

# OFFICE FOR URBANIZATION

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**Future of the American City:**

THE CASE OF CAPE ANN:  
Cultural Landscapes

Cape Ann Fieldwork

*Perceptions of Climate Change  
Among a Coastal Population*



## Contents

### **Cape Ann Fieldwork: Perceptions of Climate Change Among a Coastal Population**

Critical Landscapes Design Laboratory (2022)

### **Cultural Landscapes Dossier**

Office for Urbanization (2020)

CRITICAL LANDSCAPES DESIGN LAB

Principal Investigator: Gareth Doherty  
Research Associates: Junho Kang, Ayaka Yamashita

This project is a regional effort of the four Cape Ann municipalities of Gloucester, Rockport, Manchester-by-the-Sea, and Essex, with funding from the City of Gloucester and the Town of Manchester-by-the-Sea.

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Gloucester, MA

# Cape Ann Fieldwork

*Perceptions of Climate Change  
Among a Coastal Population*

We engage with diverse audiences and pressing socio-ecological issues in landscapes where the design disciplines—and especially landscape architecture—can imagine better futures.

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Acknowledgments

# Introduction

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This report captures a selection of Cape Ann’s residents’ various views on climate change through three-months of fieldwork. The project is a regional effort of the four Cape Ann municipalities of Gloucester, Rockport, Manchester-by-the-Sea, and Essex, with funding from the City of Gloucester and the Town of Manchester-by-the-Sea. The research was undertaken by the Critical Landscapes Design Lab (CLL) at Harvard Graduate School of Design (GSD) in collaboration with the GSD’s Office for Urbanization (OFU).

This report is based on landscape fieldwork and cognitive map-making workshops. The research process was reviewed and approved by Harvard University’s Committee on the Use of Human Subjects. Junho Kang and Ayaka Yamashita, two research associates from the Critical Landscapes Design Lab, moved to Gloucester on February 1, 2022 and lived in downtown Gloucester for three months. They were supervised by the project’s Principal Investigator, Professor Gareth Doherty, who also visited Cape Ann periodically.

Landscape fieldwork includes interviews, observations, and interpretations. By walking, biking, using public transport, and taking part in everyday life, we explored and observed Cape Ann’s landscapes. Participating and engaging in various community activities was also an indispensable part of talking with community members. By flattening social hierarchies, the research encompasses voices from various aspects of society, from the most vulnerable to decision-makers.

In addition to casual conversations with over one hundred people, we conducted appointment-based, semi-structured interviews with forty-four Cape Ann residents. The conversations shared a common list of questions, though these questions were posed in a variety of ways. The interview appointments were made through introductions from Cape Ann residents, from participating in community activities, and through social media such as Facebook and Instagram.

Cognitive maps are a mental representation of one’s physical environment. Holding a workshop on cognitive mapping, as we did, can be an inclusive and interactive climate communication tool. It is a fun yet rigorous way to invite the community and share their point of view about their lives in place. The workshop was conducted on April 12 at Grace Center, a day resource center in Gloucester. Nine participants, consisting of the homeless, group home residents, and volunteers, spent three hours in the afternoon drawing or writing maps of Cape Ann today, probable futures, and preferred futures.

This report consists of four chapters. Chapter 1 describes Cape Ann’s geography, landscapes, and human ecology. The report focuses on representing the lessons from the fieldwork instead of relying heavily on the existing databases. Chapter 2 summarizes the landscape fieldwork in the form of interviews with six fictional characters, who are composites from the interviews. Chapter 3 summarizes the various attitudes towards climate change into six categories. Chapter 4 offers some concluding remarks.

The report uses “we,” referring to Kang and Yamashita, instead of “they” or “the researchers” to emphasize our embodied and immersive experiences on-site and to acknowledge the subjectivity of fieldwork. Collective fieldwork allowed us to cross-check and reflect on each other’s prejudices and biases. For every hour we spent in the field, we aimed to spend four hours on interpretation. We recorded our interactions and observations in our fieldnotes. We wrote about three hundred pages of fieldnotes for the three months, with numerous sketches and diagrams.

We applied the same strategy to design characters. Our six storytellers, Miriam, Mario, Sally, Jonathan, Kathy, and Caleb, are composite representations of multiple interviewees, and “we” share the same time and place with them. If Chapter 1 provides readers with the background of the play “Cape Ann Fieldwork,” Chapter 2 introduces the cast.



