Reconstructing Coastal Identity: An Examination of Changing Fisheries and Gentrification in Beaufort, North Carolina

by

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Executive Summary

Coastal communities across the United States are experiencing sweeping changes to their economic foundations, community compositions, and cultural identities. Focusing on Beaufort, North Carolina, this project will identify some of the causes of these changes, how they manifest within a coastal community, the consequential social impacts, and how community residents can make sense of these changes. This study identifies two distinct eras that significantly impacted and defined the town. Once a productivist-community whose identity and economy centered on commercial fishing, Beaufort has transformed into a consumptive-community focused on garnering the opportunities and amenities of coastal living. Through the examination of historical archives, government planning documents, and anthropological studies, this project aims to identify significant trends that led to this restructuring.

This project begins to make sense of this transition by reconstructing histories of the two industries that define the town - commercial fishing and tourism. From these histories, we can understand their relationship to Beaufort and see that both sectors have always been part of the town’s economy and cultural identity; however, shifts within these industries as well as the effects of national and global changes in fisheries regulations, globalized economies, and amenity migration, resulted in consumptive industries gaining greater economic and cultural significance. A more in-depth analysis reveals that this shift from productivist to consumptive activities can be attributed to the greater phenomenon of coastal gentrification. Coastal gentrification cannot be characterized by a single cause but rather is the consequence of numerous regional, national, and global changes outside of the scope of local fisheries and tourism industries. To better understand how coastal gentrification occurred within Beaufort, we focus our attention on four dimensions of this phenomenon - infrastructure, community composition, the economy, and cultural identity. Using these four categories, this study examines how changes within each contributes to the transition of the town from productivist to consumptive. When viewed holistically, one can gain a better understanding of Beaufort’s overall transformation.

The final product of this research is an interactive story map created for the people of Beaufort and other coastal communities. Reframing town-specific trends through the lens of coastal gentrification adds to the present body of literature on this topic as well as provides the language and context of how large and intricate this picture is. The hope is that the story map can help those living in coastal communities to make sense of changes happening to their spaces.
Introduction

Coastal communities across the United States are experiencing extensive and rapid changes in economy, community, and cultural identity. These shifts can be attributed to the gentrification of coastal landscapes, as many coastal communities transition away from a dependence on marine resource extraction to a greater reliance on tourism and recreation (Colburn & Jepsen, 2012).

The aim of this project is to trace change over time within the coastal community of Beaufort, North Carolina. Coastal gentrification is a complex and multifaceted process and cannot be characterized by a single cause and effect. In fact, a variety of local and external forces have been at work in restructuring community values, priorities, and identities. This restructuring is both a result of and contributes to a shift away from the extraction of marine resources towards a greater emphasis on marine recreation, rural living, and tourism (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Land Use Plans 1976 - 2006).

In order to comprehend the intricacies of coastal gentrification, this project utilizes an online, interactive story map to demonstrate the ways that this phenomenon manifests in an accessible way. Our hope is that the story map can help those living in coastal communities to make sense of changes happening to their spaces.

Provided below is the link to the story map:

https://lam128.wixsite.com/storyofcoastalchange

This document contains two sections - Part I outlines the contents of the story map and Part II offers a deeper exploration of the process of creating the story map including our methodology, data sources, and avenues for future research.
Part I • Contents of Story Map

Home

Reconstructing Coastal Identity: Transformations in Economy, Community, & Culture in Beaufort, North Carolina

About This Story Map

Coastal communities across the United States are experiencing extensive and rapid changes in their economies, communities, and cultural identities. In this story map, we describe these changes in one community, the town of Beaufort, North Carolina. Over time, Beaufort has transitioned from a community dependent on commercial fishing to one increasingly reliant on tourism and recreation. Using historical maps, government planning documents, and newspaper archives, we trace this transition through time to inform and illustrate this story. Although this story map is about Beaufort, it is likely a familiar one for many coastal communities. Our hope is that the story map can help people living in coastal communities make sense of changes happening to their spaces.

Navigating This Website

The information on this story map is organized in an order that will help the reader understand this story of change. It begins by outlining how change has manifested in coastal communities more broadly, then moves to describing two very distinct eras of Beaufort - Beaufort Then and Beaufort Now. From there, the story map discusses how fisheries have slowly declined and tourism has evolved throughout Beaufort’s history. Then, it draws comparisons between the two eras of Beaufort to offer context for how coastal gentrification occurred in this community. Finally, the story map provides concluding thoughts on how to make sense of this type of transition.

At the bottom right of each section, you will find the title of the next page and an arrow icon:

“Title of Next Page” →

Clicking this text will bring you to the next section of the story. However, you are able to jump between pages, using the drop-down menu located on the upper right-hand corner of each page, or navigate back to the previous page by clicking the directional arrow at the bottom left.
**The Story of Coastal Change**

The United States was founded on the coast and the first towns were successful due to the abundant natural resources found throughout the eastern seaboard. Coastal communities have been vital to the economic success of the United States and served as important industrial and cultural hubs (Kildow et al., 2016; Voss et al., 2017). As these places developed, their economies, infrastructure, and unique community identities were often rooted in and constructed to support livelihoods centered on the use of marine resources.

Today, coastal spaces remain an integral part of the United States. As of 2014, coastal counties account for approximately 48% of the nation’s gross domestic product (GDP) and house 40% of the population (Kildow et al., 2016; NOAA, 2016). This economic and cultural contribution is derived from several industries that rely on the proximity to the coast, one of which is commercial fishing. Commercial fishing communities provide linkages to marine resources and offer radiating impacts into other sectors of the economy such as seafood processing, recreational activities, and food services. On an annual basis, this sector alone contributes about 9 billion pounds of domestic seafood, valued at $5.6 billion, and provides about 1.2 million jobs (National Marine Fisheries Service, 2018).

However, numerous factors have contributed to a shift in the economic and cultural foundations of coastal spaces away from commercial fishing towards tourism and recreation. What is happening in many of these communities can be described as ‘coastal gentrification.’ This process is complicated, multifaceted, and not easy to identify while it is happening. Therefore, it is important that coastal communities are equipped with the necessary knowledge to fully realize the ways that change manifests in their communities.
Definitions Important for Understanding Coastal Change

As we explore the story of change in Beaufort, North Carolina, we draw on broader terms and ideas that can help us understand the transitions we describe.

Productivist
Productivist refers to the economic and cultural foundation of town that is centered on the extraction of natural resources. This may include activities such as commercial fishing, mining, and farming (Thompson, Johnson, & Hanes, 2015).

Consumptive
Consumptive refers to the economic and cultural foundation of a town that is centered on providing commodities and services that use natural and recreational amenities. This may include activities such as visiting nature preserves and cultural attractions, or taking recreational boat tours (Thompson, Johnson, & Hanes, 2015).

Coastal Gentrification
Coastal gentrification refers to the transformation of marine resource dependent communities towards a different economic base that is typically centered on services and recreation. Common dimensions of coastal gentrification include the transformation of a town’s infrastructure and community composition as well as shifts in economy and cultural identity (Colburn & Jepsen, 2012).

Amenity Migration
Amenity migration is the movement of people into places based on the draw of natural, recreational, and cultural amenities. Amenities are features that people find desirable and may include the ocean, marinas, and museums (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011).

Idealized Rurality
Idealized rurality is a perception held by amenity migrants that imposes romanticized images of rural spaces. These ideals can conflict with visions of landscapes, the use of natural resources, and community structures held by long-standing residents. For example, many new residents to rural locations associate those spaces with vacation and relaxation, and do not want to see, hear, smell, or experience productivist scenes in those same spaces (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011).
Beaufort Then & Now

Beaufort is a small, picturesque town found on the southeastern coast of North Carolina. It is known for its rich maritime history, scenic estuarine landscapes, and colonial heritage. Situated between the Newport and North Rivers, Beaufort sits on Beaufort Inlet, a channel that leads to the Atlantic Ocean. With such close proximity to coastal waters, it is no surprise that a deep connection to the ocean has been a foundational element in shaping Beaufort’s history, economy, and community. However, over the last fifty years, the nature of this connection has transformed dramatically. From the historical record, it is easy to identify two very distinct eras of Beaufort. *Beaufort Then* (a geographically remote community, reliant on marine resources) has transformed into *Beaufort Now* (a community that attracts tourists and seasonal residents from all over the nation).

*Beaufort Then*

Up and down the waterfront, there were fish houses and oyster packing shanties at work, ship repair shops and fuel stations for commercial fishing boats, and boarding homes and small hotels for travelling merchants (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1885 - 1924). The early community of the town was mainly comprised of people working directly in the commercial fishing industry or indirectly in a supporting industry, such as boat building (Garrity-Blake, 2005). *Beaufort Then* was a productivist space dependent on commercial fishing. The community’s livelihoods, economy, social structure, and cultural identity centered on the extraction of marine resources. In short, *Beaufort Then* was an epicenter for all things commercial fishing, with a particular emphasis on landing and processing menhaden.
Beaufort Now

Today, Beaufort is a quaint coastal town of 4,000 permanent residents, characterized by historic colonial homes and surrounded by beaches, maritime forests, marshes, and sandy shoals, some of which are protected by state and national government agencies. These amenities attract visitors and new residents looking for a quiet place to relax and retire, and so the community includes seasonal residents, second homeowners, and retirees (Land Use Plan, 2006). Beaufort Now is a consumptive space that is dependent on activities revolving around natural and recreational amenities of the area. For example, tour boats launch from downtown Beaufort to visit the barrier islands; lucky tourists may catch glimpses of dolphins in the water or the wild horses of Shackleford Banks. The community’s economy, social structure, and cultural identity are now centered on these consumptive activities. In short, Beaufort Now is a mecca for relaxation and recreation.

Fisheries in Beaufort

First known as “Fishtown,” Beaufort long served as an important center for commercial fishing and seafood production (Carroll & Carroll, 2006). The town grew in reputation for its plentiful inshore fisheries, shellfish, whaling, and, most notably, abundant schools of menhaden. Menhaden is often referred to as the fish that built Beaufort (Garrity-Blake, 2005). This fishery started in New England and, following the Civil War, it expanded to southern waters. At its height, the fishery supported upwards of ninety factories and hundreds of fleets ranging from Maine to Florida (Garrity-Blake, 2005). Beaufort and other port towns in North Carolina served important roles in sustaining this national fishery. In the early 1980s, North Carolina landings made up about 70% of the South Atlantic fishery, and at its peak, there were twelve processing factories, four of which were operating in Beaufort (Garrity-Blake, 2005). These factories captured and converted this fish into oil, fertilizer, and fishmeal.

As commercial fishing was the cornerstone of the town’s economy, downtown Beaufort and the surrounding community were built to support this industry and its workers. The waterfront and downtown streets were filled with docks, fish houses, and storage spaces for commercial nets and gear, all of which enabled Beaufort to thrive in a productivist-economy (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1885 - 1924). Not only did the town serve as an important port for landing menhaden, fisheries also developed for shrimp, oysters, scallops, and flounder (North Carolina Environmental
Quality, 2018B). And so, thousands of pounds of North Carolina seafood were brought to shore, processed, and distributed across the United States (Garrity-Blake, 2005). The importance of marine resource extraction in the productivist era both created and reflected a community and regional identity tied deeply to the ocean and fishing.

Despite the historical success of the menhaden fishery, stocks dramatically declined in the late 1980s (Atlantic State Marine Fisheries Commission, 2020). The resulting fisheries regulations consolidated menhaden operations, reducing the ability of fishers and processing plants based out of Beaufort to participate in this fishery (Franklin, 2008). As other industries brought greater economic stability to the town, commercial fishing was pushed to the fringes. Eventually, Beaufort’s last menhaden processing plant closed in 2005 (Mims, 2014). Menhaden was not the only fishery that succumbed to the impacts of the diminishing productivity and profitability of commercial fisheries. Scallops, flounder, and river herring all declined in abundance, and North Carolina shrimp faced competition from global markets that had lower operation costs. Increases in regulations and local environmental concerns made it difficult for fishers to switch to new species of fish (Boucquey, 2012). The compounding effects of these changes contributed to the decline of commercial fishing as the primary profession and fixture of the town’s economy.

