

The Built Environment
of
Haywood County, North Carolina

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The first-time visitor to Haywood County might enter on one of four main highways and each would leave him with a different first impression. Coming south on Interstate 40 from the Tennessee border, auto-travellers twist their way through a rugged gorge formed by the Pigeon River. High wooded mountains close in on all sides and, aside from the highway itself, there is little to be seen that is man-made.

From the west over Soco Gap, however, one is almost immediately bombarded with a continuous array of roadside tourist shops and attractions: Ghost Town in the Sky, Geisha Gardens, Wild Bill's Water Slide, Soco Gardens Zoo. For many miles, along Maggie Valley's Route 19, it is an unending, auto-oriented realm for the tourist.

From the south, over Balsam Gap and along Route 19A/23, one is struck by the vast expanses of apple orchards marching up terraced mountainsides and stretching for miles along the highway; here the agricultural nature of the county is impressive.

Finally, travelling east from Asheville on I-40 or Route 19/23, virtually the first signal that one has entered Haywood County is the rising plume of white vapor over the Champion Paper Mill. Distant views of Canton reveal a town that owes its very existence to industry.

Mountain wilderness, tourism, agriculture, industry; which of these first impressions represents the essence of Haywood County? Of course, they all do. The mountainous terrain initially restricted growth and eventually attracted it.

Agriculture sustained the first settlers and later provided them with an economically viable living. With the coming of the railroad and automobile, tourism and industry transformed Haywood and put the county into the mainstream of American life. Just as people's lives are shaped and changed by these factors, so too is all that man has built - the "built environment" - in Haywood County.

Early Settlement

The mountains meant relative isolation and impediments to easy travel for Haywood's first century of white settlement; therefore, it is not surprising that the built environment of this era is characterized by persistent and seemingly unchanging folk traditions for which parts of the Southern Appalachians are now famous. The self-sustaining valley or hillside farm, its collections of outbuildings, and either a log house or simple frame house became an established tradition from the period when the first settlers came in the mid 1780's until the coming of the railroad in the early 1880's.

In the decades following the Revolutionary War, the Cherokee Indians left or were forced from the region that is now Haywood County and settled farther west along the Tuckasee River¹. After centuries of living in the region, there is now no known above-ground remnants of the Cherokee civilization in the county, although their traditions are carried on in the Qualla Reservation formed out of Haywood County (now Jackson County) in 1835².

A slow but steady migration of whites began in the late 1700's to the mountainous regions west of Buncombe County. Through a gap created by Hominy Creek, these pioneers came upon the relatively wide and fertile valley, (which was formed by the Pigeon River) which makes up the central portion of Haywood County. Other river valleys were created by Fines, Crabtree, Jonathon, Richland and Cataloochee creeks, but much of the county is extremely mountainous with

many peaks over 6,000 feet including Mt. Guyot at 6,621 feet in the northwest part of the county, a close rival to the East's highest peak, Mount Mitchell³. The present borders of the county are a ring of mountain ridges, and except for a small 21 square mile area on Hominy Creek, all the river systems and watersheds drain into the Pigeon River and its single outlet on the Tennessee border⁴.

Naturally, the first settlements were established in the fertile river valleys. The first known white pioneer was David Nelson who settled in 1785 on land now occupied by the circa 1904 James Henry Plott House (Garden Farm) near the Pigeon River just south of present-day Canton.⁵ This land was granted to John McDowell of Burke County; McDowell, like many land grantees, never lived in Haywood County.⁶ As was typical of the era, large tracts of land were granted by the state to prominent citizens, many of whom were Revolutionary War veterans, who developed, sold or leased their holdings. Besides McDowell, other large grants went to Thomas Hemphill, John and James Welch, and the Love brothers, Thomas and Robert.⁷ Robert Love, a Revolutionary War officer, owned 200,000 acres in the Cataloochee region and other tracts along Richland Creek in what is now Waynesville. Love came from Tennessee to settle in Haywood County in the late 1700's and became the area's most prominent citizen, controlling vast tracts of land gained by speculation or foreclosure.⁸ Robert Love built a house on Richland Creek, which was later burned by a Union Army raiding party in the Civil War, and it was probably one of the few early houses to be built of wood frame rather than the predominate log construction.⁹

Robert and his brother Thomas were instrumental in the political formation of the county. Thomas introduced a bill in the North Carolina Assembly in 1808 asking for the formation of Haywood County out of part of Buncombe County.¹⁰

This became a reality the next year and Haywood encompassed an area now occupied by Macon, Swain, Jackson, Graham, Clay and Cherokee counties; the first census in 1810 listed 2,780.¹¹

Of this early settlement period, only two houses are known to have survived. The Shook-Smathers house, situated on bottomland near the Pigeon River just west of Clyde, is commonly believed to be the oldest structure in the county, in part dating from 1795, although as it exists now, it is the product of numerous alterations and enlargements, and reflects mainly circa 1890 Victorian-era architecture. Nevertheless, it has an interesting history: the well-known and much-travelled founder of Methodism in America, Bishop Francis Asbury, records in his diary that after an arduous and tiresome trip through the Cataloochee area, he came upon the house of Jacob Shook, a Dutchman. Asbury preached there for several days and helped to establish Methodism in the county.¹²

The other house, the Patten house, also lies along the Pigeon a few miles east of the Shook house, and like it, has been overbuilt several times. Presently it is an impressive brick home mostly dating from the 1880's, but part of it is believed to date from the early 1800's. The Patten Farm is shown on an 1833 map of western North Carolina, and it is known that the Patten family put up travelling judges and lawyers, as their house stood on the western turnpike from Asheville.¹³

Besides this Asheville-to-Waynesville turnpike (now roughly Route 19/23), the first half of the nineteenth century saw the construction of rugged dirt roads from Waynesville to Soco Gap (Route 19), Waynesville to Pigeon (Route 276), and Waynesville to Beaverdam.¹⁴ The roads over Newfound and Balsam Gaps eventually connected with routes to Greenville and Charleston, South Carolina, the major markets for farm products.¹⁵ One stage route connected Haywood County to Asheville by 1830¹⁶ and by 1860, primitive roads had been built to all districts in the county. Nevertheless, these roads were unreliable and a trip to the farthest points in the county was a two-day affair from Waynesville¹⁷.

The last major road to be built was the Jonathon Creek and Tennessee Mountain Turnpike built 1855-60, which opened up the Cataloochee region, the last district formed.¹⁸ Except for the disappearance of the toll gate at the route's start in Cove Creek, and some improvements to accomodate automobiles, this twisting, 20-mile dirt road remains today much as it did in 1860. An auto trip on this rugged route through some of the East's wildest terrain provides a fascinating feel for how transportation was a century ago.