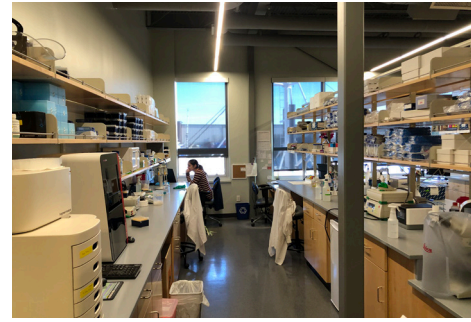
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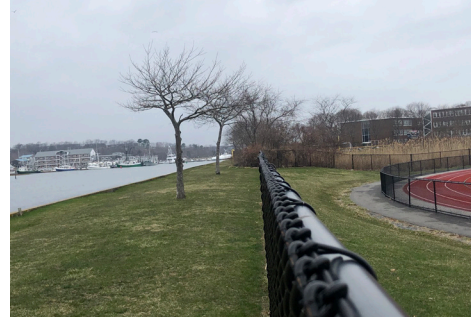
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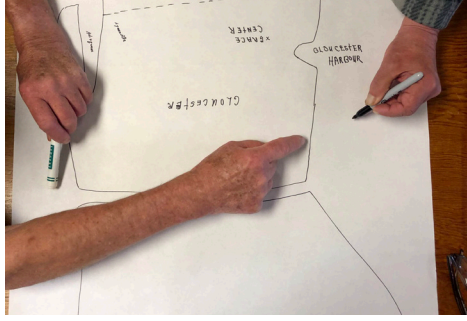
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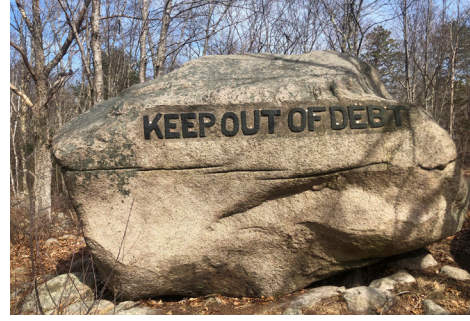
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# 1. Descriptions of Cape Ann

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Cape Ann as a Region, an Island, and Four Towns