Some Key Events

- **1888** • C.P. Dey opened the first menhaden processing plant in Beaufort (The Beaufort News, 1925)
- **1908** • Four menhaden processing companies were operating in Beaufort (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1885 - 1924)
- **1908** • Over 9,000 people were employed in the commercial fishing industry in North Carolina (Boucquey, 2012)
- **1912** • Twelve menhaden processing plants were operating across North Carolina state (Garrity-Blake, 2005)
- **1976** • Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act established federal management of the nation's fisheries and restricted fishing activities (Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act (16 U.S.C. 1801 - 1891(d)) (1976)).
- **1981** • North Carolina reached peak menhaden landings, totaling over 300 million pounds valued at $10 million (North Carolina Environmental Quality, 2018A).
- **1997** • The Fisheries Reform Act established that the state has to prepare Fisheries Management Plans for all commercially and recreationally significant species (General Assembly of North Carolina, 1997).

- **2005** • Beaufort Fisheries, the last menhaden plant in town, permanently closed (Mims, 2014).

*Beaufort Then*, in the productivist era, featured an economy, community, and cultural identity tied to the production of marine resources, namely through commercial fishing. Overtime, this industry faded as the fixture of the town.

**Tourism in Beaufort**

Tourism and recreation have long been a part of Beaufort’s history, and predate the *Beaufort Now* consumptive era. Due to the town’s importance as a trade center, small hotels and boarding houses were built to accommodate fishers and seafaring travelers (Carroll & Carroll, 2006; Wilson, n.d.). The accommodation industry originally existed in part to support commercial fishing activities, but as more and more travelers became aware of the town’s existence visitors arrived not only for economic opportunities but also to explore Beaufort’s beautiful coastlines (The Beaufort News, 1926). As early as the 1850s, Beaufort began to invest in the resort business. Many of the boarding houses began catering to seasonal guests, and larger hotels were built along the waterfront. For example, The Atlantic Hotel became a popular summertime destination for the social and political elite from central and western North Carolina (The Beaufort News, 1955). Patrons enjoyed fine dining and outings to Cape Lookout to spend a day in the sun, looking for ocean treasures, and exploring sand dunes around the lighthouse (Carroll & Carroll, 2006). As the resort business gained greater economic importance and statewide transportation networks became better connected, the isolated coast began to attract visitors from Massachusetts to Florida, and even international guests (The Beaufort News, 1926).

Beginning in the 1930s, investments in water-based recreational activities expanded, with fishing piers being built along the waterfront and regional hotels beginning to cater to recreational fishers (The Beaufort News, 1935; Land Use Plans, 1976). By the 1950s, group tour boating and chartered recreational fishing trips gained in popularity (Boucquey, 2012). Shortly after, the town recognized that its “past would make a good foundation for its future,” and began protecting Beaufort’s highly
valued cultural and aesthetic amenities (Carroll & Carroll, 2006). In 1965, the town established the Historic District, which aims to preserve and protect the colonial charm of historic homes (Land Use Plan, 1976). Just a few years later, the town commissioned the Waterfront Revitalization Project, which further enabled Beaufort to rebrand itself a popular tourist destination (Land Use Plan, 1980). The desire to remove productivist activities from the waterfront continued in future development projects, reducing the amount of commercial fishing infrastructure and access points in the downtown area. By 1987, Carteret County was leading the state in tourism revenues, much of it coming from seasonal visitors and recreational fishing (Boucquey, 2012). Beaufort continues to increase in popularity as a summertime vacation destination and retirement community.

Today, downtown Beaufort is designed to support the thousands of visitors that come to explore the barrier islands, tour Beaufort’s cultural heritage sites, and participate in annual recreational fishing tournaments. Beaufort is now thriving as a consumptive-economy with the majority of businesses designed to support the tourism and recreation industry. Visitors and seasonal residents still enjoy boating trips out to Cape Lookout to view the lighthouse, and overnight stays in the various hotels and inns that dot Beaufort’s waterfront. The importance of tourism and recreation reflects and contributes to a community and regional identity tied to the joys of coastal living.

Some Key Events

- **1850** • The Inlet Inn was built on the waterfront. In the coming years, the hotel became the most popular leisure space in Beaufort (The Beaufort News, 1926)
- **1854** • The Atlantic Hotel was built on Front Street overlooking Taylor’s Creek (Wilson, n.d.)
- **1888** • The Davis Hotel was built on the waterfront on the eastern edge of town. It was a common place for overnight stays for those engaging in trade (Sadler & Jenkins, 2007)
- **1926** • The Inlet Inn constructed a large wooden pier under an agreement with the town that no commercial vessels may dock there, and it may only be used by visitors (The Beaufort News, 1927)
- **1927** • The Morehead City-Beaufort Bridge was constructed, increasing Beaufort’s accessibility to its neighbors and other inland towns (The Beaufort News, 1927)
- **1965** • The Beaufort Historic District was established. The area includes sixteen buildings listed on the National Register of Historic Places (Land Use Plan, 1976)
- **1970** • The North Carolina Maritime Museum was moved from Morehead City to Beaufort (Boucquey, 2012).
- **1996** • The Big Rock Blue Marlin Fishing Tournament, an annual recreational fishing tournament, brought in $2.8 million for Beaufort and its neighboring towns (Boucquey, 2012).
- **2012** • Beaufort was voted ‘America’s Coolest Small Town’ by Budget Travel Magazine (DeRenzo et al., 2012).
- **2019** • Tourism brought in almost $325 million to Carteret County, with a direct payroll of more than $57 million (Carteret County Chamber of Commerce, 2020).

Overtime, this industry became the fixture of the town. *Beaufort Now*, in its consumptive era, is defined by its proximity to the ocean and the area’s coastal amenities - this shapes its economy, community, and cultural identity.

**Dimensions of Coastal Gentrification in Beaufort**

The diminishing significance of the commercial fishing industry coupled with the rising influence and importance of tourism is indicative of a broader phenomenon, coastal gentrification.

Coastal gentrification is a complex and multifaceted process and cannot be characterized by a single cause and effect. A variety of forces restructure community values, priorities, and identities away from maritime industries towards a greater emphasis on tourism and recreation (Colburn & Jepsen, 2012). The process can manifest in seemingly unlike ways in different places, but there are usually shared dimensions of change. In this story map, we focus on transformations in infrastructure, community composition, the economy, and cultural identity.

Infrastructure provides the physical foundation for what types of activities can and cannot occur. The types of infrastructure that exist at moments in time can reflect which industries are actively contributing to the local economy as well as their economic importance. Community composition characterizes what types of people live in an area. Through tracking changes in community composition, one can begin to understand how and why people come to and leave a place. The economy reflects how a town and its residents generate wealth. Changes to the economy can be seen
in tax revenue, employment statistics, industry revenue, and other indicators of economic activity. Cultural identity can represent a community’s physical and emotional connection to a place. By examining changes in cultural identity, one can gain insight into what holds value in a community. Through viewing changes within these dimensions, it is possible to see how a coastal community slowly transitions from a productivist space to a consumptive one (Colburn & Jepsen, 2012; Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). As we explore the story of change in Beaufort, North Carolina, we draw on the following data sources:

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1885 - 1924. The Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps are a large collection of detailed records of United States’ cities and towns from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These maps detail information about individual buildings and their uses.

Town of Beaufort, Land Use Plans, 1976 - 2006. A land use plan is a collection of policies that serves as a community’s blueprint for growth, and these plans are informed by voices from the community through surveys and town meetings. These documents outline Beaufort’s community composition, economic base, existing land use, and future visions.


Other Area Specific Studies, 2005 & 2012. Social scientists and anthropologists have studied fisheries and community dynamics, collected oral histories of how fishers’ lives are impacted from the changes in these fisheries, and examined how Beaufort’s cultural identity and infrastructure shifted over time.

The following works were utilized for this project:

**Infrastructure**

Maritime infrastructure provides utility to commercial fishers, but also serves as a physical embodiment of the importance of the industry to a community as a whole. During the *Beaufort Then* era, a majority of waterfront structures were used by commercial fishers to store and process their catches (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1885 - 1924). Additionally, other buildings in town were occupied by businesses that further supported this economy, for example, hardware stores and fuel stations. However, as commercial fishing declined in importance, many of the supporting businesses closed their doors. As the economic foundation of the community shifted to support tourism and recreation, the function of these spaces followed suit.

**Transformation of Productivist to Consumptive Infrastructure**

During the *Beaufort Then* era, the town had an active working waterfront with the majority of buildings and infrastructure used for fish processing and the maintenance of commercial fleets (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1885 - 1924). After Beaufort decided to “revitalize” the downtown district, it turned its waterfront away from a commercial fishing space (Land Use Plan, 1996). Instead, these buildings house businesses that cater to recreational fishers, pleasure boaters, and visiting tourists.

**Commercial Fishing Infrastructure on Front Street**

**Now stands Black Sheep Pizzeria and Periwinkles Souvenir Shop**
Understanding these Changes

Despite stated goals in the town’s Land Use Plans about preserving the traditional economy, changes in fisheries and Beaufort’s community composition demonstrate a shift in values to prioritize other industries, such as tourism and recreation (Land Use Plan, 1980). The greater emphasis on supporting recreational fishing and pleasure boating restructured Beaufort’s working waterfront and downtown businesses (Land Use Plan, 1986). Overtime, as Beaufort processed fewer and fewer commercial catches, the supporting industries started to disappear as well, further reducing the visibility of commercial fishing within the community (Land Use Plan, 1976). The Waterfront Revitalization Project was originally described as an initiative to generate a new era of economic prosperity (Land Use Plan, 1980); however, this project did little to preserve commercial fishing spaces. The fish houses and docking piers that are outlined in the Sanborn Maps are no longer found in the downtown area (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1885 - 1924). Instead, traditional commercial fishing access points were turned into spaces for restaurants, gift shops, and vacation rentals. The majority of what remains of the Beaufort commercial fishing fleet has been moved across the Beaufort Channel. The reduction of working waterfront space in the downtown area is also accompanied by the privatization of the shore, as new residents buy up high value waterfront property (Land Use Plan, 1996).

The changes in infrastructure and property ownership have two effects. First, once fishers lose rights to their traditional water access points and these spaces are transformed, the rights and space are difficult to reclaim. Thus, reducing the potential for commercial fishing to regain economic...
significance (Colburn & Jepson, 2012). Second, the shrinking visibility of and participation in commercial fishing makes it challenging for remaining commercial fishing industries to retain their position and influence in their community and local government (Colburn & Jepsen, 2012; Smythe, 2010; Springuel et al., 2007).

**Community Composition**

Changes within the economic foundation of a town can alter its demographic composition and reduce the ability of those who rely on productivist activities to remain in the area (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). During the *Beaufort Then* era, a large portion of the townspeople were working directly in commercial fishing or indirectly in a supporting industry (Garrity-Blake, 2005). However, as commercial fishing became less integral to the town, many long-standing residents left in search of new employment opportunities, and amenity migrants moved into the town (Land Use Plan, 1980). This in and out migration of residents marks a dramatic change in the community composition that exists in the *Beaufort Now* era.

**Changes in Community Demographics**

Investments in public transportation made it easier for inland and out of state residents to reach remote and rural landscapes, thus ushering in waves of new residents and bringing with them a new economy and community culture (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). As commercial fisheries declined and non-skilled workers left, they were replaced by older adults, many of them retirees. It is important to note that many of those working in the menhaden industry were men of color. After the industry consolidated, many of these men left the Beaufort area in search of new employment (Garrity-Blake, 2005).

