller, Payne served on the first board of directors of the credit union and was an early contributor to the Folk School. His close ties to the school indicate that he probably would have had knowledge of the building programs on campus. His story-and-a-half front-gabled bungalow, which has stonework all the way to the peak of the roof, most closely resembles the Laundry Building (now the History Building) on the Folk School campus.

A few years later, the Paynes divorced, and after marrying Rosalie West, Loy Payne built a second house just up the road from his first wife and children. The Loy and Rosalie Payne House (CY0227) is also a stone, story-and-a-half bungalow, though it has a distinctive arched inset porch. The stonework in this dwelling includes decorative pointing and staurolites (also known as fairy stones) amidst the other stones used in construction. Leon Deschamps left Brasstown in 1944 to work at Warren Wilson College, so if he possibly had direct input in the building of Loy Payne's first house, this would not have been the case with the second.

Perhaps the most exuberant of the Brasstown stone houses is the Walter Arrant and Carrie Arrant Payne House (CY0155) on Settawig Road in Brasstown. Walter Arrant and Carrie Arrant Payne, the two youngest children of James Franklin Arrant, are said to have had this story-and-a-half stone bungalow built around 1940. The house has a side-gable roof with a large projecting front gable over a porch that has three large arches across the front and an arch on each side of the porch. The siblings' proximity to the Folk School and the fact that their sister was married to Fred O. Scroggs made it probable that they were familiar with the buildings at the Folk School.

A final example of the fondness for building with stone in Brasstown is the Hickory Stand Methodist Church (CY0104) on Green Cove Road. The congregation began in the 1880s, and the present church was built in 1935 after a fire destroyed an earlier building. The small church was given a sizeable addition and a new sanctuary around 2000. It also makes partial use of native stone. The stone on the original portion of the church, as well as that used in the Arrant-Payne House, are said to have come from the Hampton Farm (CY0103) on Settawig Road.[161]

The preponderance of one other trait in the Brasstown area suggests the possible architectural influence of the John C. Campbell Folk School. Bank barns exist as part of vernacular building traditions in many regions within the United States, especially in the Pennsylvania German areas. In these barns, the upper floor, which stored grain and hay (as well as provided space for threshing in the early days), could be accessed through large doors on a non-gable side, with the other long elevation extended over the ground floor with a cantilevered forebay. Elsewhere in the northeast, bank barns are found with the gable end built into the bank. Surprisingly, given the topography, bank barns are not common in the southern mountains. The early preference for smaller, single function agricultural structures, rather than large multi-function barns, perhaps made bank barns undesirable, although other types of buildings such as springhouses, can houses, and potato or apple houses are sometimes built into a bank.

The advent of large-scale dairy operations in Clay County and elsewhere in western North Carolina necessitated the building of larger barns and the storage of large amounts

[161] Interview with Charlene Thomas and Arnold Couch, December 14, 2023.

of hay. One of the immediate changes was the replacement of gable roofs with gambrel roofs, which allowed greater space and air circulation in the upper level due to the double-sloped roof. Unloading hay could be a major chore. Often farmers mounted a pulley under a hood at the peak of one gable end and a horse or tractor was used to raise the hay to the level where it could be unloaded by hand.

Among the major initiatives of the Folk School during its early decades, a model farm, directed by Georg Bidstrup, provided the demonstration of efficient agricultural techniques. In the early 1930s, Deschamps and Bidstrup built a milking barn, a small frame barn, a horse barn, and a large hay barn. The outbuildings modeled both good agricultural practice and the use of European building traditions, such as the use of half-timbering in the construction of the milking barn. The hay barn, built in 1931, has a stone base (most likely using Deschamps' favored method of stone building) and a gambrel roof. The north gable end of the barn is built into the bank, providing direct drive-in access to the upper level. While local farmers would have been familiar with the principles of building into a bank and some might have known about larger bank barns, the existence of a local model on a demonstration farm, which some might have participated in building, certainly heightened the chance of the hay barn serving as a model for local barn building.

Many local farmers probably did not need, or want, a hay barn the size of the one constructed at the Folk School. A more diminutive barn, possibly based in part on the Folk School's model, the Bass Arrant Barn (part of CY0096) has a stone foundation and a gambrel roof and is built into a bank on the gable end nearest the road. A later shed addition extends from the other gable end. This barn probably dates from the early 1940s,

when Bass Arrant (another brother-in-law of Fred O. Scroggs) acquired the property. Two of the stone houses, possibly influenced by Deschamps' building in stone, also have associated bank barns. Loy Payne's second house on Greasy Creek (CY0227) possesses a double-crib barn with a gambrel roof and a gable end built into a bank. The barn associated with the Walter Arrant and Carrie Arrant Payne House (CY0155) is closer in size to the Folk School's hay barn, but the barn sits longitudinally to the bank, allowing access at the center of the non-gable end (similar to a Pennsylvania German bank barn).

Above Loy Payne's farm, off of Trout Creek, the newest barn at Staurolite Farm (CY0228), a circa 1950 dairy barn, also has a gable end built into a bank. Interestingly, this barn does not have a gambrel roof, but instead features a low, wide gable roof that extends over two cantilevered wings on both long elevations, providing a sizeable area for hay storage. This area has now been renovated for use as artists' studios and as an event space.[162] A final example is located just south of Brasstown in the Warne area. The Bradley Barn (CY0230) on Gum Log Road has the appearance of a traditional frame, double-crib barn, but the gable end closest to the road is built into the bank below the road and has a wide sliding door providing access into the barn.

From the early to mid-20th century, agriculture in Clay County became increasingly reliant on dairying and poultry, rather than small-scale subsistence farming. Across the county, farm families altered traditional agricultural forms and adapted new types of building. The Folk School provided some models for this change in agriculture and, on the

[162] Interview with Mary Gonas, May 16, 2024.

western side of Clay County, at least, one architectural model that was adopted by local farmers.

Brasstown in the Mid-20th Century and Beyond

With the bankruptcy of the Mountain Valley Cooperative, the economic outreach of the John C. Campbell Folk School in Clay County came to an end, and the buildings owned by the cooperative were sold off. Under the direction of Georg Bidstrup, the Folk School leaned more heavily into folk heritage and craft revival, and its mission refocused away from the local rural community to those who wished to come to the folk school to learn a craft or about folk culture.

Of course, life still went on in Brasstown. The creamery became commercial, operated by Coble and later Sealtest. Carl and Shirley Green owned a small grocery store (CY0136) near the heart of Brasstown, and in the 1940s, the Caldwell family opened a produce stand just down the road on the other side of the street. In the 1950s, this was expanded into a gas station and grocery store (CY0101). Eventually, the Folk School began to pull in both new residents (part-time and full-time) and businesses attracted by the lifestyle and values it represented. While there are still plenty of descendants of the families who lived in Brasstown prior to the establishment of the Folk School, new generations of craftspeople and artists, musicians and dancers, and back-to-the-landers have made homes in the Brasstown area. Lissi Øland, the Danish woodturner who inherited Bidstrup Acres, bought the creamery building after dairying began to fail in Clay County, and after several owners, it is now the Highlander Gallery. Craft galleries and

shops are also located at the Green Store and at one of the TVA buildings. The Scroggs Store, later Rockhounders, is now a real estate office.

Two local landmarks, however, suggest local resistance to the wholesome Folk School image. In the mid-1960s, local jack-of-all-trades Jack Wimpey began to build a quarter-mile clay racetrack on family property not far from the creamery. The Tri-County Racetrack (CY0200) operated for over 35 years under family ownership, generally attracting a different clientele than the Folk School. The racetrack still retains much of its original feel and includes a freestanding ticket booth, stands, and a viewing tower. With the death of Wimpey in 2023, the future of the racetrack remains unclear.[163]

In the 1980s, Clay Logan purchased the Caldwells' store and renamed it Clay's Corner (CY0101). As well as being a store and gas station, it became a local center for gathering and sharing stories and music. Around 1990, Logan added an annual New Year's Eve event, a "possum drop" in which a live (or not) possum was lowered in a cage at midnight.[164] Eventually, this event became well known enough that it was featured in national news, including an article in the *New York Times*.[165] Fame, however, also brought the ire of animal rights activists, who attempted to shutter the event. Since the COVID-19 pandemic, the business and entertainment aspects of Clay's Corner have been reduced, but the store still retains its status as a local landmark.

Of course, the local community and the Folk School are not two independent entities. After 100 years, the history of Brasstown and the school started by Olive Dame

[163] Interview with Nan Wimpey, April 2, 2024.
[164] Interview with Clay Logan, February 21, 2024.
[165] "Keep Your Ball, We've Got the Possum," *New York Times,* December 31, 2003.

Campbell and Marguerite Butler have become tightly intertwined. However, the existence of places like Clay's Corner and the Tri-County Racetrack announce that the community has not been totally subsumed under the origin story of the Folk School, and it persists independently of the mythology of those who "sing behind the plow."

