

# 7. Description

## Condition

excellent  
 good  
 fair

deteriorated  
 ruins  
 unexposed

## Check one

unaltered  
 altered

## Check one

original site

moved date \_\_\_\_\_

## Describe the present and original (if known) physical appearance

The proposed Cameron Park District has boundaries which differ somewhat from the original property as platted by the Hunter-Parker Realty Company in 1910. This is the result of the way in which the property has been developed: one portion was platted and another reserved for future development. The original land purchase will be described briefly, followed by a description of the neighborhood which was advertised and sold between 1910 and 1927. Finally is a description of the reserved portion which was developed around 1927.

Carved out of the extensive landholdings of the Cameron Family, the original Cameron Park purchase was bounded on the east by St. Mary's Street and St. Mary's Junior College, on the south by Hillsborough Street and on the west by Oberlin Road, a street which curved northwest from Hillsborough to Oberlin, a black community which had been in place since soon after the Civil War. On the northern corner, Peace Street ended shortly beyond the junction with St. Mary's Street and the land to the north was known as Cameron's Wood.

The site for Cameron Park is the most topographically varied of the three early 20th Century neighborhoods in Raleigh. Its most distinctive features are the three ravines which cut into the large, gently sloping site (see map). Riddick and Mann platted the portion of the property which was to go on the market in 1910 by creating a series of small, rectilinear grids between the two north/south ravines which became parks ringed by residential streets. The triangular portion of land bounded by what would become Johnson Street west from St. Mary's, Peace Street on the north and St. Mary's Street on the east was reserved for future development which began in 1927, about the time Needham Broughton High School was being planned and immediately following the opening of Wiley School.

Proceeding from Hillsborough Street on the south, Woodburn, Hawthorne and Hillcrest streets cut into the property from north to south. Where the terrain remains fairly level, they are parallel and connected by parallel cross streets. Forest and East and West Park Drive also begin on Hillsborough. Forest is parallel to the above streets until it reaches, then circles, "Brown Park", the deep ravine. East and West Park also cut from Hillsborough but almost immediately become the two arms of a circular street which surrounds the larger, sloping bowl of Green Park. All the above streets feed into Park Drive which curves around the north side of the development from east to west. The houses along the lower portion of Park Drive back up to the third ravine which terminates at the junctions of Forest, Johnson and Peace Streets and Clark Avenue. The ravine is now the Edna Metz Wells Park.

"Brown Park" is a deep tree-filled ravine with some recent judicious plantings of azaleas. It is accessible by paths and steps from the street and is kept clear of underbrush. On the south and west sides of the street, houses are built on sites above the street and look down into the park. On the east, houses are on grade with the street. At the northern end is the previously mentioned park.

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"Green Park" is a wide, gently sloping oval bowl surrounded by East and West Park Drive. Trees cluster at each end and grassed open space provides play areas down the center. All the building lots on this park are above street grade. The effect of this is to make the houses and the park private because of the screen provided by the large trees in front of the houses and accessible because sidewalks at street grade promote interaction.

All the streets are narrow by current standards, being approximately 30' from curb to curb. The sidewalks, an integral feature of the original plan, encourage pedestrian traffic. Lots have 30' to 40' frontage but may vary considerably in depth--from 60' to 120'. The setbacks for the house facades is not absolutely uniform for it takes into account the terrain and lot depth, but generally the distance between house and sidewalk is 20'. The irregularly shaped blocks are bisected by 10' wide service alleys which run roughly parallel to the north/south streets. These service alleys are all in use and are frequently as densely developed as the street facades.

The typical features: curvilinear layout and traditional grid, terraced front yards and flat ones, open and shaded parks, changes in elevation from park to street to sidewalk to house and from lot to lot, the deep perspectives through the blocks afforded by the service alleys and the large numbers of old evergreen and deciduous trees create a rich visual fabric. The curvature of the streets slows traffic through the neighborhood which further enhances the sense of community for the Cameron Park dwellers and privacy from the surrounding City.