![In-Migrations of Older Adults](image_url)

(Land Use Plan, 1976; United States Census Bureau, 2017)
Out-Migration of Black Population

(Data USA, 2017; Land Use Plan, 1976)

Changes in Seasonal Population

Beaufort continued to grow in reputation as a desirable place to vacation. Moving through time, Beaufort’s total population is increasingly comprised of more seasonal residents who are either renters or second homeowners looking to stay for only the summer months.

Increase in Seasonal Population

(Land Use Plan, 1976; Land Use Plan, 2006)

Understanding these Changes

Beaufort and North Carolina are not the only places experiencing in- and out-migration. Across the United States, there has been a mass movement from urban centers to coastal spaces. This is often a result of a diminishing importance of productivist-activities, which led to out-migration of long-standing residents who relied on this economic base (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Land Use Plan, 1990). In the case of Beaufort, we see a large out-migration of the black community, who were integral in the functioning of the menhaden industry (Data USA, 2017; Garrity-Blake, 2005; Land Use Plan, 1976). Around the same time, we see steady increases in the seasonal population and the number of residents who are over the age of sixty (Land Use Plan, 1976; United States Census Bureau, 2017).
This in-migration and resettlement often begins with seasonal visits, followed by renting and second home ownership, and typically ending with permanent relocation around the time of retirement (Colburn & Jepson, 2012). This restructuring of community composition has the potential to disrupt the long-standing social fabric of a town. Urban populations moving to rural communities often bring in notions of idealized rurality, which can conflict with preexisting visions of landscapes, local economic incentives, and community cohesion (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011).

Studies from other coastal towns in the United States find that waves of amenity migrants are wealthier than long standing residents. New residents are not pulled to these places for economic opportunities but rather, are driven by the draw of amenities such as proximity to nature, recreational activities, and escapism. The balance of power shifts when new residents become incorporated into local governance structures, often resulting in higher costs of housing and thus, the displacement of long-standing residents (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). Additionally, studies show new residents are often less integrated into community frameworks and have a weaker sense of connection to long-standing residents and local industries (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). The resulting community composition and dynamics is one that is demographically, socioeconomically, and culturally very different from the one that existed during the productivist era.

**The Economy**

For much of Beaufort’s history, the commercial fishing and tourism industries coexisted. However, external forces outside of local control caused the economic importance of these two industries to diverge. Beginning in the 1980s, as fish stocks declined and there were consecutive years of bad commercial catches, the volatility of commercial fishing became increasingly apparent (Boucquey, 2012). Revenue from the tourism industry offered economic respite and the town began making greater investments in this industry (Land Use Plan, 1986). As this industry expanded, new amenity migrants came to town. As these seasonal residents turned into permanent ones, their higher incomes and wealth resulted in an increase in the cost of living (Land Use Plan, 1986; Thompson, Johnson, & Hanes, 2015).
Employment Distributions

Despite the fact that commercial fishing used to employ hundreds of people, employment in this sector has slowly declined over time (The Beaufort News 1925 – 1944, Garrity-Blake, 2005). Additionally, as tourism and recreation became more of an economic staple, employment in this sector increased.

**Employment in the Natural Resources Sector**

![Chart showing employment in the Natural Resources Sector](image1.png)

(Data USA, 2017; Land Use Plan, 1976)

**Employment in the Tourism Sector**

![Chart showing employment in the Tourism Sector](image2.png)

(Data USA, 2017; Land Use Plan, 1976)

Cost of Living

As Beaufort’s community composition was made up of more and more second homeowners and retirees, the economic value of the community shifted as well. Amenity migrants typically have higher incomes than local residents who still rely on productivist activities. The increased value of waterfront property and greater economic means of its new residents raised the cost of living within the town. As shown below, a property revaluation in the 1980s dramatically increased the town’s tax base.
Understanding these Changes

As evidenced by Beaufort’s history of commercial fishing, there were many forces that contributed to the decline in the profitability of this industry. For example, globalized trade devalued local commercial catches, making it difficult for fishers to cover the costs of maintaining their livelihoods (Boucquey, 2012; Garrity-Blake, 2005); technological advancements in mechanical fishing gear, such as the power block and spotter airplanes, rendered large menhaden crews obsolete (Garrity-Blake, 2005); and across the global stage, there has been an increase in fisheries regulations. These compounding effects can contribute to productivist activities losing their economic and community importance (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). As a result, many of the residents who were engaged in this industry were forced to relocate to find other opportunities (Garrity-Blake, 2005).

Due to the declining viability of the town’s commercial fishing industry as well as the influx of new residents, Beaufort started to take measures to find other employment opportunities. The town gained a reputation as a place to retire and as the community composition recalibrated, new economic opportunities developed (Land Use Plan, 1996). Due to the increase in the town’s tax base and the number of wealthier visitors and residents, local businesses started to cater to more affluent people (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Land Use Plan, 1986). Tourism and recreation were increasingly viewed as more economically stable and compatible within Beaufort Now’s community (Land Use Plan, 2006). These changes in employment sectors represent a shift away from a dependence on commercial fishing and a move to restructure traditional uses of property for the purposes of retail and service. While the ocean and coastal life still drive local businesses, Beaufort’s commercial fishing industry has been pushed to the fringes and is not a major contributor to Beaufort’s economy.
**Cultural Identity**

Amenity migrants’ conceptions of rural spaces can dramatically alter community values and the cultural foundation of a town. Productivist landscapes, like commercial fishing, often clash with the expectations of those seeking amenities in the area (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). Originally, Beaufort and its residents expressed desires to preserve commercial fishing as it was a part of the town’s cultural identity and economy (Land Use Plan, 1980). However, over time, desires to promote tourism, through the historical, architectural, and cultural assets of the town, emerged as a vision for the future of Beaufort.

**Visions for Local Industry**

In Beaufort’s transition from *Then* to *Now*, residents had differing opinions about the presence of commercial fishing and processing within the community. Long-standing residents with ties to the menhaden industry associate the odor of the fishery with the community’s identity and economic potential; they often referred to the smell of menhaden as “the smell of money” (Garrity-Blake, 2005). However, these opinions are in sharp contrast to those of newer residents who complained about the odor coming from Beaufort Fisheries (Land Use Plan, 1980). In an effort to maintain the town’s attractiveness as a tourist destination, the local government addressed this dissatisfaction through zoning ordinances that stated that any new industrial development should be away from residential areas, clean, and not produce odors (Land Use Plan, 1986).

**Shift in Community Values**

“Commercial and recreational fisheries are extremely important to the town and area. The town is interested in protecting the fishing and boating industry in any way it can.” - Land Use Plan, 1980

(Land Use Plan, 1980)
Idealized Rurality

Visions of what downtown Beaufort should and should not look like differed in Beaufort Then and Beaufort Now. During its productivist-era, the town included homes of local fishers and boat captains as well a community designed to support a working waterfront (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1885 - 1924). However, as the importance of commercial fishing decreased, the town started to emphasize its cultural heritage and historical image (Land Use Plan, 1980).

The Historic District focuses on highlighting the eclectic collection of architectural styles of notable houses in the downtown area. Each Historic District home is outfitted with a special plaque that offers the name of the historical resident and the year it was built (Beaufort Historic Preservation Commission, 1994). The Historic District does not currently designate any maritime infrastructure that was used in supporting commercial fishing fleets.
Understanding these Changes

Historically, Beaufort was an attractive place to live because of employment opportunities in the commercial fishing industry. Now, the downtown waterfront area is important because of its attraction to visitors and tourists. Opinions regarding the fishing industry dramatically shifted over a short period of time. This is highlighted in the Land Use Plans, as newer residents found the smell of menhaden processing incompatible with their ideal community image (Land Use Plan, 1986). This sentiment was carried through other aspects of the town’s development and land use planning projects. This is especially clear in the establishment of Beaufort’s Historic District, which marks a pivotal moment in Beaufort’s rebranding effort to attract tourism, and also signifies the diminishing importance of commercial fishing (Carroll & Carroll, 2006). Instead, Beaufort projects its town and heritage through romanticized visions of its colonial past. Through the town’s Design Guidelines, this Historic District ensures the preservation of architecturally unique structures and establishes what they can and cannot look like (Beaufort Historic Preservation Commission, 1994; Land Use Plan, 1986). The way Beaufort’s historical and cultural assets are now featured makes it difficult to recognize the significance of commercial fishing to the town’s past.

Making Sense of Coastal Change

It is clear from the changes outlined in this story map that Beaufort as a town and community have shifted from an identity centered on commercial fishing to an identity centered on coastal living. Beaufort is still a space that values its connection to the ocean, but this relationship has entirely changed from reliance to enjoyment - this shift in identity has shaped the political, economic, and social fabric of the Beaufort that we know now.

Contextualizing This Story

This story map has detailed how intricate the transformations brought on by coastal gentrification are in one town. While changes in fisheries and tourism were major factors in reshaping Beaufort’s identity, this restructuring was not happening in a vacuum. As illustrated throughout this story map, this process cannot be viewed in isolation - change in one dimension is enmeshed with changes in another. However, in order to understand how coastal gentrification manifests locally, it is important to contextualize this phenomenon with broader shifts. When broadening the scope of the analysis, we learn that local changes are in movement with and reacting to trends at the regional, national, and
global level and culminate in the gentrification of coastal spaces (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Johnson et al., 2014; Land Use Plans, 1976 - 2006).

The decline in fisheries cannot simply be attributed to a change in fisheries regulations, but rather this decline has been occurring due to a variety of factors - over time, ocean health has degraded, operation costs have increased (Garrity-Blake & Nash, 2007), fisheries infrastructure has diminished (Garrity-Blake, 2005), technological advancements in fishing have lowered employment opportunities, and market demands for seafood have changed (May, 2019). Simultaneously, environmental concerns for marine resources have become more prominent, and as a result, fisheries regulations have consolidated commercial fishing effort (Garrity-Blake & Nash, 2007; May, 2019). A globalized economy has impacted the demand for domestic seafood, as international products are less expensive due to comparative advantage (Garrity-Blake & Nash, 2007; May, 2019). Additionally, the rise in tourism and recreation cannot simply be explained as an economic replacement to the declining fishing industry, but rather this is occurring due to a variety of factors - over time, leisure has become an increasingly important cultural value (Twenge et al., 2010), modern transportation networks have improved access to even the most remote places (Land Use Plans, 1976 - 2006), an increase in disposable income has resulted in more people being able to purchase second homes (Donahue, 2014), a more globalized world has results in a devaluing of productivist spaces (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011), and there has been a national mass migration to coastal places (Land Use Plans 1976 - 2006; NOAA, 2016). When viewed collectively, the changes in Beaufort’s fisheries and tourism industries occurred as a result of not just local decision making, but rather by the external forces of a changing world.

This Story Was Never Just About Beaufort

While this case study focused on Beaufort, North Carolina, the changes that occurred in this community had greater ramifications for the fishing industry in Carteret County as a whole. Coastal gentrification of Beaufort has made it increasingly difficult for neighboring communities to maintain their commercial fishing industries, specifically in the eastern part of the county (Garrity-Blake & Nash, 2007; May, 2019). At one time, Carteret County held a strong commercial fishing network - with fish houses and processing plants all across the Core Sound (Garrity-Blake & Nash, 2007; Garrity-Blake & Nash, 2012). Beaufort played a large role in supporting other commercial spaces in the county. Once this infrastructure disappeared, it impacted the viability of the industry up and
down the coast (May, 2019). These cascading impacts have resulted in hardship for those working to maintain their livelihoods through commercial fishing (Cumming et al., 2011). Changes that have occurred in Beaufort are reflective of what many communities across the United States are currently experiencing (Gale, 1991; Jacob & Whitman, 2007; Jepsen & Jacob, 2007; Sheehan & Cowperthwaite, 2002).

