

THE EFFECT OF TOURISM ON LAND VALUE IN WATAUGA COUNTY,  
NORTH CAROLINA, 1890 TO 1920

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A Thesis

by

FRANYA ELIZABETH HUTCHINS

Submitted to the Graduate School

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THE EFFECT OF TOURISM ON LAND VALUE IN WATAUGA COUNTY,  
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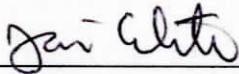
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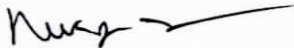
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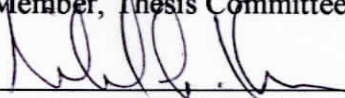
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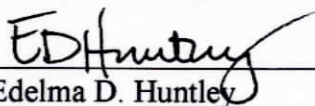
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## ABSTRACT

### THE EFFECT OF TOURISM ON LAND VALUE IN WATAUGA COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, 1890 TO 1920. (May 2008)

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This study investigates the effect of tourism on land values in Blowing Rock, North Carolina from 1890 to 1920. Seasonal visitors from the nation's elite class made annual trips to Blowing Rock, of Watauga County, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. The methodology of this study consisted of comparing the township of Blowing Rock with nearby Meat Camp via county census and tax records for the years in question, as well as consulting secondary accounts of early and modern tourism in Appalachia. Local tax records show an accelerated increase of land values in Blowing Rock within a few decades. In comparison with Meat Camp, a township also in Watauga that depended substantially more on agriculture than tourism, it becomes clear that affluent interest in Blowing Rock caused land values to rise even above those in other areas of the county. This trend continued throughout the next century in many parts of Appalachia, especially Western North Carolina. Tourism in this region competed with the major extractive industries, and experienced a new but similar boom in the second half of the twentieth century, again straining land values. Rising land values at the turn of the century did not correspond with an overall wealthier population, however. Many residents of Blowing Rock continued to report no wealth,

income, or land, while land prices around them increased. This caused substantial pressure for those wishing to remain in the area, which local residents still experience in many parts of Watauga County today, especially young community members who often do not have enough wealth to buy land in their home county.

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## 1. ISSUES IN SOUTHERN APPALACHIA TOURISM HISTORY

### 1.1 Introduction

The mountains of Southern Appalachia are today dotted with impressive large homes, often situated within gated communities. These stand in stark contrast to the prevalent stereotype of Appalachia as a poor and depressed region. Although stereotypes rarely bestow truths, the extremely affluent second-home communities in Southern Appalachia do reveal a significant disparity in wealth between clientele of the tourism industry and the surrounding middle and lower class communities. Real estate listings in tourist-heavy areas such as Watauga County, North Carolina, show many homes offered in the million-dollar range and above. Meanwhile, the median household income for the county remains around \$30,000 annually.<sup>1</sup>

Today's trend is not a twenty-first or even twentieth-century invention, however. As represented in the history of the Watauga County town of Blowing Rock, Appalachian resort communities have operated in the region since the mid-nineteenth century, inspiring a

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<sup>1</sup> Census data relates that the median household income for Watauga County in 2004 was \$34,165; in 2005 the personal income per capita was recorded at \$28,323. See tables of federal statistics compiled by county: U.S. Census Bureau, *State and County QuickFacts*, Last Revised: Wednesday, 02-Jan-2008, and U.S. Census Bureau, *Fedstats, Watauga County, North Carolina*, Last Revised: Tuesday, 31-Jul-2007. Accessed February 4, 2008 at [fedstats.gov](http://fedstats.gov) and [factfinder.census.gov](http://factfinder.census.gov).

concentration of affluent second homes at their side. Elite vacationers from both ends of the East Coast continue to popularize the area.

Then, as now, seasonal residents demanded at least a semi-permanent infrastructure. Although resort tourism provides mainly seasonal employment opportunities, large resorts, second homes, and other recreational structures and land uses are permanent fixtures. This juxtaposition between seasonal business and permanent infrastructure can cause economic and social rifts with tangible results. For many local residents, one such rift with substantial impact involves the increase in land values, and therefore land costs, due to the profitability of tourism and interest of affluent tourists in the area. Due to the specific nature of the earliest tourism in Southern Appalachia, areas popular since the turn of the century have seen increasing property values above those in surrounding areas for over one hundred years. In the case of Blowing Rock, North Carolina, increases in land value from the years 1890 to 1920 compared to those in other parts of the county point to the drastic effects of the long-standing resort community in this township.

The largely rural Appalachian South, now a popular location for resorts and gated communities that capitalize on the mountains' aesthetic beauty, has been a regional retreat destination for over one hundred years. This quasi-residential tourist industry involving seasonal homes has added a distinct layer to existing differences in individual wealth in the socio-economic structure of the region. Between 1890 and 1920, for example, small resort communities, such as Blowing Rock, both coexisted and competed with agricultural

surroundings. The main question this research addresses is whether property values or selling prices of land differed substantially depending on the land's assumed use.<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of Blowing Rock's resort community on land value in the township. Statistics from Blowing Rock are compared mainly with Meat Camp, an agricultural township also of Watauga County with a similar number of taxed citizens during the period 1890 to 1920. When tax information on land ownership and individual wealth is contextualized with regional and county history, the increase of property value and its effects in the resort township become apparent. Although presumed profitability of land sales due to tourism raised property values in Blowing Rock, individual wealth did not increase across the board to keep up with increased costs.

The terms "class" and "elite" are used in this study. The idea of "class" is employed for the convenience of discussion to describe tangible, substantial, and long-lasting differences in wealth holdings between people in a community or region. The use of the term "class system" involves the categorization of people in a community or region into groups determined by wealth, and often correlating to occupation. The "elite" nature of the tourism in this research is also extremely important to note. Americans who were able to travel seasonally in the earliest days of tourism, before the automobile and even the rail system, were among the wealthiest individuals and families in the nation at that time. Therefore, even though travel patterns to the Blue Ridge Mountains before the Civil War were regional, the wealthy South Carolinian lowlanders who made up the tourist clientele in Western North Carolina were "elite" in that they were of an extreme minority of affluent families on a national scale. While the automobile brought the rise of middle-class tourism in the latter half

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendices A through E for maps of the Appalachian region, North Carolina, and changes in Watauga County during this era.

of the twentieth century, some areas with a very long history in tourism, such as Blowing Rock, retained an “elite” veneer by continuing to draw predominantly wealthy visitors from across the nation.

The idea of tourism as well takes on a unique meaning in this context. Early visits to the Blue Ridge often consisted of extended stays, since the time and cost involved in travel during the nineteenth century made short vacations unfeasible. As many of the first visitors built second homes or even estates to accommodate their long retreats, their property ownership and amount of time spent in the area blurred the lines between tourist and resident. In the case of Blowing Rock, the nineteenth-century fascination with nature and its health benefits contributed to the township’s original attractiveness. Its breathtaking location on a ridge overlooking the mountains at an elevation of nearly four thousand feet explains why travelers chose it initially over nearby Meat Camp. Blowing Rock’s popularity then increased as it became a status symbol. Although annual and extended visits began to gray the line between tourist and resident, the township’s reputation as an elite resort area created an influential tourist market distinct from nearby local economies. Therefore, in this study, activities and consequences of “tourism” are considered to be those that either contributed to or were inspired by this specific status that Blowing Rock held.

For example, one of the most significant of such resident/tourists was industrialist Moses Cone, who, with his wife Bertha, amassed an estate of over 3,600 acres in the Blowing Rock area between 1892 and 1908. This estate included a large orchard and housed thirty tenant families.<sup>3</sup> Although many would not consider the Cones to be “tourists,” they

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<sup>3</sup> See Philip Noblitt, *A Mansion in the Mountains: The Story of Moses and Bertha Cone and Their Blowing Rock Manor* (Boone, NC: Parkway Publishers, 1996) for more on the Cones and their estate.

were drawn to Blowing Rock for its combination of natural beauty and amenities, such as access to telephone, telegraph, and newspaper services. This mixture of environment and conveniences was made possible by the already entrenched popularity of Blowing Rock as a place to be seen “summering.”

The chief types of land use under consideration in this research are agricultural and resort or recreational. Specifically, this refers to land used primarily for subsistence or commercial farming by fulltime county residents, compared to land for use by seasonal residents or temporary visitors. This project focuses on a time period in which Blowing Rock experienced great popularity and development at the turn of the century. Between 1890 and 1920, Civil War recovery continued and transportation increased in the region due to rail expansion. However, the age of automobile tourism, which would shift but not eliminate elite tourism, did not enter Watauga County heavily until after 1920.

Tax records from the years in question clearly show higher land values in Blowing Rock compared to other parts of Watauga County. These values in and out of the town center reflect the effect of land use on the cost of land in the county. Resort and second-home tourism became a major force of influence on land value as it interacted with larger frameworks such as class, industry, and the economy. Furthermore, pressures on prices created by tourism particularly limited the availability of land to local residents.

## 1.2 Historiography

Although the topic of land values in the township of Blowing Rock at the turn of the nineteenth century covers an extremely small cohort of people, it touches on many major issues in Appalachian history. Local history intertwines with contentious regional concerns,

such as the costs and benefits of tourism and industry, the historical existence and effects of an Appalachian class system, as well as the effects of land ownership patterns on the Appalachian economy. In researching these factors through the lens of land value, some historians note errors in single major sources such as federal census data, raising issues in the thoughtful use of primary sources as well.

### 1.2.1 Background Histories

A few authors have put together wide historical overviews of the region. Volumes such as Karl B. Raitz and Richard Ulack's *Appalachia, A Regional Geography*, and John Alexander Williams' *Appalachia, A History*, provide detailed outlines of the region's inhabitants from those of the indigenous era to the current population.<sup>4</sup> These broad works provide sufficient background and some pertinent details in the history of tourism in Western North Carolina. Themed works, such as Donald Edward Davis' *Where There Are Mountains: An Environmental History of the Southern Appalachians* illuminate further elements, such as the drastic effects of industry on the land and land prices. Davis describes the process by which absentee industrialists made major land purchases as profitability drove up land values, then enabling the industrial owners to buy out smaller local owners who were unable to pay increasing land taxes.<sup>5</sup>

Author John Towner offers an introduction to researching tourism.<sup>6</sup> In his 1988 article "Approaches to Tourism History," Towner describes the field of tourism research as

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<sup>4</sup> Karl B. Raitz and Richard Ulack, *Appalachia: A Regional Geography: Land, People, and Development* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984), and John Alexander Williams, *Appalachia, A History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> Donald Edward Davis, *Where There Are Mountains: An Environmental History of the Southern Appalachians* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> John Towner, "Approaches to Tourism History" *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, 1 (1988): 47-62.

interdisciplinary, but mainly either historical or sociological. While the historical methodology focuses on describing the specifics of a past time period and understanding tourism in that time, the sociological approach uses a “dynamic model” to investigate a society more conceptually.<sup>7</sup> Typical available data consists of statistical records, personal documents, and mass communications such as magazines, newspapers, literature, and guidebooks. Although specific records were not kept on tourism until after the 1920s, this study of Blowing Rock uses land values and figures on individual wealth to reflect on the effect of tourism in the area. Mass communications including advertisements are also available for this time period. For example, health retreats of the Blue Ridge released journal-length advertisements complete with health-related articles and resort rates, such as one titled *The Southern Sanitarium* compiled by L. A. Scruggs.<sup>8</sup>

### 1.2.2 The Tourism Industry in Southern Appalachia

The few major pieces of scholarship that study the effects of tourism in Southern Appalachia agree that as an industry, it has brought both advantages and detriments. As I will elaborate in later chapters, proponents of tourism often claim that it provides economic advantages, such as increased employment. In areas with heavy second-home interest, local business income and tax revenues are also meant to increase. However, many authors and researchers point to flaws in these benefits, as well as difficulties that correlate with the coming of a tourist economy. For example, the new service-oriented wage work tends to be

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>8</sup> L. A. Scruggs, *The Southern Sanitarium* 1, 4 (January 1, 1897) Printed in Raleigh, N. C. See Appendix F for a shorter example of turn-of-the-century resort advertising.

seasonal and poorly paid, and tax revenues are often heavily offset by infrastructural demands such as new roads.

C. Brenden Martin summarizes this idea in the title and thesis of his 2007 work, *Tourism in the Mountain South: A Double-Edged Sword*.<sup>9</sup> Martin details the history and implications of tourism in the region, arguing that the industry brought multiple tensions. The surge of development and specifics of its social dynamics created economic, cultural, and even environmental paradoxes in the region.

Richard Starnes has also published works that directly deal with tourism in Southern Appalachia, and particularly Western North Carolina.<sup>10</sup> As editor of the 2003 collection *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, and Culture in the Modern South*, Starnes facilitates different approaches to the multiple tensions of tourism, addressing questions of who benefits and who is harmed. His 2005 publication, *Creating the Land of the Sky: Tourism and Society in Western North Carolina*, continues with this theme, arguing that as a major force shaping the history of Western North Carolina, tourism created substantial pressures alongside its gains.

In addition, L. Alex Tooman's 1995 dissertation for the University of Tennessee titled "The Evolving Economic Impact of Tourism on the Greater Smoky Mountain Region of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina," reiterates the sentiment that tourism has acted as a complex and significant factor on the socio-economic structure of the region.<sup>11</sup> Burdens on residents who do not directly own part of the tourism infrastructure, particularly rising prices

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<sup>9</sup> C. Brenden Martin, *Tourism in the Mountain South: A Double-Edged Sword* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> Richard Starnes, *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, and Culture in the Modern South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), and *Creating the Land of the Sky: Tourism and Society in Western North Carolina* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> L. Alex Tooman, "The Evolving Economic Impact of Tourism on the Greater Smoky Mountain Region of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina" (Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, 1995).



that include the cost of living and land ownership, counteract the industry's local profits. As many authors argue, the employment brought by tourism tends to consist of poorly paid seasonal service industry jobs with limited opportunities for upward mobility. Tooman focuses mainly on the later twentieth century in the Great Smokey Mountain Park region, using census data as support, and finally provides suggestions for controlled and thoughtful development through tourism to minimize negative impacts.

These mainly historical analyses of southern Appalachian tourism both present and question the benefits of the region's tourist economy. This reflects on Blowing Rock and supports the argument that not all local residents gained from the economic increases around them. These claims can be applied to the county data that shows a consistent increase in land value between 1890 and 1920 with a stagnant percentage of residents recorded as having very little wealth. What may seem an economic benefit, such as the township's increased wealth and property values at the turn of the century, can simultaneously prove burdensome for many residents who are competing with rising costs and not receiving the same increase in wealth.

### 1.2.3 Local History

Histories available for Watauga County tie in local relevance to what other authors claim on a regional level. A very early publication by John Preston Arthur, *A History of Watauga County, North Carolina. With Sketches of Prominent Families*, from 1915, gives tales of intrigue and discussions of important residents from settlement times to the 1910s.<sup>12</sup> The most notable aspects of Arthur's history are his reflections on the townships of Blowing

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<sup>12</sup> John Preston Arthur, *A History of Watauga County, North Carolina. With Sketches of Prominent Families* (Richmond, VA: Everett Waddey Co., 1915).

Rock and Meat Camp, and discussions of influential landowners such as Moses Cone. The author's glowing description of 1915 Blowing Rock, compared to passing mentions of Meat Camp, reveals the importance of the resort township in the county. It provides as well an example of early twentieth century self-advertisement from a tourist location.

A more recent publication, Michael C. Hardy's 2005 *A Short History Of Old Watauga County*, is a self-described "carefully researched short history," not meant as a scholarly work.<sup>13</sup> It is therefore necessary to keep the author's intentions in mind when evaluating his information; however, the details he is able to add to the local history remain worth noting. As well as providing information for hundreds of years of Watauga history, Hardy notes the general lack of literature on certain townships in the county such as Meat Camp. In fact, Earl W. Greene's history of the Meat Camp Baptist Church from 1851-1981 is one of the few compilations of written information on the township.<sup>14</sup> A well-researched source, Greene's work uses and reprints church records including deeds and meeting minutes, as well as budget and personnel records. Although John Preston Arthur's 1915 history of the county mentions Meat Camp multiple times, it is typically in passing, as someone moves out of or through the area. Beyond the very detailed history of the Meat Camp Baptist Church, Stanley South is one of the few authors to offer a historical interpretation of the township; however, South focuses mainly on the infamous Potter family, providing more stereotypes than community history.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Michael C. Hardy, *A Short History of Old Watauga County* (Boone, NC: Parkway Publishers, 2005), 1.

<sup>14</sup> W. Earl Greene, *Meat Camp Baptist Church 1851-1981: A History* (Boone, NC: Minor's Publishing Company, 1983).

<sup>15</sup> One of these publications is a transcription of original songs and stories by Howard Woodring of Meat Camp, mostly pertaining to the Potters. See: *A Window into Times Gone By: Tales and Songs* (Transcribed and published by Stanley South: Columbia, SC, 1996).

In writing on Watauga County history, authors have paid noticeably more attention to the tourist center of the county, Blowing Rock. Barry M. Buxton published one such work in 1989, titled, *A Village Tapestry: The History of Blowing Rock*.<sup>16</sup> Although written over seventy years after Arthur's history, Buxton also shows particular interest in the town's wealthy families throughout his local history. In addition, the author comments on the Blowing Rock economy and historical shifts, such as new technology in the area. The focus on economically prominent families, however, reflects how deeply entwined interest in Blowing Rock continues to be with its history of wealth, originating in its early elite tourism. In the same manner, the lack of local and regional history interest in Meat Camp echoes the contrast of this township's past with that of Blowing Rock. Before direct comparisons between the two townships are made, however, this study will discuss underlying issues, including the economy and existing land-use patterns in the region and the county.

Another study that touches on Watauga County history is Johnny Graybeal's six-volume history of the East Tennessee and Western North Carolina Railroad.<sup>17</sup> All published in 2001, the particularly relevant volumes include those concerning rail depots and passenger cars, both of which serviced mainly vacationing and excursion travelers in the area. Graybeal uses state, county, and company records, as well as correspondence, newspapers, and train schedules to recreate the routes, history, and experiences of this rail line that entered Watauga in the 1910s.

Finally, two works published locally in the 1970s give overviews of Western North Carolina history. Ora Blackmun's *Western North Carolina: Its Mountains and Its People to*

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<sup>16</sup> Barry M. Buxton, *A Village Tapestry: The History of Blowing Rock* (Boone, NC: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1989).

<sup>17</sup> Johnny Graybeal, *Along the ET & WNC* (Hickory, NC: Tarheel Press, 2001).

*1880* and Ina Van Noppen's *Western North Carolina since the Civil War* both give summaries of the small region's history noting the importance of tourism.<sup>18</sup> Significantly, these accounts describe trends, routes, and tourist clientele in the area at the turn of the century, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter two.

#### 1.2.4 Class Structure

One important aspect of creating a historical picture of nineteenth-century Appalachian North Carolina is the class structure. Although contentious and overused terms, I have chosen to use the expressions class and class structures or systems in the Appalachian context to refer to tangible and long-term wealth disparities in the region. Not only do Appalachian historians frequently use the expression "class," but also tax records between 1890 and 1920 report the individuals of Blowing Rock and Meat Camp as having had widely different levels of wealth that can be grouped consistently over time.

The idea of class is also one of the most controversial facets of Appalachian history. Authors debate the depth of a class system in the mountains over a backdrop of romantic stereotypes of an egalitarian "yeoman" farming society. Due to widespread twentieth-century poverty and the influences of outside forces on the region, some authors overlook the internal class divisions prevalent since the European settlement. The existence of some form of class structure therefore stands out in contrast to unrealistic notions of a completely egalitarian "classless" culture.

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<sup>18</sup> Ora Blackmun, *Western North Carolina: Its Mountains and Its People to 1880* (Boone, NC: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1977), and Ina Van Noppen, *Western North Carolina since the Civil War* (Boone, NC: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1973).

Two distinct modes of writing about Appalachia through a class lens emerge in the historical literature. One type of such research in nineteenth-century Appalachia provides a specific historic analysis of the time. Many authors, however, display the effects of their own time by analyzing the region's past in light of its twentieth-century role in the American economy. The perception of Appalachia as an economically depressed region into the later twentieth century inspired many emotive texts on its history that utilize global class theories such as Immanuel Wallerstein's Dependency Theory.<sup>19</sup> Cultural revivalism also plays a major part in some of these retrospective projections onto Appalachia's past. In working with the latter group, it can prove difficult to separate politics from research, and such texts are therefore used more lightly in this study.

In the more historically based camp, the 1991 work, *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society and Development in the Preindustrial Era*, edited by Robert D. Mitchell, provides a collection of essays regarding eighteenth and nineteenth-century preindustrial Appalachia through an interdisciplinary lens.<sup>20</sup> These essays make conclusions about the possible class structure and point to a preindustrial agricultural decline, which effected the formation of the later economy. An entry by Paul Salstrom discusses agricultural production, and Mary Beth Pudup provides a relevant examination of local elites and property relations.<sup>21</sup>

Drawing regionally towards Watauga County, Blanche Henry Clark, in *The Tennessee Yeomen, 1840-1860*, argues that the class system in Tennessee included both a middle class and a lower yeoman farming class between the stereotypical rich versus poor-

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<sup>19</sup> See Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System* (New York: Academic Press, 1974) for more on this theory.

<sup>20</sup> Robert D. Mitchell, ed., *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society and Development in the Preindustrial Era* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991).

<sup>21</sup> Mary Beth Pudup, "Social Class and Economic Development in Southeastern Kentucky, 1820-1880," and Paul Salstrom, "The Agricultural Origins of Economic Dependency, 1840-1880," in *ibid.*

white divide.<sup>22</sup> Clark's nine-county case study, which uses census schedules, county records, personal records, and newspapers to describe mid-1800s social and economic structures, includes figures for two Appalachian counties that are geographically near and similar to Watauga on the Tennessee-North Carolina border. Although hers is an earlier work, published in 1942, and deals with an earlier time period, it does set up a discussion on existing class and land systems in the specific region. Clark found the free agricultural population of the two Appalachian counties she studied to be 90 to 99 percent non-slaveholding. However, within this cohort of white farmers she also found a multilayered system of class consisting of large and small slaveholders, a slave-less "yeoman" class of farmers with slave aspirations, and "poor whites." The author argues that her findings refute what many perceived to be a simplified dual-class system of extremely wealthy large land and slave owners versus extremely poor white farmers.