Landscapes of Cape Ann

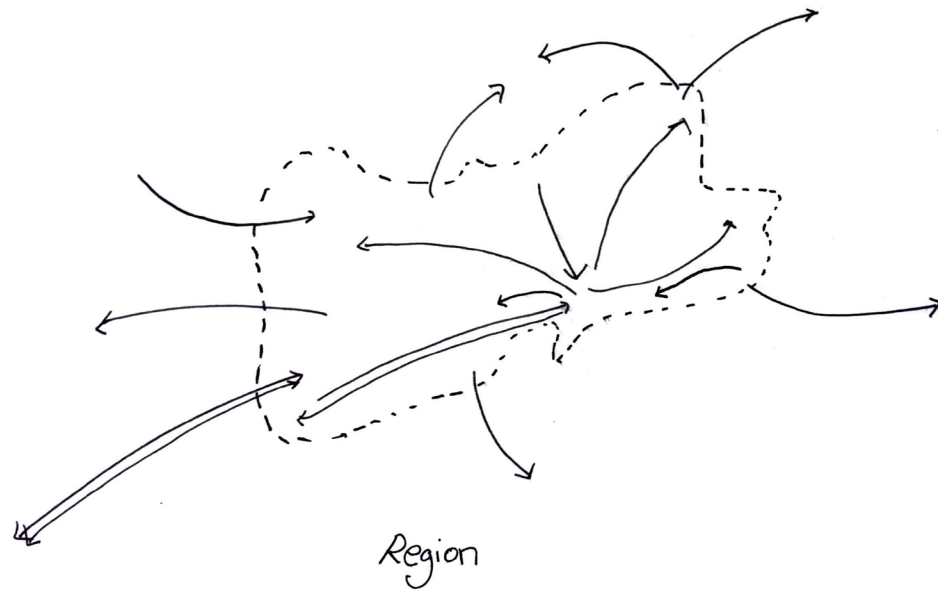
People of Cape Ann

Species of Cape Ann

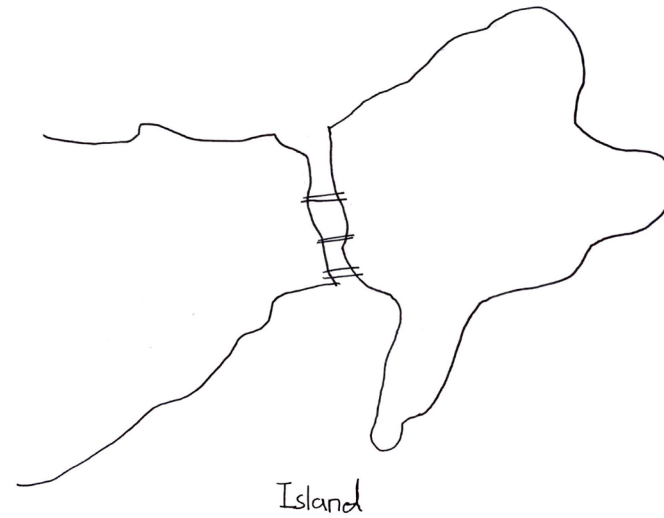
1. Lobster processing facility in Gloucester, February 8, 2022.
2. Power grid service vehicle restoring power outage, March 3, 2022.
3. GMGI Institute laboratory, March 8, 2022.
4. Steamed Jonah crab in Portuguese dinner, March 10, 2022.
5. Our Lady of Good Voyage Church morning service, March 3, 2022.
6. Equipments in Ocean Alliance, March 31, 2022.
7. Cognitive mapping, April 12, 2022.
8. Map sketch of water bodies, March 4, 2022.
9. Lobster traps and Gloucester waterfront, February 10, 2022.
10. Marks of water levels in Manchester-by-the-Sea, April 4, 2022.
11. Ducks passing through Blyman Canal, February 12, 2022.
12. Rusted façade panels in Gloucester, March 3, 2022.
13. Good Harbor beach, February 12, 2022.
14. Lobster boat in the yard, February 10, 2022.
15. Pedestrian bridge disconnected during off-season, February 23, 2022.
16. GMGI laboratory, March 8, 2022.
17. Once-flooded road near marshland in West Gloucester, March 25, 2022.
18. Grave stone of Captain Samuel Allen in Manchester-by-the-Sea, March 29, 2022.
19. Pedestrian walkway in Good Harbor beach, April 17, 2022.
20. View from Halibut Point, February 23, 2022.
21. Gloucester High School track and canal, April 7, 2022.
22. Newspapers and calendar with tidal cycle in an interviewee's house.
23. Stone graving in Dogtown, March 23, 2022.
24. Seaweed on a rock near Gloucester Art Colony, March 26, 2022.
25. Seagulls in Gloucester harbor, April 12, 2022.
26. Gloucester Theater showing Fish Tales, April 7, 2022.
27. Standing on salt marsh, April 5, 2022.
28. Discussing the map of Manchester-by-the-Sea, February 24, 2022.
29. Main street in darkness during power outage, March 3, 2022.
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## Cape Ann as a Region, an Island, and Four Towns

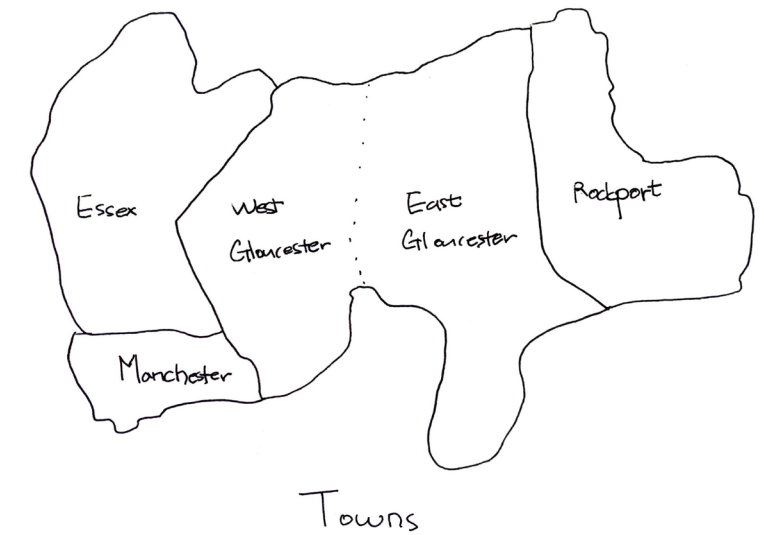
Chapter 1 features information about Cape Ann's geography, landscapes, and human ecology based on our fieldwork. Instead of relying heavily on the existing databases, we aim to represent how residents talk about their place.



Cape Ann as a region



Cape Ann as an island



Cape Ann as four towns

In conducting our interviews, we noticed that people define Cape Ann differently depending on the context: a region and/or an island and/or a group of four towns (Gloucester, Rockport, Manchester-by-the-Sea, and Essex). In this chapter, we examine these various contexts as they pertain to Cape Ann.