The Power of Understanding Change

Pockets of the United States still have deep connections to ocean spaces and are reliant on the extraction of marine resources to sustain their local economies and identities (Sheehan & Cowperthwaite, 2002; South Carolina Sea Grant, 2016). However, change is inevitable, and it will continue, or perhaps even intensify, as time moves forward. It is likely that more and more of these coastal communities will experience symptoms of coastal gentrification and how communities and local governments respond to these changes matters. Of course, external changes can be extremely daunting to address, but this does not mean that these communities are limited in their ability to respond. By visualizing the multifaceted ways that coastal gentrification manifests, one is better able to understand these changes holistically rather than through the lens of just one sector, like fisheries and tourism (Khakzad, 2018; South Carolina Sea Grant, 2016). The hope of this project is to help those living in coastal communities make sense of what is happening to their space.

About this Project

Lauren and Catherine are Coastal Environmental Management Master’s students at the Nicholas School of the Environment, Duke University. They moved to Beaufort, North Carolina in August 2019 to study at the University’s Marine Laboratory on Pivers Island. Given their collective interests in the social impacts of fisheries, marine resource commodity chains, and community-based environmental management, they chose to pursue this story as a part of their capstone master’s project. Although their time in Beaufort is coming to a close, they are forever grateful for the time they spent in Beaufort Now and through historical archives, Beaufort Then.

For more information on this project, please contact Lauren and Catherine at lauren.mariolis@duke.edu and catherine.morse@duke.edu.
Methods

The initial starting point in piecing together Beaufort’s transition from a commercial fishing center to the town that exists today was to reevaluate histories of fisheries and tourism using the data sources highlighted below. Through this process it became apparent that changes within these two industries could not be analyzed in isolation as they were often enmeshed with one another as well as linked to broader trends that were occurring at regional, national, and global levels. We moved on to exploring other coastal spaces in the United States and found that many of the changes that occurred in Beaufort shared commonalities with other gentrifying coastal communities. Using this lens of coastal gentrification and its common dimensions, we reexamined our data sources to see how this phenomenon was manifesting within Beaufort. Through this methodology, we were able to gain a better understanding of shifts that occurred in both fisheries and tourism in isolation, as well as start to draw connections between these movements in conjunction with greater changes in Beaufort.

In sum, this approach allowed us to illuminate the transformation between Beaufort Then and Beaufort Now. This data analysis highlights that piecing together this story was not a linear process and often involved reexamining information that had already been gathered but with a new lens or perspective. This reexamination was critical in not only allowing us to generate a more complete history of Beaufort, but it also unlocked the idea that changes in fisheries and tourism are enmeshed in broader shifts caused by coastal gentrification.

Data Sources

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps
1885 - 1924. The Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps are a large collection of detailed records of United States’ cities and towns from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These maps detail information about individual buildings and their uses. This data is housed at the University of North Carolina, Digital Collections website.

Town of Beaufort, Land Use Plans
1976 - 2006. A land use plan is a collection of policies that serves as a community’s blueprint for growth, these plans are informed by voices from the community through surveys and town
meetings. These documents outline Beaufort’s community composition, economic base, existing land use, and future visions. This data is housed at the Department of Environmental Quality of North Carolina website.

**Historic Newspapers**

*1925 - 1960.* Beaufort began publishing a local newspaper in 1912, a digital collection for printed newspapers exists for *The Beaufort News* and *The Carteret News Times*. The digital collection of these newspapers can be found at the North Carolina Digital Heritage Center website.

**Other Area Specific Studies**

*2005 - 2012.* Since there has been a long-standing tradition of academia in Beaufort, there have been numerous researchers that focus their work in Carteret County. The works informing this study are social science and anthropological studies on fisheries and community dynamics, oral histories of how fishers’ lives are impacted from the changes in these fisheries, and how Beaufort’s cultural identity and infrastructure shifted over time. The following works were utilized for this project:

Part II • Supporting Information

Introduction

While we tried to include as much information as possible within the text of our story map, there are additional elements that could not be expanded upon. Provided below is a more detailed methodology, additional resources for those interested in learning more about specific themes highlighted throughout the project, and avenues for future research. We hope that this information will serve as a starting point for any students or researchers who wish to expand upon this study further.

Methodology & Data Sources

A condensed version of the methodology and data sources can be found on the About this Project section of the story map. A completer and more detailed summary is described below.

Methodology

The initial starting point in piecing together Beaufort’s transition from a commercial fishing center to the town that exists today was to review histories of fisheries and tourism. It became essential to understand how these industries evolved, or devolved, in relation to one another. Information gathered from informal interviews suggested that fisheries regulations and the growing prominence of tourism were main drivers of this change; however, this did not provide a full explanation about the town’s transformation. Beginning with the Sanborn Maps, we used the written descriptions of each building to understand the frequency of certain structures to determine the prevalence of commercial fishing and accommodation infrastructure (Appendix D). This allowed us to gauge the economic significance of commercial fishing and tourism during the Beaufort Then era. Next, we qualitatively coded the Beaufort’s Land Use Plans to pinpoint how the town and community valued commercial fishing and tourism (Appendix E). Each Land Use Plan was coded for several trends, including “fisheries,” “tourism,” “economy,” “social change,” and “development.” Each trend was assigned a color and highlighted as we moved through the text. This process allowed us to visualize juxtapositions and overlaps between trends. Then, using the Land Use Plans as a guide, we explored historical newspapers to capture information about these industries in specific moments in time. First, we searched the newspapers more broadly, using keywords including “menhaden,” “fisheries,” “tourism,” and “resort.” From there, we systematically searched the newspapers by looking for key
events in fisheries and tourism that were outlined in the town’s Land Use Plans. Finally, we gathered information from other area specific studies to add nuance to and linkages between fisheries and tourism. From there, we compiled the information collected from our data sources to reconstruct these industries’ histories as well as broader changes in Beaufort (Appendix A, B, and C).

As we moved through our data sources, we realized that shifts within commercial fishing and tourism could not be analyzed in isolation, as they were often linked to other changes, such as in the economy and community composition. We moved on to exploring other coastal spaces in the United States to see if there were any commonalities between the changes happening in Beaufort. This brought us to literature on coastal gentrification - we found that fishing communities all across the United States were experiencing dramatic shifts in their economic base and cultural identity. Additionally, this literature provided guidance on common dimensions that are key to identifying the manifestation of coastal gentrification within a community.

Once we had this knowledge base, we returned to our data sources and applied this lens of coastal gentrification. Rather than exploring fisheries and tourism through a linear timescale, we reviewed our data sources using these common dimensions - infrastructure, community composition, the economy, and cultural identity. Through this methodology, we were able to gain a better understanding of shifts that occurred in both fisheries and tourism in isolation and begin to draw connections between these movements.

In sum, this approach allowed us to illuminate the transformation between Beaufort Then and Beaufort Now. This data analysis highlights that piecing together this story was not a linear process and often involved reexamining information that had already been gathered but with a new lens or perspective. This reexamination was critical in not only allowing us to generate a more complete history of Beaufort, but it also unlocked the idea that changes in fisheries and tourism are enmeshed in broader shifts caused by coastal gentrification.

Data Sources
Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps
The Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps are a large collection of detailed records of United States’ cities and towns from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The maps were originally created to allow fire insurance companies to assess their total liability in urban spaces. These maps detail information
about individual buildings and their uses. This project utilized seven maps of Beaufort dated 1885, 1893, 1898, 1904, 1908, and 1924.

**Town of Beaufort, Land Use Plans**
In 1975, the Coastal Area Management Act was passed which created a coordination program to manage North Carolina’s coastal resources. Part of this Act requires all twenty coastal counties to create a local land use plan. In short, a land use plan is a collection of policies that serves as a community’s blueprint for growth; these plans are informed by voices from the community through survey and town meetings. These local government documents outline Beaufort’s community composition, economic base, existing land uses, and future visions. This project used all six of Beaufort’s Land Use Plans that were published in 1976, 1980, 1986, 1990, 1996, and 2006.

**Historic Newspapers**
The digital record for The Beaufort News spans from 1925 to 1944 and The Carteret News Times spans from 1948 to 1960. These newspapers provide a snapshot of local information and community voices throughout a larger portion of our temporal scale. We utilized articles and historical photographs that we felt were directly relevant in piecing together Beaufort’s story of change. Some examples include local menhaden captains reporting their catch and hotels advertising to recreational fishers.

**Other Area-Specific Studies**
Since there has been a long-standing tradition of academia in Beaufort, there have been numerous researchers that focus their work in Carteret County. The works informing this study are social science and anthropological studies on fisheries and community dynamics, oral histories of how fishers’ lives are impacted from the changes in these fisheries, and how Beaufort’s cultural identity and infrastructure shifted over time. This project drew heavily from the following academic works:


Barbara Garrity-Blake is a long-standing resident of Carteret County and a fisheries anthropologist. Much of her work provided contextual information about changes in the menhaden industry and to maritime infrastructure throughout the county. The body of work listed above focuses on
documenting oral histories of how fishers’ lives have been impacted from the changes in this fishery. These studies provided information for our project about Beaufort’s cultural identity and infrastructure, and how they have shifted over time.


Noëlle Boucquey, a former PhD student at the Duke University Marine Laboratory, focused her dissertation on narratives and discourses about the conflicts between commercial and recreational fishing in Beaufort and Carteret County. Her work puts great emphasis on understanding not only the frictions between these two groups but also the relationship between humans and natural resources, specifically fish. It includes an evaluation of changing emphasis on commercial and recreational fishing over time and offered great insight into how the fishing community had split into two separate economic and cultural structures.

Additional Resources

Menhaden Industry

Menhaden was the primary industry in Beaufort from the late 1800s through the 1980s. As a result, a large portion of Beaufort’s population was either directly working in the industry, in a supporting industry, or knew a family member who participated. In 2009, Barbara Garrity-Blake conducted interviews with industry workers. These interviews highlight the menhaden workers’ lifestyles, working conditions, and the impacts of the fading industry. Below you will find resources that expand upon this topic:


Recreational Fishing

Recreational fishing is one of the pulls for amenity migrants and is an important component to Beaufort’s tourism industry. However, there have been decades of tension and controversies between commercial and recreational fishers who often have differing opinions about fisheries management and access to marine resources. The following article highlights some of the disagreements and the role of ‘moral economies’ within these two sectors of the fishing industry.


Coastal Gentrification

Numerous coastal towns are experiencing the effects of coastal gentrification. The following articles outline identifiable symptoms and dimensions of this phenomenon. These case-studies focus on coastal communities from the eastern seaboard and Gulf states and evaluate how coastal gentrification is affecting their economic foundations, cultural identities, as well as the communities’ vulnerability and resiliency in the face of these changes. These studies highlight that the consequences of coastal gentrification are difficult to distinguish from primary and secondary data sources and recommend an ethnographic approach to fully realize the social impacts on local communities.

Living Heritage and Working Waterfronts

In the face of coastal gentrification, there are several communities that found ways to incorporate productivist activities into their emerging tourism industries. These papers examine how the development of tourism within farming and ranching communities has been successful in maintaining traditional family and production structures. Similarly, other studies explore how this same concept of living heritage and cultural tourism can be applied to commercial fishing. These studies gauge whether or not tourists demonstrate an interest in learning about commercial fishing heritage and whether this concept of tourism can benefit local fishing communities in North Carolina.


Additionally, the resources below highlight some of the ways productivist communities have adapted to changes put forth by coastal gentrification through a variety of community projects aimed at preserving working waterfronts.


**Amenity Migration**

Amenity migration is the movement of people who are drawn to natural and cultural assets. Typically, these people are moving from urban centers to more rural communities and landscapes. Amenity migrants can significantly disrupt long standing community dynamics and property ownership. The following paper outlines the political and economic drivers of amenity migration and the ways they reshape communities at different scalar levels.

Avenues for Future Research

When reconstructing over two-hundred years of a town’s history, it is not surprising that there were many nuances to this story that were outside of the scope of this project. Our list of data sources is not finite and there are many aspects of Beaufort’s story of change that may be elaborated on. A deeper investigation of any of these elements can add further detail to this process of change. While we believe that our approach to this story offers a more holistic picture, there are multiple lenses that we did not have the time to pursue. However, we believe that this project can continue to grow and be added to. Below is a list of potential avenues for future research that we have identified.