Martin Crawford's research on a bordering North Carolina county, Ashe, discusses the class structure and society in the area around the time of the Civil War. The most relevant sections of his scholarship describe class and race systems before and following the War.<sup>23</sup> Crawford's 2001 book, *Ashe County's Civil War: Community and Society in the Appalachian South, a Nation Divided* provides a portrayal of society and life in war-era Ashe County, arguing notably that slave ownership did exist. According to the author, a lower class of yeomen farmers, while still dedicated to the slave system, worked on a smaller scale with no slaves. The main sources used in this research come from a base of tax lists, county records,

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<sup>22</sup> Blanche Henry Clark, *The Tennessee Yeomen, 1840-1860* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1942).

<sup>23</sup> Martin Crawford, *Ashe County's Civil War: Community and Society in the Appalachian South, A Nation Divided* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), and "Political Society in a Southern Mountain Community: Ashe County, North Carolina, 1850-1861" *The Journal of Southern History* 55, 3 (August 1989): 373-390.

and memoirs. In “Political Society in a Southern Mountain Community: Ashe County, North Carolina, 1850-1861,” published in 1989, Crawford argues that the elite of Ashe county—those who were economically prominent and successful consistently from the earliest days of the county—were politically integrated within the state and region. He illustrates this theory via the process through which the county shifted allegiances before the Civil War.

Finally, Wilma Dunaway’s *The First American Frontier: Transition to Capitalism in Southern Appalachia, 1700-1860* states that Appalachian integration into global capitalism began with the European exploration, and soon became tied to land.<sup>24</sup> Although clearly marking her place within the politically-fueled cluster of historians, this argument contradicts a major assumption in much of twentieth-century thought on Appalachia: that later poverty in the region was due to earlier isolation and a lack of economic integration.

As this work opens with the earliest white settlements, it sets up a new picture of the region’s existing “class” framework. The author argues for very early land speculation and centralized, privatized absentee ownership facilitated by state and local policies. To support her claims, Dunaway cites numerous family papers and manuscript sources from eight states, federal census reports on agriculture, manufacture, families, mortality, and Native Americans from 1811 to 1910, among other sources.

In an example of her documentation, the author tracks absentee ownership by correlating county tax records with local histories. If it were not for her extensive referencing and research, one might regard the chosen framework of global capitalism as overly

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<sup>24</sup>Wilma A. Dunaway, *The First American Frontier: Transition to Capitalism in Southern Appalachia, 1700-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

dramatic. However Dunaway's arguments remain useful because she is able to ground her claims on early land use in Appalachia in details including major owners and typical prices.<sup>25</sup>

Dunaway's work also transitions into the next group of authors, who often write through a twentieth-century activist lens. These tend to use world-systems theory or other models of stunted economic development, as Dunaway does to structure her arguments. The authors attempt to project backwards onto the history of the region's economic development to ascertain at which point things went "wrong," leaving the region economically behind. These works can make compelling arguments as long as they reflect valid historic research, as Dunaway's does. However, they typically rely on a victimizing approach that categorizes the entire region as a single conflated class. They furthermore tend to overlook insider influence on the Appalachian economy by focusing their attention on powerful outsiders as the primary actors in the region's history.

Paul Salstrom's *Appalachia's Path to Dependency: Rethinking a Region's Economic History, 1730-1940*, published in 1994, serves as an example of this type of study, as it argues that Appalachia shifted from a self-sufficient to dependent region from 1840 to 1940 due to its form of industry, which was characterized by a lack of internal capital.<sup>26</sup> Salstrom uses agricultural and industrial statistics, possibly from census schedules, as well as wage rates to support his argument, but presents Appalachia as a singular class, thereby simplifying the region's interior divisions of wealth.

*Colonialism in Modern America: The Appalachian Case*, an even earlier work edited by Helen Matthews Lewis in 1978, again depicts Appalachia as a "peripheral" region, with a

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<sup>25</sup> For these examples, see tables in *ibid.*, 63 and footnotes, 67.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Salstrom, *Appalachia's Path to Dependency: Rethinking a Region's Economic History, 1730-1940* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994).



collection of essays supporting this vision.<sup>27</sup> These include an article by Ronald Eller, author of *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930*.<sup>28</sup> While arguing that the 1880s industrialization deeply affected mountain economy and life, his description of preindustrial life in the region emphasizes the idea of a classless yeoman society without providing supportive evidence, which he does much more thoroughly with his material on the industrial era. Many of his arguments contradict Dunaway, especially those concerning patterns of ownership of small family farmland in preindustrial Appalachia, again in that they portray the society as completely egalitarian.

Lastly, a comprehensive work published in 2000 by Dwight B. Billings and Kathleen M. Blee, *The Road to Poverty: The Making of Wealth and Hardship in Appalachia*, is a modern revision of an older form of activist economic research.<sup>29</sup> This look at an Appalachian history of development depends on neither “Culture of Poverty” nor “Dependency Theory” models in describing Appalachian economy, politics, and culture. Deeply involved with the use of theory, the authors focus on a case study of Clay County, Kentucky. The main relevance however lies in its conclusions, which support the arguments of many of the previous authors on land ownership and stereotyping of the region while investigating the early capitalist market. In regards to land use, they argue that nineteenth-century Appalachia had resident landowners, absentee landowners, and landless residents. In

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<sup>27</sup> Helen Matthews Lewis, ed., *Colonialism in Modern America: The Appalachian Case* (Boone, NC: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1978).

<sup>28</sup> Ronald D. Eller, *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982).

<sup>29</sup> Dwight B. Billings, and Kathleen M. Blee, eds., *The Road to Poverty: The Making of Wealth and Hardship in Appalachia* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

this way, Billings and Blee, as opposed to some previous authors, do refer to the region as “economically diverse” in the nineteenth century, not as a single colonized class.<sup>30</sup>

### 1.2.5 Land Use and Ownership

Due to the continued modern popularity of Southern Appalachia as a tourist destination and second home location, the last thirty years have seen an explosion of studies on these forces’ effects on local communities. Multiple studies have focused on Watauga County itself, as it became increasingly popular to resort development. Although the majority of this research was conducted and published in the 1970s, some patterns can be traced back to the earliest centers of tourism. Obviously scholarship cannot generalize across the decades too boldly. However, the quantitative support available to later twentieth-century studies makes them worth note. The most well-documented of these provide evidence for their arguments on the effects of tourism to a degree that authors on the nineteenth and early twentieth century often cannot.

One of the most influential studies of land use in Appalachia, conducted by the Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force throughout the 1970s, investigated industrial and absentee land ownership across the region.<sup>31</sup> The overview of this six-state study supplies data and analysis regarding land use trends. For Western North Carolina, tourism, as opposed to coal mining, proved a major influential force in land use and values. This is an extremely well documented study, for example providing percentages of land ownership and tax contribution by public, private, and industrial owners on the state and even county level in

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>31</sup> See particularly: Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force, *Land Ownership Patterns- Vol. IV: North Carolina* (ALOTF, 1980). Also, authors compiled the results of this multi-volume study into a single book, *Who Owns Appalachia? Landownership and its Impact* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1983).

some instances. The task force compiled extensive demographic and economic data for the Appalachian states, with each covered by its own volume.

Planning experts showed a particular interest in the effects of resort development during this surge of research. Studies by the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill Department of City and Regional Planning and even by the American Society of Planning Officials also focus on second homes and resort development within local economies.<sup>32</sup> Both of these are detailed explorations that cover effects ranging from land use, ownership, taxes, and public services to the environment and water quality.

Additional studies include the North Carolina Public Interest Research Group report, *The Impact of Recreational Development: A Study of Land Ownership, Recreational Development, and Land*, published in 1975.<sup>33</sup> Independent authors John Gaventa, Robin Gottfried, and Anita Parlow all published further such analyses that weigh the economic contributions of a tourist-based market against its social, environmental, and particularly financial burdens.<sup>34</sup> Each of these examinations provides quantitative or qualitative details to the overall picture of tourism's difficult economic balance in Southern Appalachia.

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<sup>32</sup>David R. Godschalk, Francis H. Parker and Charles E. Roe, eds. *Land Development in the North Carolina Mountains: Impact and Policy in Avery and Watauga Counties* (UNC-CH Department of City and Regional Planning, 1975), and American Society of Planning Officials, *Subdividing Rural America: Impacts of Recreational Lot and Second Home Development* (Washington, DC: United States Government Print, 1976).

<sup>33</sup>North Carolina Public Interest Research Group, *The Impact of Recreational Development: A Study of Land Ownership, Recreational Development, and Land* (Durham, NC: NCPIRG, 1975).

<sup>34</sup>John Gaventa, *The Political Economy of Land Tenure: Appalachia and the Southeast* (Madison, Wisconsin: Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1995); Robin Gottfried, "Observations on Recreation-Led Growth in Appalachia" *American Economist* 21 (Spring 1977): 44-50; and Anita Parlow, *The Land Development Rag: The Impact of Resort Development on Two Appalachian Counties, Watauga and Avery in North Carolina* (Knoxville, TN: Southern Appalachian Ministry in Higher Education, 1976).

### 1.3 Methodology

#### 1.3.1 Primary Research

The objective of this research is to discern whether the early tourist industry in Blowing Rock, North Carolina, caused an increase in land prices in the township between 1890 and 1920. I began by consulting regional and local histories to ascertain the emergence and nature of substantial tourism in Blowing Rock. For this township, the early appearance of tourism meant that seasonal visitors were among the wealthiest individuals in their region as well as the nation, spent long periods each year vacationing, and often bought second homes in the area.

Primary sources, consisting mainly of county tax records but including census records and schedules, provided the most relevant information for the years between 1890 and 1920. I chose the township of Meat Camp, also in Watauga County, as a comparison with Blowing Rock. Meat Camp is on the other end of the county from Blowing Rock, and did not experience the intense seasonal tourist interest seen in the latter township between 1890 and 1920. Census records reported over 90 percent of families on farms in Meat Camp between 1880 and 1920, while Blowing Rock's rates fell from 90 percent in 1880 to 65 percent by 1920. Population figures were slightly higher for Meat Camp than Blowing Rock during this time period. Both townships recorded a similar number of taxed residents throughout these years however, creating a good basis for comparison.

From the tax scrolls and lists, I took a random sampling of 25 percent of the listed taxed residents from both Blowing Rock and Meat Camp township records, using the best available data for the years between 1890 and 1920 in approximately five-year increments. From the samples, I created totals and averages from individual listings. This involved noting

the amount and value of land owned by each person as well as their total wealth, referred to in the records as aggregate value. I also recorded the aggregate value figures separately in groups of minimal, low, medium, and high wealth to create percentages of income divisions within townships. I also noted the number of landowners in each sample to create percentages of landlessness.

I then compiled the available land values, individual wealth estimates, and population data from these records into the tables that follow in subsequent chapters. Tables and figures regarding land values and ownership, or individual, township, and county wealth, were compiled from Watauga County tax scrolls or tax lists, depending on which contained more detail in a given year. The tax scrolls and lists for Watauga County during these years are not fundamentally different, but vary from year to year in which provides more detail on individual property ownership and wealth. I gained population data from census records, voting data recorded by tax officials, or secondary sources. With these tables I was able to establish average land value amounts and rates of increase for both townships, as well as information on individual, township, and county wealth for many of the years between 1890 and 1920.

### 1.3.2 Issues in Primary Research

Careful analysis of the validity of a primary source adds necessary depth to any historical argument. In this case, the primary use of government documents in the study of land value has both benefits and pitfalls. Although most literature on the use of government documents in historical research focuses on federal census data, the tax scrolls and lists used heavily in this study share much with the former type of source. Problems such as

underenumeration and human error as outlined by other scholars certainly need to be taken into consideration.

Kenneth Winkle published two studies on the use of United States census data with articles published in 1991 and 1994, "The U.S. Census as a Source in Political History," and "The United States Census and Community History," respectively.<sup>35</sup> In these, he compares the use of the census for political versus social history, finding it much more beneficial to the latter.

Along with authors Jeremy Atak and Fred Bateman, Winkle emphasizes the importance of using census manuscripts over published census data.<sup>36</sup> In the case of the Watauga County tax scrolls, handwritten manuscripts were in fact available. This meant that all the original information was accessible, as opposed to the summaries or shortened versions that are sometimes published. Although handwriting and wear can slow research, the benefits of the first hand documents outweigh the convenience of printed versions. In the case of the Watauga County censuses for 1890 to 1920, for example, there were indeed published versions available, but these omitted the most relevant information found in the originals, that relating to the number of farms.

Historians such as Donald Parkerson have published articles on common inaccuracies in federal census data in the United States.<sup>37</sup> Underenumeration in particular arises as an issue in research and analysis, possibly causing authors to come to skewed conclusions in areas such as population and migration. Richard I. Savage's 1982 article "Who Counts?" also

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<sup>35</sup>Kenneth J. Winkle, "The U.S. Census as a Source in Political History," *Social Science History* 15, 4 (Winter 1991): 565-577, and "The United States Census and Community History" *The History Teacher* 28, 1 (November 1994): 87-101.

<sup>36</sup> Jeremy Atak and Fred Bateman, "Nineteenth-Century U.S. Industrial Development through the Eyes of the Census of Manufactures," *Historical Methods* 32, 4 (Fall 1999): 177-188.

<sup>37</sup> Donald H. Parkerson, "Comments on the Underenumeration of the U.S. Census, 1850-1880" *Social Science History* 15, 4 (Winter 1991): 509-515.

discusses underenumeration in the United States census from 1790, when the census was instituted as a “constitutional requirement.”<sup>38</sup> While covering this long history of the census, Savage informs on the specifics of underenumeration during different eras.

The federal census taken in 1850 was the first to enumerate on the individual level, as opposed to counting families. In this way, 1850 saw the first “modern” census in the United States. The noted individuals, however, did not include slaves, free African Americans or Native Americans. Six statistical schedules were taken along with this census, covering topics such as death, society, and agriculture.<sup>39</sup> Between the multiple studies done on the nineteenth-century censuses, scholars have found significant underenumeration of the population. Authors such as Winkle have concluded on a general 10 percent rate of underenumeration for such sources.<sup>40</sup>

Numeration issues become more drastic for African American and immigrant populations. According to Richard Steckel, inconsistent changes in the reported African American population through the years 1850 to 1890 point to incorrect numeration, also exacerbated by changing racial definitions.<sup>41</sup> In “The Quality of Census Data for Historical Inquiry: A Research Agenda,” published in 1991, Steckel supports the previous authors with his thesis warning researchers to be cautious of the possibility of error in census data when using it for historical arguments.<sup>42</sup> The author lists the findings of multiple case studies,

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<sup>38</sup> Richard Savage, “Who Counts?” *The American Statistician* 36, 3 (August 1982): 195-200.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Winkle, “The U.S. Census as a Source in Political History,” 573.

<sup>41</sup> For more on the political and social effects of racial definitions in United States history, see Peter Wallenstein, *Tell the Court I Love My Wife* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

<sup>42</sup> Richard H. Steckel, “The Quality of Census Data for Historical Inquiry: A Research Agenda” *Social Science History* 15, 4 (Winter 1991): 579-599. See also Steven Ruggles and Susan Brower, “Measurement of Household and Family Composition in the United States, 1850-2000” *Population and Development Review* 29, 1 (March 2003): 73-101, which focuses on the effect of approaches to census reporting on the analysis of family statistics such as living arrangements in historical research.

which cross-referenced individuals in different types of sources, such as tax digests, and found 6 to 35 percent rates of discrepancy in numeration, depending on area.<sup>43</sup> From looking over the previous research, Steckel settled on a figure of 15 percent for adults who went uncounted in mid-nineteenth-century censuses, with a striking 35 percent top estimate. Both census and tax records in Watauga County list non-white persons, from slaves and residents in 1850 to land owners in later years. It is important to keep in mind, therefore, that the numerical reflections of this population are probably consistently low.

Human error can also be an issue with census and tax records. It is nearly impossible to know if an official reached all residents in an area, or correctly reported the amount and value of their property. One approach to underenumeration and human error issues is to project sophisticated adjustments onto the figures to represent more accurate information. However, I have chosen to use the records' figures directly because they do seem to create reliable patterns even if the numbers themselves may be low.

Despite all the possible pitfalls, institutional data such as census and tax records make a generally reliable source if the researcher also acknowledges the limitations. Being standardized, nationally universal, and published at mostly regular intervals, while also accounting for factors on an individual level, tax and census records have proved a great asset in county research. Through cross-referencing available sources, and using as many different types of primary sources as were relevant, this study has attempted to counter the severity of skewed information. Tax scrolls and tax lists comprised the two main sources,

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<sup>43</sup> Notable, although not completely relevant, is Steckel's report that in the 1840 census, "The most controversial result was the incredible number of northern but not southern blacks who were reported as lunatics," 583.



while census material, among other sources, and confirmation in the secondary literature provided support.

#### 1.4 Conclusion

I argue that the early rise of tourism in Blowing Rock initiated an increase in land values in that township at a higher rate than comparable areas in the same county between 1890 and 1920. Furthermore, despite increased wealth and possible tax revenues gained through this industry, some Blowing Rock residents did not experience an augmentation of their own wealth although they equally shared the costs of rising land prices.

Using the methodology outlined above I will discuss tourism's effect on land costs in Watauga County. The quantitative data is overlaid onto themes in the literature on Appalachian history, including class and industry. While local and regional histories describe the nature and degree of Blowing Rock's tourist wealth, rising prices in the township's tax records support many authors' claims regarding tourism's effects on local economies, and on land value in particular.

My main goal in this study is to bring quantitative analysis to the existing debate in Appalachian history surrounding the effects of tourism on land values in communities. I find this research to be currently relevant in Watauga County and similar areas of Southern Appalachia, as land prices soar above median incomes. I do not intend to comment on possible current trends in this study however, but to trace them back to their origins through the example of Blowing Rock, where tourism became well established by the second half of the nineteenth century.

## 2. TOURISM IN WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

### 2.1 Introduction

In the United States, both wealth hierarchies and seasonal tourist patterns were well established by the 1860s and continued, although altered, after the Civil War into the twentieth century. In the period preceding the automobile, wealth and tourism also correlated, as seasonal retreats were feasible only for the extremely affluent. Therefore, resort destinations that were favored before the Civil War were founded by a clientele with extremely high individual wealth compared to any community average. The particular history of tourism in Southern Appalachia interacted with the region's existing class structure and land use patterns.

### 2.2 Class in Appalachia

#### 2.2.1 Antebellum Class Structure via Land Ownership

A relevant dispute within Appalachian history over the past fifty years regards the existence or form of a class system in the mainly rural region. While popular myth and some scholars idealize early agricultural Appalachia as a classless farming society of general equality, immune even from the national slave system, many others argue that elites, class, and slavery have all been part of the region's makeup, possibly from as early on as white

settlement. These class structures also influenced land use at the time and became the basis for land use patterns in future years.

Wilma Dunaway argues for the earliest onset of uneven land use patterns in the region, stating that land restructuring after the 1838 Cherokee removal worked very much against not only Native Americans but also small landowners. "By structuring parcel requirements and prices so that only inferior acreage was within reach of poorer settlers, state land policies favored large speculators. In addition, absentee buyers circumvented residency requirements by hiring local agents."<sup>44</sup> It is also worth noting that the use of local agents points to a strong "insider" influence in facilitating absentee ownership in the region. Authors Karl B. Raitz and Richard Ulack agree with this version of Appalachian settlement, arguing that due to overlapping and inconsistent surveying practices in the region, farm settlers were reluctant to move to the mountains in the eighteenth century, as titles and boundaries were unsure. Instead, absentee owners controlled much of the land.<sup>45</sup>

A possible concentration of speculative and absentee ownership did not mean that the Southern Appalachians became vacantly unsettled, however. As Appalachian historian Donald Davis points out, by the opening of the 1800s, the relatively cheap price of land and growing population density at this time in other parts of the East led settlers to every corner of the mountains. Not as isolated or under-populated as typically thought, Davis argues that originally most occupants owned one hundred to three hundred acres; residents also founded Southern Appalachia's early cities at this time, including Asheville, Knoxville, and Chattanooga.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Dunaway, *The First American Frontier*, 72.

<sup>45</sup> Raitz and Ulack, *Appalachia: A Regional Geography*, 94.

<sup>46</sup> Davis, *Where There Are Mountains*, 125.

Local historian Martin Crawford does not suggest speculation, but a system in which an early landed elite formed in the Watauga County area. His description of Western North Carolina states that the landholding upper class owned better quality land. The wealthiest families in neighboring Ashe County, according to Crawford, were the long-standing ones who had claimed land along the New River. On slavery, the author maintains that although the county did not have plantations, large landholders did own slaves. Furthermore, he states, "What did develop was a yeoman farming society that nonetheless exhibited considerable disparities in wealth holding and productive attainment."<sup>47</sup>

Mary Beth Pudup affirms that local elites emerged by the 1870s in Kentucky through politics and owning better quality land.<sup>48</sup> Crawford makes an identical assertion in his description of Ashe County. However, the latter author puts the development of an elite class much earlier; he argues that upper class families were entrenched in their land soundly before the Civil War. This implies that a wealthy class with an upper hand in politics and landholding had firmly developed by the era in question in this research. Pudup further argues that a merchant-professional class, developed in county seats, did indeed own slaves unlike most farmers. According to the author, this class, exerting the "insider" influence mentioned earlier, would become the leaders of industrial development in the region.

Some of those taxed in Watauga County did own much more land than others. Speculative buying and ownership of better quality land are difficult types of land use to discern definitively from tax records alone, however. Therefore, I do not push either of these claims as central to my argument in this study. They serve simply as examples of possible early land-use patterns linked also to class distinctions in the region.

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<sup>47</sup> Crawford, *Ashe County's Civil War*, 18.

<sup>48</sup> Pudup, "Social Class and Economic Development in Southeastern Kentucky, 1820-1880."