In the early years, the formation of town centers was pretty much limited to Waynesville, the county seat planned by Robert Love in 1808 and originally called Mount Prospect.¹⁹ Consisting in 1812 of a town square, thirty half-acre lots, a log jail and courthouse²⁰, Waynesville was not much bigger on the eve of the Civil War in 1860 when there was a population of 75-80 and only twelve houses.²¹ When the town was finally incorporated in 1871, the population was still less than 200.²² No structures from Waynesville's early days are known to survive.

Building with Logs

Rather than town centers, Haywood's early built environment, like most of western Carolina was characterized by self-sustaining farms, the largest and most successful situated along the major river valleys and smaller ones situated on mountain slopes on up into the coves. The pioneers who established these farms were mainly of mixed lineage, primarily from other parts of North Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, South Carolina or Georgia.²³ Of those coming directly from Europe, the majority were English or Scottish, with smaller representations from Ireland, France, Holland and Germany.²⁴ Given this make-up it is not surprising that the first structures were log houses, an architectural tradition brought from Europe by the Germans and Swedes and established among these ethnic

groups in Pennsylvania, Delaware and the Catawba River Valley in North Carolina. Although the English had no log-building traditions, they quickly adapted the technology in America because of its ease, economy and use of readily-available materials.

When Haywood County was settled, log-building was an established tradition. But whereas log-houses were built as the first but often temporary pioneer shelters in most of developing America (except New England and tree-scarce regions), log houses became a persistent, almost unchanging tradition in western North Carolina, a survivor of the mountain folk society that developed. Not only were log structures thought of as permanent, but the tradition continued into the twentieth-century, long after the pioneer era. This stubborn adherence to simple folk housing is the most prevalent characteristic of the county's pre-railroad-era built environment.

Southern Appalachia is well known for its log houses and Haywood retains a good number of nineteenth-century examples. But in spite of the number surviving, they cannot give a true picture of the large numbers once extant: a long-time resident reports that out of forty log-houses once existing in his area of upper Crabtree, only one, the Liner Log House, remains.

The most common type in the county is a one-room-with-loft log house with half-dovetail corner notches, and one gable-end exterior stone chimney. An early example of this type is the circa 1858 Clarke-Mann house on upper Hominy Creek near the Buncombe County line. Other post-Civil-War examples are the Hannah-Frady house in Cove Creek, the Hogland log house on lower Jonathan Creek, and the Will Penland house in Iron Duff. A rare example of a one-room, half-dovetail log-house with a brick, rather than stone, chimney is the 1857

Jim Hannah cabin in the Cataloochee.²⁵ This house, like many others, was erected on a cut-out shelf on a gentle slope and constructed of poplar logs, poplar

"puncheon" floors and a simple enclosed, ladder-like stair to the open loft above, mostly used as sleeping quarters for the children.

Easier to make, less prone to rot and nearly as tight, the half-dovetail corner notch was the preferred notch of the settlers. The full-dovetail, a German tradition, is a more difficult and rarer notch but is seen in at least four known Haywood examples: the Smith log house, covered over with asbestos, sited on the Canton landfill; the Blanton/Reece house in Cruso; a smokehouse from the Lovejoy farm; and a Sunburst area one-room log-house. These latter two examples are two of many log structures brought to the Cecil-area property of Bill Gardner who has faithfully re-constructed Haywood County log buildings.

A number of V-notched log-houses include: the Worley log house on upper Beaverdam; the Alex Carpenter house in Maggie Valley; and the Price log house in Panther Creek. Two square-notched houses are the Leatherwood log house in Cove Creek and the circa 1875 Walker house in Fines Creek.

Two side-by-side, one-room log sections (pens) separated by an open breezeway and covered by a common gabled roof is known as a dogtrot plan. The best example of this form is the circa 1860 George Palmer house in the Cataloochee.²⁶ One side was given to cooking and eating, the other to living and sleeping. The structure was weatherboarded over in 1901, a not uncommon practice. The pre-Civil War Colonel Columbus Rogers house in upper Crabtree may also have been a dogtrot log house, but several moves and changes have left a much-altered one-room structure. The dog-trot form is more commonly seen in log barns; a notable example is the Quелlette log barn in Mount Sterling.

No known examples of saddle-bag houses, where two one-room log pens are abutted and share a common wall, are known in Haywood County, but several hall-and-parlor plans are known to exist. The Johnson and Hendrix log houses, south

of Waynesville, and the aforementioned Price log house all consist of two rooms, one with an outside door, separated by vertically-laid board walls.

Spaces between the logs were chinked with rocks and hay and daubed with mud; this mixture kept out the air and cold and, if renewed periodically, was quite effective; the previously-mentioned Leatherwood house and the Eli Messer log house in Iron Duff retain much of their early daub.

Log-building technology was even more popular for out-buildings, although the simpler v- and saddle-notches were preferred and the structures were rarely daubed; the Hannah-Steingress barn in Cove Creek, and the Eli Messer, Alex Carpenter and Palmer farms have good examples. The Price-Leatherwood farm in Mount Sterling has a 1929 saddle-notched dogtrot barn, an example of how traditional log-building extended well into the twentieth century. Perhaps the best collection of log structures is on the Mooney farm in upper Fines Creek; the numerous barns, cribs and animal pens are a virtual outdoor museum of log building and the wooden hinges, latches, doors and ladders bespeak of the pervasiveness of wood as a building material and the scarcity of other materials.

The eventual fate of log houses is varied and interesting. Many were incorporated into rear kitchen ells on later frame houses as is the case on the Redmond house in Fines Creek or the Woody house on the Big Cataloochee. Mostly, these rear ells are weatherboarded over and are not readily recognized as log houses. Occasionally, as in the Liner house in upper Crabtree, the original log house is left in its natural state and attached to a later frame house. Sometimes they are converted to animal pens, as on the Mooney farm.

As industry, the railroad and tourism brought many changes in the late 1800s to the towns and prosperous river valleys of the county, log building became less popular. In the mountain coves, however, the people retained their old customs, developing a culture characterized by their music, farming methods,

medicines, speech, etc. which was often distinct from their more-urbane neighbors. It is in these mountainous settings that log houses continued to be built even into the twentieth century as exemplified by the c. 1905 Hogland Log House which is little different from one built one hundred years earlier.

The log-house has taken on a new meaning in post-World War II times and is often romanticized and seen as a rustic vacation home. Many early examples have been moved, altered and adapted to modern living. The Mountain Joy and Fietop Cottages in Maggie Valley are groups of relocated Haywood County log houses now used as tourist cottages, and the original circa 1900 log buildings at Sunburst were remodelled in the 1930s by Champion Lumber as guest houses and given a new rustic aesthetic with creative use of half-timbering and brick-nogging on the gable ends.