Cameron Park has an architectural fabric as apparently diverse as its setting. But it derives an underlying homogeneity and consistency from the persistence of the same house types found in Glenwood and Boylan Heights (see Thematic description). There are, however, three significant differences: the first is that Cameron Park includes the most expensive houses of the three neighborhoods. Second there is somewhat more variety in the fabric because of a few examples of other popular domestic styles. And third, because the reserved portion of the property was not opened for development until 1927, its fabric is made up of consistently smaller and less pretentious houses that are characteristics of post-1925 building. The following examples of the buildings found in Cameron Park will illustrate these differences:

The Queen Anne/Colonial Hybrid is one of the predominant forms in the neighborhood. 311 Calvin Road (#10), 203 (#213) and 222 (#146) Hillcrest, 227 Forest (#200), 1117 Park, 131 and 217 Hawthorne (#s 259 and 256) and 1407 Hillsborough Street are excellent examples which also show the variety with which the form was used.

The large three-bayed Colonial Box exists in even greater numbers. 1712 Park Drive (#243), 129 and 206 Forest (#s 208 and 179), 129 West Park Drive (#116), 304 Hillcrest (#149) and 130 Hawthorne (#220) are examples of the plain, more

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traditional version of this type. The Box is also found with more of an academic, Georgian Revival flavor. Many of these are brick: 204 and 206 East Park Drive (#s 18 and 19), 1400 Park Drive (#100), 311 Forest (#192) and 222 Hawthorne (#244) are all good examples which also represent the variety that this treatment could produce. 1208 College Place (#15), 304 East Park Drive (#30), 221 West Park Drive (#110) and 212 Groveland Avenue (#291) represent the weatherboarded variety. 1618 Ambleside Drive (#226) is a careful remodeling of a three-bayed plain box into a very skilled "Colonial Revival" mansion.

The two-bayed, two-story Colonial Box, like its larger relative, exists in a variety of forms of which two, the plain and the bungalized, predominate. Examples of the former are 116 and 228 East Park Drive (#s 308 and 26), 117 West Park (#119), 203 and 304 Forest (#s 206 and 185) and 1611 Ambleside (#119). Bungalow versions are 305 Calvin Road (#13), 216 and 307 Hillcrest (#s 143 and 159), 303 Forest (#195) and 1700 Park (#240).

The bungalow in all forms is also present. 1205 (#38), 1609 (#231), 1811 (#292), 117 Woodburn (#284), 221 Hawthorne (254), 309 (#158) Hillcrest and 1615 Ambleside Drive (#197) represent the most pervasive form. 232 East Park (#28), 305 West Park (#107) and 302 Forest (#184) are examples of the very large, gambrel-roofed bungalow.

Departures from the predominant house types are scattered in Cameron Park. A good Mission/Spanish influenced house is the otherwise familiar box at 200 Hawthorne. The large two-story duplex at 224 Hillcrest shows some California influence. The most resplendent example of Tudor-Revival is the row houses, 130 - 136 Woodburn Road (#s 267-268). 1605 Park Drive (#232), a large rambling brick house with a thatched-effect roof, is somewhat of a local landmark for its picturesque quality.

The development along the reserved portions of Cameron Park is a typically story, story and one-half, or two-story box, but on a smaller scale than that of the original platted portion. The fact that the lots are flatter and have no service alleys behind them also decreases the psychological scale of the area.

Georgian Revival, Tudor Revival and some Spanish influenced stuccoed houses reflect the greater eclecticism of later development. The predominance of brick veneer, however, exemplifies the prosperity that had come to Raleigh before the depression and that returned to the area quickly in the mid-thirties.

The major properties in the proposed Cameron Park District which are not residential are the Wiley School and Needham Broughton High School.

The Wiley School, a grammar school, opened in 1926. It replaced the first Wiley School which was located on East Morgan Street. Designed by C. Gadsen Sayre, it is a red brick, three-story block characterized by banks of huge sash windows set in cream stone surrounds. Between the second and third floors, decorated panels run between the banks of windows and tie down together in a flattened bay

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effect. The arched and folded carvings of the panels, the color scheme and scale of windows recall Jacobethan and Tudor-Revival forms. The carved bas-reliefs above the entry and centered in the ends of the parapet recall the same sources that influenced the other decoration.

Needham Broughton High School, named for a prominent Raleigh personage, was opened in 1929. Designed by William H. Deitrick, it is a splendid example of the Romanesque Revival adapted to an educational institution. The three-story central block is flanked by wings which advance to create a forecourt. This focuses attention on the fine central tower which reaches another story above and is crowned with a fairly steep hip roof. The single center entry door is placed in a heavy, round arched and molded opening while a tripartite arched opening creates a loggia-like effect for the entries on the ground floor of the two wings. Built of creamy orange, yellow and brown local stone, rough finished, fine patterns of fenestration and corbelling under eaves and gables give the building a vitality and sense of appropriate, human scale. A low wing on the east side houses the cafeteria. Additions, not all sympathetic, have, however, been confined to the rear of the school. In 1930, Deitrick was awarded the Outstanding School Prize for his design of the school.