CHAPTER EIGHT: HAYESVILLE

Early Development

In 1837, the U.S. Army constructed Fort Hembree, which served as a collection point for Cherokee people during the Cherokee Removal. After the Removal, the government abandoned the fort. The extant buildings were repurposed, and the community became the center of political, commercial, and social life in the area. There was soon a general store, law offices, a post office, the Hicksville Academy, and a Presbyterian church.[166]

After the formation of Clay County in 1861, the County Commissioners were charged with selecting a site for the county seat. While Fort Hembree was acting as the unofficial county seat in the interim, it was ultimately not selected because liquor was sold there. W. M. Hancock offered to donate land for a county seat roughly one mile northeast of Fort Hembree. The new town was named Hayesville after George Hayes, who introduced the bill to the North Carolina General Assembly for the creation of the county. Throughout the Civil War, however, political, commercial, and social life remained centered at Fort Hembree.[167]

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[166] Carl S. Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now* (Clay County Historical and Arts Council, 2023 [2007]), pp. 23-24, 48-50; North Carolina Department of Transportation, Human Environment Section, Historic Structures Report, "Widen US 64 from US 64 Business West of Hayesville to East of NC 141 at Hiawassee [*sic*] River, Clay County, North Carolina," prepared by Cardno, Inc., November 30, 2018, p. 66.
[167] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, pp. 23-24, 48-50; North Carolina Department of Transportation, "Widen US 64 from US 64 Business West of Hayesville to East of NC 141," p. 66.

Prior to Hayesville's appointment as the county seat, a small community had formed around a shared well on today's Church Street near the People's Store (CY0081).[168] While Hayesville already had a Baptist church, established in 1851, and a post office, which had moved from Fort Hembree in 1855, efforts soon began to establish other essential public buildings in Hayesville. A jail was constructed of hewn logs on present-day Davis Loop, near the site of the 1914 Clay County Jail (CY0032) and another log building on the site of B&T Grocery (CY0194) served as the first court.[169]

In 1866, the first courthouse was erected at the corner of Sanderson and Hiawassee Streets. The courthouse burned shortly after, and, in 1888, a new Clay County Courthouse (CY0001) was built. Since that date, the Italianate-style structure has stood as a prominent landmark at the center of town and is now one of only two extant courthouses west of Asheville to predate 1900.[170] The building sits on a well-manicured courthouse square bordered by a circa 1920 stone wall. Development in Hayesville has centered on the courthouse square, with commercial and domestic construction lining the streets around the courthouse. These streets extend out from the square and create a small grid pattern. While not every county seat in western North Carolina has a courthouse square, a pattern of curving roads that straighten out into a grid upon entry into town, like is seen in Hayesville, is common in the mountainous western region of the state.[171]

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[168] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 48.
[169] Merinda Swanson, "Clay was Growing County Before It Was Founded in 1861," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, January 26, 1969.
[170] The 1873 Italianate-style Transylvania County Courthouse (TV0005) in Brevard is the only other courthouse predating 1900 west of Asheville. "Courthouses in North Carolina," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1978, section 7.
[171] Catherine W. Bishir, Michael T. Southern, and Jennifer F. Martin, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Western North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp. 52-53.

The town began to develop slowly over the next several decades. During the 1890s and early 1900s, businesses and churches relocated from Fort Hembree to Hayesville.[172] The early commercial architecture in Hayesville was of frame construction and had minimal decorative detail. While none of the buildings from this era are extant, some early photographs show these trends. A circa 1889 photograph of J. B. Hall and Son General Store, located at Anderson and Main Streets, depicts a two-story frame structure. A first-story porch and a second-story balcony, both supported by square posts, are recessed beneath the hip roof. Another two-story example is the Ed L. Anderson General Store (later known as the Will Winchester Store), which sat on the southwest corner of Hiawassee and Main Streets. This frame building had a one-story porch with square supports covered by a metal shed roof. The Colonel O. L. "Bud" Anderson Law Office, located at the same intersection, was one story in height with a front-gable roof and a metal shed roof over its wood porch deck.[173]

Richard Pass and W. H. McClure built the first two hotels, the Commercial Hotel at the southeast corner of Sanderson and Hiawassee Streets and the McClure House, which was located on the site of B&T Grocery (CY0194).[174] W. B. Pass and family originally operated the Commercial Hotel, and some records refer to the Commercial Hotel as the former Pass Hotel. Later, John O. Scroggs and then Glen D. Scroggs ran the hotel.[175] The

[172] North Carolina Department of Transportation, "Widen US 64 from US 64 Business West of Hayesville to East of NC 141," p. 66.
[173] Historic photographs included in the second-floor exhibit at the Old Jail Museum, Clay County Historical and Arts Council, Hayesville, North Carolina. Photographs of the display can be found in "Miscellaneous Photos" Clay County Front Matter File, Western Office File Room, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Asheville, North Carolina.
[174] Swanson, "Clay was Growing County Before It Was Founded in 1861."
[175] Opal Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville, Clay County, North Carolina," unpublished manuscript.

McClure House is also referred to as the Pass Hotel in some records, as it was owned by Fred and Kate Pass in later years. In the early years, these hotels catered largely to trappers. As Hayesville grew and other industries developed, hotels offered accommodations for traveling salesman and lumber employees. The hotels provided restaurants for both lodgers and locals.[176] In 1953, an *Asheville Citizen-Times* article noted that traveling salesmen "hold fond recollections of the kind of food served at this hostel," referring to the Pass Hotel.[177]

As was common in other small towns in western North Carolina, these hotels were especially stylish compared to other buildings in town.[178] A circa 1889 photograph of the McClure House labelled "Pass Hotel" shows it was a frame two-story building with weatherboard siding, large nine-over-nine windows, and gabled eave returns. Its most notable feature was a full-height porch with stone foundation, lattice support posts, and other decorative details. The Commercial Hotel, as shown in a circa 1925 photograph, had similar characteristics, including lattice work tying the porch posts with sawn brackets. The hotel showcased additional ornamental woodwork in its sawn balustrade and fish-scale shingles beneath the gables.[179]

In addition to these hotels, residents of Hayesville also built houses on the courthouse square or close by. The James Stanhope and Josephine Anderson House, the

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[176] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 85; Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville."
[177] "Clay County Welcomes Tourists," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, May 31, 1953.
[178] Bishir, Southern, and Martin, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Western North Carolina*, p. 53.
[179] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 85; "Cars Parked around Commercial Hotel" photograph, Clay County Historical and Arts Collection, Images of North Carolina, DigitalNC; "Group of People at Pass Hotel" photograph, Clay County Historical and Arts Collection, Images of North Carolina, DigitalNC. Dates of photographs gleaned from exhibits at the Old Jail Museum, Clay County Historical and Arts Council, Hayesville, North Carolina.

Bud and Edna Anderson House, and the Julia Fain House, the first brick house in Hayesville, all lined Main Street in the early 1900s.[180] The Curtis House and the Sanderson House were located on Church Street, north of the courthouse, and the Herbert House sat at the corner of Sanderson and Herbert Streets. The Flora Davis House and the May House were located a block or two from the courthouse.[181] All of these houses have been demolished.

The dwellings that are documented are likely some of the grandest or most notable of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The James Stanhope and Josephine Anderson House was one story in height with weatherboard siding, a wood shingle roof, and a front porch covered by a shed roof. The front door had a transom and sidelights flanked by large windows. The two-story, asymmetrically massed Bud and Edna Anderson House, likely constructed slightly later, had a hipped roof, wrap-around front porch, and decorative woodwork on its porch posts. The two-story Herbert House was symmetrical and had two interior chimneys, a side-gable roof with eave returns, lattice porch posts, and a second-story balcony.[182]

[180] Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville"; Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 79.
[181] Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville."
[182] Historic photographs included in the second-floor exhibit at the Old Jail Museum, Clay County Historical and Arts Council, Hayesville, North Carolina. Photographs of the display can be found in "Miscellaneous Photos" Clay County Front Matter File, Western Office File Room, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Asheville, North Carolina.

20th-Century Commercial History

Because Hayesville is the only incorporated town in Clay County, commerce has been centered there from its founding through the present day. Despite supporting a variety of businesses, including restaurants, law offices, a jewelry store, a theater, a millinery, a barber shop, a bank, and several hardware, general, and drug stores, the town grew slowly throughout the first decades of the 20th century.[183] Commercial buildings remained tied to the courthouse square, with some businesses operating nearby, such as Weaver Anderson's store, a shoe store, and Hayesville Department Store, where Moss Memorial Public Library is now.[184] In 1914, the town erected a new brick jail, which was described in a 1976 *Asheville Citizen-Times* article as "remarkably modern for its time." The jail provided cells for prisoners, as well as a living space for the sheriff and his family.[185]

In the late 1920s, a fire started in Theo DeWease's frame general store at the southeast corner of Hiawassee and Main Streets. The fire spread to nearby buildings, including Ed Anderson's general store across Main Street.[186] According to historian Carl Moore, one resident remembered that the fire destroyed "almost all of the buildings in the town center."[187]

There was a decline in commercial activity during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The bank on the courthouse square closed, and, in her memoir, Opal Tiger noted

[183] Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville"; "School Boy Portrays Advantages of Clay," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, November 28, 1932.
[184] Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville"; Interview with Susie, Cindy, Sally, and Rosemary Curtis (daughters of Roger and May Curtis), June 10, 2024.
[185] Christy McCarley, "Cherokee Heritage Alive in Clay," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, November 7, 1976.
[186] Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville."
[187] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 84.

there was so little business that residents took to playing croquet on the courthouse square.[188] On the other hand, throughout the 1930s, farmers began to shift their operations toward cash crops like burley tobacco, dairy, and poultry, meaning they had more money to spend than in the past. Further, the establishment of the W. M. Ritter Lumber Company in Hayesville in 1938 and the formation of Lake Chatuge between 1941 and 1942 brought jobs and money into the county. The destruction, by fire, of a significant portion of the courthouse square, the increase in cash circulating locally, the increase in demand for services like banks and restaurants, and the need for more houses all likely brought about changes in the architectural fabric of Hayesville.[189]