Cape Ann can be defined as four towns delimited by their administrative borders—each with different people and landscapes yet shared infrastructures, cultures, languages, and concerns. One interviewee mentioned that she feels a connection to the sea through the tide. These invisible connections between the towns bridge from one side of the island to the other and form the region of Cape Ann.



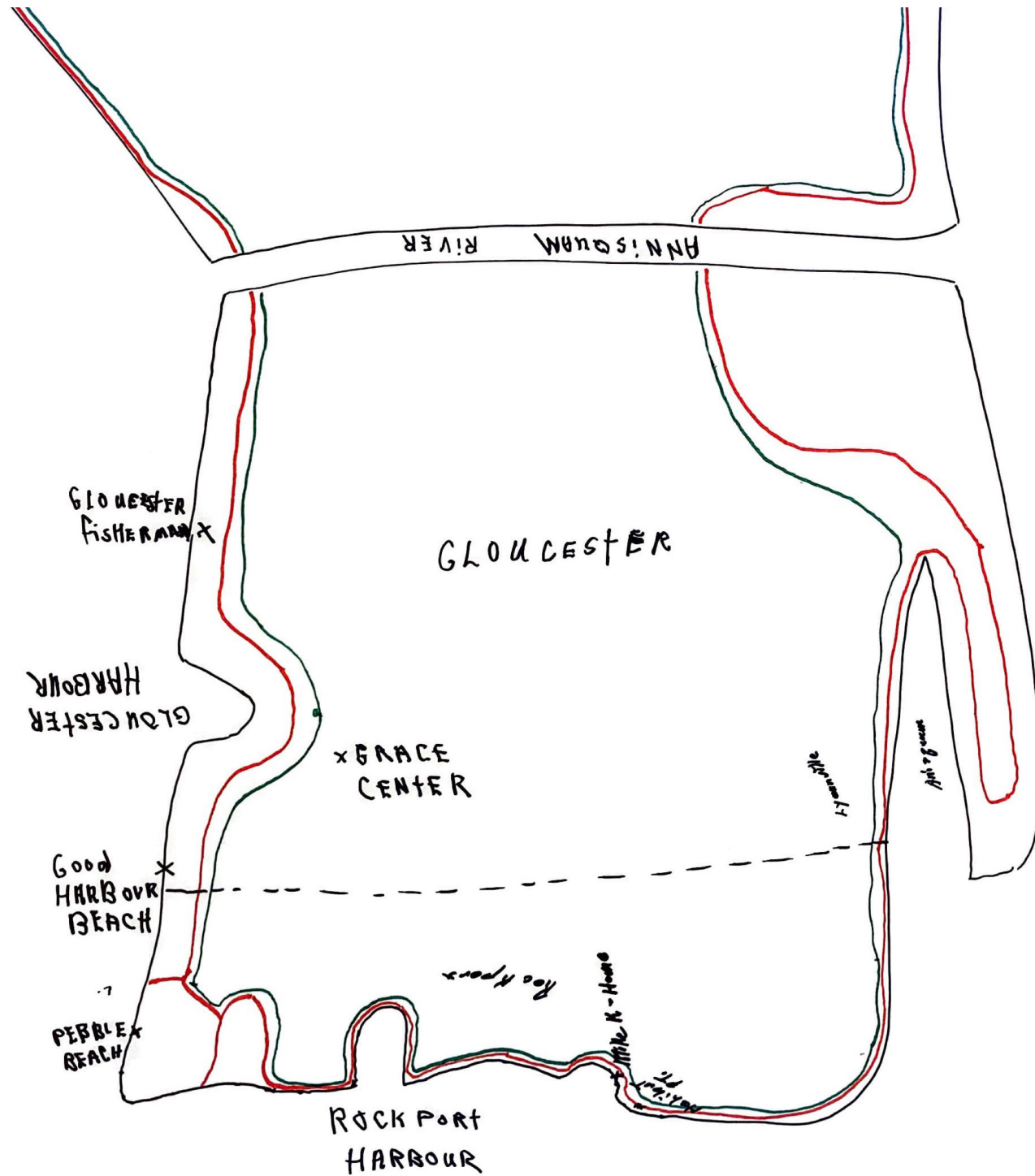
## Cape Ann as a region

Based on our fieldwork and interviews, we define a “region” as a historically constructed scale of land, including its inhabitants, where exchanges of materials and people connect to a broader geography. Cape Ann as a region is built upon a shared history of exchange.