Frame Houses

The log house was not the only type of housing utilized, of course. Co-existent with log-houses were larger framed houses, and in particular that type of framed house known as an "I-house". The typical I-house was two-stories, gable-sided, with symmetrical fenestration. In most cases, the main door was at the center of the front facade and led to a central hallway running to the rear of the house although the hall-and-parlor plan (the main entry, set to one side of the facade, opens to a hallway which is adjacent to the parlor) was actually more prevalent in North Carolina before the second quarter of the nineteenth century when the center-hall became popular. The house was only one room deep ("single pile"); in the center-hall scheme twin parlors flanked the hall on the first floor while a hallway stair led to flanking bedrooms on the second.

Like the log house, the I-house was an established folk tradition in the Carolinas by the time Haywood County was first settled. It too was characterized

by a resilience in the face of change, so that the 1920s Amos Medford House in Clyde is virtually the same in form, massing, fenestration and floor plan as mid-nineteenth century I-houses. One basic, but unseen, change in framing method did occur however: after the Civil War, I-houses (and other types also) were constructed of standard-size, sawn lumber nailed together rather than the earlier method of connecting heavier, hand-hewn posts and beams with joints and pins. Although sawmills were operating in Haywood County in the early 1800s, it was not until the post-Civil War era when a cash economy and a demand for more speedily-constructed houses was established that balloon framing, using milled lumber, became the norm.

No doubt, many of the settlers in the Pigeon River Valley and other river valleys, areas which offered the best opportunities for the most prosperity, replaced their original log homes with framed houses which symbolized their growing aspirations. Beginning at the second quarter of the 1800s, a differentiation of class cultures became established. Large farms, in the 100 to 1,000 acre range, such as those of the Love, Welch or Patten families, produced wheat, livestock, ginned cotton or molasses often with the help of slave labor.³⁷ It was this class of the county's society which first adopted the I-house as an visible sign of their relative wealth. Meanwhile, the cove-dwelling settlers who managed smaller (20-50 acres) farms of less desirable topography, developed a self-sufficient, jack-of-all-trades existence, largely outside of the cash economy. Their culture clung to established traditions, including the log house.

The earliest I-houses usually display a few Greek Revival details, an architectural style nationally-popular from about 1830 to 1860; the details were usually superficial however and the Haywood County, like many North Carolina I-houses, did not re-orient the main facade to the gable end as did many Greek Revival Houses which attempted to imitate Greek temple forms. Examples of this

type are the Reeves house in Crabtree, the Fitzgerald house near Junaluska, and the McCracken-Palmer house in Fines Creek, which have sidelights and a transom surrounding the door, a cornice which either partially or fully encloses the end gables, classical post-and-lintel mantelpieces and echinus (elliptical profile) moldings around doors and windows, all details of Greek Revival architecture.

These mid-nineteenth century examples usually had an exterior common-bond chimney at each gable end, although there is one rare example of a chimney done in Flemish bond on the Hargrove house in Bethel (William Hargrove was a brick mason by trade and might have constructed this example).²⁷ The Hargrove House (along with the Ratcliff House, near Waynesville) is also an example of the relatively uncommon hall-and-parlor plan. It appears that in the post-Civil War years, interior chimneys flanking the hallway, as shown in the Eleanor Rogers house in Crabtree, became more prevalent, although both forms continued to co-exist.

The kitchen space was usually located in a one or two-story rear gabled ell, as seen in the Tom Ferguson house in Crabtree; a framed, detached kitchen is rarer, like that on the Ratcliff farm in Ratcliff Cove. Occasionally a log structure, usually an earlier log house, was used as a kitchen, attached to the rear or completely detached, as seen at the Plott-Clark farm in the Hyatt Creek area.

A variation on the typical I-house form is one in which a two-level (two-tier) porch runs across the full facade and lies fully-engaged under the front roof slope. This type, thought by some to originate from southern coastal areas like Charleston, South Carolina, is represented by the nearly identical circa 1860 Kinsland (whose first owner was from South Carolina) and William Burton Cathey houses located on the Pigeon River in Bethel.²⁸ These two distinctive houses are among the county's most architecturally important; the Cathey house in particular, although nearly in ruins, retains much of its original fabric and Greek Revival details.

The well-known Shelton house in Waynesville, now a house museum of North Carolina handicrafts, has the same engaged two-tier porch, although being built two decades later, shows design features (particularly in the eave brackets) of the then popular Italianate style as well as Greek Revival details. Still later, in the last decades of the 1800s, the two-tiered porch was simply attached to the facade and took on miscellaneous Victorian-era details, such as lathe-turned posts and scrollwork brackets and ballustrades; a good example of this development is in the Soper house in Clyde.

Another commonly seen variation of the I-house is the "triple-A" form, where a triangular-shaped dormer is placed on the roof at the center of the front facade. This form is usually seen in houses of the latter part of the 1800's and usually has Victorian-era ornament; good examples are the Love-Miller house in Waynesville, the Howell-Elliott house in Hemphill, and the Wilbur Noland house in Fines Creek.

The interior walls of the early framed houses were usually sheathed with vertically or horizontally-laid boards as seen in the Cathey and Shelton houses; later in the century, using narrow tongue-and-groove "matchboards", available at sawmills, was the preferred way to finish walls. These matchboards could be laid vertically, horizontally or diagonally creating lively patterns seen in many Haywood County houses; notable examples are the Williams-Scruggs house in Hominy (which also uses decorative matchboards on exterior walls under the porch), the Jim Reno house in Beaverdam, and the Garden Farm house south of Canton. Plaster walls and ceilings are less common until the twentieth-century although a rare example of a decoratively-stencilled plaster hall-ceiling survives in the Dock Noland house in Crabtree. Painted wood-grain, a popular nineteenth-century decorative art, is seldom seen here, but one example is known to survive on a door in the Amos Campbell house in Dellwood.

The hall stairways usually faced the front entry, although many examples

exist in the county where the stair faces the rear of the house as in the 1864 Joseph Turner Cathey house in Woodrow, which also has perhaps the county's best examples of Greek Revival mantelpieces.

Other Early Structures

In the pre-railroad era, the county's frame houses were typified by simplicity in form and detail; this same simplicity is expressed in the nineteenth-century rural churches. Almost invariably they are basic, gable-front frame structures with a squarish bell tower attached or semi-engaged on the front center, or have a small belfry built on the roof ridge near the gable-facade. These churches are similar to types seen throughout the East Coast, although usually simpler in detail.