A 1941 magazine article noted that Hayesville was enjoying a boom and that "an air of bustling activity has replaced the former slow-moving temp of the place."[190] This continued throughout the 1940s and into the 1950s. In 1976, the *Asheville Citizen-Times* remembered that a "building fever hit Clay County after World War II and practically every store and office building has been replaced or modernized since that time."[191] In the 1950s alone, the county as a whole saw the introduction of six service stations, 25 stores, one funeral home, one theater, a Phillips 66 distributing plant, a telephone exchange building, a VFW recreation building, and a Masonic Hall.[192] By the mid-20th century, the town of Hayesville supported a variety of businesses, including several gas stations, a shoe store, a laundromat, a dress shop, a beauty shop, a furniture store, a general store, Western Auto,

[188] Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville"; Betty Benedict, *Winding Round the Square* (Xlibris US, 2010), p. 60.
[189] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 59.
[190] Carl Goerch, "Clay County," *The State*, October 4, 1941.
[191] "Clay Citizens Proud of County," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, November 7, 1976.
[192] Mrs. Neal R. Kitchens, "Clay County Reports Progress in Industry, Forestry and Agriculture," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, January 29, 1961.

the Curtis Theater, the Clay County Farmers Exchange, Booth's Pharmacy, and Tiger's Store. There were also two doctors in town: Dr. Padgett, who operated out of his house on nearby Riverside Drive, and Dr. Leon Staton, who operated out of Gilman's Rexall Drugs (CY0072), as well as his Riverside Drive house (CY0259).[193]

Beginning in the late 1930s or early 1940s, the architecture of commercial buildings in Hayesville began shifting from wood exteriors to brick. This visual change, combined with the era's rapid increase in construction, led to significant changes around the courthouse square. While the Clay County Tax Assessor dates several buildings to the 1930s, including a commercial building (CY0065), the Ford Dealership (CY0237), and Eva's Variety Store (CY0073), locals believe that the McGlamery Hotel and Café (CY0066) is the oldest extant commercial building in downtown Hayesville. In 1941, Wiley McGlamery constructed this new building on the site of the burned DeWease general store. Indicative of mid-20th-century development in Hayesville, the two-story building has a brick exterior, flat parapet roof, and large storefront windows, an appearance that later commercial structures emulated. These features are seen on other stores, such as those in the block on the north side of the square (CY0077-CY0081). This group of one- and two-story mid-1940s buildings contains similarities to the McGlamery Hotel, such as brick veneers and parapet roofs. Decorative elements were generally limited, though a few have traits such as the recessed brick panels along the cornice at the B. F. Goodrich Building (CY0071). Historic photos show similar panels at Tiger's Store (CY0069) and the People's Store (CY0081), though both

[193] Interview with Sonja Silvers, April 11, 2024; Interview with Rob Tiger, December 6, 2023; Interview with Susie, Cindy, Sally, and Rosemary Curtis, June 10, 2024; Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville."

have been covered by later siding.[194] The Clay County Bank, now demolished, once exhibited arched openings and stepped brick at the cornice. The stepped parapet roof and pilasters that surpassed the height of the roof created a crenellated effect.[195]

Both the McClure House and the Commercial Hotel had closed and were demolished by mid-century,[196] and the McGlamery Hotel and Café appeared similar to other commercial buildings of the era. In contrast, the Carolina Motor Court (CY0127) introduced a new building form. Perhaps spurred by the potential for increased tourism due to the completion of Lake Chatuge, Walter Moore constructed the tourist court in the late 1940s just a block from the McGlamery Hotel. The Carolina Motor Court adopted design characteristics becoming more prominent with the increase in long-distance automobile travel post-World War II. The building was long and low and had exterior entries for individual motel rooms. Its U-shaped layout accommodated a central courtyard parking lot with easy access to each room. Although newspaper coverage in 1948 indicated there would be eight rooms, by 1953, there were 12.[197] The McGlamery Hotel and the Carolina Motor Court were the two main hotels in Hayesville, though other lodging options included renting rooms with local families, like some dam workers did in the early 1940s.[198]

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[194] Both buildings may have been covered during the 1970s, when there was a revitalization effort in downtown Hayesville.
[195] "Hayesville Hardware Parade Float" photograph, Clay County Historical and Arts Collection, Images of North Carolina, DigitalNC.
[196] Kate Pass listed a hotel for sale in 1954: "Out of State Properties," *The Miami News*, July 7, 1954. Both hotels were demolished by the mid-1960s. 1966 USGS Quad Map Hayesville NC, Historical Topo Map Explorer; M-0571 March 8 1966, NCDOT Historical Aerial Imagery Index.
[197] "Hiwassee Dam," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, April 15, 1948; "Clay County Welcomes Tourists." Walter and Velma Moore also owned and operated Wonderview (CY0159, SL 2025) east of Hayesville in the 1960s and 1970s.
[198] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, pp. 85-86; Benedict, *Winding Round the Square*, p. 87.

The proliferation of long-distance car travel in the mid-20th century influenced architectural development nationwide. During the 1950s, the town's streets were paved, and there was a large increase in motor vehicle registration within the county.[199] While Hayesville was a small town, it was a destination for people within Clay County, as well as an important stop for people travelling through the county. Hayesville was located on U.S. Highway 64, which connected to Franklin to the east, Murphy to the west, and Hiawassee, Georgia, to the south. Likely due to this, the town supported an impressive number of service stations. On the corner of Hiawassee Street (U.S. Highway 64 Business) and Main Street, there was a Gulf Station (CY0286), Sinclair Station (CY0285), and Exxon station, as well as a Ford Dealership (CY0237). Just a half-block east, a Pure Oil Station (CY0067) sat beside the McGlamery Hotel.

In a 2010 publication about growing up in Hayesville, Betty Benedict noted the importance of the road to her parent's restaurant, which offered Gulf Oil Company gas pumps: "The highway in front of our restaurant brings salesmen and travelers passing through Hayesville on their way to Murphy and western North Carolina…. Being the first gas station on the main highway entering town gives us a lot of gasoline sales." After the Tennessee Valley Authority rerouted roads during the construction of Chatuge Dam, the main road no longer passed in front of their building and her father, Red Benedict, soon sold the business.[200]

[199] Kitchens, "Clay County Reports Progress in Industry, Forestry and Agriculture."
[200] Benedict, *Winding Round the Square*, p. 109.

The Sinclar Station (CY0285), now substantially altered, once exhibited the Mission Revival style, including a stucco exterior, tile roofing, and large square piers. The Sinclair Oil Corporation adopted this style in the early 1930s, and it was reproduced nationally, using a pump island and vehicular canopy, through the mid-1940s.[201]

The development pattern established in the late 19th century stayed largely consistent throughout the mid-20th century. Commercial architecture remained tied to the courthouse square. Buildings surrounded the courthouse and extended down roads away from the square. While most of the buildings on the courthouse square were in place by the end of the 1940s, the pattern continued into the 1950s and 1960s.

Several new buildings were constructed on and around the courthouse square in the 1950s and 1960s, such as Ray's Pharmacy (CY0082), which occupied an empty lot next to the People's Store (CY0081). Ray's Pharmacy conformed to the surrounding development patterns as a one-story, brick-clad, attached commercial building with a parapet roof. It employed Modernist aesthetic details, however, including a flat awning, larger storefront windows encompassing much of the façade, and the store's signage along the awning.[202]

The 1959 Citizens Bank and Trust Company (CY0063), which has been extensively altered, and the 1960 Clay Hardware Company (CY0062) expressed Modernist forms and details. Clay Hardware utilized a squatter form than earlier commercial construction, emphasized by a flat roof and wide overhanging eaves. The original design of Citizens Bank

[201] "Sinclair Service Station [Ridgeland, SC]," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2015, section 8; "Main Street Shot" photograph, Clay County Historical and Arts Collection, Images of North Carolina, DigitalNC.
[202] "Ray's Pharmacy" photograph, Clay County Historical and Arts Collection, Images of North Carolina, DigitalNC.

departed even more drastically in its asymmetrical massing, flat roof with open eaves, and window wall on two elevations of the recessed entry. Both buildings are free-standing, which likely allowed for more design freedom.[203]

The United States Post Office, which for many years was located in various buildings on the square, moved into a dedicated building (CY0282) in 1964.[204] As with the Sinclair Station (CY0285), this building conformed to national guidelines for its type. Beginning in 1949, the Government Services Administration began overseeing post office design, and, by the end of the 1950s, the Post Office Department released guidance documents for exterior and interior plans for post offices. Adherence to these guidance documents and a preference for low-cost construction resulted in many small, builder-designed post offices with comparable appearances, known as "Thousands Series" post offices. As with many similar small post offices built nationally, the Hayesville Post Office utilized elements of the Modern style, such as a gridded glass entry block, a flat roof, and façade asymmetry.[205]

The evolution of Tiger's Store (CY0069) embodies the transformation in Hayesville from the turn of the 20th century to the mid-20th century. Peter Tiger purchased Walker's General Store around 1905 and moved his Shooting Creek business to downtown Hayesville on Hiawassee Street, where he sold food and dry goods. Behind the store, he

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[203] Historic photograph of CY0063 found in North Carolina Department of Transportation, "Widen US 64 from US 64 Business West of Hayesville to East of NC 141," p. 51; Historic photograph of CY0062 found in exhibit at Historic Hayesville Museum, Hayesville, North Carolina. Photograph of exhibit included in survey file CY0062 Clay Hardware Company, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina.