When we first moved to Cape Ann in February, we drove on the 128 highway. Winter landscapes of Massachusetts were not much different from Boston to Gloucester. At the end of the highway is a rotary with a signage that reads: “Welcome to Gloucester, America’s Oldest Seaport.” The sense of pride and shared history is present in both the landscape and in residents’ perceptions. From landmarks such as Motif Number 1 or the Fisherman’s Statue to landscapes of beaches, marshes, forests, and quarries, histories of the residents of Cape Ann have been built and engraved.

When we arrived in Gloucester, we did not notice crossing a bridge. Crossing the Annisquam River was so smooth that it went unnoticed. This accessibility between Cape Ann and Boston, and within Cape Ann, is a critical regional factor. Many residents in Cape Ann commute to other towns for work, shopping, and leisure. One resident had a job in Boston and commuted back and forth. Another resident had a family home in Rockport, her own house in West Gloucester, and went to a yoga studio between East Gloucester and Rockport. Key socio-economic infrastructures are shared in the region. One interviewee from Gloucester went to school in Rockport through the CHOICE program. School systems are shared between Rockport and Gloucester. Cape Ann as a region is a concept that brings various municipalities, seasonal residents, commuters, and longtime residents together. For this reason, Cape Ann’s regional identity is often invoked by various organizations and institutions: the Cape Ann YMCA, the Cape Ann Climate Coalition, or even “Don’t Boston My Cape Ann.”

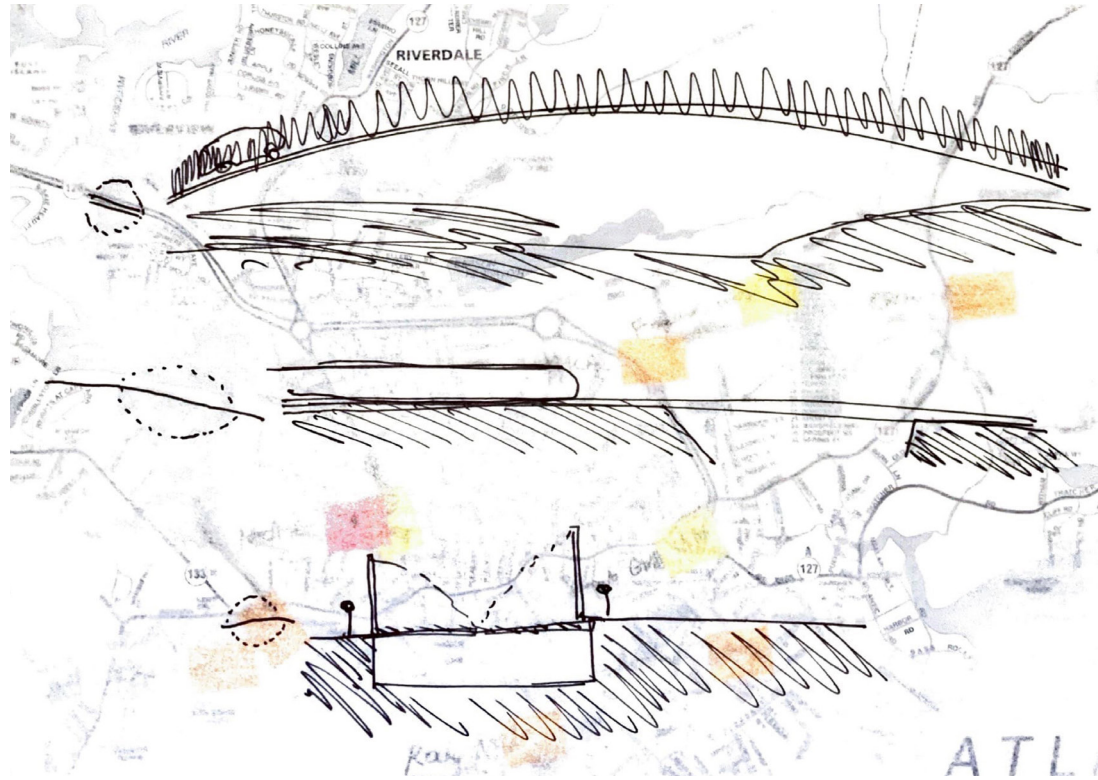
The Encyclopedia Britannica’s definition of Cape Ann supports its regional identity, writing that “the rocky, picturesque promontory, named for Queen Ann (wife of the British king James I), is noted for its quaint old fishing villages, resorts, and artists’ colonies” and that “Gloucester and Rockport (site of “Motif No.1,” an ancient fishing shed that has been the subject of many photographs and paintings) are [its] main towns.” The definition emphasizes the etymology of its name and its geological condition: a promontory, land that projects out into large bodies of water. Our first experience of Cape Ann was also in continuation from Boston.