### 2.2.2 Slavery and Class Systems

One aspect that contradicts the idea of an “egalitarian” yeoman society in the mountains is the practice of slavery. Despite the common misperception that slavery accompanied only large plantations, support and observance of the system was in place in mountain counties as well. This alone complicates and negates the simplistic version of a class-free antebellum Appalachia.

Writing in the 1940s, Blanche Henry Clark provides detailed case studies that support such arguments on class systems in Appalachia. Two out of the nine counties of Tennessee that Clark studied, Greene and Johnson, were geographically and agriculturally equivalent to Appalachian counties in Western North Carolina. Through census schedules and county and state records, Clark decided that the Tennessee class system leading into the Civil War not only consisted of rich whites, very poor whites, and slaves, but included two further tiers of white farmers in the economic hierarchy. She identifies these as a “middle-class” of small farmers with slaves, and a “yeoman” class of farmers who did not own slaves.<sup>49</sup>

Although she found that the two Appalachian counties consisted of 90 to 99 percent non-slave owners, a middle class with some slaves and a yeoman class of farmers without slaves still existed between the extremes of rich white and poor. This offers a much more complicated version of class in the region, and further suggests that class was tied to land. Clark cites difficulties in placing many landless farmers into a class, due to inconsistencies between the federal census and schedules, but nonetheless ascertains that 60 percent of farmers in East Tennessee owned their own land between 1850 and 1860.<sup>50</sup> This notably leaves up to 40 percent landless in the two Appalachian counties. Finally, the author finds no

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<sup>49</sup> Clark, *The Tennessee Yeomen*, xvii.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

evidence to suggest that those with large tracts pushed out small landholders, although she concedes that it is hard to know if the large lands were centered in better quality ground.

Carter Woodson, writing in *Blacks in Appalachia*, agrees that most white residents of Western North Carolina were indoctrinated into slavery system, while a small minority sought abolition of the practice.<sup>51</sup> Although he argues that these small holds of manumission activists managed some influence during 1820s, the majority of the white population seemed to have supported the slavery system, despite the fact that only a small minority of this group actually owned slaves.

According to John C. Inscoc, slavery continued with little thought to its possible demise in Western North Carolina even during the Civil War. Noting the deaths of four major slaveholders in the region, including one in Ashe County, Inscoc states: "Yet if the war took an unusually heavy toll on the mountains' slaveholders, the institution itself suffered remarkably little in that particular region...Among the more striking and unexplored aspects of that experience is the continued stability and profitability of slavery for most of the war's duration."<sup>52</sup> While discussing slavery and the war economy in North Carolina's Appalachian region, he asserts that 10 percent of Appalachian North Carolina's population owned slaves.<sup>53</sup> Interestingly, he adds that the typical Western North Carolinian slaveholder was not a rural elite but a town-based non-agricultural professional, and quotes a Frederick Law Olmsted observation from 1854 in support. Finally, second-home owners reappear in this

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<sup>51</sup>Carter G. Woodson, "Freedom and Slavery" in William H. Turner, and Edward J. Cabbell, eds., *Blacks in Appalachia* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1985), 36.

<sup>52</sup> John C. Inscoc, "Mountain Masters as Confederate Opportunists: The Profitability of Slavery in Western North Carolina, 1861-65" *Slavery and Abolition* 16,1 (April 1995): 86.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

discussion, as lowlanders with summer homes in the mountains flocked to the area during the war to avoid its destruction and disruption.

Census information for Watauga County does in fact show eighty-four slaves and twenty-nine non-white residents alongside the 1850 white population of 3,358.<sup>54</sup> Local historian Hardy provides an even higher estimate than census records, asserting that the county had 129 slaves in 1850, and 104 a decade later, comprising 2.1 percent of the Watauga County population. According to the author, “Watauga County, on the eve of the American Civil War, had an energetic, complex, and maturing society in which slavery was a modest but basic component.”<sup>55</sup> Inconsistencies and underenumeration inherent in these early censuses make it likely in fact that more slaves and non-white citizens resided in the county than listed.

By 1888, African Americans appear in tax records for Blowing Rock and Meat Camp, and at least thirty-nine of these individuals were registered to vote in Watauga County. Those registered were subjected to the poll tax of \$2.30 at that time. As noted earlier, this figure is probably 10 percent lower than the actual number. It is also reasonable to assume that the population was at least three times greater than the number of voters since children and women were ineligible to vote. In North Carolina in general, Yasuko Shinoda found an approximate thirty thousand free African Americans in 1860, about 4 percent of the total population, by searching unpublished census schedules.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> See Appendix G for slave and white population maps, and Appendix H for population tables of African Americans in Watauga County.

<sup>55</sup> Hardy, *A Short History of Old Watauga County*, 46.

<sup>56</sup> Yasuko Shinoda, “Lands and Slaves in North Carolina in 1860” (Thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1971).

### 2.2.3 Class Structure Post-Civil War

Moving towards the time period in question in this thesis, Martin Crawford notes major post-war shifts in the county. Although people continued to clear land for farming, agricultural production decreased due to shortages of both labor and cash, while the population increased greatly from 1870 to 1890. Furthermore, the numbers of households headed by females tripled, probably due to the extensive loss of male life experienced during the war. Although in tourism the bulk of influence shifted away from Southern elites during this time period, Crawford argues that families wealthy before the war maintained their high status in the years that followed.

Ronald Eller implies—in both his book and an earlier essay published in Helen Matthews Lewis' *Colonialism in Modern America: the Appalachian Case*—that few economic differences existed in Appalachia until the class hierarchies of industrialization came to the region between 1880 and 1930. This ignores the possibility discussed earlier that some individuals owned concentrations of the best quality land throughout the region, while absentee owners controlled many large tracts as well. These land-use patterns reflect the early wealth or “class” divisions during the nineteenth century and do not fit with the idea of a completely egalitarian society of small farmers. Dunaway, among other authors as noted, argues that elites, and therefore class differentiation, emerged from the very onset of white settlement to the area.

In her research, Dunaway found the institutions of privatized land and absentee ownership in practice from at least the 1800s. Shockingly, she states that during that century, absentee ownership accounted for 75 percent of owned land in Appalachian counties,



according to county tax lists.<sup>57</sup> She supports this claim with her roughly 20 percent sampling of households listed in land records for Appalachian counties in eight states. The figures for Appalachian counties in North Carolina indicate a lower rate of 43 percent absentee ownership. Dunaway also cites a 40 percent rate of landlessness in Appalachian North Carolinian counties among “agricultural households,” which supports Clark’s findings in Tennessee. It is notable that the landless account for two-fifths of the *agricultural* households, revealing a somewhat paradoxical nature of land use in the region.

From the above authors, a consensus arises that although slavery was not prevalent in Appalachian communities, some landholders did indeed own slaves, and there seemed to be general support for the slavery system. Beyond this dichotomous class system, however, people with various levels of economic support farmed, some with land and others without. Therefore it is safe to argue that class differences did exist in Appalachian communities, even within the agricultural sector, and that these wealth discrepancies continued beyond the war into the industrial period. This class structure was also connected to property, seen through speculation and absentee ownership, as well as the local elites who held large tracts of the best quality land.

Primary sources suggest that at the least, class division, if not a class system, existed in Watauga County by the turn of the nineteenth century. As noted, census data shows free African Americans and slaves before the Civil War. After the war, tax records show registered non-white voters, some with property, and others without. Also notable, Crawford argues that by 1867 African Americans accounted for approximately 6 percent of registered

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<sup>57</sup> Dunaway, *The First American Frontier*, 56.

voters in neighboring Ashe County.<sup>58</sup> All registered voters, white or black, were subjected to a poll tax of \$2.30 by 1890, increasing to \$2.85 by 1918. This was regardless of the wealth held by the individual; many men taxed as such were marked as owning zero dollars in wealth, including land. Women were also taxed if they had any wealth to their name. Some of the wealthiest individuals listed in tax records were women, in fact, such as Lindsey Patterson in Meat Camp and the widow Mrs. Moses H. Cone in Blowing Rock, who at one time was attributed with over seventy thousand dollars. This sum is more than the amounts with which records listed major hotels and development companies in the area.

The following tables 1 and 2, compiled for this study from tax information for Watauga County through the years 1890 to 1920, focus on individual total wealth. In this period, total wealth was calculated for each taxed person to determine the total amount to be taxed. Items taken into consideration for individual wealth include the ownership of any land, livestock, farm implements, household materials, personal items, and cash. Each item is given an approximate value—presumably by the tax official—and the total value of all listed objects comprises the individual's wealth, titled "aggregate value." Most taxes are then computed as a percentage of this amount. The great detail of the tax forms, itemized down to individual pieces of jewelry, does not leave much room for alternative forms of maintaining extra income.<sup>59</sup> The detailed nature of these forms suggests that a person listed with a low aggregate value truly did not own much wealth. In the 1890 to 1920 records, many individuals are listed with absolutely no wealth, while others have thousands of dollars. In table 1, all figures were calculated from a 25 percent sampling of each township. Figures in table 2 show the typical included in-sample, and total township range of wealth for each,

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<sup>58</sup> Crawford, *Ashe County's Civil War*, 170.

<sup>59</sup> See Appendix I for an example of the tax scrolls used.

listed in tax information as “Aggregate Value.” The in-sample and township ranges are necessary because although I sampled the townships randomly from the records, I did exclude the few individuals or companies who would skew results due to extremely high wealth. The township values therefore show the low and high wealth for each year regardless of whether it was included in the sampling. The in-sample figures represent the vast majority. In both tables, “BR” denotes Blowing Rock, and “MC” denotes Meat Camp; both also include white and non-white wealth even when tax officials recorded these groups separately.

**Table 1. Percentages of Taxed Individuals in Categories of Aggregate Value, 1890-1918**

	1890		1895		1899		1910		1915		1918	
	BR	MC	BR	MC	BR	MC	BR	MC	BR	MC	BR	MC
<b>Wealth</b>												
<b>\$ 0-10</b>	8.3	8.3	10.0	12.3	19.0	11.7	6.1	0.0	8.9	2.7	1.2	1.3
<b>\$ 11-100</b>	37.5	16.7	31.7	22.8	27.0	23.3	22.7	29.0	16.7	22.7	17.9	15.4
<b>\$ 101-1,000</b>	41.7	72.9	48.3	57.9	46.0	56.7	54.5	58.0	52.2	64.0	59.5	66.7
<b>Over \$ 1,000</b>	8.3	2.1	10.0	7.0	8.0	8.3	16.7	13.0	22.2	10.7	21.4	16.6
<b>Median \$ 11-1,000</b>	79.2	89.6	80.0	80.7	73.0	80.0	77.2	87.0	68.9	86.7	77.4	82.1
<b>Mean (\$)</b>	373	296	409	389	474	394	748	559	946	634	684	708

Table 1, showing the percentage of taxed population in each aggregate value group, allows an analysis of wealth disparity by dividing individuals of the township into specific wealth brackets. In 1890, for example, 8.3 percent of the taxed population of both Blowing Rock and Meat Camp were reported to own no more than ten dollars of wealth in land, goods, or money. The percentage at the median reflects the level of wealth disparity: a smaller percentage within the median range denotes a larger percentage at both extremes of wealth. Blowing Rock therefore shows a slightly, but consistently, larger disparity of wealth among taxed citizens. Both townships do show a distinct stratification based on wealth, as an

average 7.5 percent of the population own less than ten dollars, while roughly 12 percent owned over one thousand dollars throughout the years studied. Since this “aggregate value” included land, cattle, farm equipment, household and personal objects, as well as cash, having no wealth to one’s name represented not only being landless, but also owning virtually nothing. It further highlights the limiting nature of the poll tax, at \$2.30 during most of this time, as many of those eligible to vote were listed with zero dollars to their names.

Between 1890 and 1918, the township of Blowing Rock had overall 33.4 percent more of its population with accumulated wealth over one thousand dollars than the residents of Meat Camp. It also had 32 percent more of its population with the very least wealth, zero to ten dollars. This shows a marked difference, not only in total wealth—as can be seen in table 2 that follows—but also in disparity of wealth among the population of the township with strong tourist influence. This data additionally brings into question the economic benefits of tourism in a community.

**Table 2. Range of Individual Aggregate Values,  
Blowing Rock and Meat Camp, 1890-1920**

	Range (\$)	1890	1895	1899	1910	1915	1918	1920
<b>BR</b>	<b>In-Sample</b>	3,670	4,000	7,964	4,305	7,300	5,625	6,185
	<b>Township</b>	3,670	11,530	10,080	24,912	70,017	72,295	40,925
<b>MC</b>	<b>In-Sample</b>	3,500	2,369	2,243	2,976	7,100	5,147	~
	<b>Township</b>	4,590	4,880	2,243	7,600	11,727	6,625	~

Note: Comparable records for Meat Camp in 1920 were unavailable. The low for all ranges is \$0.00, except for Meat Camp in 1918, for which the low is \$5.00.

Table 2, derived from sampling tax scrolls and tax lists, shows the typical range of aggregate value for the population of Meat Camp varying from 28 to 97 percent of Blowing Rock’s wealth. Since these figures are from the samples themselves, they are not reliable averages, but do convey the consistently lower wealth accumulation of individuals in Meat Camp. The township ranges show the extremes of wealth in Blowing Rock and Meat Camp,

with the former unfailingly attracting much more wealthy residents. Companies and individuals such as the Watauga Hotel Company and Mrs. Moses Cone proved to be extreme outliers in wealth, and were therefore omitted from sampling and included only in the total township range. Showing the extreme highs, the township ranges allow a more detailed analysis of wealth disparity within and among townships. The in-sample ranges therefore give an idea of the lows and highs of wealth owned by the majority of the township population.

The relevance of the state of economic and class structures in Western North Carolina leading up to the era in question lies in its creation of a much more complex picture of historical developments in the area. These structures formed the framework of growth in Watauga County in the later period under consideration from 1890 to 1920. This backdrop of class difference also informed developments in relations in land use. Class interacted with tourism and its effects on Blowing Rock and Southern Appalachia in general, and on land use and property value in particular.

## 2.3 Tourism in Western North Carolina

### 2.3.1 Antebellum Tourism

Although white settlers came to Western North Carolina as early as the 1790s, poor road conditions and interactions with Native Americans provided sufficient drawbacks to recreational travel to the area in the early nineteenth century.<sup>60</sup> However, the 1800s would see substantial changes in both. According to C. Brenden Martin, the forced relocation of Native Americans and road improvements encouraged the improvement of tourist-oriented

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<sup>60</sup> Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky*, as well as Chapter 1 of Martin, *Tourism in the Mountain South*, both discuss these factors as hindrances to early nineteenth-century travel in the region.

lodgings in the area and brought wealthy seasonal visitors.<sup>61</sup> Cherokee removal from the Southern Appalachians began in 1839, and although the bulk of the indigenous population had inhabited Northern Georgia, Hardy states that a company from Ashe County did join the effort to relocate remaining Native Americans from Western North Carolina.<sup>62</sup>

According to the introduction of the "Selected Letters Received by the Offices of Indian Affairs Relating to the Cherokee of North Carolina, 1851-1905" in the National Archives, only 1,500 to 2,000 Cherokees remained in the mountains between North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee after General Winfield Scott's removal campaign beginning in 1830. Later efforts were due to the removal treaty of New Echota, signed by the United States and "those Cherokee leaders who favored removal" in 1835.<sup>63</sup>

The Buncombe Turnpike provided the first road traversable with luggage and slaves into the mountains of Western North Carolina, enabling wealthy Southerners to travel seasonally. Before the construction of the turnpike, lowlanders, particularly from South Carolina, made occasional trips to the area. According to Raitz and Ulack, the Southern Appalachians received seasonal visitors from major plantations and along the Atlantic Coast from as early as the 1790s.<sup>64</sup> Once the turnpike was completed, the Southern elite could travel comfortably to the area and ensure themselves the same luxuries to which they were accustomed year round. Often building summer homes in the mountains, these visitors brought wagons with their necessities, including slaves or servants. According to Ora Blackmun, "These excursions made the South Carolinians recognize Western North Carolina

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<sup>61</sup> Martin, *Tourism in the Mountain South*, 1-2.

<sup>62</sup> Hardy, *A Short History of Old Watauga County*, 29. The forcible removal followed the adoption of the Cherokee Nation's constitution in 1827.

<sup>63</sup> "Selected Letters Received by the Offices of Indian Affairs Relating to the Cherokee of North Carolina, 1851-1905" Washington, DC: National Archives, 1977.

<sup>64</sup> Raitz and Ulack, *Appalachia: A Regional Geography*, 236.

as an ideal place to escape the enervating heat of the flatland summers as well as a place which furnished a complete change from their customary environment. They became the region's first 'summer people.'"<sup>65</sup> By 1830, a handful of South Carolinians had begun buying hundreds of acres of mountain property, and encouraging their friends to do the same.

Those visiting the southern mountains originally participated in annual health relocations. Specifically, the travelers came as hot summers and seasonal fever epidemics sent elite South Carolinians to the North Carolina hills along the Buncombe Turnpike. As these migratory habits became ritual, privileged Southerners continued to vacation at the same destinations to socialize with others of their class. Often physically isolated during the year, Southern agricultural elites used seasonal resorts as social meeting grounds. After both legitimate health worries and health-resort fads subsided around the 1840s, resort-goers persisted in returning to North Carolina's mountains.

Drovers had been and continued to herd their stock, particularly hogs, through the same area. Thousands of hogs annually passed through the mountains and down the turnpike itself. In Watauga County, almost nine thousand hogs were registered in tax records in 1888.<sup>66</sup> Drovers greatly affected mountain infrastructure such as hotels, roads, and even crops.<sup>67</sup> Most authors agree that livestock, particularly hogs, was crucial to the Southern Appalachian economy of that time. Early in the century, boarding houses and inns that catered to these agricultural travelers opened to lowland vacationers as well. Resort establishments sprung up in the region, providing the expected luxuries, although many of the first recreational visitors chose to have their own second homes built.

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<sup>65</sup> Blackmun, *Western North Carolina*, 289.

<sup>66</sup> Almost three hundred of these came from Blowing Rock, with over nine hundred from Meat Camp.

<sup>67</sup> See Davis, *Where There Are Mountains*, 132.

While the fevers and heat of low-country summers drove many to the mountains, mineral springs garnered seasonal attention as the first tourist attractions beginning in the 1820s. The antebellum visitors to the mountains migrated annually for health, the springs, and socializing. National leisure destinations had surfaced as early as the 1820s throughout the United States, such as Niagara Falls and the Catskills mountains. In fact, the Blue Ridge Mountain region became one of the three main resort areas nation-wide, particularly attracting wealthy southerners of the Tidewater region. As noted, early visitors brought friends and family, spending several months a year there and buying second homes.

Later in the century, health seekers would replace drovers in many boarding houses during the summer season. According to Richard Starnes, the early nineteenth-century vacationers consisted “without exception” of “the cream of the nation’s political and economic elite.”<sup>68</sup> These were not merely among the nation’s wealthy, but the very wealthiest.

Using sources ranging from newspaper excerpts and resort releases to personal letters, Lawrence Fay Brewster describes the early migrators.<sup>69</sup> The author summarizes this particular tourist trend as such: “Low-country South Carolinians were largely responsible for discovering and popularizing the mountain country of western North Carolina as a summer recreational land... They contributed but little to the general improvement of the country. Their slaves furnished them labor, and store goods were furnished from abroad. The natives

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<sup>68</sup> Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky*, 13.

<sup>69</sup> Lawrence Fay Brewster, *Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-Country Planters* (New York: AMS Press, 1947).



were kept at a great distance, and if they were employed at all, only for menial occupations at inadequate remuneration. A feeling of great bitterness sprung up between both classes.”<sup>70</sup>

Blowing Rock was a prominent player in this early seasonal migration. In fact, Martin lists Blowing Rock among four major antebellum “summer home colonies” of the southern mountains.<sup>71</sup> In a reflection of the elite composition of the first American tourists, many seasonal visitors bought land and second homes in the area. While many towns found the establishment of a hotel followed by second home interest, Blowing Rock was one of the few resort towns to see hotels built in response to growing summer home communities.<sup>72</sup> This particular pattern affected both land and the economy in ways that more transitory tourism would not. These semi-permanent migratory trends to Blowing Rock even predated the creation of Watauga County in 1849, as well as the official incorporation of the township in 1889.

Barry Buxton names James Harper as first to build a summer home in the Blowing Rock area in 1856, naming it “Summerville.” According to Buxton, Harper soon inspired “other prominent Lenoir families” to follow suit, including the Millers and Isbells.<sup>73</sup> Prominent families who survived the Civil War would build large estates in Blowing Rock. Families that the author goes on to list as major estate owners, such as the Cones and Stringfellows, are notably indeed the same names that stand out with the most wealth listed in tax records during this time period.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Brewster, *Summer Migrations*, 114.

<sup>71</sup> Martin, *Tourism in the Mountain South*, 9.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Buxton, *A Village Tapestry*, 2. For this information, Buxton footnotes Nancy Alexander’s *Here Will I Dwell* published in 1956, as well as two personal journals.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

In 1850, the federal census reported 573 families living in the county. Out of the 569 dwellings, 462 were farms, accounting for over 80 percent of county families. Over three thousand individuals were recorded in the county in this year, including between 84 and 104 slaves and at least 29 “colored” residents. Ten years later the county population had not reached five thousand, making it the smallest county in the state by population according to Hardy.<sup>75</sup> In 1860, census records show six townships and two districts in the county, including Meat Camp, which held an approximate population of over five hundred residents, in fifty-five families.

The only available information besides tax and population figures for Meat Camp during this time revolves around the Meat Camp Baptist Church, which began officially congregating in 1851. The original members had been meeting since 1841, and membership reached 177 by 1920.<sup>76</sup>

### 2.3.2 Tourism Post-Civil War

The physical and economic disruption of the Civil War completely reordered the resort clientele of Western North Carolina. However, the select veneer remained. The 1870s saw a resurgence of resort promotion for health tourism, initiated with the hopes of attracting wealth from Northern capitalists to the area. As this fad waned over the next ten years, city leaders of tourist centers in Appalachian North Carolina such as Asheville began serious campaigns of self-advertisement, actively moving from a health focus to the wonders of the area’s natural resources as the main selling point.