[204] Interview with former Mayor Harrell Moore, April 10, 2024.

[205] URS Group, "USPS Nationwide Historic Context Study: Postal Facilities Constructed or Occupied Between 1940 and 1970," September 2012. Other public buildings featuring minimal Modernist details include the circa 1968 Moss Memorial Public Library (26 Anderson St.), the circa 1970 Sheriff's Office (Davis Loop), the 1973 jail (35 Davis Loop) that replaced the 1914 building, and the circa 1977 Community Services Building (75 Riverside Circle).

built an animal pen to keep bartered livestock.[206] The old Walker's General Store was much like other commercial architecture of the time: the two-story building was frame and had a shed-roof porch supported by slim posts. Decorative details included eave returns and window hoods on the second story. Around 1940, Bob Tiger, Peter's son, erected a new building beside the older store. This brick-clad structure was one-story and had a parapet roof, large storefront windows, transom windows, and recessed brick panels along the cornice. After demolishing the older frame store, Bob repurposed the material for a warehouse and constructed a new building (CY0068) on its site in similar fashion to the circa 1940 Tiger's Store. This building was sold to Paul Booth and operated as Booth's Drug Store for 50 years. Bobby Tiger, Bob's son, also joined the family business. He moved the grocery portion of Tiger's to a new free-standing building (CY0194) located a block off the courthouse square. Constructed in the early 1960s, this larger space provided modern aesthetics and amenities for customers.[207] The building has a long, low form, flat roof, decorative metal spikes, and a large parking lot to cater to an automobile-oriented clientele.

[206] Linda Westergard, "Business spans five generations," *Clay County Progress: Souvenir Edition*, April 22, 2021. Local History Room, Moss Memorial Library, Hayesville, North Carolina.
[207] Westergard, "Business spans five generations."

Housing in the 20th Century

One development pattern that changed after the early 20th century was the construction of housing on the courthouse square. Though some dwellings remained on the square for several decades, it seems most were gone by the 1940s and 1950s. The last to be removed was the Herbert House, which was demolished in the 1970s due to roof issues.[208] Likely the oldest residence extant in downtown Hayesville is the circa 1920 Ed and Esther Curtis House (CY0195).[209]

Early residences in Hayesville located away from the courthouse square often were part of small farms. For instance, in the early 1900s, the area that would become Riverside Drive consisted primarily of pasture and farmland. The Haiglers, who had a frame farmhouse at the corner of Riverside Drive and Tusquittee Street, owned most of the land along Riverside Drive and retained an apple house, smoke house, chicken coops, and a woodshed into the 1930s.[210] Likewise, the circa 1915 Gray House (CY0238) on Hickory Street once shared a lot with farm animals, a garden, and a barn.[211] There are not many resources remaining within the town limits that demonstrate continued self-sufficiency among people who had moved to town; however, two large barns (CY0179) associated with the Tiger family, along with a large pasture, sit along Tusquittee Street. The barns were built around 1940, even as Riverside Drive was developing into a suburban street.

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[208] Interview with Rob Tiger, December 6, 2023. The Herbert House was on the site of the current Town Hall (CY0197); Benedict, *Winding Round the Square*, p. 213.
[209] Interview with Susie, Cindy, Sally, and Rosemary Curtis, June 10, 2024.
[210] *The Heritage of Clay County* (Waynesville, NC: Walsworth Publishing Company, 1994), p 51.
[211] Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville"; Diane Burd, "Tom Gray Home," *Clay County Progress*, August 11, 2011. Photograph of the article included in survey file CY0238 Gray House, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina.

After the first decade of the 20th century, it appears more people were establishing residences close to downtown but not along the gridded streets surrounding the courthouse. The development of Riverside Drive north of downtown seems to exemplify the construction patterns that occurred on residential streets throughout the next several decades. Around the 1920s, more people began to build their dwellings on Riverside Drive, as well as the surrounding roads, Tusquittee and Eagle Streets, previously home only to the Weaver Anderson House.[212] Infill development continued, and, by the 1950s and 1960s, the children of some residents were building new houses in the neighborhood. For instance, the circa 1960 R. N. Tiger Jr. House (CY0261) is adjacent to the 1927 R. N. Tiger Sr. House (CY0245).

A similar pattern of infill construction is apparent in a neighborhood west of downtown along Hiawassee, Hickory, and Fort Hembree Streets. This area had sparse development until the 1940s, when construction increased, likely due to the influx of housing needed with the establishment of the nearby W. M. Ritter Lumber Company (CY0191). Fred and Eula Mae White built their 1943 house (CY0241) after buying a portion of land from the Mingus family, who owned a circa 1930 house (CY0240) on Hiawassee Street.[213]

There are not many houses that predate the 1920s in Hayesville, though some older houses survive, such as the ca. 1915 Gray House (CY0238).[214] The 20th-century building

[212] Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville."
[213] Interview with Margaret White Armstrong (daughter of Fred and Eula Mae White), April 11, 2024.
[214] "Tom Gray House," *Smoky Mountain Sentinel*, August 11, 2011. Photograph of the article included in survey file CY0238 Gray House, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina.

stock in town largely consists of nationally popular styles from each era. Like many other small towns in western North Carolina, however, these examples have more restrained details than similar houses in larger towns and cities.

While there are no truly high-style Craftsman dwellings in Hayesville, there are front-gable houses and bungalows that feature minimal elements of the Craftsman style. There is an abundance of small, one-story, front-gable houses in Hayesville, just as there is throughout Clay County as a whole. These include the circa 1923 Bell House (CY0246), the circa 1925 Moore House (CY0247), the circa 1930 Davis House (CY0239), the circa 1935 House (CY0264), and three circa 1930 houses on School Drive (CY0266-CY0268). While some of these examples have undergone material changes, it is likely most of them had Craftsman-style elements similar to the house at 245 School Drive (CY0266), such as exposed rafters, gable-end brackets, and multi-pane wood windows. All had front porches, and the Davis House had battered porch posts atop brick piers.

One house of note just outside of Hayesville's town limits is the circa 1942 Fred Waldroup House (CY0198) on Qualla Road. It is the only known Sears kit house in the Hayesville area, and it arrived on the Peavine Railroad.[215] It is a one-and-a-half-story front-gable house with a prominent side-gable porch supported by twin pillars on brick piers.

Two circa 1920 side-gable bungalows – the Arthur and Stella Jones House (CY0251) and the Leon and Nancy Staton House (CY0259) – include recessed porches, exposed rafters, and gable-end brackets. The Mingus House (CY0240) is a hipped-roofed example on Hiawassee Street. One of the most stylish Craftsman dwellings is the R. N. Tiger Sr.

[215] Interview with Sandy Zimmerman, April 10, 2024.

House (CY0245) on Riverside Drive. The 1927 residence is brick-clad and has shingled gable ends and Prairie-style windows. A photograph taken in 1929 shows the house had exposed rafters, as well as battered porch posts on brick piers, when it was constructed.[216]

Some architectural styles did not have a strong presence in town in the first half of the 20th century. There are few examples of the Colonial Revival style in Hayesville. One notable exception is the R. G. Haigler House (CY0244), which has a gambrel roof with a large wall dormer and six-over-six wood windows paired on the front of the house. Mrs. Girlie G. Hyatt built a "Cape Cod" house, identified by its steep roof and symmetrical façade, on Hiawassee Street with building plans sourced from New England.[217] Likewise, there was not an abundance of Period Revival-style residences, though there are a couple of stone-veneered houses displaying Period Revival details. The Jack Shook House (CY0269) and the Andrew Palmer House (CY0270) both have gabled porticos with arched openings covering the primary entrances and side-elevation porches with arched openings, characteristics evocative of the style.

The Ranch house dominated domestic construction in Hayesville in the second half of the 20th century, especially on Riverside Drive. Ranch houses constructed in Hayesville were most often one-story, side-gable houses clad in brick or stone, and some included a front-gable bay or wing as well. The earliest examples were generally smaller and had some traits of the Minimal Traditional style, such as the Guy and Lucille Padgett House (CY0252).

[216] "Town Home," *Clay County News*, May 10, 1929.
[217] Benedict, *Winding Round the Square*, p. 151.

Later Ranch houses tended to be more sprawling, such as the Harrell Moore House (CY0248) and the Mabel Weaver House (CY0254).

The Jack and Helen Bristol House (CY0253), built in the 1950s, showcases several hallmarks of the Ranch style: the brick-clad dwelling exhibits a long, linear form, side-gable roof, large picture windows, square sidelight windows, and geometric shutters. Most of the Ranch houses in Hayesville are less overtly stylish, like the brick-veneered Bob and Jane Cunningham House (CY0258), which has an attached carport and a geometric patterned door.