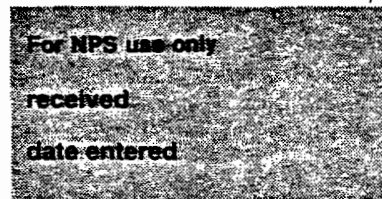
The presence of the two schools solidified the essentially upper-middle class fabric of Cameron Park. For several generations the high school was widely recognized as among the premier high schools of the State. The growth which produced the neighborhood, however, could not be contained.

North Carolina State College beyond Cameron Park on Hillsborough Street expanded enormously after the end of World War II. The opening of new suburbs west and north of Cameron Park precipitated non-residential development around the neighborhood. This has been most significant along Hillsborough Street, but the creation of Office and Institutional Zoning by the City in the fifties prevented the worst kind of strip development along this major thoroughfare. To the west of Cameron Park, the opening of Cameron Park Shopping Center in 1949 on the property that was once Cameron's Wood produced a new row of offices and apartments along a newly widened Clark Avenue. These, however, have acted as both a buffer and transition for the older portions of the neighborhood along Park Drive.

The real danger to the neighborhood came when older residents died and others moved to newer suburbs. Houses were broken up into multiple rental units and boarding houses or were used by fraternities at nearby N. C. State. The very pressures, however, that seemed to spell decline conspired to spell rehabilitation. Pressure on the market for good housing brought particularly by the dynamic growth of the University in the late 1950s and early 1960s brought the kind of inhabitants to Raleigh who could see the visual and architectural value of the neighborhood. Many families had never left, although there were unpleasant pockets. The initial low cost of the old houses encouraged young people to buy and restore.

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The present appearances of the neighborhood and its atmosphere is now comparable to what Hunter-Parker sold in 1910--privacy, community and comfortable living.

# 8. Significance

| Period                                    | Areas of Significance—Check and justify below    |  |   |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|---|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> prehistoric      | <input type="checkbox"/> archeology-prehistoric  | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> community planning | <input type="checkbox"/> landscape architecture | <input type="checkbox"/> religion        |  |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1400-1499        | <input type="checkbox"/> archeology-historic     | <input type="checkbox"/> conservation                  | <input type="checkbox"/> law                    | <input type="checkbox"/> science         |  |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1500-1599        | <input type="checkbox"/> agriculture             | <input type="checkbox"/> economics                     | <input type="checkbox"/> literature             | <input type="checkbox"/> sculpture       |  |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1600-1699        | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> architecture | <input type="checkbox"/> education                     | <input type="checkbox"/> military               | <input type="checkbox"/> social/         |  |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1700-1799        | <input type="checkbox"/> art                     | <input type="checkbox"/> engineering                   | <input type="checkbox"/> music                  | <input type="checkbox"/> humanitarian    |  |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1800-1899        | <input type="checkbox"/> commerce                | <input type="checkbox"/> exploration/settlement        | <input type="checkbox"/> philosophy             | <input type="checkbox"/> theater         |  |  |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1900- | <input type="checkbox"/> communications          | <input type="checkbox"/> industry                      | <input type="checkbox"/> politics/government    | <input type="checkbox"/> transportation  |  |  |
|   |  | <input type="checkbox"/> invention                     |   | <input type="checkbox"/> other (specify) |  |  |

Specific dates See indiv. entries Builder/Architect See individual entries

## Statement of Significance (in one paragraph)

Purchased in 1910 by the North Carolina Trust Company and the Southern Real Estate Company, platted by Riddick and Mann and sold by the Parker-Hunter Realty Company, Cameron Park represents the third major documented, and the most sophisticated, attempt by the city's controlling interests to accommodate the rapidly growing white middle class of early 20th century Raleigh. Located on a beautiful, forested site, cut by streams and provided with the amenities of water, sewer, sidewalks, streetcars and two parks, Cameron Park consistently attracted the upper-middle class. This is reflected in the architectural fabric which is predominantly large colonial, classical revival and neo-Georgian homes with some picturesque bungalows and a smattering of Mission style and Tudor Revival dwellings. With Glenwood and Boylan Heights, Cameron Park offers a great source of information and insight into this historically significant period of urbanization in Raleigh and the State.