The oldest church building is thought to have been the 1803 Old Locust Field Baptist Church near Canton, which has long since disappeared.²⁹ Baptist Churches were also established in Waynesville in 1823 and lower Crabtree in 1827.³⁰ Methodism, the other major denomination in the county, had its beginnings with Asbury's visit, and soon rural Methodist churches, similar in appearance to the Baptist structures, were built throughout the county. By 1850 there were sixteen Methodist and ten Baptist churches in the county.³¹ The oldest surviving church building is probably the Jone Temple in Waynesville which was originally a Methodist church that once stood at Green Hill Cemetary, but has since been moved and substantially modernized.

The typical Haywood County church was erected on a knoll, with a view of the surrounding countryside, and had a community cemetary on an adjacent plot. Good examples of this type of siting are the Fines Creek Methodist, White Oak Baptist and Mount Sterling Baptist churches. The vast majority were wood-framed, although the 1882 Mt. Zion Church in Crabtree, which replaced an 1850 log church, is a rare example of brick construction.

The interior of nineteenth-century churches tended to be stark with unadorned sheathed walls, plank pews and a simple pulpit set on a raised platform. Perhaps the best-preserved interiors are in the 1898 Palmer Chapel and 1889 Little Cataloochee Baptist Church, both well-maintained by the National Park Service and now situated in the Smoky Mountain National Park.³²

One church building, the circa 1900 Fines Creek Presbyterian Church, is atypical in form, and is an L-shaped structure with a tall tower in the angle of the L. The building was also used as a school and large sliding doors that separated the two classrooms still survive in the abandoned building, now used to dry tobacco. Although schools were often held in churches, the county had established a public school system by 1840 and at least 43 one-or two-room schoolhouses had been erected by 1850.³³ Only two nineteenth-century schoolhouses are known to survive however: Beech Grove School in Cataloochee, and Hemphill School in Hemphill. Academies were established in Waynesville (on the site of Green Hill Cemetary) in 1850, in Bethel in 1866, and near Junaluska (Tuscola Institute) in 1861; all these structures have disappeared.³⁴ Two circa 1895 brick buildings and a large frame dormitory survive, however, of the Baptist subscription school, Haywood Institute, at Clyde.

Nineteenth-century rural post-offices, as many as 46 at one time, often resembled miniature school houses, as seen in the circa 1885 Crabtree Post Office, but more often they were located in private homes, like the Maggie Valley house of Robert Plott, or in rural general stores like the Kirkpatrick store in Crabtree (this building also served as a corn mill in later years).

By 1860 there were four grist- and three sawmills established in the county, although this number was meager compared to the forty extant in Buncombe at the same date.³⁵ The 1885 William Francis Mill, located just east of Waynesville, is a splendid nineteenth-century survivor, complete with its wooden gears and

a variety of grinders; the original poplar water wheel was replaced in 1913 by the existing iron wheel. In Hemphill, the Mark Howell house was the site of an early 1800s grist and up-and-down sawmill³⁶ while the much-altered Byers house in Waynesville is supposed to be the pre-Civil War brick home of a miller employed by William Welch, a contemporary of Robert Love. The bricks were reportedly made by Welch's slaves and the house is the only structure to survive from his vast estate.

The aforementioned houses, churches, schools and mills are the most obvious elements of the county's nineteenth-century built environment but a variety of springhouses, outhouses, cribs, animal pens and barns served vital functions as well. Although existing on most farms, the Iron Duff farm of Will Penland is one of the county's best places to see these outbuildings on an historic landscape. The windowless main log house has a semi-attached log kitchen to the rear. A log springhouse sits slightly uphill and pastures continue up to the tree line. Downhill, a variety of small log animal pens and a massive log and frame barn are situated just above Rabbitskin Creek where the land flattens to croplands. This collection of simple farm buildings, laid out in the historic manner, well-represents the quintessential modest, mountainous Haywood farm (the average 1850 farm had 50-100 acres), which used a great deal of log construction, in contrast to the 200-1,000 acre prosperous river valley farms which were more apt to adopt frame buildings.³⁷

The Mid-Nineteenth Century

The destruction by the Civil War did not affect Haywood County nearly as much as in other places of the South. ~~Sentiments were divided although most~~ citizens eventually sided with the Confederacy.³⁸ Slave-holders were few but held a total of 313 slaves in the county, the Love family being the largest holders.³⁹ Several lives were lost and buildings burned by raiding-parties under

the command of Union Colonel George W. Kirk. The Reconstruction-era did not seem to have a negative impact on the county; in fact there apparently was an increase in agriculture and building after the war.⁴⁰ By 1870, 515 freed blacks were settled in the county, (in total population of 7,921) about half of whom congregated in an area near Waynesville which is a black community to this date.⁴¹

The years between the war and the railroad-era saw gradual advances in architectural development. The 1864 Joseph Turner Cathey house in Woodrow, basically an I-house, has some of the most refined Greek-Revival moldings and mantels in the county. In addition, molded, wide batten-boards laid over the seams of otherwise ordinary sheathed walls and ceilings, give the impression of recessed-panelled surfaces. This same treatment is seen in the circa 1878 Shelton House which also displays, in its lathe-turned newel posts and ballusters, and mantels ornamented with curvilinear moldings, the beginning influences of Victorian-era architecture in the county.

When Francis McGee Davis built his 1865 Iron Duff home he used the basic I-house form with a typical Greek-Revival entry as his model. But the 2-tiered, gable-front porch and balcony which fronted the central bay of the house, while Greek-Revival in form, had curved skirts between the pillars, a peaked gable window and cut-out sawnwork ballustrades. The house exemplifies the transition from classical to Victorian-era styles which featured curved, scrolled or turned details made possible by jigsaws and lathes and which symbolize a new romantic picturesqueness and freedom in design in domestic architecture which was sweeping the nation in the mid 1800s. (The single-bay, gabled balcony over a full-width or single-bay porch, as originally attached to the Davis house, became an increasingly popular type on I-houses through the remaining years of the 1800's).

The Railroad Era

Wherever it went, the railroad changed the face of America and no other single factor had such a direct or indirect effect on Haywood County in the nineteenth century. It resulted in changes in agriculture and architecture and brought to the county industry, tourism and a new array of manufactured goods and building materials.