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<sup>75</sup> Hardy, *A Short History of Old Watauga County*, 47.

<sup>76</sup> Greene, *Meat Camp Baptist Church*, provides these figures.

As Starnes argues, both initiatives indeed achieved their objective of garnering Northern capital. “Investors from [the North] purchased land and mineral rights in areas of western North Carolina they had visited while guests at local resorts.”<sup>77</sup> Beginning in the 1880s, a second surge in the seasonal home market characterized the new tourism. This success remodeled the source of support to the structure of tourism in Southern Appalachia, due to a combination of war-related wealth loss by Southern elites, Reconstruction, and Northern investments. A northern rush took over the trend that affluent Southern travelers commenced decades earlier. Martin agrees that Northern wealth dominated Southern Appalachian tourism from the end of the Civil War until the automobile era.<sup>78</sup> By 1890, the resort clientele, owners, and industry of Western North Carolina had completely shifted in grounding, however not in form, as it remained a business patronized by elites and flagged by a second home market.

This shift is particularly important to note in regards to one of the major issues of Appalachian Studies and history, the role of outsiders. Often depicted as intrusive and damaging regardless of their intentions, “outsiders” have greatly affected the Appalachian region. Groups such as religious and educational missionaries, cultural revivalists, and anti-poverty enthusiasts entered the region throughout its history with their own agendas of change. Wrapped in the bitterness of over one-hundred and fifty years of mountain stereotyping, Appalachian historians often focus on the role of these outsiders.<sup>79</sup> Therefore, the significance of tourism’s antebellum origins in local boarding houses and hotels, as well

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<sup>77</sup> Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky*, 31.

<sup>78</sup> Martin, *Tourism in the Mountain South*, 23.

<sup>79</sup> For an overview of some of these long-term “outsiders,” see David Whisnant, *Modernizing the Mountaineer: People, Power and Planning in Appalachia* (New York: B. Franklin, 1979).

as its patronage by Southern elites before the entrance of the bulk of Northern speculation stands out against the general atmosphere of outside invasion seen in the literature.<sup>80</sup>

Michael Hardy reports that the Civil War left Watauga County devastated, with fields, homes, and businesses destroyed, while bands of “bushwackers” raided locals. However, the 1870s saw various improvements in stability including the first hotel in Boone, built by the Coffey brothers, and the incorporation of the town in 1872. The author also reports major growth in the county over two decades in both population—a roughly 30 percent increase—and the economy.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, the end of the war allowed for the resort industry in Blowing Rock to fully blossom.<sup>82</sup> By 1874 William Morris had built his boarding house, which was possibly the first in the township according to Buxton. Historian of Appalachian tourism, Martin, adds that “Blowing Rock was an isolated campsite in 1874, when William M. Morris opened the first boarding home for visitors. When Blowing Rock incorporated fifteen years later, there were three hotels and many boarding homes on this previously undeveloped land.”<sup>83</sup>

The last decades of the nineteenth century saw a surge of activity in Watauga County and the continued popularity of Blowing Rock as a resort. Between 1880 and 1900, Watauga County claimed twelve townships, and the population passed ten thousand. This incorporated almost two thousand registered voters including at least fifty African Americans. The total county wealth exceeded one million every year, with over 8 percent of that coming from Blowing Rock, and only 5 percent from Meat Camp. This era saw a continued increase in

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<sup>80</sup> For antebellum origins in locally-owned business, see Martin, *Tourism in the Mountain South*, xv and 38, and Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky*, Chapter 1.

<sup>81</sup> Hardy, *A Short History of Old Watauga County*, 89.

<sup>82</sup> Buxton, *A Village Tapestry*, 4.

<sup>83</sup> Martin, *Tourism in the Mountain South*, 78.

Blowing Rock's resort industry, the coming of the railway, and the first purchases of the influential Cone estate.<sup>84</sup> During the national depression of the 1890s, tourism in the township, as well as the coming of the Dougherty brothers who would build a teachers' college in Boone, helped to support the county's economy.<sup>85</sup> The county's first library opened in the late 1880s in Blowing Rock, not Boone, which was county seat and future home of the college. In fact, Buxton maintains that few travelers continued to Boone from Blowing Rock until cars became more heavily used. The Auto Transfer Company of Boone brought customers to town from Blowing Rock starting in 1910.

In what comes across almost more as advertising than history, Ina Van Noppen describes Blowing Rock's Watauga Hotel, completed in the 1880s, as having "an ideal location at the crest of the Blue Ridge."<sup>86</sup> Blowing Rock was officially incorporated in 1889, the second town to do so in the county following Boone. By 1896 the township's three major hotels, the Watauga Hotel, the Green Park Hotel, and the Blowing Rock Hotel, as well as the Brady House and Stewart House were all open for clients. Blowing Rock historian Buxton claims that by 1889 summers in the township saw a seasonal population increase of 300 percent from approximately two hundred to six hundred residents. Clients of this summer surge resided in one of the township's three hotels, "innumerable boarding houses," or their own second homes.<sup>87</sup> Resort-goers would be met at the Lenoir train station by "hack or surry" to take them to Blowing Rock via the turnpike.<sup>88</sup> The Lenoir-Blowing Rock Turnpike Company, incorporated in 1845, built a road connecting the two towns in 1847. From 1891,

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>86</sup> Van Noppen, *Western North Carolina since the Civil War*, 371.

<sup>87</sup> Buxton, *A Village Tapestry*, 90.

<sup>88</sup> Van Noppen, *Western North Carolina since the Civil War*, 371-3.

the Linville Improvement Company ran “hacks” to and from Blowing Rock on the Yonahlossee Turnpike, which continued to Cranberry. The 1891 opening of the Green Park Hotel even brought Blowing Rock its first convention with the meeting of the North Carolina Veterans Association.

In 1885, the Elk Knob Academy opened on Meat Camp Creek, advertising “A NEW SCHOOL OF HIGH GRADE IN THE ‘Land of the Sky’ ...Thirty-five miles from Lenoir, Fifteen from Blowing Rock. Hack Transportation from Lenoir...The climate is remarkably healthful and salubrious, and boys from the low country may here get health and a good education at a very low price.”<sup>89</sup> The college prep school boasted Principals Rev. B.L. Beall and H.W. Beall, the latter a graduate of Davidson College, “class of ’81.” The advertisement’s focus on health and a low-country clientele implies that Elk Knob Academy catered to wealthy non-locals, likely familiar with the area through tourism. However, by 1904 the school had either closed or moved, as the Meat Camp Baptist Church purchased its building for twenty-five dollars to refurbish for church use.

By 1910, the now fourteen townships of Watauga County boasted a wealth of over two million dollars; Blowing Rock consisted of 9 percent of this total wealth, with 6.8 percent coming from Meat Camp. Blowing Rock well surpassed Boone in number and value of properties listed as “town lots,” claiming 149 lots in the tax record compared to only 64 in the county seat. The average value *per lot* came in at an astounding \$319 in Blowing Rock, a full \$100 over the county average.<sup>90</sup> Unfortunately, there is not indication of the typical size or location of these lots. What is clear is that only Boone and Blowing Rock claim significant numbers of town lots between 1890 and 1920, and these lots are valued on average at almost

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<sup>89</sup> Advertisement reprinted in Greene, *Meat Camp Baptist Church*, 35.

<sup>90</sup> Value is \$100 over the county average when excluding Blowing Rock town lots.

fifty times the cost of an acre of land. African Americans owned at least two of these lots: a Bettie Tompson and Mattie Grayer of Blowing Rock owned lots valued at one hundred dollars each. Meat Camp, as in all years under consideration, recorded no town lots.

Interestingly, a 1949 historical centennial souvenir reported a stall in population increase from 1900 to 1910. Although the Watauga County population reached thirteen thousand in 1900, it recorded an increase of only six people ten years later, compared to the typical increase by decade of 2,400-2,900 residents.<sup>91</sup> National industrialization did bring a surge of outmigration and urbanization from many rural areas in the South, including the “Great Migration” of African Americans from 1900 to 1920. This may account somewhat for population discrepancies in these years.

Due to the opening of industrial jobs in the North coinciding with the reduction of European immigration into the country and such jobs, three hundred thousand to one million African Americans left the South in the first decades of the twentieth century. Economic and social concerns including the disfranchising poll tax also compelled many to leave. The year 1920 saw a 41 percent increase from the past decade of North Carolina-born African Americans living in northern states. Appalachian counties were not exempt from this trend. Watauga County shows a drop from thirty-seven to thirteen African American registered voters between 1900 and 1915. By 1920, only nine African Americans were taxed in the entire county. Fewer than three hundred acres of the county’s 177,000 were attributed to non-white individuals in 1920 for a total value of \$9,504, compared to over one thousand acres listed previously in 1910.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> See Whitener, *History of Watauga County*, n.p.

<sup>92</sup> See William H. Turner and Edward J. Cabbell, eds., *Blacks in Appalachia* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1985); Louise Venable Kennedy, *The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward: Effects of Recent*

Finally, from 1915 to 1920, Blowing Rock continued to have the most numerous and most expensive town lots in the county, with Boone being the only other township to claim a substantial number of such tracts. Over 40 percent of taxed Blowing Rock residents owned town lots in 1915, for a total of 274 lots worth \$387 per lot on average, compared to Boone's fewer than 180 lots for \$177 average per lot. Blowing Rock's total individual wealth rose to 12 percent of the county total as well, while Meat Camp's remained under 6.7 percent.

Published in 1915, Arthur's history of Watauga County provides more of a primary source on turn-of-the-century tourism than a secondary history considering its glowing descriptions of Blowing Rock: "An Established Pleasure Resort.—Blowing Rock went up top as a pleasure resort soon after the completion of the turnpike from Lenoir to Linville City. Many people bought land and built summer homes there. Hotels and boarding houses began to go up and to multiply year by year." Shops, stables, and even bowling alleys opened "for the amusement and needs of a growing summer population."<sup>93</sup> Arthur mentions the bank, telephone service, physicians, and schools, as well as noting that "The mails are adequate, and Charlotte and Raleigh papers reach 'The Rock,' as it is called, on the day they are issued. In other words, everything that is essential to a first-class pleasure resort is provided, and all tastes and purses can be suited...Blowing Rock is established beyond question as one of the finest and most popular pleasure resorts of the South."<sup>94</sup>

In the same year, Wachovia Bank Trust Co., Blowing Rock Hotel Co., and Blowing Rock Dev. Co., were all listed in tax records for Blowing Rock, with wealth ranging from \$2,850 to \$12,075. Individuals, such as Mrs. Moses Cone of the Baltimore Cone family, and

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*Migrations to Northern Centers* (College Park, Maryland: McGrath Publishing Company, 1930,1969); and Florette Henri, *Black Migration: Movement North, 1900-1920* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1975).

<sup>93</sup> Arthur, *A History of Watauga County*, 220.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*



W.W. Stringfellow of Alabama, were taxed in Blowing Rock on \$70,017 and \$12,675, respectively, while by far the wealthiest person in Meat Camp, Lindsey Patterson, was taxed on an impressive but lesser amount of \$11,727. According to Buxton, W.W. Stringfellow, already noted as one of the earliest influential summer residents to Blowing Rock, developed a boarding house into the large estate of Chetola in the 1890s.<sup>95</sup> Notably, this resort destination for affluent tourists still thrives as such in Blowing Rock today.

Second home subdivisions existed in Blowing Rock at this time as well, as can be seen in an impressive advertisement of over fifty pages for Mayview Park, published in 1920. This establishment owned by W.L. Alexander consisted of subdivided tracts for second homes surrounding club-like amenities. The advertising book includes full page pictures and textual celebrations of the setting, recreation, and club house: "The Mayview club house has been erected for the pleasure and comfort of the residents of Mayview Park, but is also open to motorists and to the summer visitors and residents of Blowing Rock." The clubhouse offered luncheons, "vistas," dancing, and private parties, among other luxuries.<sup>96</sup>

A map and brochure published by the Southern Railroad System in 1922 titled "Summer Resort Hotels and Boarding Houses" displays the regional significance of Blowing Rock as a tourist destination.<sup>97</sup> The reverse side of this fold-out railway map of the Southeast lists both "Commercial Hotels in the Principal Cities and Towns" as well as accessible golf clubs. Out of the prominent towns in the 14 listed southeastern states, Blowing Rock has seven hotels and inns cataloged including Mayview Manor and Cottages, the Green Park Hotel, Watauga Inn, Blowing Rock Hotel, and Martin House, noted with individual guest

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<sup>95</sup> Buxton, *A Village Tapestry*, 18.

<sup>96</sup> Crete Hutchinson, *In Cloudland: Mayview Park, Blowing Rock, North Carolina* (Judd & Washington, DC: Detweiler, Inc., 1920).

<sup>97</sup> Southern Railroad System, "Summer Resort Hotels and Boarding Houses," 1922.

capacities ranging from 45 to 250. Boone is not included. Blowing Rock also boasts two of the twenty golf facilities listed for North Carolina: the Blowing Rock Golf Club and Green Park-Norwood Course.

The Blowing Rock Historical Society provides a summary of the establishment of a Blowing Rock resort community in its 1998 description of the area surrounding the still-operating Green Park Hotel. I am including the following direct quotation from the Society's depiction to highlight the elite nature of its history which its authors clearly invoke: "The Green Park Historic District, a residential resort community located on a ridge topped by the picturesque, winding Lenoir Turnpike, contains the Green Park Hotel, the Green Park/Blowing Rock County Club Golf Course, Mt. Bethel Reformed Church and Cemetery, and some two dozen late nineteenth and early twentieth century summer cottages and their associated landscape features."<sup>98</sup>

The form of tourism, even within Southern Appalachia, has varied greatly depending on time and place. What once followed mainly elite trends eventually shifted to an industry driven by the middle class. The advent of the automobile and the rise of the middle class in the twentieth century dramatically altered the face of tourism in the United States and Appalachian South. For this reason this study closes at 1920, at the beginning of the transition to automobile tourism in Watauga County. Not all tourism-fed areas experienced this shift similarly, however. Blowing Rock, for example, remained an elite-focused area with an emphasis on luxurious second homes. Other nearby tourist towns, however, embraced the new class of motorist. Gatlinburg, Tennessee, for example, was established as

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<sup>98</sup> Blowing Rock Historical Society, Inc., *The Green Park Historic District*. (Blowing Rock, NC: BRHS, 1998), 2. See Appendix J for a map of downtown Blowing Rock in the 1920s.

an attraction-oriented vacation area with the opening of the Great Smoky Mountain National Park in 1926. Even within Watauga County, the Wizard of Oz amusement park in Beech Mountain, Linville Caverns, and Grandfather Mountain invited a crowd of economically middle and lower-class visitors throughout the twentieth century. Although Watauga and surrounding counties now also support extremely expensive second home markets, an evident concentration of this phenomenon continues to exist specifically in Blowing Rock, due to its over one-hundred-year legacy as an elite resort haven.

#### 2.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, a stratified class system including slavery and involving land ownership existed in the Southern Appalachian region from very early on, possibly as early as white settlement. After the Civil War, wealth disparity continued within the townships of Watauga County, and extremely wealthy tourists maintained their seasonal vacation patterns to the area, although this clientele shifted from a Southern to a Northern basis. The end of the war also brought industrialization and Northern capital.

Various primary sources reflect the importance of Blowing Rock as a tourist destination by 1920. Tax records also relate the corresponding increase of wealth in the township, but careful analysis reveals that this wealth was not distributed evenly by the tourist market. Blowing Rock's internal wealth disparity exceeded that of Meat Camp at the turn of the century, and the former township maintained a cohort of individuals who claimed extremely low wealth throughout this period.

### 3. TOURISM AS INDUSTRY IN WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA

#### 3.1 Industry in Appalachia

Although the Appalachian region has historically carried a stereotype of isolation and backwardness, industrialization did indeed create substantial change in the mountains, as it did nationally. According to Eller's argument in *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers*, industrialization became a major force in the mountains by the 1880s.<sup>99</sup> The author demonstrates that the area was not isolated from these national changes, as industrial capital entered Appalachia by the turn of the century. Davis agrees, adding that industrial capital-seekers obtained large sections of Southern Appalachian through speculative buying.<sup>100</sup> Absentee industrialists bought much of the region's land; in the southern mountains, timbering and mineral extraction were the most aggressively pursued industrial ventures.

Although many evaluations of Appalachian industry, including Eller's, focus on traditional businesses such as timber and coal, this surge of developmental investment corresponds with the second wave of the tourism industry in Western North Carolina. Tourism in this part of the mountains did in fact manage to become as significant an economic force. This less-acknowledged power interacted in significant ways with the other industries of Reconstruction in the Appalachian South. Tourism served as an important and

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<sup>99</sup> Eller, *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers*, xiv.

<sup>100</sup> Davis, *Where There Are Mountains*, 163.

competitive industry, especially in North Carolina, despite its differences from the major regional industrial forces, such as timber and mineral extraction. Involving individuals, corporations, government agencies, the parks system, and the commercial sector, “tourism is a large, amorphous service industry that is segmented into many different types of businesses.”<sup>101</sup> Regardless of its fragmentation as an industry, however, tourism in Western North Carolina remained as powerful an economic, social, and environmental force as the other industries of Southern Reconstruction and beyond. For example, while rail lines often came to the mountains for timber, in Appalachian North Carolina the tourist economy was able to compete for access to this important infrastructure.

### 3.1.1 Industry and Rail Service

The 1880 opening of the Western North Carolina Railroad to Asheville brought many more wealthy Northerners to the city’s resorts. Appalachian historian John Alexander Williams notes that thanks to convict labor, the Western North Carolina Railroad arrived in Asheville by 1879.<sup>102</sup> Asheville’s population experienced a corresponding 500 percent increase over the next decade.<sup>103</sup> Rail made more resort areas more convenient for Northern travelers to reach. The 1890s depression stalled national rail expansion, which did not fully return until after the conclusion of the First World War.

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<sup>101</sup> Martin, *Tourism in the Mountain South*, xviii.

<sup>102</sup> Williams, *Appalachia: A History*, 232. The author expands on the replacement of convict labor for slave labor on rail lines, stating, “Official statistics acknowledge the deaths of 120 convicts in the construction of the Western North Carolina Railroad from Morganton to Asheville and then southwest through the Blue Ridge plateau between 1875 and 1891...Estimates of the actual—as opposed to the official—number of deaths range as high as 500,” 221.

<sup>103</sup> See Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky*, 25, as well as Van Noppen, *Western North Carolina since the Civil War*, 9.

Although the railway had crossed North Carolina before the war, companies focused on reconstruction of damaged tracks before moving on to extension, and it was not until the 1880s that lines came into the state's mountains. In 1882 the Eastern Tennessee and Western North Carolina Railroad Company (ET&WNC) completed line connecting Tennessee depots in Johnson City, Elizabethton, Hampton, and Roan Mountain to Cranberry, North Carolina in Watauga's neighboring county of Avery. Notably, the train made stops both at the Cranberry Iron Works and the Cranberry Inn.<sup>104</sup> This important infrastructure may have come to the mountains for iron, but it constantly maintained the important link with tourism. As historian of the ET&WNC, Johnny Graybeal, points out, "The East Tennessee & Western North Carolina Railroad offered passenger service during most of its 70-year history...passenger service was visibly more important than freight service. Passengers brought in far less money than freight, but a Railroad's passenger train service was usually the pride of the company."<sup>105</sup> Newspapers in urban centers of Tennessee frequently reported on "excursions" to Cranberry, and the rail line also succeeded in attracting northern attention and visitors, as demonstrated in one special visit made by thirty-five northern newspaper editors to Johnson City in 1884. These travelers both visited the mine and lunched at the Inn, a perfect tour via the rail to garner interest in either type of capital investment.

A smaller company, the Linville River Railroad Co., extended the Cranberry line throughout Avery after its charter in 1896. The ET & WNC eventually bought out Linville River, which was plagued by financial issues, in 1913, and finally extended line into Watauga County at Shull's Mill in 1916, reaching Boone in 1919.

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<sup>104</sup> Graybeal, *Along the ET & WNC*, Volume III, 9.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, Volume VI, 5.

Passenger service to Cranberry began with the very opening of the Johnson City-Cranberry line. According to Graybeal, who researched passenger schedules and company records, 1890 saw a ten year height in passenger service, and the company even opened a third regular passenger train to accommodate tourists “to and from the summer resorts along the road.”<sup>106</sup> The addition of a “parlor car” came in 1913, and by June 1919 the railroad boasted of two “First Class passenger trains.”<sup>107</sup> This service continued into the 1920s.

### 3.1.2 Industry and the Environment

By the late nineteenth century, the reliance of tourism on natural resources and beauty brought it into conflict with extractive industries. As the area’s history with the rail system shows, although minerals and timber may have initiated the extension of rail lines, the popularity of the accompanying passenger service immediately became an important use of the infrastructure. Western North Carolina, which already had a long economic history with resorts, managed to push tourism-related preservation efforts. In comparison, the powerful timber industry of Tennessee subdued tourism in its state, seen in hotel closures such as that of the Cloudland Hotel in Roan Mountain by World War I.<sup>108</sup> Organized preservation efforts included the founding of the Appalachian National Parks Association in 1899, which resulted in the 1911 creation of the Cherokee National Forest in North Carolina, the Pisgah National Forest in 1916, and ironically the eventual designation of the Great Smoky Mountain

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 79.

<sup>108</sup> Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky*, 57.