## CRITERIA ASSESSMENT

Cameron Park is significant in American history, architecture and culture because the neighborhood possesses integrity of location, setting, representative architectural design and feeling, and:

- a) As one of Raleigh's first 20th century suburban neighborhoods is associated with the growth of industrialization and urbanization in Raleigh and North Carolina, an event that has made a significant contribution to board patterns of our history;
- b) The neighborhood's developers, Carey N. Hunter and V. O. Parker, are persons significant in Raleigh and North Carolina's past, being representative of the leaders of the New South;
- c) The neighborhood embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type-suburban popular architecture--and a period--the first decades of the 20th century--that represents a significant and distinguishable entity within the development of the landscape of the City.

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On April 25, 1910, the Greensboro-based North Carolina Trust Company and Southern Real Estate Company purchased 110 acres of the old Cameron plantation for \$90,000. Almost immediately, work was underway to create Cameron Park, a residential suburban neighborhood just west of the City of Raleigh. Advertisements for the development began soon after the Raleigh firm of Parker-Hunter Realty Company bought a twenty percent share of the venture in June and thereby became sole marketing agent.

Cameron Park's significance in the development of Raleigh should be considered in the context of the changes that were taking place in 1910. In the first decades of the 20th century, Raleigh experienced a period of unprecedented growth and economic prosperity with a resulting redefinition of traditional social and economic relationships. As one of Raleigh's first suburban neighborhoods, Cameron Park's success was related to the appearance and growth of a new and more affluent middle class made up of businessmen, professionals and state government officials. As a strictly white middle class neighborhood, Cameron Park's development was an early stage in the fragmentation of Raleigh into racially, as well as socio-economically, segregated neighborhoods. Its creation, along with that of Glenwood (1905) and Boylan Heights (1907), represents the first step in Raleigh of the flight of the middle class to the suburbs. Though it succeeded both Glenwood and Boylan Heights as an all-white middle class neighborhood, Cameron Park was unique for two reasons. First, it was designed as a solidly upper-middle class neighborhood, whereas both Boylan Heights and Glenwood made provisions for lower as well as upper-middle class residents. Secondly, its developers undertook an intensive advertising campaign in which they made an elaborate appeal to the desires of the upper-middle class of Raleigh for beauty, security and social status.

The unique marketing campaign that was devised to sell Cameron Park to upper-middle class white buyers will be discussed first. The success of the campaign will then be demonstrated with a description to the property sales, the neighborhood and some of the people who moved into Cameron Park. The conclusion will contain a little about Cameron Park's history since the 1920s and a statement about Cameron Park's significance in the general course of Raleigh's history.

Located on land abounding in rolling forested hills and deep ravined streams, Cameron Park was indeed a beautiful place in which to build a home. However, the real key to the success of the development lies in the unique and aggressive marketing campaign undertaken by the Parker-Hunter Realty Company. In its advertising for Cameron Park, Parker-Hunter made an appeal to every facet of middle class aspiration. At one level, this appeal was made in fairly straightforward terms of owning a nice home in an attractive neighborhood. On another level, however, the appeal was directed to more subtle feelings of ambition and insecurity.

Some understanding of the marketing success of Cameron Park may be gained by examining the two men who were partners in the Parker-Hunter Realty Company.

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Carey J. Hunter was fourteen years older than Virgil O. Parker when they began their association in 1904. Well-to-do, a member of the country club and on the board of directors of various institutions, Hunter exemplified the successful Raleigh businessman. By 1910, when Cameron Park sales began, he had already achieved considerable success as the agent for North Carolina and Virginia of the Union Central Life Insurance Company of Ohio. It is likely that Hunter's role in the Cameron Park operation was as the model of success for prospective buyers, while Parker, still in his thirties and on his way up, was the partner to whom Cameron Park buyers would relate and with whom they would feel comfortable doing business.

Although their relationship exemplifies a typical American business partnership, Parker and Hunter undertook a marketing campaign that was unique in Raleigh history. Neither Glenwood nor Boylan Heights appears to have employed any such aggressive sales techniques. Throughout the Cameron Park advertising, an appeal was made to the social ambitions of prospective buyers. In its physical design, the neighborhood already contained at least two features that would appeal to status consensus buyers. Proximity to the fashionable neighborhood on Hillsborough Street was one. That section of Hillsborough Street between St. Mary's and downtown was the home of a number of old respected Raleigh families who lived in large and stately mansions.