The Western North Carolina Railroad (now Southern Railroad) extended its line westward from Asheville, and in 1882 entered Waynesville, crossed Balsam Gap in 1883, and by 1891 eventually went to Murphy.⁴² The relatively late arrival of the railroad, compared to the rest of the nation, was caused by the rugged terrain. For all the effect it had on other parts of the built environment, little remains of the actual early railroad environment itself. A large and impressive 1910, double-span, Warren-type iron-trestle bridge still spans Hominy Creek near Buncombe County parallel to the original Western Turnpike. Of the first rail stations (and Waynesville's was quite elaborate) only the station at the Junaluska stop remains. This station, now adapted as a summer home on the lake's south shore, acted as a terminus for a rail-shuttle between Waynesville and Junaluska serving summer visitors; the line featured front and rear engines.⁴³

Farmers, once dependent on wagons and tenuous dirt roads for getting what cash crops they grew to market, now found a reliable system at their disposal. The fledgling settlement of Clyde, geographically at the county's center and site of the old Jacob Shook House, became a main shipping point for agricultural products.⁴⁴ A small rail-yard developed near the Waynesville station which over the years became an ancillary commercial center to Waynesville's Main Street central business district. Many of the 1900-1930 brick commercial buildings catering to the farmer's needs, such as the Farmer's Federation building, still stand along Depot and Commerce streets.

Out in the rural areas, the switch to larger-scale cash-crop agriculture began. Apple orchards were planted, and specialized one-or two-story apple houses were erected with thick fieldstone walls. The applehouses at the remote Cruso-area O'Neil farm are perhaps the best early examples (circa 1890). The Francis and Barber families developed large orchards, terraced far into the mountain slopes surrounding Waynesville. Beginning in 1903, a massive orchard operation, begun by R. N. Barber, developed near Balsam Gap, and today many original structures remain including early twentieth-century stone applehouses, packhouses, an impressive stone mule-barn, and several of the original seventeen simple tenant-workers' houses. The 1890-1930 period saw a five-fold increase in the county's apple production and apple-processing remains today as one of Haywood's leading industries.⁴⁵

The same period saw a doubling of beef production (beef, lumber, and apples surpassed in production the old traditional staples of wheat, corn and potatoes).⁴⁶ Beginning circa 1878, there was a short-lived boom of flue-cured tobacco growing in western Carolina and several of the distinctive tall and squarish frame tobacco barns of this era remain on the Redmond and Jesse Bradshaw farms. The most intact example is located on the Crabtree farm of Lee McElroy; this circa 1890 barn features two cast-iron "Modern Barn" wood furnaces protruding through the fieldstone cellar walls (the stoves were manufactured by the High Point Iron Works). A rapid decline in the value of mountain-grown tobacco put a virtual halt to production in 1892 and tobacco wasn't grown again until the introduction of burley circa 1925.⁴⁷ Air-cured burley can be seen drying in virtually any imaginable structure including abandoned houses and churches but was mainly dried in barns with wide, open spaces between the log-pole walls, as seen at the Mark Hogland farm near White Oak.

Dairying was never very extensive in the county, but Riley Ferguson began

an operation in Crabtree where his 1887 farmhouse still stands along with a collection of early twentieth-century gambrel-roofed barns and concrete silos. The framed, two-story gambrel-roof barn became the most popular type at the turn of the century replacing gabled log and frame barns. Concrete and field-tile silos also made their appearance at this time.

Victorian-era Architecture

The tentative steps toward Victorian-era architecture, begun in the years before the railroad's arrival, proceeded in earnest when improved transportation brought an increased awareness of nationally-popular tastes and architectural fashions. Traditional I-houses sprouted bay windows and projecting bays, were decorated with scroll-brackets along the gable, eave and porch cornices, had decoratively-edged wood shingles applied to the gables, and doors and windows were enframed with wide, complex moldings. Most of these new elements were mass-produced and machine-made; scroll-saws, lathes, jigsaws and machine-presses made the new aesthetic possible and no doubt many of these architectural components entered the county via the railroad. Both the Pingree Priestly Plott House in Bethel and Wilbur Noland House in Crabtree are otherwise traditional houses with up-to-date Victorian-era ornament: bays, balconies and windows "break out of the box" form of the I-house.

The 1888 Gwyn house in Cruso completely broke tradition and is a large, hip-roofed Italianate-style house, four-square and boxy in shape with an ornate porch wrapping around the sides. The interior featured marble mantels and decorative plasterwork.

As up-date as this rural example is however, it does not match the sophistication seen in two Waynesville homes: the circa 1884 Boone-Withers House and the circa 1895 Way House. Both were owned by prominent Waynesville professionals and reflect a new urbaneness and awareness of nationally-popular tastes.

Each is highly irregular in massing, displays lively and complex Victorian decoration and features the latest available innovations, such as coal-grate fireplaces and plumbing systems. These houses also go beyond the purely functional spaces of the log and early I-houses, by introducing large ceremonial halls, dining rooms, servant's quarters, balconies, sleeping porches, porte-cocheres and so on. Both houses also include elements of the Colonial-Revival styles that would become very popular nationally in the early twentieth-century.

The Gautier House in Waynesville is the epitome of the Victorian Queen-Anne style with its tall rounded turret, decorative woodwork and irregular shape. The Queen-Anne style in rural Haywood becomes quite vernacular however. The house at the Francis Farm east of Waynesville and the Bethel-area Penland-Burnette and Blalock houses are all L-shaped structures with simple Queen-Anne details and small squarish turrets, although the latter house shows better proportion. The 1907 Mount Olive Church in Waynesville, with its decorative twin spires is perhaps the best of the county's Victorian churches.

Whereas wood-construction dominated in the early years, the railroad era brought a new variety of building materials to the last decades of the nineteenth-century. Brick houses became more popular, such as the Miller-Francis House in Waynesville and the Abel House in Bethel. Decorative pressed-tin roof shingles, as on the Smathers-Dotson House in Clyde, were extremely popular and tin was even used as siding, pressed to simulate brick or stone as on "Laurel Bank", a house in Cruso. Cast-iron was utilized for fences (Hannah-Graham House), coal grates and columns (Liner House). Decorative concrete blocks were used for foundations or for entire structures such as the Ferguson Store in Fines Creek or the Rock Spring School in Crabtree. Colored-glass was occasionally used in windows and doors as seen in the diminutive but highly-ornate in-town house at #3 Mulberry Street in Clyde.

Boom Era: The Summer People

Long an impediment to settlement, the mountains of Haywood County became, in the late 1800s, a catalyst for development. Lured by cool summers, splendid mountain scenery and a healthy climate, lowlanders from the coastal South and urbanites from the North took advantage of the new passenger services available on the railroads and flocked to western North Carolina. Never as frenzied as the rush to neighboring Buncombe County, nevertheless a tourist boom began in Haywood County.