National Park in Tennessee. Beginning in 1900, federal acquisitions for national forest lands reached four million acres in the region by 1931.<sup>109</sup>

In other parts of the southern mountains, timber and mining had drastic environmental effects. Davis describes timbering as the “single greatest human activity” to change Appalachian culture and environment.<sup>110</sup> Similar to the influence of the second-home market in towns such as Blowing Rock, the influx of timber and mineral companies also drove up prices on land via speculation. Industry barons also contributed to their large concentrations of land by using the increasing land and property tax prices to legally buy-out local owners who failed to keep up with rising rates.<sup>111</sup>

In Watauga County, traditional industry did enter after 1900, but without the great impact, even financially, that it had elsewhere in the Southern Appalachians. Although timber brought the first rail to the county, economically this industry did not have the force of tourism. In 1910 only 1,681 acres of the county’s total 227,576 for that year were listed as mineral or timber lands. That accounted for 0.74 percent of the total acreage and 0.88 percent of the county’s land value. Five years later, lands listed “Mineral, Timber, Quarry, and Water Power” totaled under three thousand acres for the county, and contributed only 1.5 percent of the land value. In Meat Camp, Walter J. Wright Lumber Co. was taxed on \$7,100 total value in 1915, but timber and mineral land still accounted for less than five percent of the aggregate value for the township.

The larger economic importance of tourism in this section of North Carolina, resultant in more successful conservation efforts, also created an environmental dualism

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<sup>109</sup> Davis, *Where There Are Mountains*, 173.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*



between resort industry development and the need for natural beauty to sustain its popularity. Describing one of the many paradoxes of tourism in the southern Appalachian mountains, Martin notes that the growth accompanied by the tourist industry often challenged the same principles that it used to keep timber and mining at bay. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the development and expansion of resort facilities and second homes drastically effected land use in tourist-heavy areas in both an environmental and economic sense.<sup>112</sup>

### 3.2 Tourism and the Economy

#### 3.2.1 General Effects of Tourism

In many respects, tourism proved overall less devastating than other turn-of-the-century industries. However, like its competitors, this industry still depended wholly on the use of raw materials including land and cheap labor, the latter often provided by African Americans and white women. As Starnes points out, the impact of tourism shaped forms of labor in the region. The service-heavy employment opportunities were “low paying, seasonal, physically difficult, and made the workers particularly susceptible to abuse by their employers.”<sup>113</sup> Of course this is not to say that wage labor in the service industry proved fundamentally more difficult or exploitative than agricultural work. Being seasonal as well, however, the service-industry wage labor was not necessarily more reliable, and wealth rates did not increase significantly for those in the lowest brackets through this time period in Blowing Rock to reflect economic benefits gained from expansions in wage labor. Creating further frustrations for local workers, proprietors sometimes imported both skilled and

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<sup>112</sup> Martin, *Tourism in the Mountain South*, 65-66.

<sup>113</sup> Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky*, 7.

unskilled labor to maintain their businesses.<sup>114</sup> On the other hand, the industry provided an opening for family-run businesses such as boarding houses, allowing an entrance point for women in the workforce and business world. The close-to-home businesses of the local hospitality industry originally did not require much setup capital. However, this shifted as resort-goers at the turn of the century bought into a “conspicuous consumption” trend in their leisure activities, requiring more luxury and grandeur.

Like many industries, especially of its time, tourism brought some economic benefits tempered by drawbacks, which were often social in nature. Tourism has the potential to open opportunities for entrepreneurship, employment, and economic development in an area. In the context of Appalachian North Carolina, it also provided some amount of environmental protection. However, historically these benefits have come with downsides, such as the previously mentioned poor quality of employment, and also extending to the rise of property values. Costs in general tend to increase in areas of heavy tourism, creating a major burden for full-time residents.

The detailed national study by the American Society of Planning Officials compiled in 1976, reports that the economic impact of resort communities and second homes on the local community tends to be positive in the first few years of development.<sup>115</sup> However, such structures may become financially burdensome over time as the taxes generated by this business fail to meet the costs of their demands on public infrastructure such as sewage and road upkeep. How seasonal homes impacted tourist communities through infrastructural needs in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is more difficult to argue, however.

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<sup>114</sup> Martin, *Tourism in the Mountain South*, 36.

<sup>115</sup> American Society of Planning Officials, *Subdividing Rural America: Impacts of Recreational Lot and Second Home Development* (Washington, DC: US Government Print, 1976).

The study, which investigated second-home land uses ranging from undeveloped subdivisions to club-like “high-amenity resort communities” with homes or condominiums, found a continuation of speculative buying practices, accounting for up to 50 percent of tracts for recreational use.<sup>116</sup> Setbacks of such tourist development, including “environmental degradation from the development of ecologically fragile lands; and high public service costs for some rural communities” temper the positive effects, such as the creation of both jobs and profitable uses for undeveloped land, as well as increases in tax revenues and local business.<sup>117</sup>

Karl B. Raitz and Richard Ulack include dispersed, clustered, and large subdivided tracts in their definition of seasonal home development. Many North Carolina timber towns, such as Brevard, experienced “commercial cluster development” where their rail stops became popular for passengers interested in retreats. For subdivided tracts, discussed above, second home subdivisions or clubs are created out of large tracts of undeveloped land.<sup>118</sup> These subdivisions have existed in Blowing Rock since at least 1920, as can be seen in the Mayview Park advertisement, although this type of development exploded in Watauga and neighboring Avery Counties in the 1960s and seems to remain popular today. The earliest form of the second home market in the county consisted of dispersed development, however, as elites built secluded summer homes. Issues involved with all three types of development include poor planning, low-paying and seasonal jobs—for example service and construction that may last as few as three months a year—the exclusion of local business from private recreational centers, environmental destruction often accompanied by long-term erosion

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>118</sup> Raitz and Ulack, *Appalachia: A Regional Geography*, 257.

problems, “visual blight” of developments, and cultural clash between visitors and residents.<sup>119</sup>

Writing in the 1970s, Robin Gottfried described the increase in land prices due to recreational interest as a major issue with modern development in Appalachia.<sup>120</sup> Farmers often cannot extend their landholdings, and young residents in particular are unable to afford homes in their local community.<sup>121</sup> Furthermore, low-income households may be pushed off their land and out of the area by property taxes, a trend seen since industrial development in the nineteenth century. Gottfried’s list of the detriments due to such growth continues to include the exclusivity of recreational clubs, the dependency of the benefits of second homes on continuous building, and again the tempering of higher taxes paid by second-home owners by the demands their homes create on local infrastructure. In Gottfried’s analysis, tourism does not bring net benefits, especially in Appalachia, when keeping social welfare concerns in mind.

One of Gottfried’s modern observations, that cultural class differences between tourists and locals create a “de facto segregation,” has also influenced social issues and stigmas in Appalachia for over a century. The economic gap, often intense, between extremely wealthy resort-goers and the majority of the locals at the turn of the century exacerbated a final issue that followed the region throughout the next century. Intense class division between the visitors and the locals they saw created the image of isolation and backwardness still attributed to the Appalachian region. Although Appalachians had both market and political ties outside the area, the economic disparity between them and enclaves

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 258.

<sup>120</sup> Gottfried, “Observations on Recreation-Led Growth in Appalachia.”

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 45.

of the nation's upper elite contributed to stereotypes of the former group that lasted beyond the twentieth century. These national stereotypes began as early as 1875, with the serialized work of Frances Fisher Tiernan, "The Land of the Sky," which imbedded the cultural images of the Appalachian frozen in time into national archetypal thought.<sup>122</sup>

### 3.2.2 The Stock-Law Debate

According to Starnes, the surge of tourism advertising pushed by city leaders in the 1870s contributed to a rush in seasonal-home building that significantly appreciated land values.<sup>123</sup> The existing second home market in Blowing Rock created many tensions, as land-use patterns continued in both agricultural and recreational modes within the township, which claimed fewer than 350 residents in 1915.

A major controversy in many Southern rural areas across the turn of the century involved the keeping of livestock, and is often portrayed as a class competition. Fence laws, as show by Matthew Walpole, became a serious issue in Blowing Rock in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>124</sup> Using local newspapers as well as town voting and agricultural records, Walpole argues that small and landless farmers in the county relied on communal land for keeping and feeding their stock. "All land that was not specifically owned and fenced in for the raising of crops was available to all in the community for hunting, herb-

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<sup>122</sup> The vast majority of scholarly works on Appalachian history open with a discussion of such stereotypes. For more on the links between the economic impacts of tourism and cultural trends, see Starnes, Chapter 2 among others. Notably, the American Society of Planning Officials' study points out that even in the late twentieth century, some residents welcomed recreational development, some accepted it, and "still others consider recreational land development a form of exploitation and colonization by a wealthier urban class," 10.

<sup>123</sup> Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky*, 6.

<sup>124</sup> Matthew Walpole, "The Closing of the Open Range in Watauga County, NC" *Appalachian Journal* 16,4 (Summer 1989): 320-335.

gathering, foraging, and grazing. Grazing was of particular importance."<sup>125</sup> Early laws, which did not require the fencing of stock, chafed town residents, especially the summer populace of Blowing Rock. Changing the existing laws, however, threatened the landless and small farmers, as they would face a great burden in finding land for their hogs. Supporting these claims, Buxton reports that Blowing Rock began implementing general cleanliness and hog restrictions between 1900 and 1920 due to public concern over filth.

Discussing the wider regional debate, J. Crawford King Jr. explains that in the South, fencing crops in, while leaving animals to free range, was the common practice from the colonial era until after the Civil War.<sup>126</sup> The author states in fact that the shift to fencing-in stock was part of larger social, economic, and political transformations across the South.<sup>127</sup> Due to expanding agriculture, the destruction of fences during Civil War, and the white fear that freed slaves would steal livestock, what appeared to be a class struggle developed between landless stockowners, dependent on the open range, and "landed 'progressives.'" However, the author also implies the influence of a new sense of aesthetic through a quote he reprints by Georgia ladies disgusted by night-promenading goats. King does not go on to address this as a separate issue, although it undoubtedly proved an important aspect of the debate in tourist areas such as Blowing Rock. Early legal restrictions in 1866 Alabama criminalized roaming stock, but the debate continued in the region through a rash of litigation in the 1900s, not concluding until full closure was made universal by 1950.

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 320.

<sup>126</sup> J. Crawford King Jr., "The Closing of the Southern Range: An Exploratory Study" *The Journal of Southern History* 48, 1 (February 1982): 53-70.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 54.

Everett Kantor and J. Morgan Kousser define a “fence law” as one requiring gardens and crops to be fenced in, allowing stock to roam freely.<sup>128</sup> These laws, which put the burden of protecting crops from livestock on the crop owners, were enacted as early as 1759. These historians disagree with a class conflict model of the debate, such as the one set forth by author Stephen Hahn that paints the situation as an attempt by elites to force poor farmers into dependency. In their view, communities that would profit more from stock law arrangements simply voted them in earlier.<sup>129</sup> Therefore, areas where land was more equally distributed often supported the stock laws. With these authors, King surmises that the fence-law/stock-law debate was not a struggle between large planters and small farmers, but a reflection of the widest economic benefit to a given community. Counties and townships with fence laws tended to be more reliant on stock, with a greater economic value and wider ownership of hogs. Areas with higher tenancy rates and more cotton or general crop dependency, on the other hand, enacted stock laws earliest.

The town of Blowing Rock incorporated in 1889 and joined the regional stock-law debate with full force. The new town’s political elite tended to be wealthy, with ties either to land or industry. A “transplanted Lenoir merchant,” Joseph Clarke, became Blowing Rock’s first mayor, and around 1892 a friend appointed the wealthy W.H. Weeden mayor.<sup>130</sup> The issue and tensions of tourism in an agricultural county came to a head during the national depression of the 1890s, and the former became even more influential. Walpole bluntly states, “In Watauga County, Blowing Rock became the first township to vote in the stock law by referendum in May of 1900. The tourist dollar had transformed the little village from a

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<sup>128</sup> Shawn Everett Kantor and J. Morgan Kousser, “Common Sense or Commonwealth? The Fence Law and Institutional Change in the Postbellum South” *The Journal of Southern History* 59, 2 (May 1993): 201-242.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 241.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 323.

self-sufficient agricultural community to one dependent on outside cash.”<sup>131</sup> Following this legal change, the author claims that many individuals who had been self-sufficient through small farming were forced into industrial labor as they lost access to the land they had not owned but used.

The relevance of this debate to tourism in Watauga County emerges not only from secondary literature but the county records as well. The accounts from 1890 to 1920 report 20 to 30 percent of those taxed in Blowing Rock landless, owning neither land or town lots, while census records show 55 to 65 percent of the households on farms. Approximately 13 percent of those listed with no land or town lots in Blowing Rock in 1899 were taxed as owning hogs. Roughly 16 percent of the town’s landless were recorded as owning some sort of livestock, amounting to over two hundred head. One year later, these individuals who did not own real estate would potentially have no access to land on which to feed or raise this stock. If one follows Walpole’s arguments, in the case of the stock law, the influence of the summer residents directly affected farmers’ use of land in their community via politics and economic strain. At least, the importance of the tourism economy to Blowing Rock correlated to the early decision to vote-in this law.

### 3.3 Conclusion

Tourism competed as an industry in a select few areas within Western North Carolina. The continued expansion of this industry affected communities economically and socially, and influenced land-ownership patterns including the second-home market, which persisted in Blowing Rock. Throughout these decades Blowing Rock maintained much

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 330-1.



higher wealth among its individuals than agricultural townships such as Meat Camp, and even claimed more town lots than the county seat. However, landlessness persisted as well for some Blowing Rock residents. Finally, the debate over fence laws, which spanned the agricultural South, took a unique form in Blowing Rock due to its influential summer residents. However, it is still necessary to look more in depth at tourism's effect on property relations and values in the county at the turn of the century.

#### 4. THE EFFECT OF TOURISM ON LAND USE

##### 4.1 Introduction

As noted, the social, cultural, and economic effects of dependency on tourism in Southern Appalachia have been many. One of the most salient of the drawbacks to this economic force for local residents is its impact on land value. This comparison between Blowing Rock and Meat Camp, townships within the same county with a similar number of taxed residents, portrays such impacts in the small scale.

Many of the secondary sources that study the effect of tourism on land values focus on the 1960s to 1970s due to the "recreation land boom" experienced in the region in those decades. A huge surge of recreational development in Appalachia overwhelmed counties such as Watauga. This was generally seen as favorable to the region, which was considered wretchedly poor at the time; Appalachia was in fact a major focus of the decade's War on Poverty. However, many examinations of this recreational boom, such as Gottfried's above, pose the question: who benefits?

#### 4.2 Studies of Recreational Land Use in North Carolina

According to the North Carolina Public Interest Research Group, “land ownership gives a basic indication of the current and probable uses of land in an area.”<sup>132</sup> Again focusing on what they describe as the arrival of sweeping recreational development during the 1960s, this particular study looks at land ownership patterns only from 1968-1973. However, the group’s findings support previous authors’ warnings of the environmental and economic dangers of second home development. Noting infrastructural burdens on the local economy as well as vulnerability to national recession, they conclude that the purported benefits of tourism including employment and tax revenue are not as substantial as often claimed.<sup>133</sup> The five-year study found an increase of non-local ownership with a stagnation of local ownership, although the “amount of locally-held land decreased significantly” in ten Appalachian counties influenced by second-home tourism. Furthermore, they conclude that absentee ownership corresponding with tourism investment also contributes to a decrease in local control of government. This situation could have intensified the previously mentioned stock-law debate in Blowing Rock.<sup>134</sup>

In a 1976 study of Watauga and Avery counties, Anita Parlow also argues that the recreational enthusiasm for mountain land in the 1960s appreciated land values above what many local residents could afford. She links this to a decrease in farm-used land five times higher than the national average for the decade.<sup>135</sup> As in earlier times, the 1960s boom was

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<sup>132</sup> North Carolina Public Interest Research Group, *The Impact of Recreational Development*, 1.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>135</sup> Anita Parlow, *The Land Development Rag: The Impact of Resort Development on Two Appalachian Counties, Watauga and Avery in North Carolina* (Knoxville, TN: Southern Appalachian Ministry in Higher Education, 1976).

“initiated locally,” in the modern era through the expansion of exclusive subdivisions on family land sold for development. Corporate developers also flocked to the area.

A second study on Watauga and Avery counties, published by the Department of City and Regional Planning at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, shows the severity of the influence of tourism on the land in these two counties.<sup>136</sup> This study confirms Blowing Rock as a “summer haven” by 1859, and notes a negative economic impact from tourism on the two counties. It also designates Watauga and Avery Counties as having a higher percentage of poverty despite the booming tourism industry. Once again, low wages, irregular employment, and vulnerability to recession characterize an economy dependent on tourism. Furthermore, “Much of the tourist expenditures will leak out of the area if the locality doesn’t produce the goods it sells to tourists or doesn’t employ local residents in its businesses.”<sup>137</sup>

The Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force facilitated one of the most influential Appalachian land-use studies to date, also conducted during the 1970s. Focusing on industry and ownership patterns, this regional study surveyed the impact and density of corporate and absentee ownership on rural Appalachian communities. The multi-volume work includes a book for each Appalachian state, and features a Watauga County case study in the North Carolina tome.<sup>138</sup> This study does not view recreational expansion positively, stating that the form of development that involves seasonal homes brings the fewest benefits as well as the most detrimental effects.<sup>139</sup> The authors undervalue the influence of tourism until the automobile era; however, they do describe the impact of second-homes on local land values

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<sup>136</sup> Godschalk, et al. *Land Development in the North Carolina Mountains*.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>138</sup> Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force, *Land Ownership Patterns- Vol. IV: North Carolina* (ALOTF, 1980).

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

in counties such as Watauga and Avery, where recreation became the main industry. They state, "Land speculation associated with second-home development in recreation counties drives up the cost and value of the county's land and, consequently, taxes also go up. As a result, many local residents find themselves 'land rich and pocket poor' with increasing pressure to sell all or part of their land. The increased cost of land also lowers the feasibility of agricultural production...Recreation development has exerted perhaps the most direct effect. Non-local, wealthy people purchase second-homes in the region and bid up the prices on both land and homes. The increased price of land makes it very difficult for local people, especially if they are young, to purchase land for a homesite."<sup>140</sup>

Many Appalachian counties suffered environmental devastation and manipulative tax evasion by major industries such as mining, as reported in the well documented Land Ownership Task Force report. Watauga, however, declared no mineral owners and only 393 acres, less than one percent, of public ownership by 1978. Divergent from many such counties in the region, Watauga and Avery continued to experience tourism as a major economic force. Between 1890 and 1920 as well, tax records attribute few acres and very little wealth production to mineral or timber lands in Watauga.

Since the previous studies involve recreational development in the area only during the second half of the twentieth century, they do not directly describe trends at the turn of the century. However, they do bring into question the many positive contributions that tourism brings to an agricultural economy, such as wage labor and tax revenues. This twentieth-century research also provides more reliable quantitative data on land use and costs than studies on the nineteenth century, which often rely on census data.

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 37-38.

I argue that the trends of property value seen in the late twentieth century expanded from existing land-use patterns in areas that had a long history of heavy tourism, such as Blowing Rock. The accelerated raise of land values and prices correlated with the peak of recreational interest in the area between 1890 and 1920 as well as in the later twentieth century. Tax information also demonstrates an increase in land values that proved more extreme in tourist Blowing Rock than agricultural Meat Camp.

Furthermore, the major players of Blowing Rock tourism and the second home market show a skewing influence over property values. In 1895, for example, a Mrs. M.E. Weedon, possibly a relation to town major W. H. Weeden, owned one town lot for \$1,000, and a Mrs. M.J. Brady owned another single lot for \$2,000. The general range for town lots however, documented in 1899, went from \$50 to \$1,500 per lot. Meanwhile that same year over 33 percent of the township's residents were reported to own no land or lots, and 34 of 252 taxed—over 13 percent—had “poll” marked for their wealth, meaning they owned no property or assets. In 1915, Blowing Rock Hotel Company was taxed on \$4,000 aggregate value, including a single town lot priced \$3,600. The same year, Mrs. Moses Cone of the Cone estate was recorded as having an incredible \$70,017 wealth to her name in Blowing Rock, including \$65,000 for 3,032 acres of land. This price puts her estate at over \$21 per acre, 40 percent higher than the Blowing Rock average, but 75 percent higher than the price of land per acre in Meat Camp.

#### 4.3 Methodology

One cannot assume the validity of data given in a single source. In analyzing the government documents used to create a description of turn-of-the-century Blowing Rock, the

main issues to take under consideration are underenumeration and general human error. Following Kenneth Winkle's argument on using the United States census as a historical resource, cross-referencing between federal and state census as well as with non-census records can point out inconsistencies in information.

As discussed previously, the methodology for this research consisted of collecting data regarding land ownership, land values, and wealth for Watauga County—particularly Blowing Rock and Meat Camp—through a 25 percent sampling of the taxed population from the years 1890 to 1920. The information reflecting land use was compiled to find comparative prices and rates of increase between the two townships, one heavily influenced by an affluent tourist market and the other primarily agricultural. I also noted trends in population and wealth to determine whether the increase seen in Blowing Rock's property values corresponded with an increase of wealth for the township on a community or individual level.

#### 4.4 Watauga County Records

##### 4.4.1 Population and Wealth

The most basic information available on the county from 1890 to 1920 consists of data concerning the population, taxed population, and number of registered voters. Although Meat Camp reported a consistently higher population than Blowing Rock, roughly the same number of citizens were taxed in the two townships throughout the period studied. While secondary local histories sometimes list population totals for the county, census material during this era typically enumerated families, dwellings, and farms—all of which overlap—or solely the number of registered voters, labeled "poll." Tax materials listed individuals who

were taxed, including women and men, both white and non-white individuals, as well as those registered to vote—marked “poll”—and non-poll.

**Table 3. Population and Aggregate Value of Watauga County, 1850-1918**

Year	Population	Voters	Aggregate Value (\$)
1850	3,358 (544 farms)	~	446,030
1870	5,287	~	~
1880	8,160	1781 (1895)	~
1890	10,000	1411 (1888)	1,127,816 (1888)
1900	13,417	1908 (1899)	1,298,831 (1899)
1910	13,423	~	2,160,060
1915	~	1815	2,800,000 (Approx.)
1918	~	1707	3,003,915

Notes to tables 3 through 6:

1. The term Aggregate Value denotes the total annual wealth listed for a township, county, or individual.
2. Figures for tables 3 through 6 are compiled from the Watauga County census, tax lists, and tax scrolls from 1850 to 1920.
3. Spaces marked “~” denote areas for which data is not available.