Racial Dynamics in the Menhaden Fishery
As evidenced by the work of Barbara Garrity-Blake, a large percentage of the menhaden fishing and processing work relied on men of color. These people and their families came from all across the southeast and often followed the menhaden work from Virginia to Beaufort, and sometimes down to the Louisiana Coast. Following the changes in fisheries technology and the economic profitability of this industry, many of these people found themselves out of work in Beaufort. As evidenced by this story map and other studies, a significant percentage of them left the town in search of new employment opportunities. Further research could be conducted on the town’s historic black district and its residents, and the racially stratified nature of this industry, especially on the backdrop of racial tensions in the United States.

Stakeholder Analysis
This research has highlighted that there are many different ‘players’ involved in the process of coastal gentrification. In the town of Beaufort, there were many groups of people who were affected by Beaufort’s transition from Then to Now - its local and state government entities, commercial fishers, recreational fishers, amenity migrants, the Beaufort Historical Association, etc. Further research could explore how this process of change not only impacted specific stakeholder groups, but also how their own actions influenced change within the community as a whole.

Community Resiliency
Several studies examined the resilience of coastal communities and focused on how these places adapted in the face of coastal gentrification. This research suggests that living heritage of commercial
fishing spaces offers a way to bolster community resiliency by incorporating productivist activities into tourism. Coastal communities in Maine, Massachusetts, and Virginia found success in preserving employment and the profitability of their commercial fishing industries by incorporating them into public facing activities. One example is working lobster boat tours in Maine, where tourists can pay to sit aboard and learn about hauling traps as well as the history of the fishery. Further studies could examine how Beaufort and neighboring communities could incorporate living heritage into their tourism industries.

**Recreational Fishing**

One portion of this story of change that we did not have the space to explore in-depth was the role of recreational fishing. While commercial fishing was the economic focus of the community during the *Beaufort Then* era, recreational fishing also emerged as a valued activity during this time. As early as the 1930s, Beaufort invested in infrastructure projects such as fishing piers, private docks, and marina spaces in order to accommodate the budding recreational and sport fishing industries. As both industries grew respectively, so did the competition for space, resources, and catch allocations. These tensions also generated a widening gap in opinions about best fisheries management practices, who should maintain access to certain species, and which fishing sector is of greater economic importance to the area and the state. Further research can examine how recreational fishing and pleasure boating contributed to the changes in Beaufort’s infrastructure, community composition, economy, and cultural identity.

**Acknowledgments**

Thank you to our advisors, Lisa Campbell and Grant Murray. Additionally, we would like to extend our deepest thanks to our generous informants, without their help we would have never been able to piece together this story.
References


Appendices

Appendix A • Reconstructed Timeline of Fisheries in Beaufort

Broad Trends in Fisheries:

● 1920s - mid 1980s = Primarily Good Commercial Catches
● Mid 1980s - 2000s = Primarily Bad Commercial Catches
● 1930s - 1950s = Heavy Commercial Expansion
● 1960s - 1970s = Light Commercial Expansion
● 1960s - mid 1980s = Light Commercial Decline
● Mid 1980s - 2000s = Heavy Commercial Decline
● (Boucquey, 102)

Mid-1800s

● A substantial commercial trade in fish developed around the mid-1800s
● **Economy:** Commercial Fishing
● (Boucquey, 48)

1885

● 3 Fish Houses on Front Street

1893

● 4 Fish Houses on Front Street
  ○ **Infrastructure:** Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1893)
● North Carolina Packing Company
  ○ **Infrastructure:** Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map 1893)
● A.G. Hall’s Ship Yard
  ○ **Infrastructure:** Maritime (Sanborn Map 1893; Sanborn Map 1898)

1898

● 5 Fish Houses on Front Street
  ○ **Infrastructure:** Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1898)
● J.H. Potter & Son Fish & Oyster Packing, On Front Street
  ○ Turned into Fish Packers by 1924
  ○ **Infrastructure:** Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1898; Sanborn Map 1904; Sanborn Map 1908; Sanborn Map 1913)
● Beaufort Little Neck Clam Co. Oyster & Veg. Canning, On Still Island
  ○ **Infrastructure:** Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1898)

1904

● W.V Geoffroy Boat Building, ¼ Mile N. of P.O.
  ○ **Infrastructure:** Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1904; Sanborn Map 1908)
● 3 Fish Houses on Front Street
  ○ Clams, Fish & Oyster
  ○ **Infrastructure:** Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1904)
● Enterprise Packing Co. Oyster Packers, ¼ Mile N. of P.O. / Near Newport River
  ○ 1913 = Atlantic Packing Company
  ○ 1924 = Southgate Packing Company
1908

- 4 Fish Houses on Front Street
  - Fish & Oyster
  - **Infrastructure**: Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1908)
- 4 Fish Oil & Scrap Companies, At Lennoxselle & 1 ¼ Miles N.E. of Beaufort
  - C.P. Dey MF'RS of Fish Oil & Scrap
  - Chadwick & Caffrey MF'RS of Fish Oil & Scrap
  - B.J. Bell MF'RS of Fish Oil & Scrap
  - D. Dawson & Co. MF'RS of Fish Oil & Scrap
  - **Infrastructure**: Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1908)
- Fish Packers
  - **Infrastructure**: Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1908)
- Sail House
  - **Infrastructure**: Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1908; Sanborn Map 1913)
- In NC State, 9,681 persons were employed in the fishing industry

1913

- 3 Fish Houses on Front Street
  - **Infrastructure**: Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1913)
- Expansion of Fish Packers
  - **Infrastructure**: Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1913)
- Boat Building, Near Newport River
  - **Infrastructure**: Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1913)
- Sail Making
  - **Infrastructure**: Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1913)
- Atlantic Packing Company. Oyster Packers, ¼ Mile N. of P.O. / Near Newport River
  - 1904 - 1908 = Enterprise Packing Company
  - 1924 = Southgate Packing Company
  - **Infrastructure**: Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1913)
- 4 Fish Oil & Scrap Companies, At Lennoxselle & 1 ¼ Miles N.E. of Beaufort
  - C.P. Dey MF'RS of Fish Oil & Scrap
  - Chadwick & Caffrey MF'RS of Fish Oil & Scrap
  - Beaufort Fish Scrap & Oil Company
  - Doane & Bartlett MF'RS of Fish Oil & Scrap
  - **Infrastructure**: Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1908)

1915

- Establishment of federal marine laboratory

1918

- North Carolina fisheries harvest was 210,000,000 pounds valued at nearly $3,000,000
- This amount and value decreased by 115,000,000 pounds and $600,000
- **Economy**: Commercial Fishing (The Beaufort News, April 1925)

1923

- More than 8,000 persons are engaged in the fisheries of the State and the investment exceeds $4,100,000
  - **Economy**: Commercial Fishing (The Beaufort News, April 1925)
- North Carolina fisheries harvest was 95,000,000 pounds worth $2,400,000. Decline from 1918
  - Bureau of Fisheries Commissioner points out that the greater part of this decline was in the menhaden fishery. The catch of this species fell over 116,000,000 pounds.
  - More than 8,000 persons are engaged in the fisheries of the State and the investment exceeds $4,100,000
  - **Economy**: Commercial Fishing (The Beaufort News, April 1925)

1924
- **Expansion of Fish Packers**
  - Absorbed J.H Potter Oyster Packers Infrastructure
  - **Infrastructure**: Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1913)
- 2 Gasoline Tanks on Front Street (Potential Fuel Stations?)
  - The Texas Co. Gasoline Tanks & Standard Oil Co. Oil and Gasoline Tanks
  - **Infrastructure**: Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1913)
- **Boat Building**
  - **Infrastructure**: Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1924)
- Southgate Packing Company, Oyster Packers, ¼ Mile N. of P.O. / Near Newport River
  - 1904 - 1908 = Enterprise Packing Company
  - 1913 = Atlantic Packing Company
  - **Infrastructure**: Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1924)
- 4 Fish Oil & Scrap Companies, At Lennoxville & 1 ¼ Miles N.E. of Beaufort
  - C.P. Dey MFRS of Fish Oil & Scrap
  - Chadwick & Caffrey MFRS of Fish Oil & Scrap
  - Beaufort Fish Scrap & Oil Company
  - Carolina Fish Oil & Scrap Company Inc.
  - **Infrastructure**: Commercial Fishing / Maritime (Sanborn Map, 1908)

1925
- For several years now, the mullet catch has been light compared with what it used to be in years gone by. For some reason or other, the fish are not so plentiful as they used to be.
  - **Economy**: Commercial Fishing (The Beaufort News, August 1925)
- Captain Bonner Willis caught 16,544,00 (pounds?) of menhaden during 1925.
  - “I expect this is about the largest catch made by any one boat on the Atlantic coast this season”
  - **Economy**: Commercial Fishing (The Beaufort News, December 1925)
- “The fishermen have just closed a very good year, both those who catch food fish and the menhaden fishermen. Prices have not been so high as they were in war times but they have been high enough to afford satisfactory profit and there is no reason to suppose they will be lower any time soon. The oil and scrap factories are using much larger boats and better equipment than they did ten or fifteen years ago and mainly for this reason they catch a great many more fish and do larger business. They employ a larger number of men and their pay rolls are a big asset to this section.”
  - **Economy**: Commercial Fishing (The Beaufort News, December 1925)

1932
- Between the five factories in Morehead City and Beaufort, some 17 or 18 menhaden fishing boats are now catching.
- 550 men are now employed on the fishing boats and at the factories. The fishing boats average about 22 men each and the factories about 35 each
Since the fall fishing season began, the price per thousand for the menhaden has advanced from 40 to 60 cents a thousand
- *whale oil imports from Japan impacting menhaden industry
  - **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (The Beaufort News, November 17, 1932)
- The C.P. Dey Factory; the latter is now being run by W.M. Webb
  - **Infrastructure:** Commercial Fishing (The Beaufort News, November 17, 1932)

1934
- Beaufort Fisheries established
- **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (LUP, 1990, Page I-14)

1940
- **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (The Beaufort News, January 5 1940)

1949
- The menhaden take at Beaufort and Morehead City fell off in 1949
- **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (The Carteret News Times, April 21, 1958)

1950
- The menhaden take at Beaufort and Morehead City fell off in 1950
- **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (The Carteret News Times, April 21, 1958)

1951
- The menhaden take at Beaufort and Morehead City fell off in 1951
- **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (The Carteret News Times, April 21, 1958)

1952
- The menhaden take at Beaufort and Morehead City fell off between 1949-1951 but commenced to recover in 1952
- **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (The Carteret News Times, April 21, 1958)

1980
- 153 Employees (10.3%) 16 Years and Older worked in the Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries, & Mining Industry
- While these are grouped together, this category is primarily limited to fisheries employment within Beaufort
- **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (LUP, 1990, I-12)

1988
- In Carteret County as a whole, there were an estimated 1,067 part-time commercial fishing vessels licensed
  - **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (LUP, 1990, Page I-13)
- Of the 11, 274 oyster and clam licenses granted by the state in 1988, 3,326 (29%) were granted for Carteret County.
  - **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (LUP, 1990, Page I-13)

1990
- Beaufort Fisheries (located in Beaufort’s ETJ) employed 116 people, produced fish meal
  - **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (LUP, 1990, Page I-14)
- 51 Employees (3%) 16 Years and Older worked in the Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries, & Mining Industry
  - -6.86% change since 1980
  - While these are grouped together, this category is primarily limited to fisheries employment within Beaufort
  - **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (LUP, 1996, I-12)
2000
- 40 Employees (2.4%) 16 Years and Older worked in the Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries, & Mining Industry
- **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (LUP, 2006, 31)

2001
- There were only an estimated 4,000 active full-time commercial fishers in North Carolina
- **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (Boucquey, 62)