The only pre-railroad mountain inn had been the 1878 White Sulphur Springs Hotel south of Waynesville, which centered around the sulphur springs waters thought to be a healthful tonic. Although the 40-room hotel continued as one of the region's premiere inns for many years (Woodrow Wilson used it for his honeymoon) it was destroyed in 1941 and all that remains in the small but ornate spring-house in an urban park on Timothy Lane.⁴⁸

The inns clustered around the Waynesville area because of easy access to the train station. In 1902 there were nine; by 1936, twenty.⁴⁹ Among the better-known were the Gordon, Suyeta Park, the Waynesville, Eagle's Nest, Bon Air, Kenmore, and the Piedmont.⁵⁰ All have disappeared except the latter, a large, rambling Victorian-era structure, enlarged many times, which still operates on Eagle's Nest Road. In Clyde, a New Yorker, L. P. Hips built the "Yankee Hips" Hotel on a knoll overlooking the town and located just a short carriage-ride from the Clyde train stop. In later years, the large 1898 3-story structure with a 2-tiered porch on all four sides, became home to the Skyland Girls Camp and is the county's only extant example of a building with a mansard-style roof.

~~The demand for tourist-housing caused many people to convert their private~~ homes to boarding houses. In the rural areas, both the Campbell family in Dellwood and the Palmer family in Cataloochee partially converted their dwellings

to accomodate boarders (Cataloochee was a popular overnight destination for Waynesville-based tourists). In the towns, particularly Waynesville, homes of prominent citizens were at least partially utilized as summer boardinghouses, such as the Adger house (Adgerwood) and the Col. Howell house (Windover).

Soon, out-of-staters built permanent summer homes of their own; these structures often reflected a sophisticated taste for nationally-popular architectural styles with which their owners were accustomed. The refined neo-classical Lykes House in the Hyatt Creek area was built for a Tampa (Fla.) shipper, while the 1898 Ray House in Waynesville was initially built for a South Carolina cotton-broker. This place, like three side-by-side homes along Woolsey Heights overlooking Waynesville, was built in a hybrid Dutch Colonial Revival/Shingle-style manner, an idiom popularized for seaside vacation-homes in the Northeast. The Ray and Woolsey Heights homes(developed by Meththorn Woolsey, from Selma, Alabama) enter on large "living-halls" featuring panelled walls and ceilings, built-in inglenooks, ornate mantels and a large ceremonial stairways. This reflects a growing taste for English and American "Colonial-era" architecture, as seen fully developed in the splendid Georgian-Revival house at South Main and Academy in Waynesville or the Tudor-influenced houses along Love's Lane.

The Western Carolina mountains were thought to be healthy environs for tuberculosis victims and sanitoriums sprang up here and there. The tubercular wife of Duke University Professor W. I. Cranford took refuge in an unusual eight-sided "octagon house" in the Clyde-area. This configuration offered the most sunlight for her, and although greatly altered, the house remains one of the county's most unique.

By far, the most grandiose of the summer developments was the Lake Junaluska area. The Methodist churches of the southeastern states had been searching for summer conference grounds and the natural beauty (plus \$8,500 put-up as an

incentive by Waynesville) of central Haywood County drew them to a spot on Richland Creek.⁵¹ By 1912 they had constructed a concrete dam, and the lake was forming when 4,000 Methodists convened in the multi-sided, open auditorium (now Stuart Auditorium) in 1913.⁵² Along the northshore many vacation homes were built in the 1913-1929 era in addition to public facilities including boat houses, walkways, a \$44,000 water system and three large wooden hotels.⁵³ These hotels were short-lived, however, victims of fire, but were replaced by the monumental 1921 Lambeth Inn, one of the county's best example of Colonial-Revival architecture. Other notable buildings include the Colonial Inn and Shackford Hall, also in the Colonial-Revival style, and the later Memorial Chapel, an excellent example of a rural English Gothic church.

The vacation homes at Junaluska, particularly along North Lakeshore, Oxford Drive, and Memory Lane offer some excellent examples of the Craftsman and Bungalow styles. They celebrate the aesthetic promoted by such men as Gustav Stickley, a New Yorker who wanted American homes to express their natural construction, use local materials and take full advantage of their site. The Junaluska cottages do so wonderfully, hugging the overlooks along the lake and using natural rubblestone for terraces and chimneys, wood-shingles or log-poles for walls. Best among the rustic homes are numbers 21, 25, 29, and 33 Lakeshore; 3, 9, and 21 North Lakeshore; 20 Oxford Circle and 16 Atkins Circle, a whimsical bungalow with Oriental, pagoda-like details.

The Craftsman-style and bungalow homes were not confined to Lake Junaluska however. In fact, the bungalow became, in the first decades of the twentieth-century, perhaps the most prevalent type of house built in Haywood County. (A typical bungalow was a one-story house with a broad gable roof which usually covered an open or screened porch on the front; the porch posts were often squat and tapered.) Coinciding with the industrialization and urbanization of the county, the bungalow was ideal for the small-scale housing needed by the new

blue-collar working class, as it was throughout America. The majority of these bungalows are small, simple houses which make up the neighborhoods surrounding Waynesville and in particular, Canton and Hazelwood. Stylistically, the best examples are found along Walnut Street in Waynesville, where the homes tend to be over-grown bungalows with a Craftsman feeling.

The bungalow reaches far into the rural areas as well. It became a favorite choice for replacing older and deteriorating farmhouses and one like that of Waldo Green in Fines Creek was as well-developed as any in the towns. Also remaining, is a circa 1925 "ready-built" bungalow at 62 County Road in Junaluska ordered from Sears Roebuck and Company when they, along with such companies as Wards and Alladan, were mass-producing mail-order houses. There are likely other "ready-built" houses throughout the county as well.

Boom Era: Industry and Commerce

Following close on the heels of the summer people came a spurt of development in industry and commerce. The catalyst for this was the Champion Coated Paper Company of Hamilton, Ohio who, in 1906, began construction of what was to become the county's largest industrial site.⁵⁴

They constructed a pulp mill on the river in the town of Pigeon River (now Canton) which lay on the old Western Turnpike from Asheville. In 1870 there was not much more than a few houses, two grist mills, a tannery and several stores; but by 1900 the railroad had stimulated a population growth of 230.⁵⁵ However in the next ten years the population increased to 1,400; by 1930, 3,000 people lived in Canton.⁵⁶ Champion's pulp mill opened in 1907 and employed 700 people initially. Attracted by vast woodlands, relatively cheap labor, good water and rail transportation, the industry was a huge success. The rural-farm-to-urban shift of the era was amazing. Whereas in the mid-1800's there was

no appreciable urban population in the county, by 1930 only 40% of the people still lived on working farms.⁵⁷ This industrialization of Haywood County generally corresponds to the industrialization seen at this time in the rest of western North Carolina.