Another important feature for class conscious buyers was the alley system that was incorporated into the design of Cameron Park. In a densely populated area with houses placed on narrow lots, these alleys served a useful function, allowing easy access to the back doors for residents and service people. In addition, the system held a more subtle appeal as a means of defining class by distinguishing between the front and back doors. As in upper class neighborhoods, social equals used the front door; servants and trades people approached the back door by way of the alley.

These design features were valuable, but more important to Parker-Hunter's advertising campaign were two restrictive covenants written into Cameron Park deeds. The first restriction, which was indefinitely in force, prevented any black people from residing in Cameron Park except as servants. There could be no selling or renting to people of Negro blood. The second covenant required that a minimum of \$3,000 be spent on the construction of each Cameron Park residence. Introduced six months after lots in Cameron Park first went on the market, this sum was considerably higher than those for Glenwood and Boylan Heights, both of which had similar restrictive covenants.

Such restrictive covenants were a means of defining the class and racial makeup of the neighborhood. Sales of lots in Glenwood and Boylan Heights were still in progress when Parker-Hunter began marketing Cameron Park in July, 1910. Undoubtedly, the competition was stiff. It might be argued that one reason for Cameron Park's sales success was that its developers learned to use the technique of exclusion to make Cameron Park lots seem more attractive. Cameron Park



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was sold as a status symbol. The significantly higher cost of owning a home in Cameron Park was sold as a status symbol. The significantly higher cost of owning a home in Cameron Park relative to Boylan Heights and Glenwood appears to have increased sales rather than discouraging them, indicating that status by association. As they claimed in September, 1910, and continued to proclaim throughout their advertising campaign, "We appeal especially to those who wish to buy homes where the best physical and social conditions will be maintained."<sup>2</sup>

The Cameron Park Brochure, printed in 1914, is an elaborate appeal to middle class social and career ambitions. Here the developers drew a very clear connection between where a person lived and his success in society and business. The brochure stated that although it may appear to be cheaper to rent rather than buy a house, one must consider that business standing, social prestige and character are also at stake. "...Business influence, social connections and established character of the homeowner bring about the difference between landlord and tenant."<sup>3</sup> Owning a house (and the implication is one in Cameron Park) develops a man's character. People begin to respect him for advice. As a result, his social standing in the community and his business prosper. References to J. Pierpont Morgan and words such as character, independence and success are used repeatedly to strengthen the association between owning a home in Cameron Park and the fulfillment of buyers' ambitions.

If the advertising for Cameron Park spoke to the aspirations of prospective buyers, it also addressed the darker feelings of insecurity brought on by living in a changing society in which social status was by no means secure and in which job status was becoming increasingly important as a definition of prestige. In this case, the appeal in the brochure became explicit. "Home is the refuge of the soul under stress; the source of strength for the fierce onset in the struggle."<sup>4</sup>

In recognizing and addressing the more emotional reasons for buying a home, Parker-Hunter initiated an apparently new and unique advertising technique. The success of their marketing campaign can be seen in the property sales and in the development of the neighborhood. If, as it seems, the developers intended that Cameron Park be an upper-middle class neighborhood, then they were eminently successful. The lots sold quickly and they sold to the "right" people. Furthermore, the company made a considerable profit on the venture.

Parker-Hunter never resorted to the tactic of giving away prizes or auctioning lots as the companies marketing Glenwood and Boylan Heights had done. In an oblique reference to auction sales in those neighborhoods, Parker-Hunter claimed, "Big prizes are not required to sell our property. If you want a home that will be a satisfaction, buy a Cameron Park Lot."<sup>5</sup> Sales methods for Cameron Park were genteel and uniform. Although lots on Hillsborough Street were more expensive, lot prices beyond that seemed to be based on the size of the lot rather than proximity to any major streets. Unlike the other two developments where lot and house prices varied considerably, the developers never intended to have a cross section of the middle class in Cameron Park. Uniformly

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high prices for both ensured that the neighborhood would be solidly upper-middle class.