**Table 4. Population and Aggregate Value of Blowing Rock, 1880-1920**

Year	Population	Taxed	Polls (Voters)	Families/Farms (% of Farm Households)	Aggregate Value (\$)
1880	340	~	~	62/55 (90%)	~
1890	~	190	72 (1888)	~	71,555
1900	805	252 (1899)	~	166 / 91 (55%)	110,256
1910	648 approx	262	~	143 families	195,964
1915	~	336	129	~	341,345
1920	~	363	107	80/51 (65%)	378,680 (1919)

Note: percentages are calculated from households, not number of families. Number of families minimally higher than households as some homes and farms took boarders or in-laws.



**Table 5. Population and Aggregate Value of Meat Camp, 1860-1920**

Year	Population (Approx.)	Taxed	Polls (Voters)	Families/Farms (% of farm households)	Aggregate Value
1860	564	~	~	55 families	~
1880	928	~	~	112 /108 (97%)	~
1890	~	185 (1888)	109 (1888)	~	41,496
1900	928	~	~	175 / 172 (100%)	94,512
1910	983	267	~	194 families	115,000 (Approx.)*
1915	~	295	171	~	175,000 (Approx.)
1920	~	~	174	207/193 (93%)	202,576 (1918)

\* Figures marked "Approx." are averages between two different but not distant figures given by separate tax or census sources for the same year.

**Table 6. Population of Boone, 1880-1920**

Year	Families/Farms (% of farm households)
1880	226/178 (79%)
1900	330/233 (71%)
1920	200/128 (64%)

Source: Watauga County census, 1880, 1900, and 1920.

Comparing the number of families to the number of farms per township provides a simple way to contrast density of town versus rural populations between townships. It is also one of the few comparative factors available in early census data. While Blowing Rock dropped from 90 percent farming households to 65 between 1880 and 1920, Meat Camp families remained above 90 percent farming through the entire period. Boone, the county seat and home to a teachers' college by 1920, shows rates similar to Blowing Rock of households listed as farming. Meat Camp and Blowing Rock therefore prove to be an effective comparative set, as similar numbers of residents were taxed each year, and the former is mainly an agricultural township while the latter combines agricultural and town residents with a heavy tourist influence. As seen in the secondary literature, many of the non-farm

taxed persons in Blowing Rock were second-home owners, such as the wealthy Cone and Stringfellow families. Companies, such as the Blowing Rock and Green Park Hotel companies, also played major economic roles in the resort township.

Finally, the aggregate value of personal and real property, which I estimated if not recorded for the townships and county, provided the most consistently available information per year. It therefore gives a mode of analyzing annual shifts as well as consistent differences between townships and with the county as a whole. These averages of individuals' monetary value reflected in real and personal property track general wealth among the townships. Table 7 demonstrates that through the aggregate values, Blowing Rock shows a consistently higher rate of increase of wealth than the county total, while Meat Camp's rate fluctuates considerably. Whether this inconsistency is due to fluctuations in individual wealth, residents moving in and out of the township, or problems in record keeping, is unknown.

**Table 7. Rate of Increase of Aggregate Values in Percentage, 1890-1919**

	1890-1900	1900-1910	1910-1915	1915-1918/19
<b>Watauga County</b>	15	66	30	7
<b>Blowing Rock</b>	54	78	74	11
<b>Meat Camp</b>	128	22	52	16

Note: Figures calculated from Watauga County tax scrolls and lists, 1890-1919

As demonstrated earlier in table 2, Blowing Rock displays consistently higher wealth at the median and very highest range. However, both townships show taxed residents with very little and no wealth to their names, expressing a similarity at the lowest end of the economic scale. Not everyone living in Blowing Rock enjoyed a higher level of wealth than the Meat Camp average, but these ranges illustrate where the wealthy congregated in the county. This wealth distribution may be typical but it further demonstrates that the wealth brought in by tourism was not allocated as widely on the individual level as the increasing costs, including land prices, in the township.

#### 4.4.2 Land Ownership

The most relevant information to this study came from tax records that noted land ownership by individual with acreage and value, and differentiated between “land” and “town lots.” Table 8 shows rates of landlessness and property ownership through the percentage of taxed individuals who were listed with land or town lots. These figures are estimated from a 25 percent sampling done of each township’s tax records for each year given. Supporting the data from the aggregate value ranges, neither township reported a consistently higher rate of landlessness than the other. Landlessness in both townships remained within 20 to 35 percent of the total taxed population. No town lots were listed in Meat Camp throughout the years studied. Very few townships in Watauga reported town lots; Blowing Rock and Boone maintained the vast majority of them. It is notable that some, but very few people owned both a town lot and acreage in Blowing Rock. The greater part of those taxed in the resort township either owned in-town lots or acreage of “land.”

**Table 8. Percentages of Land and Town Lot Ownership, Blowing Rock and Meat Camp, 1890-1918**

		Land	Town Lot	Both Land and Town Lot	No Land or Town Lot
1890	BR	45.8	33.3	2.1	22.9
	MC	77.1	N/A	N/A	22.9
1895	BR	46.6	40.0	3.3	20.0
	MC	71.9	N/A	N/A	28.1
1899	BR	38.1	33.3	4.8	33.3
	MC	73.3	N/A	N/A	26.7
1910	BR	6.1	48.5	7.6	24.2
	MC	68.1	N/A	N/A	31.9
1915	BR	28.9	42.2	4.4	33.3
	MC	68.0	N/A	N/A	32.0
1918	BR	31.1	51.1	12.2	21.2

Notes to table 8:

1. Figures represent percentages of taxed residents in each township. These were calculated from sampling Watauga County tax scrolls and lists, 1890 through 1920.
2. Information for 1920 and for Meat Camp from 1918 to 1920 was either unavailable or illegible.
3. Figures regarding town lot ownership in Meat Camp are marked Not Applicable since the township did not report a single town lot during this period.

As noted, Blowing Rock and Boone claimed the majority of town lots in the county. Table 9 lists the numbers of town lots recorded for each with their average value. No indication of size of these lots is ever given in these records, but the averages do reflect the general township wealth held in this form of property. This is critical information, since town lots are not considered under the category of "land" in tax records. The number and value of town lots reflects not only urban growth but also the popularity of an area. The fact that many of Watauga's townships do not claim a single town lot from 1888 to 1920 also implies a great deal about structural and economic differences between areas within the county.

The figures support claims made by authors such as Buxton who report a lower popularity of Boone until the automobile era. This was despite its role as the county seat and the emergence of the teachers' college, which would become a major influence in the county in the latter twentieth century. Blowing Rock did boast the majority of town lots in the county, implying a popularity that most likely came from its second home residents. It had neither its own rail depot nor industrial strength during the time period, which points to the town's resort history as its major draw.

**Table 9. Value of Land and Town Lots, Watauga County, 1888-1920**

	Land		Town Lots		
	Meat Camp	Blowing Rock	Blowing Rock	Watauga County	Average Value in County, Excluding BR
<b>1888</b>	~	~	~	159.52	~
<b>1890</b>	2.72	2.84	186.00	~	~
<b>1895</b>	3.19	4.94	241.94	~	~
<b>1900</b>	2.73	4.08	228.91	~	~
<b>1910</b>	4.51	7.58	363.72	319.33	239.64
<b>1915</b>	5.20	15.00	387.40	304.78	176.85
<b>1920</b>	27.00	53.00	1,478.74	1559.07	1726.01

Note: figures represent average dollar value per acre or lot. Figures for tables 9 and 10 are compiled from Watauga County tax scrolls and tax lists 1888 through 1920. Spaces marked "~" denote areas for which data is not available or not sufficient to provide averages.

**Table 10. Number of Town Lots,  
Watauga County 1888-1920**

<b>Year</b>	<b>BR</b>	<b>Boone</b>	<b>Watauga County Total</b>
<b>1888</b>	~	~	126
<b>1890</b>	<i>68*</i>	~	~
<b>1895</b>	<i>124</i>	~	~
<b>1900</b>	<i>128</i>	~	~
<b>1910</b>	149	64	232
<b>1915</b>	274	177	451
<b>1920</b>	239	110	354

\*Italicized figures are averages from sample

It is interesting to note that, according to Phil Noblitt, Moses Cone paid an average price per acre above the overall Blowing Rock averages shown from 1890 to 1910, which cover the years of his land acquisitions. Noblitt states that Cone typically paid from five to ten dollars an acre, at an average of \$7.95. This brings into question whether quality of land played a major role in cost. A visit to the impressive estate, which spans almost two thousand feet in elevation rising some feet above the altitude of Blowing Rock itself, may provide a tangible link between the perceived attractiveness of land in the area and its cost.

#### 4.4.3 Property Value

During this period, residents were not taxed a specific property tax, but simply a percentage of their "aggregate value." The regressive poll tax was of course an exception to this, hitting all registered voters with the same fee. In 1899, tax records have a space in which to denote "Property Tax," divided into three sections, but it is not used and recorded taxes fall instead under categories such as "State Taxes," "Pensions," and "County Taxes." By 1915, even the designated space for property tax has been removed from the official tax documentation, and residents continue to pay taxes as a percentage of their total aggregate value. Therefore, it is in increases of land value that the influence of the second home and

tourism markets come across most clearly, as opposed to in property tax augmentation as is seen today.

The primary focus of this research revolves around property value itself. Table 11 shows the average acreage owned per individual and the average cost per acre of land, as well as town lots. From 1890 to 1920, the average cost per acre of land was consistently higher in Blowing Rock. The differences in average acres per owner versus average acreage per resident, which are much more extreme in Blowing Rock than in Meat Camp, are due to the high number of residents in the former township who owned town lots. These lot owners actually comprised up to 50 percent of the taxed population by 1920. Between 1888 and 1890, land values between Blowing Rock and Meat Camp appear to have been equivalent; ten years later they show close to a 60 percent difference. By 1915, land value in Blowing Rock is almost three times that of Meat Camp.

These land costs still do not compare to the astronomical value of town lots, which increased from almost two hundred dollars to over one thousand dollars per lot during these years. This high price of town land, which did not exist in Meat Camp, combined with the higher land values and the higher rate of increase of property value in Blowing Rock present a striking difference in land costs between the townships. The rising price of land correlates with Blowing Rock's economic dependence on tourism and points to the industry as the major cause of cost disparity between Blowing Rock and Meat Camp.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> See Appendix K for an extended version of table 11.

Table 11. Property Ownership and Value, Blowing Rock and Meat Camp, 1888-1920

Year and Township	Taxed Population (% of residents who own "land")*	Acres of Land and Land Value				Town Lots		
		Total Acres of Sample	Average Acres per Land Owner	Average Acres per Resident	Avg. Cost per Acre of Land (\$)	Number of Town Lots	Total Value of Town Lots (\$) in sample	Avg. per Town Lot (\$)
<b>1888</b>		(Total)^						
BR	72 poll	10,001	~	~	3.19	55	7,670	139.45
MC	109 poll	18,829	~	~	3.62	-0-	-0-	-0-
<b>1890</b>								
BR	190 (46)	3,178	144.5	66.2	2.84	17	3,162	186.00
MC	194 (77)	3,811	103.0	79.4	2.72	-0-	-0-	-0-
<b>1895</b>								
BR	235 (43)	2,322	89.3	38.7	4.94	31	7,500	241.94
MC	222 (72)	4,846	118.2	85.0	3.19	-0-	-0-	-0-
<b>1899**</b>								
BR	252 (38)	1,631	68.0	26.0	4.08	32	7,325	228.91
MC	231 (73)	6,204	141.0	103.4	2.73	-0-	-0-	-0-
<b>1910</b>		(Total)				(Total)	(Total)	
BR	262 (6)	9,964	109.1	37.3	7.58	149	54,195	363.72
MC	267 (68)	18,583	102.2	69.6	4.51	-0-	-0-	-0-
<b>1915</b>		(Total)				(Total)	(Total)	
BR (1916)+	<b>349</b> (29)	10,324/ <b>11,101</b>	<b>109.7</b>	<b>31.8</b>	14.78/ <b>15.30</b>	274	106,155	387.43
MC	288/ (68) 295	18,783	93.6	63.7	5.20	-0-	-0-	-0-
<b>1920 (1918)+</b>								
BR	<b>336</b> (31) 363	10,078	92.5	27.8	53.00	239	353,419	1,478.74
MC	<b>305</b>	18,343	~	~	27.10	-0-	-0-	-0-

Note: Data collected from Watauga County tax scrolls and lists, 1888 to 1920. No information is available for 1905. Spaces marked "~" denote areas for which data is not available.

\* In parentheses are the percentages of the taxed residents marked as owning land. See table 8 for comparison of landowners to town lot-owners and landless residents. The term "poll" refers to the number of registered voters listed.

\*\* Due to errors in the first sampling of tax scrolls from 1899, Blowing Rock was sampled twice. The figures shown are the results of the second sampling. Records for the year 1899 are more complete and in better condition than those for 1900 and were therefore used in its place.

+ Due to missing information in the 1915 tax lists, some figures from 1916 have been used; these are in bold. Due to poor quality of records through the years 1918 to 1920, the available information for this period has been merged. Figures in bold are from the 1918 Tax List, while the rest are from the 1920 tax scrolls.

^ Values marked "(Total)" represent township total, not total of sample.

The resort town experienced not only a higher constant cost of land, but also an accelerated rate of increase in value. Table 12 shows the severity of the difference in rate of increase of land value between the two townships.<sup>142</sup> This clearly implies a substantial augmentation in land value, surely causing a burden for any non-wealthy local residents.

**Table 12. Rate of Increase of Land Value,  
Meat Camp and Blowing Rock, 1890-1915**

	MC	BR
<b>1890 to 1895</b>	17.3	74.0
<b>1895 to 1900</b>	-14.4	-17.4
<b>1900 to 1910</b>	65.0	85.8
<b>1910 to 1915</b>	15.3	98.0

Note: Figures represent percentage rate of increase. These are calculated from values averaged from Watauga County tax scrolls and lists, 1890 to 1920.

The substantial drop in land value from 1895 to 1900 reflects the severity of the national recession in the county. The rate of increase for costs in Blowing Rock is consistently much faster than that of Meat Camp, including during the ten-year economic recovery period from 1900 to 1910.

Land prices across the resort township, not just in town, increased rapidly above those in other townships, as well as the county average, due to the influx of interest and individual wealth functioning over a seated system of speculative buying. The astronomic cost of town land and skyrocketing annual increases in land value in the tourist-centered township would have caused a burden for many of the local residents, who claimed very little to no wealth to their name in tax records, and had diminishing chances of obtaining land in this skewed market.

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<sup>142</sup> The figures for land value in 1920 are so wildly different from previous years and increases that they have been omitted from the calculations of rate of increase in the tables.



#### 4.5 Conclusion

Tax records for Watauga County, North Carolina, clearly show that property values in its township of Blowing Rock increased in amount, and at a higher rate, over values in comparable townships in the county between the years 1890 and 1920. Blowing Rock also boasted the highest number and average cost of town lots of any town in the county during this time. In this way it outranked even the county seat. Also unique to Blowing Rock was its popularity as an annual resort retreat for affluent vacationers, beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The influence of this concentration of the nation's most affluent citizens in the small town greatly effected land use patterns, as can be seen through comparisons of property values in other Watauga townships, such as Meat Camp. As property values rose rapidly in Blowing Rock between 1890 and 1920, many individuals continued to own very little to moderate wealth. Land costs, even excluding the extremely high prices of town lots, rose well above those of Meat Camp, although both townships shared a similar percentage of individuals in their populations in the lowest wealth brackets by 1915. The distinct tourist-led economy and history of Blowing Rock did affect land use and property value in the township between 1890 and 1920, causing prices to appreciate above those elsewhere in the county.

## 5. RESEARCH SUMMARY

The quantitative evidence provided by this study points to a substantial increase in both town and rural land values in the township of Blowing Rock, in Watauga County, North Carolina. This appreciation surpassed the inflation of prices in nearby townships such as Meat Camp in both amount and rate of increase. Blowing Rock also reported consistently higher levels of individual and township wealth overall. However, it maintained a steady percentage of its population in a bracket of very low to no wealth, suggesting that the increased income of Blowing Rock's tourist economy did not reach as many individuals as did the rising costs. Tourism's effect on land use in the county interacted with larger frameworks of class, industry, and the economy to culminate in a significant local disparity of wealth ranging from the completely landless to considerably affluent residents on seasonal estates.

To reach these conclusions, I applied quantitative county data, derived primarily from county tax scrolls and lists, to secondary sources such as histories and studies of tourism in southern Appalachia. This included researching local and regional histories regarding class, tourism patterns, tourism's economic force as an industry, and tourism's effects on economies and land use. I organized the available primary data to reflect trends in wealth,

land ownership, and land values to compare the townships of Blowing Rock and Meat Camp from 1890 to 1920.

Using the tables compiled from this information, I was able to determine the distribution of wealth in both townships, and divided taxed citizens into groups of individual wealth. This information is processed through the lens of theories on class in turn-of-the-century Appalachia to illustrate that the increase in township wealth in Blowing Rock correlated to its history with tourism did not translate into increased wealth for all of its residents, although it did contribute to escalating land values and therefore prices. I was able to verify an augmentation of land values in amount and rate of increase in Blowing Rock above those in Meat Camp from the tax data recorded.

Although speculation was already in practice in southern Appalachia, I argue that the accelerated increase in land costs in Blowing Rock demonstrates that interest in seasonal second homes and large estates drove up land prices across the township. However, the majority of the town's permanent residents did not have the wealth to sustain this elevated land cost.

Some of the wealthiest Southerners began the first summer visits to the region and township. After the Civil War, the area received continued and growing attention from Northern elite. In some areas of Western North Carolina, tourism became a major economic force. It was able to compete with other major industries, in fact, although it brought its own social and economic drawbacks.

The interaction between summer residents, local residents, and land use, became political with the debate over the stock law. Many residents in the agricultural county depended on small farming, and some on shared land that they did not privately own. When

Blowing Rock became the first town in Watauga to pass this law restricting communal land use in 1900, such farmers were left without access to land for their livestock.

Tourism's impact on communities in Appalachia continues to be a contentious issue for historians and residents alike. In the nineteenth-century context, tourism brought wage labor as well as affluent interest and thereby wealth to rural areas. However, the service industry employment that developed was seasonal and low paying, and increased wealth in the township did not reach residents widely on an individual level. Meanwhile, it did contribute to a substantial increase in land costs. Blowing Rock's long history with the tourism industry, which began with clients from among the nation's wealthiest families, caused an increase in land values above that seen in other parts of the county due to its effect on land use in the township.

While this study contributes quantitative analysis to the literature on tourism in Southern Appalachia during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, what it does not attempt to do is argue any of its qualitative effects. The voices and experiences of the people who lived in this time and place are excluded to focus on arguments that can be numerically verified. Further research utilizing local newspapers of the time or tracing back family histories could shed valuable light on the lives and opinions of those who witnessed the economic trends described here.