Cognitive map of Cape Ann by participants

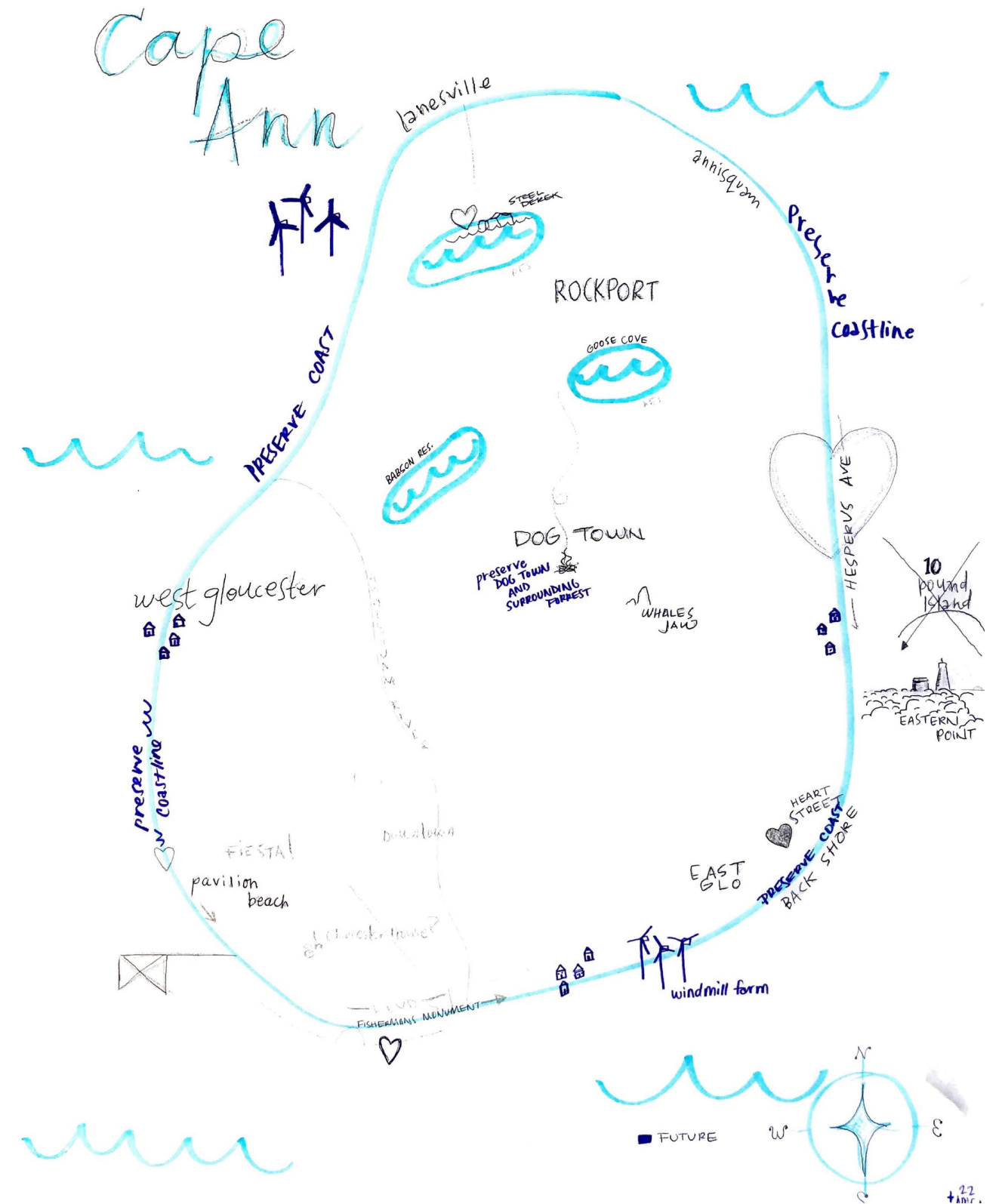
## Cape Ann as an Island

During the interviews, residents often talked about Cape Ann as an island. While the concept of a “region” implies no physical border, “island” refers to an isolated landmass surrounded by something different, such as water. Such a perception provides a clear boundary of inside and outside. If Cape Ann is an island, what belongs to the island and where is its border?