2004
- Closure of the last menhaden processing plant
- **Infrastructure & Economy:** Commercial Fishing (BGB, Fish House Inventory, 2007)

2010
- The total value of commercial catches was approximately $80 million
- **Economy:** Commercial Fishing (Boucquey, 65)
Appendix B • Reconstructed Timeline of Tourism in Beaufort

1885
- 1 Boarding House on Front Street
- Converted to Dwelling by 1898
- **Infrastructure: Accommodations / Tourism** (Sanborn Map, 1885; Sanborn Map, 1893)

1893
- Hotel Virginia Dare on Front Street
- **Infrastructure: Accommodations / Tourism** (Sanborn Map, 1893)

1898
- Davis House on Front Street
  - **Infrastructure: Accommodations / Tourism** (Sanborn Map, 1898; Sanborn Map 1904; Sanborn Map 1908; Sanborn Map 1913; Sanborn Map 1924)
- Russell House on Turner Street
  - **Infrastructure: Accommodations / Tourism** (Sanborn Map, 1898; Sanborn Map 1904; Sanborn Map 1908; Sanborn Map 1913; Sanborn Map 1924)

1904
- 1 Boarding House on Ann Street
- Converted to Dwelling by 1913
- **Infrastructure: Accommodations / Tourism** (Sanborn Map, 1904; Sanborn Map 1908)

1908
- 3 Restaurants on Turner Street
  - All converted to other uses by 1913
- **Infrastructure: Accommodations / Tourism** (Sanborn Map, 1908)
- Inlet Inn
- **Infrastructure: Accommodations / Tourism** (Sanborn Map, 1913; Sanborn Map 1924)

1924
- 1 Boarding House,
- **Infrastructure: Accommodations / Tourism** (Sanborn Map, 1924)

1925
- “Third in importance in Carteret county is the resort business. This has been a dependable source of revenue for a great many years and for the past two or three years has shown a considerable increase. Due to the building of a hard surface road from Goldsboro to Morehead City and a good road from Havelock to Beaufort, visitors from almost any part of the State can come down here in their cars with utmost ease. … So the good roads system that now traverses North Carolina in so many directions will certainly mean that a great many visitors will come to Beaufort and Morehead City next summer.”
- **Economy: Tourism** (The Beaufort News, December 1925)

1930s
- Fishing piers were reportedly being built
- **Infrastructure: Accommodations / Tourism** (Boucquey, 128)

1935
- **Infrastructure / Economy: Tourism** (The Beaufort News, May 30, 1935)

1938
- Regional hotels are catering to summertime recreational fishermen
- Article from The Beaufort News, 1938 - “Channel Bass Fishing Attracts Many Anglers: Pamlico Inn goes after summer patronage”
1966
- **Infrastructure**: Accommodations / Tourism (Boucquey, 128)
- More than 400,000 persons participated in saltwater sport fishing in NC. These same fishers spent in excess of $40 million on equipment, fees, transportation

1970s
- **Economy**: Recreational Fishing / Tourism (Boucquey, 63)
- North Carolina Maritime Museum opened in Morehead City in 1930. In 1970s, the museum was moved to Beaufort
- **Infrastructure**: Tourism (LUP, 1996, Page I-47)

1972
- Eating & Drinking Places made up 8.6% of Retail Trade
- **Infrastructure**: Tourism (LUP, 1976, Page 10)

1974
- A National Register Historic District was established
- **Infrastructure**: Tourism Attraction (LUP, 1996, Page I-44)

1980
- Even though the national economy has been down, Beaufort’s economy is looking up.
- The waterfront renewal area is virtually complete and attracting increased numbers of tourists and added business. Also, a large new shopping center-complex has recently opened on Highway 70 which should help the town gain a larger share of retail sales in the county
- **Economy / Infrastructure**: Tourism (LUP, 1980, Page 30)

1985
- Historic District was established and incorporated in the zoning ordinance.
- The purpose of the historic district is to promote the educational, cultural, and general welfare of the public through the preservation and protection of historical buildings, places, and areas.
- Beaufort Historical Association was formed to begin concrete efforts toward the protection and preservation of Beaufort’s historical resources
- **Infrastructure**: Tourism Attraction (LUP 1976, Page 22; LUP, 1980, Page 17)

1986
- Approximately 19.8% of Carteret County’s workforce was directly or indirectly employed as a result of tourism activities
- Tourism and recreation are major factors in Beaufort’s economy
- **Economy**: Tourism (LUP, 1990, Page I-14)

1987
- The town’s seasonal population increased by 184.8% since 1970
  - **Social Status / Change**: Tourism (LUP, 1990, Page I-3)
  - Carteret County was leading the state in tourism revenues, much of it fishing-oriented
  - **Economy**: Recreational Fishing / Tourism (Boucquey, 83)

1990
- The total number of seasonal housing units is 236
- Up from 97 in 1980
- **Infrastructure**: Tourism (LUP, 1996, Page I-11)

1993
- NC considered “one of the top ten states in the nation” in terms of recreational fishing, with over 13 million pounds of fish harvested annually
- **Economy**: Recreational Fishing / Tourism (Boucquey, 63)

2000
• Beaufort’s estimated seasonal population is 2,041 and peak population is estimated to be 5,812
  ○ Seasonal population represents approximately 35% of the peak population
  ○ Social Status / Change: Tourism (LUP, 2006, Page 19, 23, 34)
• Seasonal Dwellings constitute 12.6% of the town’s total housing stock
  ○ Infrastructure: Tourism (LUP, 2006, Page 30)
• The single largest employment sector in Beaufort - 294 Employees (18%) 16 Years and Older worked in the Arts, Entertainment, Recreation, Accommodation and Food Services Industry
  ○ Economy: Tourism (LUP, 2006, 31)

2002
• The NC Department of Commerce estimated that tourism generated an economic impact of $206.87 million, more than 3,720 jobs were directly attributable to travel and tourism
• Economy: Tourism (LUP, 2006, Page 31)

2010
• Over 40,000 recreational fishing licenses were sold in Carteret County
  ○ Economy: Recreational Fishing / Tourism (Boucquey, 63-64)
• About 32% of the 48,000 homes in Carteret County are reserved for seasonal or recreational use
  ○ Infrastructure: Accommodations / Tourism (Boucquey, 76)
Appendix C • Reconstructed Timeline of Broader Changes in Beaufort

1722
- Beaufort incorporated as a town
- **Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion** (LUP 1976, Page 30)

1816
- By 1816, the original town had become almost developed and the natural water barriers of Taylor’s Creek, Beaufort Channel, and Town Creek, forced the town to expand both to the north and east
- **Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion** (LUP 1976, Page 11)

1870
- Beaufort had a population of 2,430
- **Social Change / Status** (LUP 1976, Page 57)

1885
- Front Street existed between Orange Street and Craven Street
- **Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion** (Sanborn Map, 1885; Sanborn Map 1893)

1898
- Expansion of Front Street. Now between Moore Street and Queen Street
- **Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion** (Sanborn Map, 1898; Sanborn Map 1904; Sanborn Map 1908)

1913
- Expansion of Front Street. Now between Sunset Lane and Live Oak Street
- **Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion** (Sanborn Map, 1913)

1924
- Expansion of Front Street. Now between Sunset Lane and Gordon Street
- **Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion** (Sanborn Map, 1924)

1940
- Beaufort’s population is 3,272
- **Social Status / Change** (LUP, 1976, Page 6)

1950
- Beaufort’s population is 3,212
- **Social Status / Change** (LUP, 1976, Page 6)

1960
- Beaufort’s population is 2,922
  - **Social Status / Change** (LUP 1976, Page 6; LUP, 1990, Table 1)
  - Since 1940, out-migration of white adults and children from Beaufort has been primarily to newer residential developments just outside of town.
  - The primary factor causing this decline in population was the decaying economic base of the town’s economy brought about by a declining fishing industry and an absence of any major industry to absorb the unemployed.
  - **Social Status / Change & Economy: Commercial Fishing** (LUP 1976, Page 6; LUP, 1990, Table 1)

1962
- A series of annexation occurring in 1962 expanded the corporate limits to the east and north and brought in a significant population increase
- **Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion** (LUP, 1976, Page 6)

1967
- The dredge spoils islands were incorporated within the town’s limits.

1970
- Beaufort’s population is 3,368
- 19.7% of the Beaufort population was 60 years old or older.
- **Social Status / Change** (LUP 1976, Page 6; LUP, 1980, Page 3; LUP 1990)

1972
- An additional annexation added an area along the West Beaufort Road. Beaufort’s Township population increased to 3,719
- **Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion** (LUP, 1976, Page 8)

1975
- As of 1975 Beaufort has continued to develop and expand both to the north and east due to the location of natural water barriers of Taylor’s Creek, Beaufort Channel, and Town Creek
- The town limits of Beaufort contained 1535 acres
- 526 or 34% of land is in some way developed
- **Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion** (LUP 1976, Page 12; LUP, 1980, Page 8)

1976
- Land Use in Beaufort has developed primarily as residential since 1722
  - **Infrastructure** (LUP, 1980, Page 11)
  - The town’s Zoning Ordinance has been updated to include the one-mile extra-territorial jurisdiction.
    - **Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion** (LUP, 1980, Page 51)

1978
- Beaufort’s population is 3,710
- 10.2% increase since 1970
- **Social Status / Change** (LUP, 1980, Page 3)

1980
- Beaufort’s population is 3,826
  - 17.3% increased since 1970
  - **Social Status / Change** (LUP, 1980, Page 3; LUP, 1990, Table 1)
- By June 1980, the size had increased to 1652 acres for a gain of 117 acres which was accomplished through several annexations
  - **Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion** (LUP, 1980, Page 8)
- The Town’s tax base was slightly less than $29 million
  - **Economy** (LUP, 1986, Page 9)
- Since 1975 (to 1980), commercial development has increased in two main areas of town. The downtown waterfront section has continued to grow and the highway 70 corridor from its intersection with highway 101 to the northern edge of the town limits.
  - **Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion** (LUP, 1980, Page 8)
- The agricultural activities are of some importance but the amount of land available within the one-mile area is being taken over by development.
  - **Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion / Development** (LUP, 1980, Page 39)

1983
- The Rachel Carson Estuarine Sanctuary was established
  - **Environment / Tourism** (LUP, 1986, Page 9)
- The Town’s tax base was slightly over $75 million
  - **Economy** (LUP, 1986, Page 9)

1987
Beaufort’s population is 4,548
Carteret County has experienced tremendous population growth since 1970
The municipalities experienced a 479% increase in population, while the unincorporated areas experienced an 84% increase.
Beaufort’s population increased by 1,180 permanent residents for a 35% increase since 1970.
The town’s entire preschool and school age population has been decreasing since 1970 (33% to 21.2%).
27.4% of the Beaufort population was 60 years old or older.
   - The town has developed a reputation as a retirement community
Social Status / Change (LUP, 1990, Page I-3 and Page I-8)

1988
The county has been one of the top four growth areas within coastal North Carolina since 1960
Factors: a national trend of migration to non-metropolitan areas, expansion of military facilities and activities, industrial development, tourism, and the emergence of the area as a retirement center
Social Status / Change (LUP, 1990, Page I-3)

1990
Beaufort’s population is 3,808
   - 0.47% change since 1980
   - Social Status / Change (LUP, 2006, Page 24)
25.9% of the Beaufort population was 60 years old or older.
   - These increased in the elderly segment of Beaufort’s population are the result of a national trend toward a higher median age and an increasing investment in waterfront property by retirees
   - Social Status / Change (LUP, 1996, Page I-7)

1994
Beaufort’s population is 4,013
   - Social Status / Change (LUP, 1996, Page I-4)
Carteret County is one of the state’s fastest growing counties. Carteret County was the sixth fastest growing CAMA-regulated county and was 24th in the entire state.
   - Development (LUP, 1996, Page I-4)

2000
Beaufort’s population is 3,771
-0.97% change since 1990
The 65 and over population comprised approximately 20% of the population
Social Status / Change (LUP, 2006, Page 24)