Industry and Manufacturing

Prior to the introduction of the railroad in Clay County, most of Hayesville's early industry supported the main economic driver in the county, agriculture. Some of the small industries in Hayesville in the early part of the 20th century included John Palmer's grist mill and blacksmith shop at the corner of Tusquittee and Sullivan Streets, as well as a flour mill at the corner of Anderson and Mill Streets known as the roller mill.[218]

The industrial growth of Hayesville lagged slightly behind other towns in western North Carolina, which developed more quickly due to the introduction of the railroad and the subsequent development boom the railroad provided.[219] While a bond referendum was

[218] Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville."
[219] Every county west of Buncombe had a rail line by 1900, aside from Clay, Graham, and Macon. The railroad made its way into Graham and Macon Counties shortly after the turn of the century. John B. Veach, "The History of Railroading in Graham County," grahamcounty.net, https://www.grahamcounty.net/gchistory/12-railroads/railroads.htm, accessed October 23, 2024; "History," Franklin Chamber of Commerce, https://franklin-chamber.com/franklin-nc-history/, accessed October 23, 2024; Henry C. Brown, "Railroad map of North Carolina 1900," 1:601,920, North Carolina Corporation Commission, Rand McNally and

passed in 1913 to raise money for the construction of a railroad, a project begun jointly with Cherokee County, the project was delayed by World War I. The railroad (locally called the "Peavine") finally opened in 1920.[220] The rail line ran north of town on the north side of the Hiwassee River, just outside today's town boundaries, and connected Hayesville to Andrews in Cherokee County. The depot was located near the intersection of the river and Tusquittee Street.

The early history of the Peavine Railroad remains a little unclear. It seems the railroad may have fallen into disuse relatively quickly before Boice Hardwood Company bought it in 1927. A 1928 newspaper article indicates that the railroad was reopened after rebuilding the line: "The Railroad started regular operation in February and is proving a great service to this County and surrounding country. ... Last December, when rebuilding of this road was started, the workmen could hardly find the old track on account of the heavy growth of briars and bushes."[221] By the late 1920s, the railroad was being credited with stimulating the local economy.[222] In 1929, an *Asheville Citizen-Times* article said: "The T. and N. C. railroad, under the present owners and operators, C. Boice and associates, is making possible a new industrial life in Hayesville and Clay county."[223] The railroad primarily served the timber and agricultural industries in the area, hauling lumber, acid

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Company, *North Carolina Maps*, State Archives of North Carolina and University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, https://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/ncmaps/id/506.

[220] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 75.

[221] "Stock Arriving for Boice Store," *Clay County News*, May 11, 1928.

[222] "Stock Arriving for Boice Store"; George McCoy, "Hayesville Plans New Water and Sewer Plant," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, January 14, 1928; "Railway Brings New Life to Clay County," *Greensboro Daily News*, February 19, 1928.

[223] "Clay Railway Hauling 100 Cars Monthly," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, April 22, 1929.

wood, and tanbark as well as farm products to Andrews, and bringing goods such as fertilizer, feed grain, and hay, as well as building supplies.[224]

Mack Hall and Weaver Anderson constructed the Boice Hardwood Company, later known as Boice Supply (CY0165, SL 2025), shortly after the company purchased the railroad in 1927. The large wholesale and retail space sat at the end of the rail line. The building served as a commissary for the company, which purchased timber, ties, and tanbark.[225] The company sold items like guano and commercial fertilizers, large quantities of feeds, and bulk groceries, which supported the agricultural industry and stocked small stores around the county.[226] At its closing in 1985, the store was one of the largest in-town employers with roughly 25 employees.[227]

According to historian Carl Moore, the lumber industry had the greatest economic impact and employed the largest sector of the population in Clay County from the 1920s through the 1980s.[228] In 1928, the *Greensboro Daily News* reported that the largest body of hardwood timber left in the eastern United States was located in a four-county area encompassing Clay and Cherokee Counties, as well as Towns and Fanning Counties in Georgia. In 1929, the bulk of freight being hauled from Clay County by railroad was lumber.[229] Multiple companies including the Clay County Lumber Company and the Maney-Campbell Lumber Company employed workers to haul logs and milled wood, and

[224] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 75; "Stock Arriving for Boice Store."
[225] Interview with Harrell Moore, April 10, 2024.
[226] Interview with Harrell Moore, April 10, 2024; "Clay Railway Hauling 100 Cars Monthly."
[227] Interview with Harrell Moore, April 10, 2024.
[228] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 73.
[229] "Railway Brings New Life to Clay County"; "Clay Railway Hauling 100 Cars Monthly."

work in the mills.[230] The Foard Veneer Company operated near the railroad depot in a three-story building and was the second largest veneer plant in the state. The company was only in operation for a few years, closing after it burned in 1932.[231] Gennet Lumber Company constructed a mill on Tusquittee Road near the depot in 1937, employing roughly 30 men at the mill, along with another 100 men who harvested the timber.[232] (This mill has since been demolished.) By the end of 1939, the lumber industry employed over 300 men.[233]

The Boice Hardwood Company sold the railroad in 1941 to W. T. Holland of Andrews. By 1951, when the railroad was discontinued, Teas Extract Co. of Andrews and Champion Paper and Fiber Company of Canton were operating the line at a loss.[234] In 1954, the railroad's termination was cited as a major reason for the decline of pulpwood sales. This article also mentioned that lumber was being exhausted in the county.[235]

Despite the loss of the railroad, lumber remained a major industry in Hayesville. The W. M. Ritter Lumber Company was likely the largest company in Clay County. The Hayesville plant opened in 1938,[236] and, at the height of the operation in 1959, the company employed 110 people, making it the largest payroll in Clay County at the time. Much of the hardwood shipped from Ritter supplied furniture factories in North Carolina.[237]

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[230] "Clay Railway Hauling 100 Cars Monthly."
[231] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 74; "Hayesville Gets Big Veneer Mill," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, February 17, 1929.
[232] George Kimsey, "Clay County Is Popular with Many Tourists," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, June 12, 1938; "Band Saw Mill Being Erected in Hayesville," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, May 14, 1937.
[233] "Clay County Sees 1939 As Best Year in A Decade," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, January 6, 1940.
[234] John Parris, "Festivities This Week Mark Clay's 100th Anniversary," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, June 25, 1961.
[235] Randolph Hancock, "Clay County Once Was Awfully Po' – But It Ain't Any Mo'," *Charlotte Observer*, June 20, 1954.
[236] "Operations Will Begin Soon at New Band Mill," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, September 18, 1939.
[237] John Corey, "Clay County Uses Diversity to Shake 'Poor' Adversity," *Winston-Salem Journal*, January 18, 1959.

Neal Kitchens Lumber Company and Hogsed Hardwood established small operations in Clay County in the 1950s.[238]

Not much remains in Hayesville to represent industrial development from the first half of the 20th century. The railroad was dismantled in 1951, and there is no longer a depot. The circa 1940 wood-shingled Ritter Club House (CY0192) remains across the street from the site of the sawmill (CY0191), though Ritter Lumber closed in 1964, and there is no longer a building on its site. Photographs of the property show a utilitarian frame structure covered in board and batten.[239] Boice Hardwood's storefront is also board and batten and is reminiscent of early commercial architecture in Hayesville due to its gable roof and front porch. A circa 1930 interior photograph shows that the layout was like a general store: it had a large, open room with shelves lining the walls and counters around the perimeter of the space.[240] A long, single-story section at the rear of the building was used for drying wood.[241]

By the 1950s, Clay County was increasingly putting in effort to expand economic opportunities in hopes of stemming outmigration of young people to places like Atlanta. This included agricultural advancements,[242] as well as attracting industry to the area. One of the earliest manufacturing firms was Lidseen of NC, a metal fabrication company from Chicago that set up a small plant outside of Warne in the 1950s and employed around 25

[238] Kitchens, "Clay County Reports Progress in Industry, Forestry and Agriculture," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, January 29, 1961.
[239] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 76.
[240] "Hardware Co" photograph, Clay County Historical and Arts Collection, Images of North Carolina, DigitalNC.
[241] Interview with Harrell Moore, April 10, 2024.
[242] Hancock, "Clay County Once Was Awfully Po' – But It Ain't Any Mo'."

people.[243] By the early 1960s, the county was home to nine small industries employing about 300 people.[244]

In 1960, the Clay County Industrial Development Council (which later formed the Clay County Development Corporation) was organized.[245] One of the council's projects was the construction of an industrial building in Hayesville, which was completed by selling stock to local people. Their hopes of attracting new industry were realized when the building (CY0215) was leased to the Hayesville Manufacturing Company in 1961. The business, run by A. Glassberg, employed mostly women and produced women's dresses.[246] At the time of its organization, it was the largest industrial operation in the county and in 1965 was employing 115 people.[247]

Just outside of the town limits, on Qualla Road, another dress plant opened in 1966, originally employing 18 workers. Walter Fuller, a German immigrant and tailor, operated the Carolina Dress Corporation (CY0199), which had plants in Hayesville, Hiawassee, Georgia, and Blairsville, Georgia, making dresses, coats, and suits. A 1968 article called the plant "one of the most modern operations of its type in the south" and noted the plant employed 145 people at the Hayesville location. The plant remained a major employer into the 1990s.[248]

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[243] Pete Gilpin, "Biggest Cash Crop in Clay County Is Poultry," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, October 28, 1962.
[244] Parris, "Festivities This Week Mark Clay's 100th Anniversary."
[245] Kitchens, "Clay County Reports Progress in Industry, Forestry and Agriculture."
[246] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 73; Kitchens, "Clay County Reports Progress in Industry, Forestry and Agriculture."
[247] Parris, "Festivities This Week Mark Clay's 100th Anniversary"; Mildred Kitchens, "Agriculture Is Basis for Economic Progress in Clay," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, January 8, 1965.
[248] "N. C. Carolina Dress Now Among Most Modern Dress Factories," *Cherokee Scout*, May 2, 1968; Bob Scott, "Things Are Looking Up For Clay County," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, January 24, 1993; "Walter Fuller Obituary," Cochran McDaniel Funeral Home, 2017, https://www.cochranmcdaniel.com/obituaries/walter-fuller, accessed October 24, 2024.