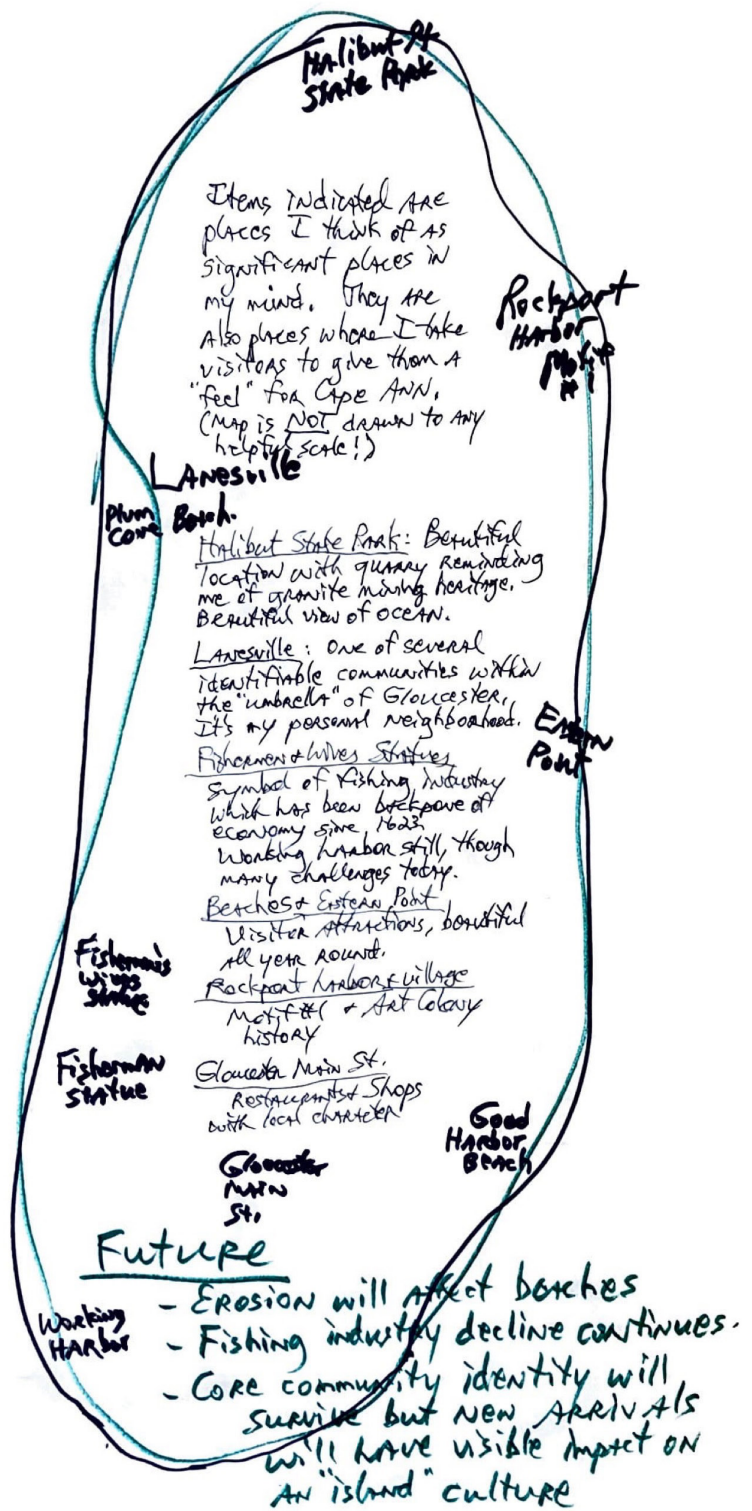


Three sections of the bridges

The most prominent psychological and spatial boundary is “the bridge” of 128 over the Annisquam River, even though there are two more connections over the river: Cut Bridge over Blynman Canal and Gloucester Drawbridge of the MBTA Rockport line, which is at the end of its replacement construction. The residents often talked about being on one side of the bridge versus the other side. Until the locals pointed it out, this spatial border was not clear to us because “the bridge” was a passage space. There was no moment of pause to experience the border or the river. On the other hand, Cut Bridge over Blynman Canal made the bordering experience obvious through various spatial and built conditions. The texture and material of the road change from concrete asphalt to steel plates with a cross-grain texture. Traffic lights, four barrier gate arms, a narrower bridge section, the sounds of cars passing on the steel plates, and the shaking of the bridge underneath one’s feet make the border obvious.