By the 1920's Champion was the largest paper and pulp mill in the world and several of the brick mill buildings and offices from this era remain.⁵⁸ In addition, from 1910 to 1920 the entire commercial district of Canton built up with the brick downtown structures seen today; in type and style they are typical of commercial buildings seen in other Carolina towns of Canton's size and era. A housing shortage was alleviated by the construction of leased worker houses by Champion including sixty-one identical structures built in 1906 in the area known as Fibreville.⁵⁹ Champion also built a community center, grocery stores, a hospital, vocational school and YMCA and invested heavily into forest conservation. Canton became the largest North Carolina city west of Asheville, twice the population of Waynesville in 1937, until diversification in other areas of the county by Champion put an end to growth.⁶⁰

Although 4/5 of the work -force was employed by Champion, other industries grew up throughout the county.⁶¹ W. H. Cole developed the flatlands just south of Waynesville as a site for his sawmill in the late 1800's and the area became the town of Hazelwood in 1905, the most diversified industrial center in the county. Junaluska Tannery also started in the late 1800's employed 200 by the 1930's; Unagusta Furniture established a steam-powered factory in 1901 and employed 163; Wellco (shoes) and Dayco were established later in 1941. Some of the original factory buildings remain in Hazelwood (notably the Royal and Pilkington textile mill) although most have been modernized. Portions of the early Junaluska Tannery and Unagusta buildings remain and the main office at Dayco (originally loom-part manufacturers, now engine belts and other rubber products) is an excellent example of the streamlined-Moderne style with its

smooth-faced brick walls, rounded corners and glass-block windows.⁶³

This period was also the great lumbering era in the county. Built to fuel Champion and others, lumber camps dotted the mountains and by 1929, twenty major sawmills were established.⁶⁴ Of these, Sunburst in Cecil Township and Crestmont in the Mt. Sterling community near Tennessee were the largest, together cutting $\frac{1}{2}$ million board-feet a day.⁶⁵ Two-thirds of the county's timber was cut-over by the time the lumber boom ended in the late twenties.⁶⁶

Beginning in 1898, the North Carolina Land and Timber Company built a standard-gauge lumber railroad from Newport, Tennessee to the Waterville/Mt. Sterling area of Haywood.⁶⁷ This served a large lumber camp and saw mill, but all traces of this once thriving enterprise are now gone. Also disappeared is the huge lumber camp at Sunburst including the forty-mile lumber railroad to Canton, the workers' houses, a skating rink, dance hall and sawmills.⁶⁸ There remains however, the payroll office and infirmary buildings, several reworked log guesthouses and of course, Lake Logan. The lake was created by damming the Pigeon River's West Branch to control the flow of water the Champion's Canton mill.

Dams for electrical generation began as early as 1905 when the fledgling Haywood Electric Power Company built a small plant on the Pigeon at HEPCO.⁶⁹ Washed out in 1924, the company replaced it with a 325 KVA power station at the Lake Junaluska Dam (the shell of the powerhouse still remains).⁷⁰ But the county's largest and most impressive engineering feat has to be the construction of the 1929 Walters Dam and Hydroelectric Plant by Carolina Power and Light. The 900' long, 180' high concrete dam built on the Pigeon, in some of the most rugged terrain imaginable, created 340-acre Walters Lake. A 6-mile, 12' diameter concrete ~~water-tunnel was dug from the dam, through the mountains, and provided a hydrohead~~ for the electric-plant on the Tennessee border. The National Engineering Landmark - designated structure contains its three original 1929 108-KW generators, although

the company-built village of Waterville which served the hydro-plant's employees, has shrunk to a handful of bungalows, the original school house and the social hall.⁷¹

Other notable engineering structures include nine early-twentieth-century metal truss bridges and the ornate 1891 Bridge #79 over the Pigeon in Bethel (this bridge was manufactured in New York and is the state's oldest truss bridge still in use).⁷² These bridges replaced earlier wooden bridges and ferries and greatly aided transportation throughout the county.⁷³

The Automobile Age

The automobile transformed the face of America and Haywood County as well. Although most of the county's changes have occurred since World War II, the impact of the auto was felt since the first one appeared in Waynesville in 1905.⁷⁴ No paved roads existed in Waynesville in 1904, but by the following decade, they reached to many parts of the county starting with Waynesville's Main Street.⁷⁵ Indeed, the appearance of Main Street today is partly attributable to the automobile: the relative ease of travel afforded to rural farmers by the auto allowed them to visit Waynesville, and Main Street became the primary commercial district in the county. Some substantial private homes and hotels were cleared to make way for the 1910-1930 commercial buildings.⁷⁶ The majority of these resemble commercial buildings in other North Carolina towns; that is, they were primarily two-stories of simple brick construction, with large expanses of display window at the street level. Few of Main Street's store buildings have much ornamentation; decoration is usually confined to corbelled brick rows or recessed brick panels at the parapet-cornice level, as on the Gunn's Corner building or the Waynesville Hardware block across from the courthouse. Number 232 Main, the old Waynesville Library, is unusual however. With its curvilinear parapet-gable, river-rock facade and triple-arch entry, it vaguely resembles a Spanish mission.

The metal marquee of the Strand moviehouse also remains on Main Street, the last of several moviehouses on the street operated by J. E. Massie, whose circa 1925 Dutch-Colonial Revival house served as overnight accommodations for movie stars, as Randolph Scott and Roy Rogers, who were on promotional tours.

The small central business districts of Hazelwood and Clyde also developed during this era, utilizing the same straightforward aesthetic designs; most interesting are perhaps the 1924 Fincher Block and the 2-story First Union corner building in Clyde. Also built at this time in Clyde is a stretch of small suburban-type houses along Broad Street going east toward Canton. These homes epitomize the modest suburban architecture of the 1920's with their small-scale pseudo-English-Tudor designs, uniform set-backs, driveways and garages.

The automobile also had its impact on rural areas: general stores adapted to servicing cars or were built with integral gas-pump canopies such as the Ferguson Store in Fines Creek or the Caldwell store in Mount Sterling. Gasoline-powered tractors replaced animal-power on the farms and the early gas-pump surviving on the David Crockett Campbell farm in Maggie symbolizes that switch-over.

Increased mobility helped sustain the summer activity also. Beginning in 1926, Jim Long developed the Waynesville Country Club with its large, rustic, stone lodge building, although initially the maintenance to the greens was still done with the aid of horses.⁷⁷

In 1929 the Depression put a virtual stop to development. Most commerce was slowed although Champion weathered well. Farmers were particularly hard-hit, and many rural people partially supported themselves by trading ginseng and other mountain herbs for groceries and merchandise at local general stores, such as the D. Brown and A. Moody stores in Hemphill.

What was built in the 30's was usually publicly-funded. The Depression had the good effect of consolidating and improving the county's public school system

with the construction of many new school buildings. The schools at Fines Creek, Cruso, Jonathan Creek, Clyde, Beaverdam, Canton, Waynesville, Maggie and Mt. Sterling were built in the 30's, many by locals employed by the Federally-sponsored WPA program. These distinctive buildings were usually U-shaped or arranged around a central, clerestoried gymnasium, and constructed of brick or randomly-coursed stone.