These mid-century industries began in slightly different building types. While the Hayesville Manufacturing Company started in a newly constructed industrial facility just south of downtown, the Carolina Dress Corporation made use of a dairy barn until the business erected a substantial addition in 1968.[249] Both buildings were constructed using economical materials. The Manufacturing Company operated out of a corrugated metal building with a bow roof and metal hopper windows and garage doors. The Dress Corporation was in a concrete-block building with two-over-two wood windows and at least one garage bay. Both buildings have a veneer on public-facing elevations. The Manufacturing Company building features a brick-veneer façade. The Dress Corporation's west elevation, which faces the drive onto the property, has a stucco finish and a brick and stone masonry veneer on the façade.

Social History and Recreation

Much of the social activity in Hayesville happened on the courthouse square. In the 1930s, there were picnic lunches and croquet played on the square.[250] In her book *Winding Round The Square*, Betty Benedict described her memories of downtown Hayesville in the late 1930s and 1940s, calling the square "my playground."[251] She remembered skating on the sidewalks and through the courthouse corridor, attending birthday parties thrown on the square, and playing hopscotch and other games.[252] Tom Gray Jr. echoed this sentiment:

[249] "N. C. Carolina Dress Now Among Most Modern Dress Factories."
[250] Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville."
[251] Benedict, *Winding Round the Square*, p. 31.
[252] Benedict, *Winding Round the Square*, pp. 36, 41, 44.

"All the activity was concentrated around the square, so the courthouse yard was a gathering place for kids to play after school; kickball, football, etc. We even ran into a tree now and then catching a ball. Adults and kids would just sit on the rock wall and talk, gossiping and just passing the time of day."[253]

Other spaces downtown also provided entertainment opportunities. After the fire in the late 1920s, a mini-golf course occupied the site of Theo DeWease's general store until the McGlamery Hotel was constructed in 1941. There was also a tennis court behind Tiger's Store for a time. [254]

Throughout the 20th century, a variety of performance-based entertainment was available. Both the Mighty Haag Circus and the Cook Players came to Hayesville and performed on a site near the current U.S. Post Office (CY0282) in the early 20th century.[255] In the early 1920s, there was a short-lived silent movie theater in town.[256] Later, after the congregation moved to a new location, movies were played at the old Methodist church, which once sat where the B. F. Goodrich Building (CY0071) is now, and then at the courthouse on Saturday nights.[257] Beginning in the 1940s, Roger and May Curtis opened the Curtis Theater (CY0077), and it became a popular movie theater until it closed in 1968.[258] In the 1940s and 1950s, traveling country musicians played at Hayesville High School

[253] Tom Gray Jr., "Growing up around the Clay County Courthouse," *Smoky Mountain Sentinel*, July 28, 2011. Photograph of the article included in survey file CY0238 Gray House, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina.
[254] Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville."
[255] Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville."
[256] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 129.
[257] Tiger, "Growing up in Hayesville"; Benedict, *Winding Round the Square*, pp. 73, 122.
[258] Interview with Susie, Cindy, Sally, and Rosemary Curtis, June 10, 2024.

(CY0128).[259] In the 1980s, the Peacock Performing Arts Center (CY0178) opened as another entertainment outlet in the community.[260]

Aside from the square, other locations around town have been utilized as places to gather, meet, and socialize. Many of the commercial businesses on the courthouse square became social centers, such as The People's Store (CY0081), which featured a "liar's bench" out front, and Tiger's Store (CY0069), where Betty Benedict remembered her father meeting with other men in the 1940s when she and her friends went to movies at the courthouse. Several "beer joints" also opened on the square while alcohol was legal for a short period around the early 1940s; however, the beer joints appear to have caused a nuisance for many residents, and alcohol was outlawed shortly after.[261] Noogie Bell opened a drugstore (CY0072) in the mid- to late 1940s where young people would go in the afternoons after school to play games; it had a jukebox and a pool room in the basement.[262] Booth's Drug Store (CY0068) was also a popular spot for young people to gather in the 1950s and 1960s.[263]

In the early 20th century, the Masonic Lodge met on the west side of the courthouse square before building a new hall northeast of the courthouse in 1952 (CY0074). The Veterans of Foreign Wars Post in Hayesville, organized in 1953, built the Black and Gold Club (CY0193), which has served as the organization's meeting place, as well as a community center. The Post also constructed softball fields and a barbecue pit.[264]

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[259] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 129.
[260] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 129.
[261] Benedict, *Winding Round the Square*, pp. 46, 122.
[262] Benedict, *Winding Round the Square*, p. 204.
[263] Interview with Margaret White Armstrong, April 11, 2024.
[264] *The Heritage of Clay County*, p. 19.

Most of the social and recreational buildings conform to the building's primary purpose or environment. For instance, the Curtis Theater blends into the commercial architecture of its surroundings, as do Booth's Drug Store and the People's Store, as they were primarily retail stores. The 1955 Hayesville Auditorium at Hayesville's school campus (CY0128) is a modest Modernist auditorium featuring brick veneer and a flat roof, and devoid of decoration. It is similar to other structures that were designed by C. G. Harrill and built around the same time, like the 1957 Hayesville Gymnasium, as well as an auditorium added to the Shooting Creek School in rural Clay County in 1955.[265] The 1952 Masonic Hall, built a block off the courthouse square, included a front-gable roof and a front porch, harkening back to early commercial architecture in Hayesville. However, it was clad in brick veneer.

Education and Religion

The school system in Hayesville is rooted in the Hicksville Academy, a private school founded by John Hicks in the late 1860s. The school operated under different names and ownership until 1898, when Trinity College deeded the school property to the "Hayesville Graded School." In 1909, the school's name was changed to Hayesville High School.[266]

In the 1910s, there were at least 16 schools throughout the county.[267] Over the 20th century, smaller schools throughout the county consolidated, and all but three schools

[265] "Clay Schools Are in Better Shape as New Units Added," *Clay County Progress*, January 27, 1956. Part of an exhibit in the Historic Hayesville Museum, Hayesville, North Carolina. Photograph of the article included in survey file CY0128 Hayesville School Complex, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina.
[266] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, pp. 98-99.
[267] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 100.

outside of Hayesville were closed by 1950. Between 1967 and 1978, the remaining schools outside of town were closed, and all public education in the county consolidated at one campus in Hayesville.[268]

Between 1913 and 1932, the Hayesville Elementary and High School met in a two-story frame building; another school building was added to the campus in 1924.[269] Over its history, the campus has evolved to meet the needs of consolidation and a growing student body, a reality reflected in the existing campus and its buildings.

The oldest structure on the campus is the 1935 Hayesville Gymnasium (CY0129, SL 2025), which was built with assistance from the Works Progress Administration (WPA). WPA buildings often utilized native materials and simplified plans to reduce the cost of construction and maintenance.[270] The gymnasium uses stone, likely from local sources. While not overly ornamental, it features stone pilasters and lunette vents beneath the gables.

Likely due to ongoing school consolidation and continued population growth in Hayesville, the campus gained several new buildings in the 1950s, including the circa 1950 high school, a 1955 brick auditorium, and the 1957 gymnasium. The gymnasium and auditorium were both designed by C. G. Harrill and use brick veneer over concrete-block construction. Both buildings have an understated design exhibiting modest Modernist

[268] The last three schools operating outside of Hayesville were the Elf School (CY0130), the Ogden School (CY0105), and the Shooting Creek Elementary School (CY0145). Mrs. Robert Penland, "Clay County Makes Much Progress In 10 Years," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, March 26, 1950.
[269] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, p. 102; Clay County Board of Education Minutes, May 29, 1924, Record ID: CR.025.906, State Archives of North Carolina.
[270] "Final Report on the WPA Program, 1935-1943" (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 52.

details, like the flat roof covering the entrance to the auditorium and the concrete-lined cornices and windows on the barrel-roofed gymnasium. The 1967 cafeteria, designed by James L. Padgett, also has brick veneer covering concrete block but is slightly more exaggerated in its use of Modernist features. The cafeteria's flat roof sits atop thick concrete beams supported by concrete piers that are visible along the building's exterior elevations. The beams extend past the wide eaves of the roof and are separated by slim ribbon windows. During the 1950s, the Board of Education was purchasing surrounding land, likely in anticipation of the continued growth of the school.[271]

The campus has evolved over time with the renovation of the high school building circa 1989 to accommodate the middle school, new construction in the 1980s, and a new elementary school circa 2020. The former high school building, auditorium, and cafeteria are all slated for demolition when a new building combining classrooms for grades three through eight, a cafeteria, a middle school gym, and a performing arts center is built, which was originally planned to be completed in 2024. As of 2024, the 1935 and 1957 gymnasiums are not scheduled for demolition.