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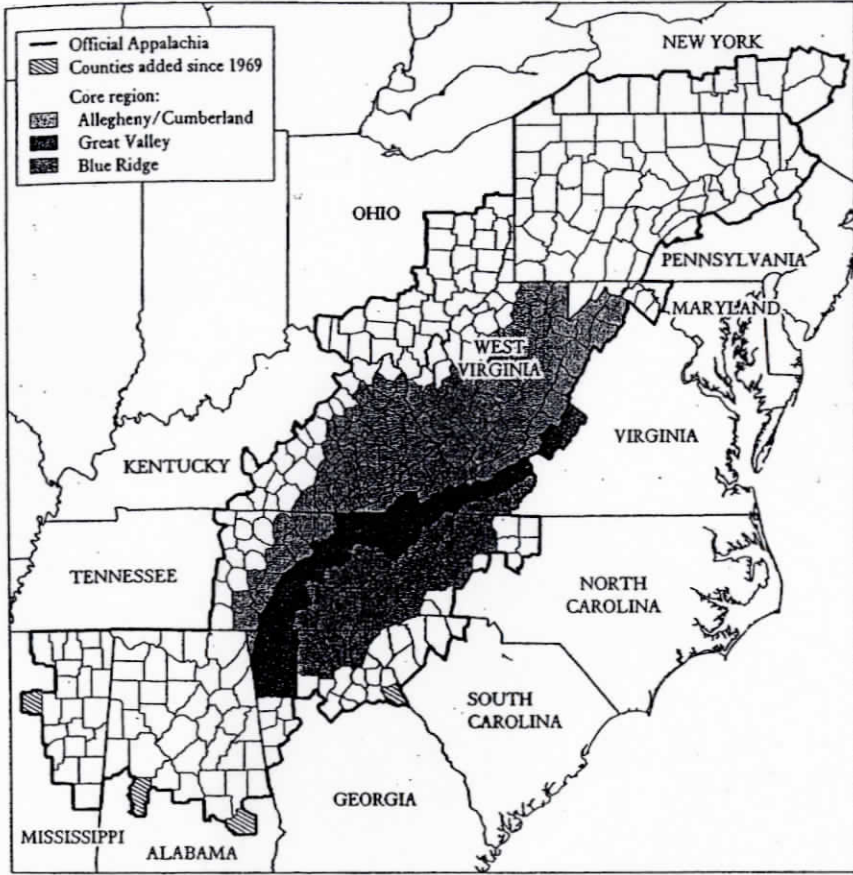
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APPENDIX A

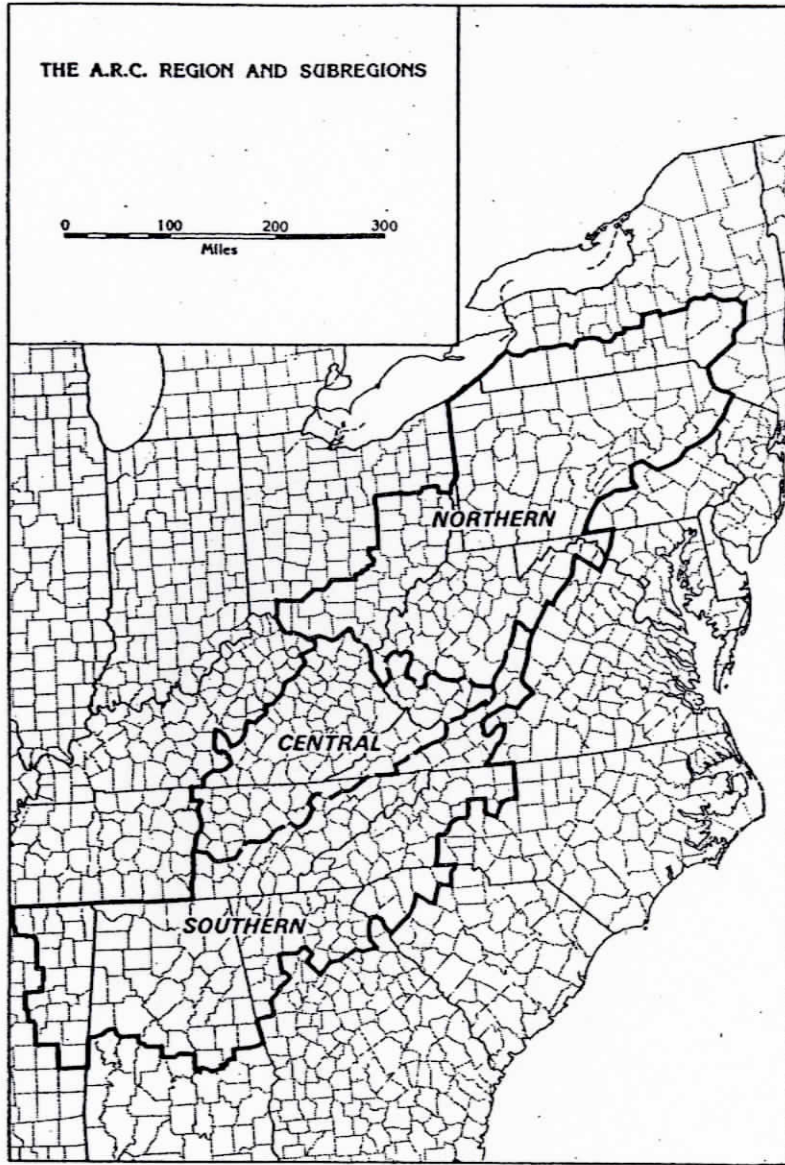
Map 1. Official Appalachia and the Regional Core (Williams)



Official Appalachia and the regional core

APPENDIX B

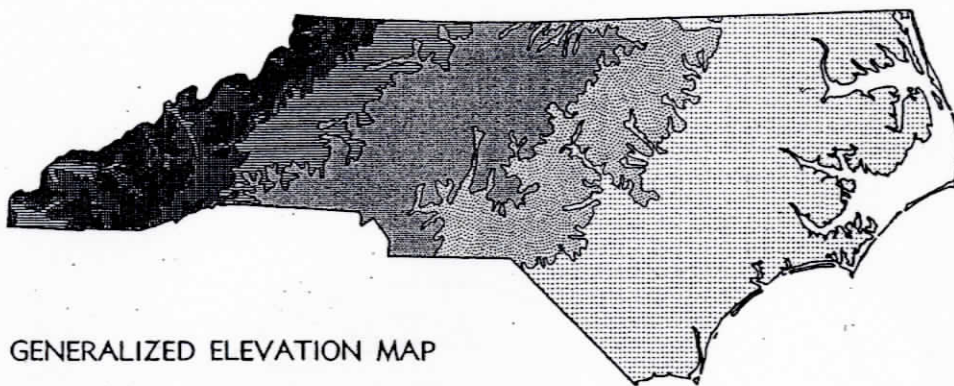
Map 2. The A.R.C. Region and Subregions (Raitz and Ulack)





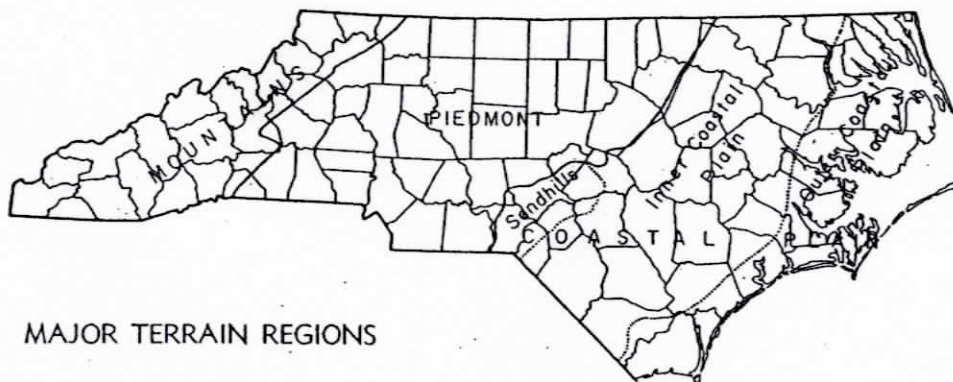
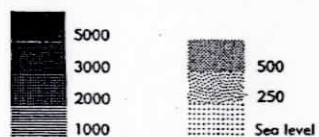
APPENDIX C

Map 3. Generalized Elevation and Major Terrain Regions (Lonsdale)

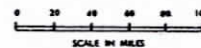


GENERALIZED ELEVATION MAP

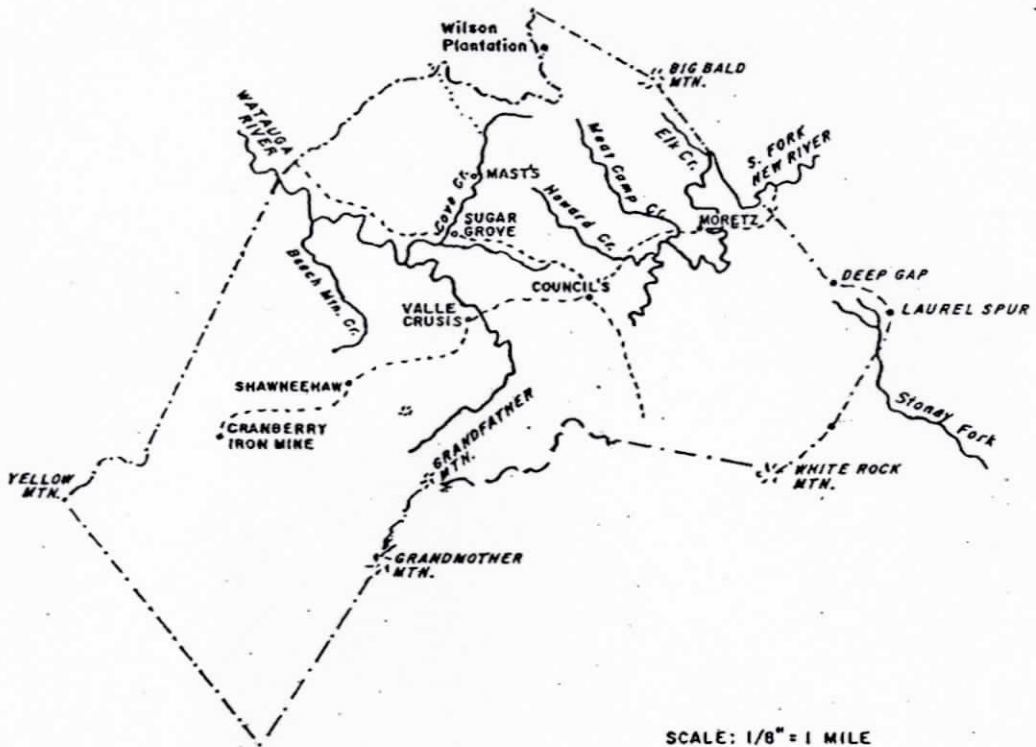
Elevation in feet above sea level



MAJOR TERRAIN REGIONS



APPENDIX D  
Map 4. Watauga County, North Carolina, 1849

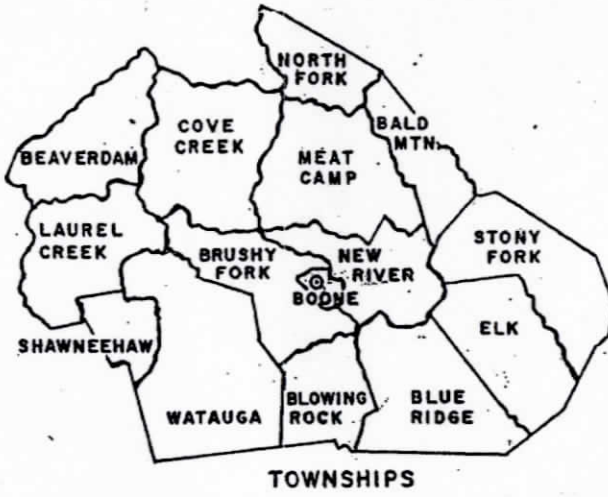


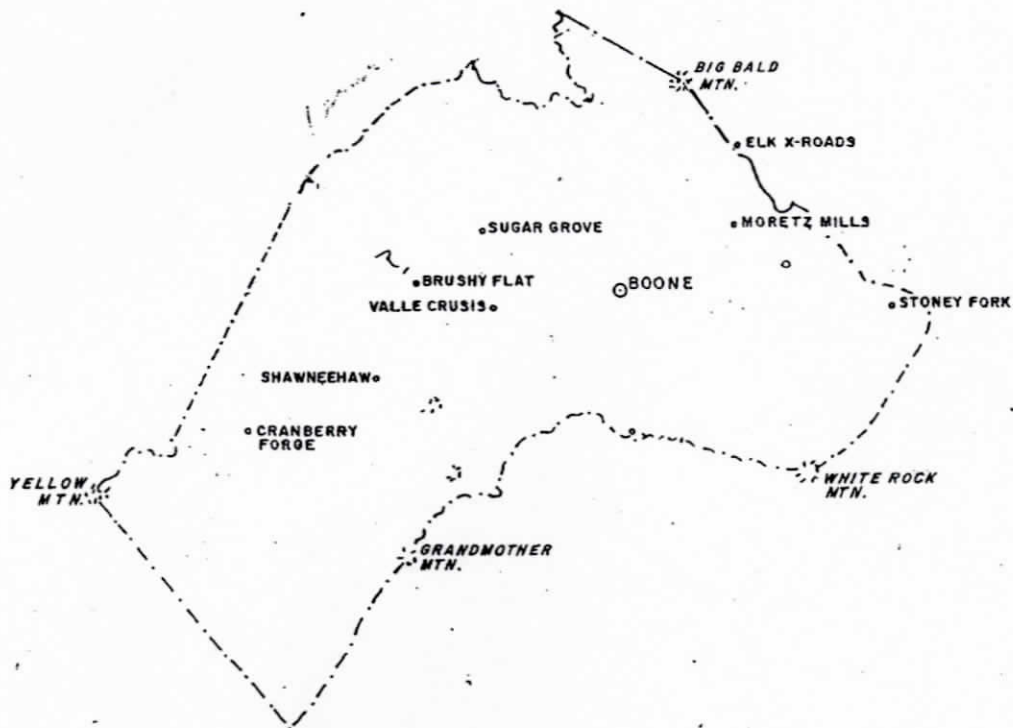
SCALE: 1/8" = 1 MILE

WATAUGA COUNTY, N. C. 1849 formed from Ashe, Wilkes, Caldwell, and Yancey.  
 drawn by: G. P. Stout, Greensboro, N. C. 27408 ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

1849 Boundary Line description: ..... beginning at the State line in Lemuel Wilson's plantation, and running with the State line in Northern direction two miles; thence running as near as may be, in a direct line, (so as to leave Thomas Sutherland in the county of Ashe) to the top of the Big Bald mountain; thence to the mouth of Elk Creek, on the South fork of New River; thence down the river to the mouth of a creek that runs through Samuel Cooper's plantation; thence to the Deep Gap of the Blue Ridge; thence along the dividing ridge between the waters of Stony fork and Lewis's fork waters of the Yadkin river, to where the road leading from Wilkesboro to the Deep Gap, crosses the top of the Laurel Spur; thence to Elk creek at the Widow Hampton's; thence to the top of the White Rock mountain; thence to the top of the Blue Ridge at the nearest point to the Yadkin Spring; thence along the extreme height of the Blue Ridge to the top of the Grandmother mountain; thence with the line of Burke county to the corner of McDowell county; thence to the State line where it crosses the Yellow mountain; thence with the State line to the beginning. (Laws, 1848-49, Ch. 25)

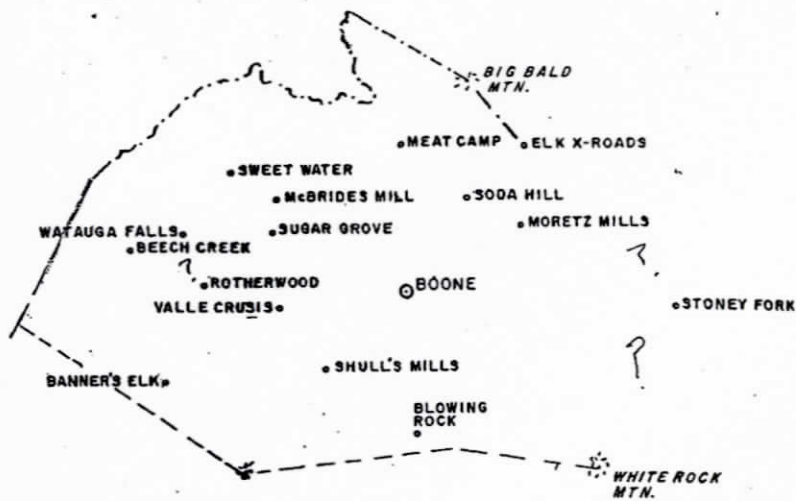
APPENDIX E  
Map 5. Watauga County, Historical Research Map





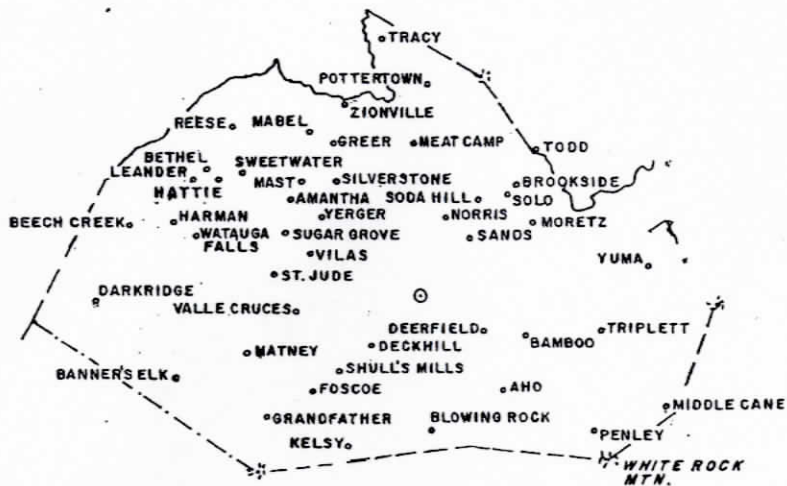
WATAUGA COUNTY 1850

1861: Mitchell was formed from Burke, Caldwell, McDowell, Watauga, and Yancey  
 1869: part of Wilkes was annexed to Watauga  
 1871: part of Caldwell was annexed to Watauga



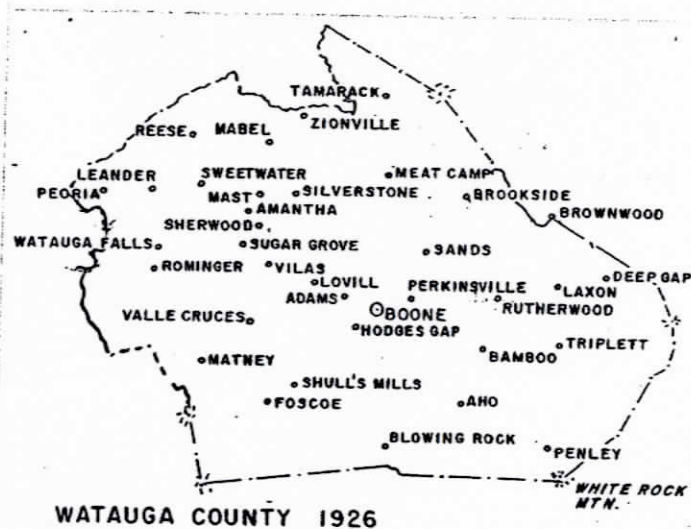
WATAUGA COUNTY 1875

1877: parts of Ashe and Wilkes annexed to Watauga



WATAUGA COUNTY 1900

1911: Avery was formed from Caldwell, Mitchell, and Watauga  
 1915: Line between Ashe and Watauga changed  
 1925: Line between Caldwell and Watauga established



WATAUGA COUNTY 1926



APPENDIX F  
Excerpt from Advertisement for Warm Springs, North Carolina

### Advertisement for Warm Springs, NC

*Resorts published periodicals and advertisements. The mineral and warm springs remain popular resorts for years, particularly during the nineteenth century. The following is an advertisement for Warm Springs, North Carolina, published circa 1880:*

Howerton, W.H., and M. C. Klein. *The Warm Springs, Madison County, Western North Carolina. Howerton & Klein, Proprietors. Hot, Warm, Tepid and Cold Baths.* Raleigh: W. H. Ferrel., [1880?] .

“Readily accessible from every section of the United States, over. East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia Railroad, and Connecting lines of Rail, via Morristown and Wolf Creek, Tenn.; by North and South Carolina Systems of Railway, via Salisbury. Charlotte, Spartanburg to Hendersonville and Asheville, and by Fine Coaches of the Western North Carolina Stage Lines, to Warm Springs. *Season EXCURSION TICKETS Sold on all Routes...* The undersigned beg leave to announce to the great public of Summer Tourists, Health and Pleasure seekers, and to invalids and sufferers of all seasons, that they have jointly taken a new and extended lease on this justly celebrated Southern Summer and Winter Resort, and that the mammoth Hotel will be open all the year round.” (pp 1-2)

*The booklet describes location, scenery, accommodations, the experience and healthfulness of the baths offered, and an analysis of the weather. It includes a list of nearby places of interest /attractions, as well as many testimonials. Finally, it covers rates: (pg 16)*

**“THE RATES OF BOARD ARE:**

Per month, of four weeks, or 28 days, \$30.00 to \$50.00 according to location.

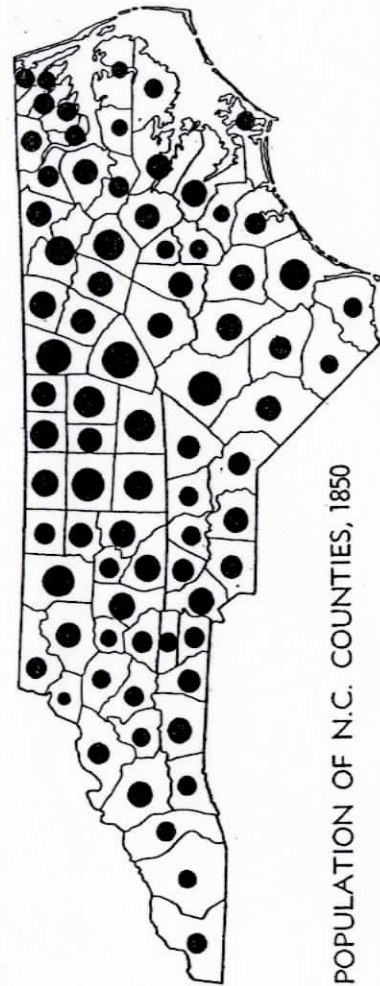
Per week,	\$12 50
Per day,	2 00

Children under ten and over two years of age, and servants, are charged half-price. Two daily Mails and Expresses, morning and evening, each, arrive and depart; the Eastern for Asheville, and connections by Stage Coach and Rail; and the Western to Wolf Creek, and Tennessee Railroad connections.

Hotel open the year round for entertainment of both Summer and Winter Visitors.”