The Smoky Mountain National Park, begun in 1929, encompassed all of the Cataloochee region of Haywood County and 450 of the residents were re-located.⁷⁸ Another Federal program, the Civilian Conservation Corps, hired locals to develop and clear trails in the Cataloochee, although the large CCC camps at Mt. Sterling have since disappeared. Despite the Depression, 3/4 of a million people visited the Smokies in 1936.⁷⁹ Also begun was the Blue Ridge Parkway, an impressive engineering feat, part of which borders Haywood on the south and west. Public buildings constructed in the 30's include the 1936 National Guard Armory and the 1935 neo-classic Haywood County Courthouse, both in Waynesville (the new courthouse replaced an equally impressive Second-Empire style building).

Gas-engine-powered rolling mills replaced waterwheel mills in the county and examples could be found at Clyde, Crabtree, Hemphill, Fines Creek and Waynesville but an excellent survivor is the Richland Rolling Mill on the Pigeon just north of Junaluska. This 1939 mill was powered by a 1920's Buick which was connected via overhead belts to a variety of corn and flour milling machines, all of which survive.

World War II extended the slow-down of building begun by the Depression, although just off Main Street on Depot in Waynesville is the unusual 1942 Sherrill's Studio building, a nice example of the International style with its smooth, plain wall surfaces, metal casement windows wrapping around the corners, a central porthole-window, and glass-block wall sections flanking the entry. The post-war years saw a resurgence in construction and the bulk of the county's

built environment probably dates from 1950 on. Renewed industrial, commercial and tourist activity contributed to the process. By 1954, Haywood County had the state's largest rubber and paper factories, was the leading producer of beef-cattle and second in burley-tobacco production.⁸⁰ There was a continuing rural-to-urban shift and today 83% of the population lives in the four (out of thirteen) central townships.⁸¹ The landscape in these areas is characterized by unzoned residential developments with many owner-built homes. There is a lively mix of suburban and vacation houses, usually maintaining small-acre lots which encroach on many farms. This hybrid suburban/rural development ("ruburbs") is dependent on the auto, as most of the homeowners commute.

Totally auto-oriented is the main route through Maggie Valley, a strip of development given over to the tourists emptying out of the Smoky Mountain Park's southern exits. Behind this strip are numerous planned real-estate or condominium developments, a phenomena also seen on some of the most remote mountainsides of the county.

The ubiquitous American commercial strip has also developed along the main highways leading into Waynesville, Canton and Hazelwood. Waynesville's Russ Avenue is the epitome of the automobile environment with its drive-in restaurants and banks, shopping centers, and large parking lots fronting all establishments. The universal symbols seen on the signs of McDonald's, Wendy's or Bi-Lo Grocery signal the full 180° turn Haywood County has come since its first beginnings; whereas the log-houses characterize a society relatively isolated and embedded in specific folk traditions, Russ Avenue symbolizes a generic, nation-wide architecture and increasingly homogeneous society. For this reason, it is all the more important to recognize and protect the county's architectural resources.

Fortunately, an appreciation and demand for the early log-structures seems to have taken hold. In addition, several adaptive-use projects involving in-town

houses in Waynesville and efforts by merchants in Canton's downtown will help assure the continued useful life of important buildings. It is hoped that this essay on the county's architecture will further an appreciation and careful management of the historic built environment.

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- ³ Allen, p. 25.
- ⁴ Allen, p. 21.
- ⁵ Allen, p. 35.
- ⁶ Edgar N. Plott, "Garden Farm Historic Site" (n.p., 1979), p. 1.
- ⁷ Allen, p. 35.
- ⁸ W. Clark Medford, Land o' the Sky (Asheville: Medford, 1965), pp. 9-10.
- ⁹ Allen, p. 8.
- ¹⁰ W. Clark Medford, The Early History of Haywood County (Asheville: Medford, 1961), p. 6.
- ¹¹ Medford, Early History, p. 16.
- ¹² Allen, p. 217.
- ¹³ Jerry Cross and Michael Southern, "Patten Farm National Register Nomination" (Raleigh: North Carolina Div. of Archives and History, 1980), sec. 8.
- ¹⁴ Medford, Early History, p. 20.
- ¹⁵ William T. Reeves, "A History of Haywood County". M. A. Thesis, Duke University, 1937, pp. 73, 88.
- ¹⁶ Reeves, p. 73.
- ¹⁷ W. Clark Medford, Mountain People, Mountain Times, (Asheville: Medford, 1963) p. 18. Also Medford, Early History, p. 119.
- ¹⁸ Medford, Land o' the Sky, pp. 11-12.
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- ²⁰ Reeves, pp. 6-7.
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- 37 Reeves, n.p.
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- 40 Reeves, p. 87.
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⁷⁹ Reeves, p. 115.

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Johnston, Frances Benjamin and Thomas Waterman. Early Architecture of North Carolina. Chapel Hill: Univ. of N.C. Press, 1947. General architectural history of state, mostly coastal and piedmont areas.

Land Use Plan, Haywood County. Haywood County Planning Board: n.d. Good reference for post-WWII changes and developments in economics, transportation systems, agriculture and land use in county. Also population trends.

Lefler, Hugh and Albert Newsome. History of a Southern State; North Carolina. 1973. Good general history of state.

Medford, W. Clark. Early History of Haywood County. Asheville: Medford, 1961. Anecdotal history of early years, includes some photos. All of the following books by Medford tend to be anecdotal and repetitive, but contain valuable sections on County's history.

_____. Finis and Farewell. Asheville: Medford, 1969. Some early photos of houses. (917.56M)

_____. Haywood's Heritage and Finest Hour. Waynesville: Miller Printing, 1971.

_____. Land O' The Sky. Asheville: Medford, 1965.

_____. Middle History of Haywood County. Medford: 1968. Most useful of Medford books, it contains history from 1860's to present.

- _____. Mountain People, Mountain Times. Medford: 1963. Contains numerous vignettes and family histories.
- 1916 Pictorial Story of Haywood County. Reprint from Carolina Mountaineer, vol. 3, no. 6, Dec. 21, 1916. Excellent source for 1916 photos, some written history. (vertical file of Haywood Co. Library)
- One Hundred Courthouses. By School of Design, Univ. of North Carolina. Raleigh: 1978, vol. II. Includes history of Haywood County Courthouse.
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Waynesville Mountaineer. Bound copies at Haywood Co. Library: Dec. 31, 1942-June '68; microfilm: Jan. 1969-Dec. 30, 1974.