The first known location used for the education of African American children in Clay County was the Fort Hembree Baptist Church (CY0152) south of downtown Hayesville. The church was erected in 1883, the same year that Clay County began providing public funds for the schooling of Black children. In 1922, a one-room schoolhouse (CY0114) was built on

[271] For instance, ten acres of land surrounding the Hayesville school campus were purchased in 1956. Clay County Board of Education Minutes, October 27, 1956, Record ID: CR.025.906, State Archives of North Carolina. For notes from the Board of Education Minutes 1921-1958, see survey file CY0128 Hayesville School Complex, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Western Office of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina.

today's Hinton Center Road, roughly two-and-a-half miles from downtown Hayesville and two miles from the church.[272] Funding for the school came in roughly equal parts from public funds, the African American community, and the Rosenwald Fund. No photos of the school were located during the survey; however, it was likely a frame building with weatherboard siding and banks of large, multi-paned windows.[273] The Rosenwald school closed in 1944, coinciding with a decline in the African American population of the county, as many left due to low income and limited work opportunities, especially after the completion of the Chatuge Dam.[274]

After the school near Hayesville was closed, Clay County provided no educational opportunities for Black children until the public school system was desegregated in 1965. Elementary school children were sent to the Texana School outside of Murphy in Cherokee County. However, this school only provided education up to the tenth grade, preventing students from graduating from high school. There was no high school for African Americans in far western North Carolina. Therefore, students who wished to continue their education left to attend boarding schools, such as the Allen School in Asheville, though many families could not afford this cost.[275]

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[272] Fort Hembree Baptist Church and Hayesville School are part of the Hayesville African American Heritage Historic District (CY0291, SL 2025), a discontiguous district on the periphery of Hayesville that also includes Freedom Cemetery (CY0151) and Herbert Hills Cemetery (CY0216).
[273] Second-floor exhibit, Old Jail Museum, Clay County Historical and Arts Council, Hayesville, North Carolina. The Rosenwald Fund was established by Julius Rosenwald of the Sears, Roebuck & Co. to financially contribute to a variety of institutions from 1917 to 1948. One of the largest programs it supported provided matching funds for the construction of schools for African American children, mostly in the South. For more information, see: "Schools" and "Rosenwald Fund," https://www.julius-rosenwald-legacy.com/, accessed October 28, 2024.
[274] Ann Miller Woodford, *When All God's Children Get Together: A Celebration of the Lives and Music of African American People in Far Western North Carolina* (self-published, 2021), pp. 153-154.
[275] Woodford, *When All God's Children Get Together*, pp. 153-154.

Clay County Board of Education minutes show that desegregation was being discussed as early as 1955. At the time, the Board decided to continue operating segregated schools while the issue was investigated by a committee, which would produce a report with its recommendations. Meanwhile, Black students continued to attend the Texana School in Murphy. Funds were also requested from the State Board of Education to assist African American high school students in securing a place at an out-of-county accredited high school.[276] In contrast to the expanded and modernized school facilities in Hayesville during the 1950s, the substandard conditions of the Texana School were described in 1958 to the Board. The building had no running water, pit toilets, inadequate heating, no lunchroom, only one exterior door, and substandard floors. Further, the African American community desired a local accredited high school in Murphy to serve the regional population.[277] The matter was resolved locally when the Clay County school system desegregated in 1965 with reportedly few issues.[278]

The Fort Hembree Baptist Church is the only surviving building identified during this survey that represents African American history in Clay County. The congregation believes the current church building is the original.[279] While it is not the oldest congregation in Clay County, it may be the oldest extant church building.[280] The church is a front-gable building that has been clad in vinyl. The vestibule appears to have been enlarged to either side of the bell tower. This basic building form and type of changes are repeated across Clay

[276] Clay County Board of Education Minutes, August 16, 1955.
[277] Clay County Board of Education Minutes, July 29, 1958.
[278] Woodford, *When All God's Children Get Together*, p. 154.
[279] Second-floor exhibit, Old Jail Museum, Clay County Historical and Arts Council, Hayesville, North Carolina.
[280] Interview with Pastor Harold Holbrook, April 24, 2024.

County on small, rural churches such as Union Hill Church (CY0131) and Bethabara Baptist Church (CY0143).

Churches in Hayesville include the Hayesville United Methodist Church (CY0061), the Truett Memorial Baptist Church (CY0060), and the Hayesville Presbyterian Church (CY0217). All three congregations have deep roots in the community, dating from before the formation of the county. All three originally met at Fort Hembree and moved to Hayesville after its establishment as the county seat. The Methodist congregation met in a building on the courthouse square where the B. F. Goodrich Building (CY0071) is now, and the Presbyterians met in a church near the 1914 Clay County Jail (CY0032). The Baptists, on the other hand, obtained their property in 1904 and have remained on the site since. None of the early frame church buildings survive.

The oldest church in Hayesville is the 1938 to1943 Hayesville United Methodist Church. The oldest part of the church has a front-gable block containing the original sanctuary, while a side-gable wing at the rear accommodates community meeting spaces and Sunday School rooms. Members of the congregation gathered the native stone seen on the exterior of the building, and it is believed that some of the stones came from the foundation of Fort Hembree, which was dismantled in 1934. The church was built by the congregation and local craftsmen.[281]

Truett Memorial Baptist Church, completed in 1950, has a T-shape footprint that includes a front-gabled sanctuary and a perpendicular classroom wing. Full-height stone

[281] North Carolina Department of Transportation, "Widen US 64 from US 64 Business West of Hayesville to East of NC 141," pp. 25-33.

piers support the pedimented portico. The church is clad in Crab Orchard sandstone from Tennessee. The church features streaky glass in the transom over its double doors, as well as in a lunette within the portico pediment.[282] Both the Methodist and Baptist congregations constructed large additions to their historic churches in the 1990s and 2000s.

The 1959 Hayesville Presbyterian Church is executed in an understated version of the Modernist style. It has a simple brick-clad front-gable form and stained-glass windows set in vertical bands on the long elevations of the building.

Hayesville after 1970

Around 1970, U.S. Highway 64 Bypass was completed south of Hayesville, diverting highway traffic away from the courthouse square. Once this roadway was in place, new development largely moved away from downtown Hayesville, and some businesses relocated to the highway. For instance, the Crawford and Mingus Supply Company, which first sat where the Hayesville United Methodist Church's newer sanctuary is now, moved to the bypass. The Clay County Bank, once located on Main Street, also moved after being purchased by First Citizens Bank and Trust Company.[283] These new locations likely offered more visibility from the main highway, as well as more land for building expansion and parking.

[282] North Carolina Department of Transportation, "Widen US 64 from US 64 Business West of Hayesville to East of NC 141," pp. 5-18.
[283] Moore, *Clay County, NC: Then and Now*, pp. 83-84.

U.S. 64 Business is now dotted with later development, including a large chain grocery store, fast food establishments, gas stations, banks, and churches. Local businesses include Cox & Son Roofing (CY0203). Established in 1941, N.C. Highway 69 is also a corridor for newer development. Rowland Auto Service (CY0022) relocated from the corner of Church and Sullivan Streets to Waldroup Road, just off the highway, around 1970.[284] Woodard Electric relocated to the same road from its original site (CY0206) in the Elf community in the mid-1980s.[285]

There has been minimal construction in downtown Hayesville since the 1970s. Some public buildings were constructed, such as the sheriff's office and 1973 jail. A new Town Hall (CY0281) was added to the courthouse square circa 1987. While in previous decades, public buildings in Clay County were either devoid of ornamentation, such as the former Town Hall (CY0075) or had Modernist characteristics, such as the U.S. Post Office (CY0282), the new Town Hall has a Classically-inspired decorative flourish, including dentils, faux quoins, and a pediment supported by Ionic columns.

The county also prioritized attracting industry to Clay County to aid residents in finding in-county employment. This included the addition of a new industrial park in the mid-1980s just outside of Hayesville.[286]

There were also community efforts to enhance the town. After a new jail was built in 1972, the Historical and Arts Council, a product of the county's beautification committee,

[284] Interview with Chester and Linda Rowland, May 29, 2024.
[285] Interview with Warren Woodard, April 1, 2024.
[286] Bob Scott, "New Industrial Park Brings Optimism to Clay County," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, June 11, 1985.

began restoring the 1914 jail to serve as a local arts center and history museum.[287] Circa 1976, awnings were added to the commercial buildings surrounding the courthouse square.[288] These awnings provided a unified design and incorporated a wheel motif on the support posts that was adapted from the courthouse brackets. While roofing material has been updated, the awnings and original porch posts are still evident on most of the commercial buildings on the square.

[287] "Clay Citizens Proud of County."
[288] "Clay Citizens Proud of County."