2003
Beaufort’s estimated population is 3,810 and approximately 5,000 for the planning jurisdiction
1.1% change since 2000
Social Status / Change (LUP, 2006, Page 19)

2004
The total valuation of real, personal, and public service company property in Beaufort totaled $373,038,454.00
   - Economy (LUP, 2006, Page 32)
The Beaufort corporate area was expanded by some 650 acres to include a planned unit development, The North River Club.
Infrastructure: Territorial Expansion (LUP, 2006, Page 18)
### Appendix D • Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps

#### Sanborn Fire Insurance Map - 1898

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<th>Sanborn Map Code</th>
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<th>Map Text</th>
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<td>D.G. Nortons AND Bank</td>
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<td>245 K</td>
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<td>W. Ho</td>
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<td>246</td>
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<td>Gen't S.</td>
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<td>247-248</td>
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<td>247-248 L</td>
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<td>248</td>
<td>Front Street</td>
<td>D.G. &amp; Gro Paint &amp; Hardw.</td>
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<td>249 M</td>
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<td>Milly &amp; D.G.</td>
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<td>W.V. Geffroy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Boat Building</td>
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<td>Paint Ho.</td>
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### Sanborn Fire Insurance Map - 1908

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<td>193</td>
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<td>194</td>
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<td>207</td>
<td>Front Street</td>
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<td>208</td>
<td>Front Street</td>
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<td>209</td>
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<td>W. Ho.</td>
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<td>233 K</td>
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<tr>
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<td>243 J</td>
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<td>246</td>
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### Sanborn Map Code | Street Address | Map Text |
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<tr>
<td>247 - 48</td>
<td>Front Street</td>
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<td>247 - 48 L</td>
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<td>Wholesale Gro.</td>
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<td>255</td>
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<td>P.O.</td>
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<td>255 O</td>
<td>Front Street</td>
<td>Fish &amp; Oyster Ho's.</td>
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<td>255 P</td>
<td>Front Street</td>
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<td>255 D</td>
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<td>255 J</td>
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<td>255 K</td>
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**Ann**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Street Address</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enterprise Packing Co. Oyster Packers</td>
<td>Wharf</td>
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<td>Shucking</td>
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<td>Packing Capping Bench</td>
<td>W. Ho.</td>
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**Ann**

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>W. V. Geoffroy Boat Building</td>
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**Lenoxville**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Street Address</th>
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<tr>
<td>C.D. Dey, MFR of Fish Oil &amp; Scrap</td>
<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Hen Ho</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Scrap Ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Ship Repair Shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scrap Board on Surface</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish Cooking &amp; Pressing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scrap Ho &amp; Grinding</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shed</td>
<td>Salt Rm.</td>
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**Lenoxville**

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<tr>
<td>Chadwick &amp; Caffery MFRS Fish Oil &amp; Scrap</td>
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<td>Scrap Ho (Being Built)</td>
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<td>Scrap Board on Surface</td>
<td>Fish Cooking &amp; Pressing</td>
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<td>Tramwry to Wharf</td>
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**Lenoxville**

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<td>B.J. Bell MFRS Fish Oil &amp; Scrap</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scrap Board on Surface</td>
<td>Fish Boiling &amp; Pressing</td>
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<td>Tramwry to Wharf</td>
<td>Tramwry to Wharf</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wharf</td>
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**Lenoxville**

<table>
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<td>D. Dawson &amp; Co. MFRS Fish Oil &amp; Scrap</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scraper Ho.</td>
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<td>Fish Cooking &amp; Pressing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incline Tramway</td>
<td>Wharf</td>
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<td>Incline Tramway</td>
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<td>Wharf</td>
<td>Host Eng.</td>
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Examples of Coded Land Use Plans

Town of Beaufort, Land Use Plan – 1976

Fisheries

- “Traditionally, the economy of Beaufort has centered around the sea and today the fishing industry is still an important aspect of Beaufort’s economy, as well as the County’s. In addition to the people directly employed on the boats and at the fish/processing plants, other services and facilities are dependent on their catches. Fuel suppliers, marine and repair series, and retailer services are a few which rely upon the success of the fishing industry. In addition to fish and shellfish enterprises, there are several large-scale fish/processing plants located just outside the corporate limits. These plants are primarily engaged in menhaden processing and provide seasonal employment for many of Beaufort’s unskilled labor force. During the summer season menhaden are caught by local fishermen, and in the fall a large influx of men and boats from the Virginia area constitutes the last major catches of menhaden each year.”
  - The menhaden industry has recently encountered some problems.
  - Substantial declines up and down the east coast

- Declining population of white adults 1940-1960
  - Decaying economic base of the town’s economy brought about by a declining fishing industry and an absence of any major industry to absorb the unemployed.

- Fringe area of Beaufort
  - “several fishing/processing companies.”
“Beaufort’s future economy will be directly influenced by the county’s economic viability. A “cutback” at Cherry Point, several bad fishing seasons, or a decrease in tourism would not only be devastating to the county’s economy but Beaufort’s as well.”

Population/Demographics
- 1960s increasing population – complements the county’s growing importance as a resort area

Downtown/Waterfront
- Historic District was established in 1965
- Over the past several decades, Beaufort’s Central Business Districts has declined as a commercial identity. With exodus over the years of businesses with no significant influx of new establishments, the downtown district has slowly declined as a viable commercial district.
- “Certainly, Beaufort has architectural, historical, cultural, and educational value equaled by only a handful of other coastal towns. Its restoration potential is enormous, and its economic value, as tourism increases, is immense.”
- Residents expressed interest in keeping Beaufort the same as it is now. “the protection of the historic and cultural resources was identified as significant elements in attracting tourism and their respective revenues. Additionally, the desire for tourist-attracting establishments to locate in Beaufort was expressed by the public.”
- A renewal of the Front Street business district will soon become a reality through a federal renewal grant. By complementing and emphasizing the historic district, the revitalized business district should contribute to Beaufort’s future economy. The town should capture a large share of the retail sales in the county by encouraging tourism and its respective revenues.”

Environment
- Protect the barrier islands – “the coastal wetlands which border Town Creek, Town Marsh, Bird Shoals, and Carrot Island are valuable resources. Those marshlands provide nutrients which are the primary input source for the food chain of estuarine dependent species of fish and shellfish such as, shrimp, flounder, oyster, and crab.”

Town of Beaufort, Land Use Plan – 1980

Fisheries
- The economy of Beaufort still orients around fishing, boating, and water related activities. Beaufort Fisheries still employs a significant amount of people. As well as Standard Products.
- “However, there is an odor compatibility problem of some significance caused by two fish processing plants that are located on Lennoxville Road outside the eastern edge of town and from a third plant located on West Beaufort Road.”
- Commercial and Recreational Fisheries – Policy – “Commercial and recreational fisheries are extremely important to the town and area. The town is interested in protecting the fishing and boating industry in any way that it can. The establishment and promotion of the harbor refuge area will continue to be emphasized to provide a safe harbor during inclement weather conditions. The Town desires to encourage the continuing establishment of small boat maintenance facilities and additional launching ramps for small boats.”
Population/Demographics
- Between the 1960s and 1970s, the county lost 10.11% of its black population.

Downtown/Waterfront
- “Even though the national economy has been down, Beaufort’s economy is looking up. The waterfront renewal area is virtually complete and attracting increased numbers of tourists and added businesses…. The future looks bright for Beaufort with its Historic attractions, waterfront renewal area and new shopping attractions. Barring any major unforeseen economic setback such as a major cutback at Cherry Point or several bad fishing seasons, Beaufort should continue to thrive and increase its economic position in Carteret County.”
- Economic and Community Development – “the downtown waterfront is a successful example of redevelopment of an older business district.”
- “Light industries are desired that are clean and do not pollute the surrounding area.”
- Waterfront Redevelopment – “this project has been a success and is considered a model for other communities to follow judging by the number of inquiries received by the town concerning its development.”
  - “however, waterfront redevelopment will be an ongoing process and continually updated as the need arises.”
  - Additionally, the redevelopment area has created other problems such as higher taxes, a demand for increased services and a need for additional parking spaces
- Historic Preservation – “There currently exist adequate controls and protections for structures located within the Beaufort Historical District. The Town of Beaufort should, however, decide how much tourism they want and determine what the saturation point is.”
  - “An Inn is definitely needed in the overall picture of tourism for the Town of Beaufort. Any proposed Inn
- Waterfront Redevelopment – The waterfront redevelopment will be an on-going process and be continually updated as the need arises. There is a plan to expand the number boat ramps which is being coordinated with North Carolina Wildlife Officials. Waterfront redevelopment has been accomplished through urban renewal and community development funding but will continue to be updated as the need arises.

Tourism
- “Beaufort’s historical, scenic and climatic assets attract visitors throughout the nation. It is reasonable to assume greater numbers of tourists will come to Beaufort with the completion of the waterfront development area, including additional restaurants, gift shops and increased overnight boat traffic. However, the deficiency of motel and rental homes accommodations will still mean the majority of people will only spend the day and depart in the evening.”
- Increased tourism is expected to become a greater factor on the economy of Beaufort. The completion of the waterfront redevelopment area has attracted new restaurants and gift shops which in turn are bringing in greater numbers of tourists by land and water.
- Tourism Beach/Waterfront Access
  - “Tourism is recognized as economically important to the area. The Town has supported a policy to make waterfront access available to the public where possible.”
  - “the Town of Beaufort owns two public docks for water access located at the foot of Turner Street and at the foot of Queen Street.”
  - “The Town would like to see the establishment of additional boat ramps for small boats which could be funded through grants or funds raised by civic organizations.”
• Impacts of Cape Lookout
  ○ Increased tourism expected

Environment
• The estuaries are among the most productive natural environments of North Carolina. They support valuable commercial and sports fisheries of the coastal area that are utilized for navigation, recreation and aesthetic purposes. In Beaufort, Taylor’s Creek is an example of a navigable channel that is important for commercial, sport and recreational boating. The creek also serves as a major link to the economic development of the Town’s revitalized waterfront area.
• Appropriate land Uses – “other water dependent activities such as piers, marinas, and fish houses are examples of appropriate uses provided they will not be detrimental to the public trust rights and physical estuarine functions, and are compatible with the town’s zoning ordinance and floodplain ordinance.”

Town of Beaufort, Land Use Plan – 1986

Fisheries
• Resource Production and Management – “Beaufort’s natural resources play a vital role in its economy; its beach and water areas are important to fisheries and recreation. Protection of these resources is a prime concern of the Town of Beaufort.”
  ○ Commercial and Recreational Fisheries – “Beaufort will encourage preservation and expansion of its fisheries industry, both sports and commercial. Protection of coastal and estuarine waters is a prime prerequisite of this policy objective. Habitats for shellfish and finfish in all portions of their life cycle must be preserved in order to maintain fishing as a viable economic and recreational activity. Therefore, any development which will adversely affect coastal and estuarine waters will be discouraged. Only those developments which are water dependent, such as docking facilities, treatment plants, and marinas shall be allowed to be placed near and to effect coastal and estuarine water habitats. In the design, construction, and operation of water dependent developments, every effort must be made to mitigate negative effects on water quality and fish habitat. These efforts will be made at the owner’s or operator’s own expense.”
  ○ “The establishment of the harbor refuge area will continue to be promoted to provide safe harbor during inclement weather conditions. Additionally, the Town will encourage the establishment of additional small boat maintenance facilities and small boat launching ramps.”