Not until 1920, nearly ten years after Cameron Park had opened, did the company reduce lot prices. Then, apparently in order to divest itself of the project, all lots were reduced to \$100 from the original \$1,000 to \$2,500 range. By then, 150 sales had been made and the company had grossed something in the range of \$268,000 after an initial capital investment of \$100,000, not counting engineering costs of laying streets and water and sewer lines.

Growth started along Hillsborough Street and progressed northward on all streets. This pattern was probably related to the proximity of the fashionable neighborhood on Hillsborough. In addition, Hillsborough Street was a major boulevard with a street car line that ran from downtown to the old fairgrounds near North Carolina State University. Before the advent of the automobile and the nuisance of noisy traffic, it was both fashionable and convenient to live on a major city thoroughfare.

The affluence of the neighborhood can be seen in the houses. The presence of architectural styles such as Colonial and Classical Revival, Mission Style, Tudor Revival and Dutch Colonial, reflects the eclecticism of tastes that was in vogue in the early decades of the 20th century. The use of these styles implies a diversity of construction materials, including wood, stone and brick. This variety of styles and materials indicates some degree of sophistication and wealth on the part of the owners. Further proof of the affluence of Cameron Park families is the presence in many of the houses of steep back stairs and toilets in the basements indicating that the houses were designed to accommodate servants. These houses were contemporary for their time and younger families moved in.

Although a few Cameron Park buyers were professionals, including professors, lawyers and state government officials, the majority of the people who bought and built homes in Cameron Park were involved in business. At least eighteen people who later bought lots in Cameron Park were either featured or mentioned in the 1910 issue of The Raleigh Illustrated published by the Chamber of Commerce. Some, like William L. Wyatt, were presidents of their own companies. Some, like Robert Horton and Thomas Johnson, started out in one company and went on to start their own businesses. Others remained in one company and worked their way up to positions of leadership as James Allison had done. In all cases, they were people on their way up when they moved to Cameron Park. Howard Satterfield, who had started as a professor at the State University, went on to become one of the city's prominent builders after designing a number of the homes in Cameron Park. Joseph B. Cheshire, Jr., became a well-known attorney and civic leader.

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There are some apparent connections among the first Cameron Park buyers. Several were involved in the same businesses. Many had moved to Cameron Park from the downtown neighborhood of North Wilmington, North Blount and North Person Streets. This was an area where many of Raleigh's prominent families still lived in fine old houses, but the neighborhood was also mixed with duplexes and boarding houses. The move to Cameron Park was a move to a solidly middle class neighborhood made up of single-family dwellings.

The importance of the neighborhood was further solidified with the location of the new Wiley Grammar School on St. Mary's Street on 1929, and the decision to build the new high school at the junction of Peace and St. Mary's Streets. The location of the latter, in particular, was indicative of the growth of population in the area. In 1929, when Needham Broughton High School was finished, it, with Wiley, gave the neighborhood an implicit security.

Cameron Park continued as a strong and attractive neighborhood into the 1950s. Women often joined neighborhood organizations. Once people moved to Cameron Park, they usually stayed, more often moving away from the city than to another neighborhood with the city. Those who did move within Raleigh usually moved to the newer and fashionable Hayes Barton area.

In the 1950s, Cameron Park entered a period of decline. Older families were dying out and younger families had stopped moving into the neighborhood. This coincided with and may have been the result of the subdivision boom in the areas surrounding the city. Even more threatening to the fabric of the neighborhood were the pressures placed on its perimeter by an expanding city and university. Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, a small but active group of residents fought a continuing battle against the spread of offices and institutions into the neighborhood and the conversion of large single-family dwellings into high density boarding and apartment houses. As a result of a rebirth of interest in inner city neighborhoods by young affluent families, the mid-sixties witnessed a reversal of the pattern of decline in Cameron Park. Young families again started moving back in and renovating dilapidated houses.

Cameron Park was a marketing success because of Parker-Hunter's ability to identify a potential market and then address their advertising to the ambitions and desires of potential buyers. Using methods of exclusion and elaborate advertising, they appealed to the upper-middle class of Raleigh by identifying lots in Cameron Park as symbols of social and career achievement. An important result of this campaign, though, was the concentration in this neighborhood of a large portion of the white upper-middle class of the city. The creation of Cameron Park represents the end to racially and socially integrated neighborhoods in Raleigh. After 1910, the trend would be for members of Raleigh's middle and upper classes to move farther and farther from the center of the city into distinct and homogeneous neighborhoods.