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CY0094	Payne-Stalcup House	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0095	James Franklin Arrant House	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0096	Bass Arrant House	Brasstown	
CY0097	Beach Well House	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0098	Mountain Valley Creamery	Brasstown vicinity	within CY0290 (SL 2025)
CY0099	Bidstrup Acres	Brasstown	SL 2025; within CY0290 (SL 2025)
CY0100	Scroggs Store	Brasstown	within CY0290 (SL 2025)
CY0101	Clay's Corner	Brasstown	
CY0102	Brasstown Post Office	Brasstown	
CY0103	Tom and Dora Hampton House	Brasstown	
CY0104	Hickory Stand United Methodist Church	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0105	Ogden School	Warne vicinity	
CY0106	Lidseen of North Carolina	Warne	
CY0107	Tellico Lace Factory	Warne	
CY0108	West House	Warne vicinity	
CY0109	Shady Grove Baptist Church	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0110	Egg House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0111	G. M. Fleming House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0112	Tusquittee Pioneer Village	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0113	Blair Creek Bridge	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0114	Hayesville School (Rosenwald) (Gone)	Hayesville vicinity	within CY0291 (SL 2025)
CY0115	Hinton Rural Life Center	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0116	Shooting Creek School	Hayesville vicinity	

CY0117	Shooting Creek Church of God	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0118	Marshall Chapel Methodist Church	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0119	Fred and Eula Moffett House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0120	Moss Memorial Baptist Church and Cemetery	Hayesville vicinity	SL 2025
CY0121	Meadow Grove Baptist Church	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0122	Myers Chapel Methodist Church	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0123	Ledford Chapel Cemetery	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0124	Nix House	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0125	Sweet Potato Curing House	Brasstown	
CY0126	Mountain Valley Cooperative Building	Brasstown	within CY0290 (SL 2025)
CY0127	Glenmary Chapel and Convent	Hayesville	
CY0128	Hayesville School Complex	Hayesville	
CY0129	Hayesville Gymnasium	Hayesville	SL 2025
CY0130	Elf School	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0131	Union Hill Church	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0132	Enoch and Ethel Hogsed House	Warne	
CY0133	Warne Post Office	Warne	
CY0134	Wood House	Warne	
CY0135	Victor Bell House	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0136	Green Store	Brasstown	
CY0137	Corn Mill	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0138	House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0139	House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0140	House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0141	Old Shooting Creek Baptist Church	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0142	Crawford Farm	Hayesville vicinity	

CY0143	Bethabara Baptist Church	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0144	Ledford Log Crib	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0145	(former) Shooting Creek Elementary School	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0146	Anderson Farm	Hayesville vicinity	SL 2025
CY0147	Hogsed Barn	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0148	Bethel Methodist Church	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0149	Anderson Crib	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0150	Horace Parton Farm	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0151	Freedom Cemetery	Hayesville vicinity	within CY0291 (SL 2025)
CY0152	Fort Hembree Baptist Church	Hayesville	within CY0291 (SL 2025)
CY0153	Davidson-Hyatt Farm	Brasstown vicinity	SL 2025
CY0154	Peter Miller House	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0155	Walter Arrant and Carrie Arrant Payne House	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0156	Barn	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0157	Martin Hill Baptist Church	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0158	Agricultural Outbuildings	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0159	Wonderview	Hayesville vicinity	SL 2025
CY0160	Hewlett Crawford House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0161	Alexander House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0162	Dairy Barn	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0163	Jarrett Farm	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0164	Barn	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0165	Boice Supply	Hayesville vicinity	SL 2025
CY0166	Waldroup Supply and Feed Mill	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0167	Shooting Creek Camptown	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0168	House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0169	Eagle Fork Baptist Church	Hayesville vicinity	

CY0170	Clarence and JoAnn Woody Farm	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0171	Hyatt Mill Creek Bridge	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0172	Groves Farm	Hayesville vicinity	SL 2025
CY0173	Penland Farm	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0174	McGlamery House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0175	J. B. Mease Farm	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0176	Cloer House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0177	Bob Mease House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0178	Peacock Performing Arts Center	Hayesville	
CY0179	Tiger Barns	Hayesville	
CY0180	Rondy and Blanche Lee Ledford House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0181	Euline Price Jarrett House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0182	James M. Coleman House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0183	Luther Mull Farm	Hayesville vicinity	SL 2025
CY0184	Ralph Myers House	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0185	Harshaw Smokehouse and Myers House	Brasstown	
CY0186	Harvey Monroe Penland House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0187	Killian-McGlamery Farm	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0188	Lions Club Pavilion	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0189	Stewart House	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0190	Truett Conference Center and Camp	Hayesville	
CY0191	Ritter Lumber Company Site	Hayesville	
CY0192	Ritter Company Clubhouse	Hayesville	
CY0193	Black and Gold Club	Hayesville	
CY0194	B & T Grocery Store	Hayesville	
CY0195	Curtis House	Hayesville	
CY0196	Hogsed Store	Hayesville	

CY0197	(former) Hayesville Town Hall	Hayesville	
CY0198	Fred Waldroup House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0199	Carolina Dress Factory	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0200	Tri-County Racetrack	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0201	Cox Farm	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0202	Timothy Cox House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0203	Cox Roofing	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0204	Fred and Cora Woodard House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0205	Fred and Cora Woodard Store	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0206	Woodard Electric and Appliance Store	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0207	Mosteller House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0208	Martin Outbuildings	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0209	Upper Tusquittee Bridge	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0210	Phillips House and Store	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0211	Word of God Ministries	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0212	Glenmary Chapel (Gone)	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0213	Lance Cove Chapel	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0214	Immaculate Heart of Mary Catholic Church	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0215	Hayesville Manufacturing Company	Hayesville	
CY0216	Herbert Hills Cemetery	Hayesville vicinity	within CY0291 (SL 2025)
CY0217	Hayesville Presbyterian Church	Hayesville	
CY0218	Penland-Woodard House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0219	Harlie Ledford House	Hayesville vicinity	

CY0220	Gibby House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0221	Anderson Dairy Farm	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0222	Lickskillet School	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0223	Andy Padgett House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0224	Cordie Coleman Padgett House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0225	Max Franklin House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0226	Loy and Flonnie Payne House	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0227	Loy and Rosalie Payne House	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0228	Staurolite Farm	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0229	Ogden United Methodist Church	Warne vicinity	
CY0230	Bradley Barn	Warne vicinity	
CY0231	Hall-Reece-Brooks House	Warne vicinity	
CY0232	Randy Pruitt House	Warne vicinity	
CY0233	Dixie Pruitt House	Warne vicinity	
CY0234	Warne Gulf Station	Warne	
CY0235	TVA Building	Brasstown	within CY0290 (SL 2025)
CY0236	TVA Building	Brasstown	within CY0290 (SL 2025)
CY0237	Ford Dealership	Hayesville	
CY0238	Gray House	Hayesville	
CY0239	Davis House	Hayesville	
CY0240	Mingus House	Hayesville	
CY0241	Fred and Eula Mae White House	Hayesville	
CY0242	Ute and Girlie Hyatt House	Hayesville	
CY0243	Wayne Phillips House	Hayesville	
CY0244	R. G. Haigler House	Hayesville	
CY0245	R. N. Tiger Sr. House	Hayesville	
CY0246	Bell House	Hayesville	
CY0247	Moore House	Hayesville	
CY0248	Harrell Moore House	Hayesville	
CY0249	Bridge No. 27 (Current site)	Warne vicinity	

CY0250	John Covington Moore House (Current site)	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0251	Arthur and Stella Jones House	Hayesville	
CY0252	Guy and Lucille Padgett House	Hayesville	
CY0253	Jack and Helen Bristol House	Hayesville	
CY0254	Mabel Weaver House	Hayesville	
CY0255	Margaret and Arthur Bristol House	Hayesville	
CY0256	Guy and Sarah Wheeler House	Hayesville	
CY0257	George and Carolyn Bowers House	Hayesville	
CY0258	Bob and Jane Cunningham House	Hayesville	
CY0259	Leon and Nancy Staton House	Hayesville	
CY0260	Henley Crawford House	Hayesville	
CY0261	R. N. Tiger Jr. House	Hayesville	
CY0262	Tink Dwyer House	Hayesville	
CY0263	House	Hayesville	
CY0264	Bristol House	Hayesville	
CY0265	Mill Street Houses	Hayesville	
CY0266	House	Hayesville	
CY0267	House	Hayesville	
CY0268	House	Hayesville	
CY0269	Jack Shook House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0270	Andrew Palmer House	Hayesville	
CY0271	House	Hayesville	
CY0272	Ellen Scroggs House	Hayesville	
CY0273	Matheson House	Hayesville	
CY0274	Joe and Roberta May House	Hayesville	
CY0275	Pat and Martha Hoyle House	Hayesville	

CY0276	Hub and Eva Danielson House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0277	Hyatt-Penland House	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0278	Sr. L. John Meehan Bridge	Brasstown vicinity	
CY0279	Commercial Building	Hayesville	
CY0280	Commercial Building	Hayesville	
CY0281	Hayesville Town Hall	Hayesville	
CY0282	Hayesville Post Office	Hayesville	
CY0283	Hayesville Cleaners	Hayesville	
CY0284	House	Hayesville	
CY0285	Sinclair Service Station	Hayesville	
CY0286	Gulf Service Station	Hayesville	
CY0287	McClure House	Hayesville vicinity	
CY0288	Downtown Hayesville	Hayesville	
CY0290	John C. Campbell Folk School Historic District Boundary Increase	Brasstown	SL 2025
CY0291	Hayesville African American Heritage Historic District	Hayesville vicinity	SL 2025

APPENDIX B: CLAY COUNTY PROPERTIES ADDED TO THE NATIONAL REGISTER STUDY LIST ON FEBRUARY 13, 2025

CY0027	Cherry Farm	Hayesville vicinity
CY0041	Capt. Bill P. Moore House	Hayesville vicinity
CY0045	P. N. Tiger House and Store	Hayesville vicinity
CY0099	Bidstrup Acres	Brasstown
CY0120	Moss Memorial Baptist Church and Cemetery	Hayesville vicinity
CY0129	Hayesville Gymnasium	Hayesville
CY0146	Anderson Farm	Hayesville vicinity
CY0153	Davidson-Hyatt Farm	Brasstown vicinity
CY0159	Wonderview	Hayesville vicinity
CY0165	Boice Supply	Hayesville vicinity
CY0172	Groves Farm	Hayesville vicinity
CY0183	Luther Mull Farm	Hayesville vicinity
CY0290	John C. Campbell Folk School Historic District Boundary Increase	Brasstown
CY0291	Hayesville African American Heritage Historic District	Hayesville vicinity