Downtown/Waterfront
• “Beaufort is known for its historic waterfront, which has undergone substantial revitalization in the last two decades. The waterfront area is once again a vital commercial district and has become a major area tourist destination. Recent investments in the waterfront area include construction of the Inlet Inn, a 37 room, $2 million project which was financially assisted by the Town of Beaufort through a $280,000 UDAG. Additionally, smaller establishments, notably bed and breakfast inns, have opened in the historic district and near the waterfront park to help accommodate overnight visitors.”
• “Beaufort has a diverse economy for its size, with a good mix of tourist related, retail commercial, industrial, and residential real estate businesses.”
The Beaufort tax base has increased in the last decade.
- 1970-1983: $29 million  $75 million

**Waterfront Access** – The Town of Beaufort wishes to continue to improve access to waterfront areas for a variety of recreational purposes. The Town is committed to providing facilities which enhance access and use of access areas, including walkways, docks, passive recreation areas and parking areas, by means and methods which minimize potential environmental and aesthetical impacts.

- Waterfront access improvements in Beaufort should include consideration for the following types of access.
  - “Visual access and the preservation of existing views. Improvement to enhance visual access could include landscaping certain areas (including parking areas); providing walkways in areas where parking is not feasible; and protecting existing views through local controls such as height limitations. The development of the waterfront park, the protection of the almost completely open waterfront view along the entire length of Front Street, and the Town’s height limitation of 35 feet put Beaufort in excellent shape regarding these goals.”
  - “access for swimming, fishing, or boating. Where feasible, these activities should be kept separate to avoid use conflicts. The scale of such facilities should be in keeping with surrounding uses and the scale of the existing site. The close proximity of the waterfront and other uses of very limited amounts of space have sometimes created water access use conflicts in Beaufort.”
  - “The Town should develop a strategic plan for water access improvements which could then be implemented over a period of years. These improvements should be scheduled to make maximum use of State Shoreline Access funds. Careful attention should be given to the improvement of smaller sites along the waterfront in order to make maximum use of access to the shore, using creative, lower cost approaches where practical. In light of the Town’s excellent record of preserving visual open space, future efforts might be concentrated on improving active recreation access facilities in keeping with community needs and the Town’s resources.”

- **Downtown Waterfront Commercial Area**
  - “The Downtown Waterfront area is one of the most important components of Beaufort’s community image. This area is attractive to visitors and tourists and, despite concerns over the adequacy of parking, will likely continue to attract commercial and recreational investment which can be an asset to the community.”
  - “The Town will continue to seek the enhancement of the waterfront commercial district by encouraging continued revitalization of, and investment in, existing businesses and structures. Any new uses should be compatible in terms of use and scale. Innovative methods of providing parking and increasing the availability of parking should be encouraged on the part of businesses and other uses located in the area.”

**Tourism**
- Economic Conditions – “The presence of the State Port and related industry is an important part of Beaufort’s economy. Increasingly, Beaufort’s appeal as a tourist destination has become a significant part of the local economic picture.”
- Beaufort Historic District – “A National Register Historic District was established in Beaufort in the 1970’s, but a local historic district had not been established until 1985. The boundaries appear on the environmental Determinants Map. The local district designation includes an area bounded by Taylor’s Creek and Beaufort Channel to the south and west,
Pollock Street to the east, and Broad Street to the north. The district also includes Courthouse Square, just north of Broad Street at Turner and Craver Streets.”

● “The Beaufort Historic District has been described as “perhaps the most distinctively coastal” historic community along the North Carolina coast. Few of the structures in the district are of exceptional architectural merit as individual buildings, but the author of the National Register nomination summary praised its overall architectural/historical impact as extraordinary. Notable characteristics which are repeated with a distinctively “Beaufort” style in many buildings include rooflines, chimneys, porches and mantels.”

● Commercial Development

  ○ Tourism

    ■ “Recognizing that tourism is an important component of its economy, Beaufort will continue to promote and encourage tourism through methods which are in keeping with the existing character of Beaufort and consistent with its planning policies.”

  ○ Historic District

    ■ “The Town of Beaufort recently established a Historic District Commission to review new development and exterior changes to structures within a local historical district. The Town’s policy regarding the Historic District is to promote, enhance and preserve the existing character of the district. Beaufort may wish to conduct additional architectural and archaeological surveys of its historic district. If so, the Town may want to consider becoming established as a Certified Local Government for historical preservation funding purposes through N.C. Division of Archives and History. This designation could increase Beaufort’s chances for funding locally desirable surveys or other preservation work.”

  ○ Industrial Development

    ■ Because of Beaufort’s desire to maintain its attractiveness as a community and to protect its tourism industry, the Town wishes to encourage the establishment or expansion of industrial developments which are “clean” in nature and which are in keeping with the existing character of Beaufort. Preferred development would include small or medium scale light industrial uses which do not produce or handle any toxic, hazardous, or odorous materials or substances.”

Town of Beaufort, Land Use Plan – 1990

Fisheries

● Economy

  ○ “because of its waterfront and harbor facilities, and easy sound and ocean access, Beaufort has a significant number of its workforce employed in commercial fishing.”

  ○ Agriculture, forestry, fisheries, mining (153 employed, 10.3%)

  ○ “The historical and continuing economic importance of Beaufort’s commercial fishing industry cannot be overemphasized. It ranks fourth in total employment behind educational services, retail trade, and public administration. The “multiplier effect” of commercial fishing cannot be precisely calculated. However, there is considerable “spin-off” from the industry into other areas, including retail trade, wholesale trade, and manufacturing. In addition, many individuals employed in other
trades fish commercially part-time. In Carteret County as a whole, there were an estimated 1,067 part-time commercial fishing vessels licensed in 1988.”

- “In terms of land use policies, commercial fishing within Beaufort and Carteret County as a whole is in a sensitive position because approximately 50% of shellfish landings and 20% of finfish landings are from estuarine waters. Finfish and shellfish in estuarine waters are particularly prone to pollution from septic tank effluent and build-up surface runoff – both of which have increased with residential and commercial development, despite strict environmental regulations governing septic tank placement and storm water retention.”
- Of the 11,274 oyster and clam licenses granted by the state in 1988, 4,426 (29%) were granted for Carteret County.

- As mentioned earlier, approximately 10% of Beaufort’s employment base is involved with fishing. However, more detailed commercial fishing data for Beaufort is difficult to obtain. It is obvious that commercial fishing has a substantial impact on Beaufort’s local economy. Since 1977, Carteret County has consistently ranked first in the state in terms of total licensed commercial fishing vessels, total seafood landings (pounds), and total dockside value for the entire state. While estimates vary, as much as 10% of the county’s total population may be directly or indirectly involved in the commercial fishing industry.”

Population/Demographics
- “There may be several reasons for Beaufort’s having a significant increase in the age of its population. First, Beaufort has established residential communities which have been occupied by established families with increasing average ages. Secondly, the town has developed a reputation as a retirement community. The increase in elderly population also is consistent with a trend in Carteret County for an in-migration of elderly people from 1970 to 1987.”
- Beaufort has experienced 55.6% permanent population growth since 1960 and a 184.4% increase in seasonal population.

Downtown/Waterfront
- “The historic heritage of Beaufort is among its most valued and important assets. It is the intent of the Historic District regulations to promote the educational, cultural, and general welfare of the public through the preservation and protection of historical buildings, places and areas, and to maintain such lands as examples of past architectural styles.”

Tourism
- Economy
  - “Beaufort has a strong local community.”
  - “Tourism and recreation are major factors in Beaufort’s economy. The area’s extensive shoreline resources make it a primary vacation area for the entire east coast for the country. While the greatest tourist impact on the local economy occurs from May to September, visitation figures maintained for the county by the Carteret County Economic Development Council indicate a substantial year-round economic impact from both day and overnight visitors. Restaurants and motels, sport fishing, and retail trade, services, construction, real estate, and finance industries all benefit from overnight and day visitors.”

Town of Beaufort, Land Use Plan – 1996
Fisheries

- Economy
  - “In 1980, the commercial fishing industry ranked fourth in total employment behind educational services, retail trade, and public administration. In 1990, the commercial fishing industry dropped to a rank of 13th ahead of only business and repair services and communications, and other public utilities… The 1990 Town of Beaufort Land Use Plan mentioned that the commercial fishing industry had a significant “multiplier effect” in the local economy. This means that other sectors of employment such as retail trade, wholesale trade, and manufacturing benefitted from a healthy commercial fishing industry. Since Beaufort once relied heavily on this industry, it is possible that its demise has had a negative impact throughout the entire economy and may have contributed to the decrease in per capita income relative to the state and county.”
  - Beaufort Fisheries employed 60-100 people in 1995

- Aquaculture Activities
  - “Beaufort encourages all aquaculture activities which meet applicable federal, state and local policies.”
  - “Beaufort will support only aquaculture activities which do not alter significantly and negatively the natural environment of conservation areas as shown on the Land Classification Map.”

Downtown/Waterfront

- Redevelopment Issues
  - “The Town of Beaufort has been extremely successful with its redevelopment efforts. Beaufort’s waterfront area along Taylor’s Creek serves as an example to other North Carolina communities. The town has also successfully preserved its historic district

- Types and Locations of Desired Industry
  - “Beaufort desires to achieve responsible industrial development which will not adversely affect the natural environment or the quality of established residential areas.”
  - “Industries which are noxious by reason of the emission of smoke, odor, dust, glare, noise, and vibration, and those which deal primarily in hazardous products such as explosives, should not be located in Beaufort.”

Tourism

- “The area’s extensive shoreline resources make it a primary vacation area for the entire east coast of the country. While the greatest tourist impact on the local economy occurs from May to September, visitation figures maintained for the county by the Carteret County Economic Development Council indicate a substantial year-round economic impact from both day and overnight visitors. Restaurants and motels, sport fishing, retail trade, services, construction, real estate, and finance industries all benefit from overnight and day visitors.”
- “In the last ten years, there has been a shift away from commercial fishing and educational services and toward a market dominated by retail trade and tourism.”
- The following structures located in Beaufort are listed in the National Register of Historic Places.
  - Carteret County Home (Local significance)
  - Gibbs House (National Significance)
  - Jacob Henry House (State Significance)
● Old Burying Ground (Local Significance)

Town of Beaufort, Land Use Plan – 2006

Fisheries

● 2000 – Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, and Fishing make up 2.4% of Employment in Beaufort. (dramatic decline from decade prior)
● “Beaufort encourages aquaculture activities which meet applicable federal, state and local policies and permit requirements and which do not alter significantly and negatively the natural environment of conservation designated areas.”

Population/Demographics

● The estimated 2000 seasonal population of the Town of Beaufort is 2,041. The 2000 peak population, which is the sum of the permanent population and the seasonal population, is estimated to be 5,812. Seasonal population represents approximately 35% of the peak population.

Downtown/Waterfront

● “Beaufort will continue to support and protect the town’s Historic District and the Taylor’s Creek waterfront area.”
● “Redevelopment of the downtown waterfront area for tourist-oriented mixed uses consisting of retail shops, places of entertainment, restaurants, boating services and overnight lodging is promoted by the Town’s goals and policies.”

Tourism

● Vision Statement – “Beaufort values its rich maritime history and the picturesque landscape which this history provides. These historical assets and shoreline setting are the cornerstones of an important tourist industry. As the town develops, these assets will be maintained and protected.”
● Economy
  ○ “Employment in Beaufort is based largely in the services and trade sectors. The single largest employment industry sector is the arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodations and food services category which made up 18% of the total employment for 2000.
  ○ Travel and tourism related employment is an important component of Carteret County.
  ○ “Employment in Beaufort is based largely in the services and trade sectors of the economy. Manufacturing employment is not a major component of the local economy. The vast majority of jobs in Beaufort will most likely be provided to the non-manufacturing sector for the foreseeable future. Travel and tourism is an increasingly important sector of the economy… the downtown Beaufort waterfront area is a viable commercial area of the community.”
● “Travel and tourism related employment is an important component of the Carteret County economy. IN 2002, the NC Department of Commerce estimated that tourism generated an economic impact of $206.87 million.”
• “Beaufort will continue to support the activities of the North Carolina Division of Travel and Tourism; specifically, the monitoring of tourism-related industry, efforts to promote tourism-related commercial activity, and efforts to enhance and provide shoreline resources.”