## APPENDIX G

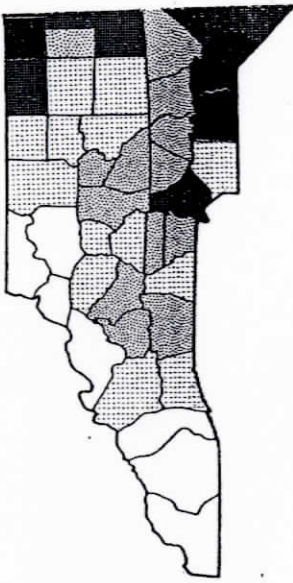
Map 6. Population of North Carolina Counties, 1850, Slave Population, and North  
Carolina Counties, 1900 (Lonsdale)



POPULATION OF N.C. COUNTIES, 1850

Population proportional to area of circle

- 25,000
- 17,500
- 10,000
- 6,000
- 3,000

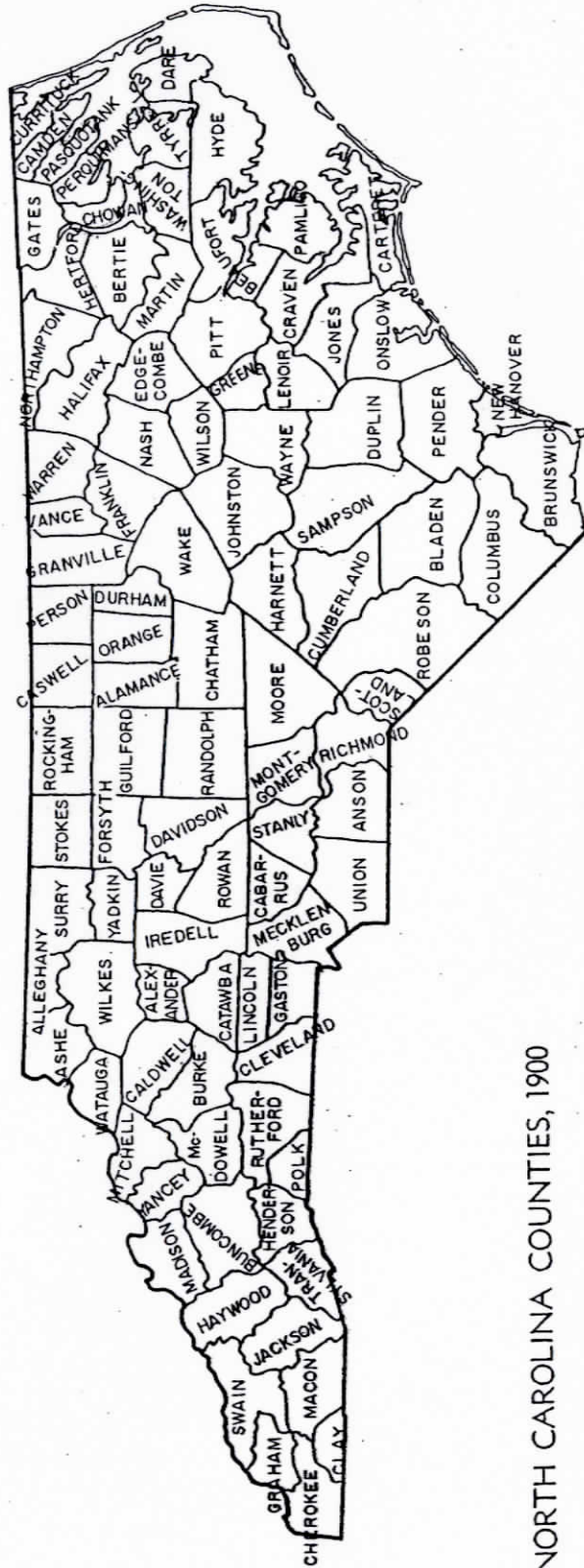


SLAVE POPULATION

As a Percentage of Total Population by County, 1850

- 50% and above
- 40-50%
- 30-40%
- 20-30%
- 10-20%
- 0-10%

Data from 1850 Census of Population



NORTH CAROLINA COUNTIES, 1900

## APPENDIX H

Tables A1. and A2. African Americans in Blowing Rock and Meat Camp, 1850-1920,  
and African Americans in Watauga County, 1850-1920

**Table A1. African Americans in Blowing Rock and Meat Camp, 1850-1920**

	<b>Blowing Rock</b>		<b>Meat Camp</b>	
	<b>Poll/ Population</b>	<b>Wealth</b>	<b>Poll/ Population</b>	<b>Wealth</b>
<b>1850</b>	~	~	~	~
<b>1888</b>	2 Poll (1890: 0 Taxed)	~	2 Taxed	60
<b>1895</b>	1 Taxed/Poll	0	2 Taxed	60
<b>1899/ 1900</b>	29 Population, 3 Taxed Or: 3 Households + 11 Nonwhite "Servants" (Census)	145	1 Taxed	160
<b>1910</b>	~	200	2 Taxed	175
<b>1915</b>	0	0	6 Poll/ 2 Taxed	75/ 175
<b>1918</b>	0 Poll	~	0 Poll	~
<b>1920</b>	0 Taxed, 0 Households, 2 "Servants"	~	0 Taxed, 0 Households, 1 Individual	~

**Table A2. African Americans in Watauga County, 1850-1920**

	<b>Poll/ Population</b>	<b>Non-White Wealth</b>	<b>Total County Wealth</b>
<b>1850</b>	84 Slaves + 29 Residents (3358 White Population)	~	~
<b>1888</b>	39 Poll (1372 White)	~	~
<b>1895</b>	55 Poll (1726 White)	~	~
<b>1899/ 1900</b>	37 Poll, 1908 White (Boone: 22 Households + 4 Individuals)	~	~
<b>1910</b>	~	\$3,737 In Land	\$1,207,560 In Land
<b>1915</b>	13 Poll	8,265	2,808,411
<b>1918</b>	11 Poll	8,029	3,003,915
<b>1920</b>	9 Poll	250 Acres	~

Notes to Tables A1 and A2:

1. Symbol "~" designates areas for which information was not available.
2. Sources: Watauga County Census records 1850-1920 and Watauga County Tax Scrolls and Lists, 1890-1920.
3. "Poll" refers to the number of registered voters; "Taxed" refers to the number of individuals listed in the tax records for that year. Early census data enumerated primarily by households, some figures reflect this.
4. Although some years of tax data have space for marking individuals of both African and Indigenous heritage, racial categorization in Watauga County typically kept a binary view. The bulk of tax information between 1890 and 1920 is divided into "White" and "Negro" or "Colored" depending on the year.
5. Due to underenumeration in most federal census records of this time, these figures can be assumed to be lower than the actual population.

APPENDIX I  
Tax Scroll Samples 1890

TAX LIST IN

TOWNSHIP

*Cherry Brook*

NAME	RACE	POLLS.		REAL PROPERTY.			PERSONAL PROPERTY																				
		White Polls between twenty-one and fifty years of age. (Tax on each Poll \$1.15 cents.)	Colored Polls between twenty-one and fifty years of age. (Tax on each Poll \$1.15 cents.)	Age of this given in. (Enter age, whether under or over fifty years, to determine liability to poll tax.	Number of Acres of Land. (Each tract)	Name or other description of each tract of Land.	Value of Land, estimated at its true value in money, with improvements thereon.	Number of Town Lots	Value of Town Lots, estimated at the true value in money.	Number of Horses	Value of Horses	Number of Mules	Value of Mules	Number of Jacks and Jennies	Value of Jacks and Jennies	Number of Goats	Value of Goats	Number of Cattle	Value of Cattle	Number of Hogs	Value of Hogs	Number of Sheep	Value of Sheep	Value, without specifying the articles, of Farming Utensils, Tools of Mechanic, Household and Kitchen Furnitures, Provisions, Fire Arms, Lenses and Scientific Instruments.	Keeps on hand, etc. (See sub-sections 1 and 2, Section 18 of the Machinery Act of 1909.)	Portent Credits, including amount received, owing to the party in or out of the State, and other credits. (See sub-sections 1 and 2, Section 18 of the Machinery Act of 1909.)	
<i>John</i>	White	1	08	25		60	1	1400										1	10								
<i>John</i>	White	1	45	10		65												3	95.55								
<i>Robert</i>	White	1	74															3	85.65								
<i>John</i>	White	1	25					2	275									2	201.2								
<i>John</i>	White	1	08	50		175		1	1400																		
<i>John</i>	White	1	08	68																							
<i>John</i>	White	1	08	10																							

DN. allowed an ex-dollars in the rty in addition Machinery Act.) in Section 18

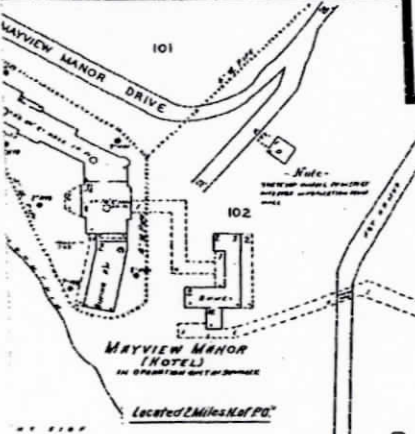
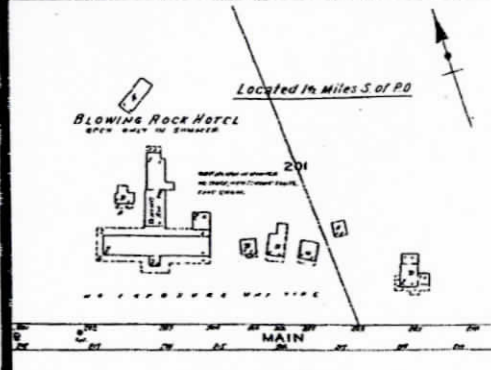
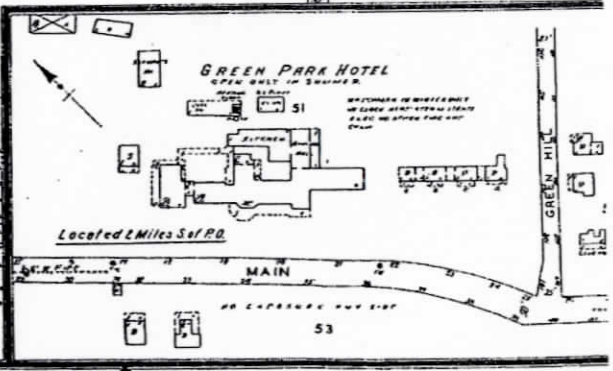
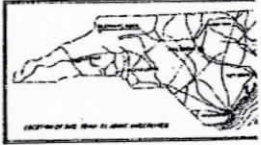
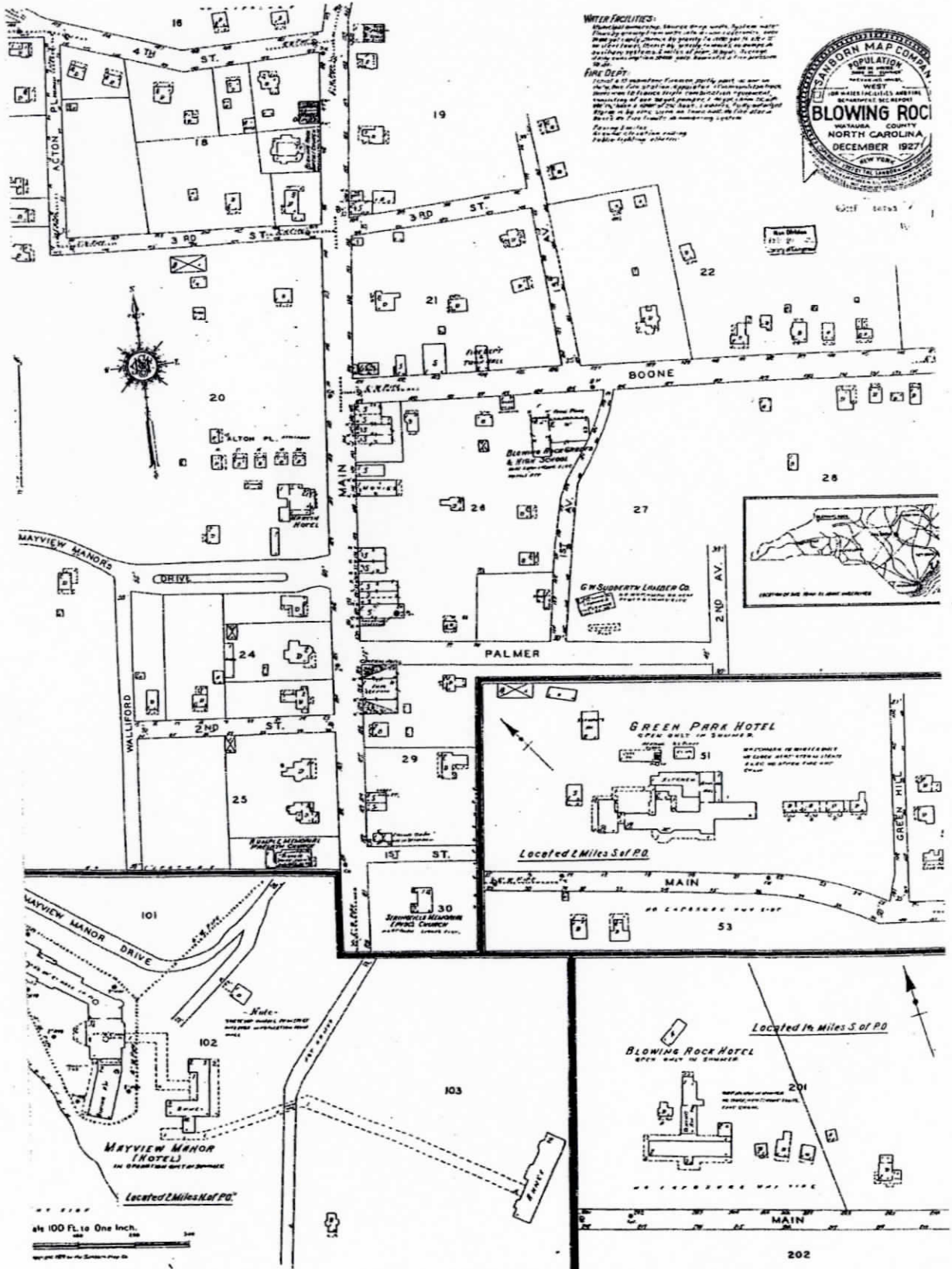
*John*





## APPENDIX J

Map 7. Blowing Rock, Watauga County, December 1927



APPENDIX K  
Table A3. Land and Wealth Information,  
Blowing Rock and Meat Camp, North Carolina, 1888 to 1920

Year and Township	Taxed Population (% of residents who own "land")*	Acres of Land and Land Value				Town Lots			Aggregate Value					
		Total Acres of Sample	Average Acres per Land Owner	Average Acres per Resident	Avg. Cost per Acre of Land (\$)	Number of Town Lots	Total Value of Town Lots (\$) in sample	Avg. per Town Lot	Total Township Estimate/Given (\$)**	Agg. Value per Person (\$)	% of Residents at Median	Land Value: % of Total w/out Town Lots	% Including Town Lots	
1888														
BR	72 poll	10,001	~	~	3.19	55	7,670	139.45	59,144 g	~	~	54.0	66.9	
MC	109 poll	18,829	~	~	3.62	-0-	-0-	-0-	96,412 g	~	~	70.7	N/A	
1890														
BR	190 (46)	3,178	145	66	2.84	17	3,162	186.00	71,555	372.67	41.7	50.4	68.0	
MC	194 (77)	3,811	103	79	2.72	-0-	-0-	-0-	41,496	295.50	72.9	73.1	N/A	
1895														
BR	235 (43)	2,322	89	39	4.94	31	7,500	241.94	98,080/ 108,704 g	408.67	48.3	46.7	77.3	
MC	222 (72)	4,846	118	85	3.19	-0-	-0-	-0-	88,768/ 90,684 g	389.33	57.9	69.6	N/A	
1899****														
BR	252 (38)	1,631	68	26	4.08	32	7,325	228.91	110,256	473.52	46.0	24.2	50.7	
MC	231 (73)	6,204	141	103	2.73	-0-	-0-	-0-	94,512	393.80	56.7	71.6	N/A	
1910		Total^				(Total)	(Total)							
BR	262 (6)	9,964	109	37	7.58	149	54,195	363.72	195,964	747.95	54.5	38.5	66.1	
MC	267 (68)	18,583	102	70	4.51	-0-	-0-	-0-	146,499	559.16	58.0	57.3	N/A	
1915		(Total)				(Total)	(Total)							
BR 1916+	349 (29)	10,324/ 11,101	110	32	14.78/ 15.30	274	106,155	387.43	317,844/ 341,345 g	945.96	56.6	44.7	75.8	
MC	288/(68) 295	18,783	94	64	5.20	-0-	-0-	-0-	170,092 g 178,267 g	663.11 604.30	54.9/ 64.0	55.3	N/A	
1920, 1918+														
BR	336 (31) 363	10,078	93	28	53.00	239	353,419	1,478.74	351,072 g	683.90	59.5	~	~	
MC	305	18,343	~	~	27.10	-0-	-0-	-0-	202,576 g	708.63	66.7	~	~	

**Notes to Table A3. Land and Wealth Information, Blowing Rock and Meat Camp, North Carolina, 1888 to 1920:**

\* "Land" does not include town lots. Some residents of Blowing Rock owned town lots but no land, some owned both, some neither. Meat Camp residents either owned "land" or did not, as no town lots are listed for this township from 1890-1920. For this reason, some areas are marked "N/A" for Not Applicable. In parentheses under Taxed Population are the percentages of the taxed residents marked as owning land; see Table 8 for comparison of land owners to town lot owners and landless residents. The symbol "~" designates areas for which not enough information was available to create average values. The term "poll" refers to the number of registered voters listed.

\*\* A "g" indicates the total aggregate value for the township has been given in the tax information. In all other cases this figure has been estimated from the sample taken.

\*\*\* Due to errors in the first sampling of tax scrolls from 1899, Blowing Rock was sampled twice. The figures shown are the results of the second sampling. Records for the year 1899 are more complete and in better condition than those for 1900 and were therefore used in its place.

+ Due to missing information in the 1915 tax lists, some figures from 1916 have been used; these are in bold. Due to poor quality of records through the years 1918 to 1920, the available information for this period has been merged. Figures in bold are from the 1918 Tax List, while the rest are from the 1920 tax scrolls.

^ Values marked "Total" represent township total, not total of sample.

Note: No information is available for 1905

## APPENDIX L

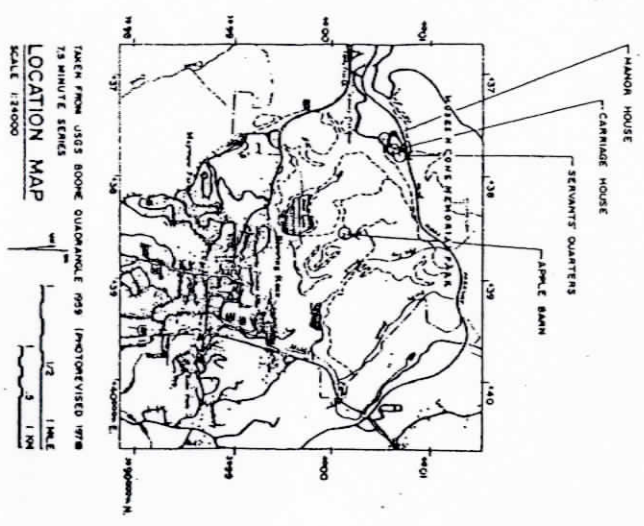
Map 8. The Moses H. Cone Manor House and Outbuildings (Buxton)

CURRENTLY ADMINISTERED BY THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, THIS 2600 ACRE ESTATE WAS ORIGINALLY THE SUMMER RESIDENCE OF TEXTILE INDUSTRIALIST MOSES H. CONE AND HIS WIFE BERTHA (POMAL) CONE, SITUATED HIGH IN THE BLUE RIDGE MOUNTAINS OF NORTH CAROLINA, THIS ESTATE WAS NOT ONLY A RECREATION RESORT FOR THE CONES, BUT WAS ALSO A VIBANT COMMUNITY CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE CONE AND SOME 6,000 TREES, EMPLOYING MANY OF THE LOCAL PEOPLE.

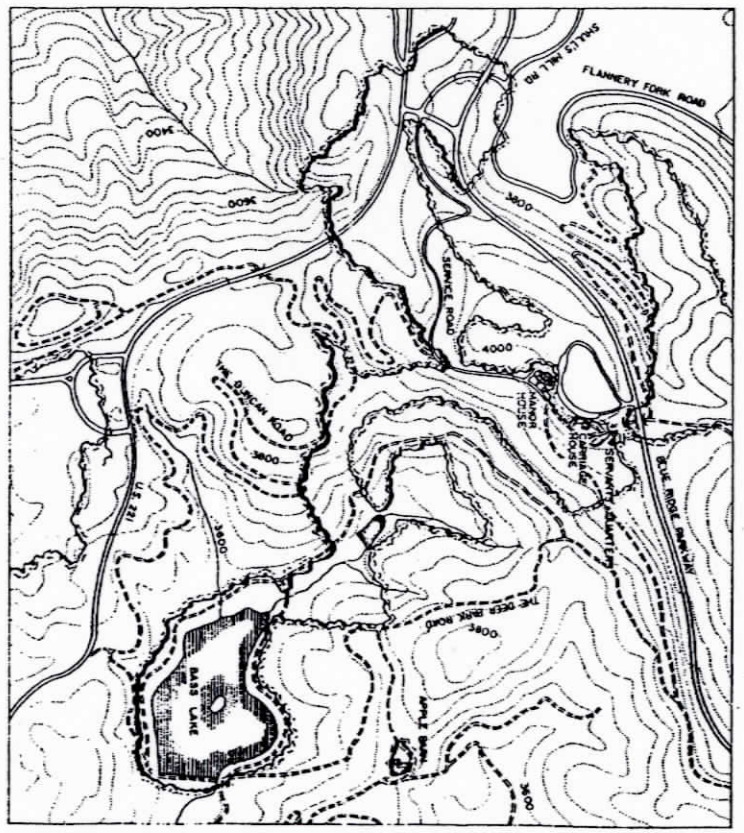
BEGINNING IN 1883, MOSES H. CONE OVERSAW THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE VICTORIAN NEOCOLONIAL MANOR HOUSE, WHICH TOOK SEVERAL YEARS TO COMPLETE, AND ALSO SUPERVISED THE MANAGEMENT OF "PLANT" FOR MANOR ORCHARDS, UNTIL HIS EARLY DEATH IN 1906. MRS. CONE CONTINUED TO OWN THE ESTATE UNTIL HER DEATH IN 1947.

THE NPS TOOK OVERSHIPS OF THE ESTATE IN 1949, AND HAS SINCE MAINTAINED IT AS A PUBLIC PARK. MANY PEOPLE HIRE AND ENJOY THE SCENIC VIEW FROM THE FRONT PORCH OF THE MANOR HOUSE.

THESE DRAWINGS WERE PREPARED FOR THE HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY AT THE REQUEST OF THE APPALACHIAN CONSERVATION. THE FOUNDING STRUCTURES OF THE ESTATE WERE MEASURED AND DRAWN BY ERIC COOK SWANSON, ARCHITECT, 1000 W. BROADWAY, NEW YORK, NY 10011. PHOTOGRAPHS OF BUILDINGS WERE TAKEN BY ERIC COOK SWANSON, FROM JUNE, 1988, UNTIL MARCH, 1989.



# THE MOSES H. CONE MANOR HOUSE AND OUTBUILDINGS



ENLARGED FROM USGS BOONE QUADRANGLE 7989  
7.5 SERIES (PHOTOENLARGED 1978)  
SCALE 1"=500'-0"



## VITA

Franya Elizabeth Hutchins was born in Boone, North Carolina, August 7, 1984. She received a Bachelor's of Music degree from the Mariam Cannon Hayes School of Music with a Minor in Psychology at Appalachian State University in May 2005. Her music education involved one year of study at Royal Holloway, University of London, and one year as cellist for the Hayes Graduate String Quartet. This thesis is written in partial fulfillment of a Master's of Arts degree in History, completed in May 2008, which included six months of study at the *Universidad de las Américas*, in Puebla, Mexico.