Cognitive map of Cape Ann by participants



Cognitive map of Cape Ann by participants

## Cape Ann as Four Towns

While Britannica identifies two towns, Gloucester and Rockport, as the main ones, Wikipedia's definition of Cape Ann includes four: "Cape Ann [consists] of the city of Gloucester and the towns of Essex, Manchester-by-the-Sea, and Rockport." In the following pages, we attempt to compare the four towns based on our fieldwork and interviews.

During our fieldwork, we lived in downtown Gloucester. Some residents remarked on how "diverse" the community is. An interviewee described sending her children to Gloucester High School. She was happy that kids became friends regardless of their backgrounds. For example, she told us how a kid from a millionaire family was friends with a kid from a fisherman's family. Indeed, Gloucester has complex socioeconomic dynamics. Millionaires interact with members of the working class. People drive Mercedes to the local bagel shop. Despite this socioeconomic complexity, we, as two of few Asian residents in town, were struck by how the town is dominantly white. When we visited YMCA Cape Ann, we were surprised to see only white people and YMCA posters with only white people. It took time to understand ethnic complexity within the white population. Two of the most prominent ethnicities in Gloucester are Sicilian and Portuguese. Not only does the built environment—restaurants, cafés, churches, and sculptures—represent those ethnicities, but also the food (rice balls, espresso, linguça, and Portuguese sweet bread) as well as rituals such as St. Peter's fiesta. Other races existed in a 'quiet' manner in various workplaces and landscapes of Gloucester. From a Chinese restaurant and Brazilian fashion store to immigrant workers in the fishing industry, many people of color live and work in Cape Ann, seen and unseen.

Season and off season: these are the two sides of Rockport. Three elements of the seasonality are laws, weather, and people. When we first visited in February, there were few people on the street. Restaurants, galleries on Bearskin Neck, souvenir shops, and the Shalin-Liu performance center were closed. It was so windy and cold that we retreated to Gloucester. Parking is free from November 15 to April 15. One definition of season based on parking lot regulation, therefore, is marked by these two dates. Weather also defines the seasons of the town. Only two weeks later, when we visited the town again, it was one of the warmer days in February. Some galleries, souvenir shops, coffee shops, and other stores were open. There were other people walking downtown—the last element of seasonality. Rockport has around seven thousand year-round residents. One interviewee said that the population triples during the summer season due to the influx of seasonal residents and tourists. Our impression was, in fact, the opposite. It is not the season which brings the people. It is the seasonal residents and tourists who make the town in the season. Shops open, sell things, buy things, and make things because of the visitors.

Manchester-by-the-Sea, on the other hand, is characterized by its year-long residents. When traveling from Boston by train, we usually got off at Manchester-by-the-Sea to transfer from an MBTA bus to a train or vice versa, due to the construction in Gloucester. The small downtown hosts five real estate offices, a bookstore, a library, and three cafés, including a Dunkin Donuts. The median selling price of housing in Manchester-by-the-Sea is above one million dollars. According to an interviewee, residents of these expensive houses are often professionals who are interested in their children's education and want to live within commuting distance of Boston. One interviewee said that it is not a very diverse community, mentioning that he could not see a single African American student in the school or among families in town.

Essex is marked with the experience of the marsh. Driving through the marsh gave an illusion that we were on the water, since the roads were low and close to the marsh. The roads were at times only a few feet higher than the water. These roads, according to an interviewee, were susceptible to flooding. This meant the loss of access and electricity (and any other infrastructure built under the roads). One interviewee talked about how flooding in recent years was damaging the infrastructure, property, and lives. Essex and West Gloucester felt similar because of the dominant experience with the marsh. Walking on the marsh gave a different sonic and tactile experience. The ground softly embraced as we pressed our weight on, with sounds of birds chirping and water flowing. Time passed at a different speed.

*“In addition to the community we’ve been part of for so long, I love that my days are measured not only by the rising and setting sun but by the ebb and flow of the tide—a palpable connection to the sea which sustains life on this planet.”*

*– Interviewee from the marsh*

## Landscapes of Cape Ann

In Cape Ann, four types of landscapes are prominent: beaches, marshland, quarries, and forest (Dogtown). Given that we only experienced three months of the year, our observations of its landscapes are, of course, limited. Instead of providing holistic descriptions, we describe these landscapes with a series of vignettes through sketches, excerpts from our fieldnotes, and photographs.



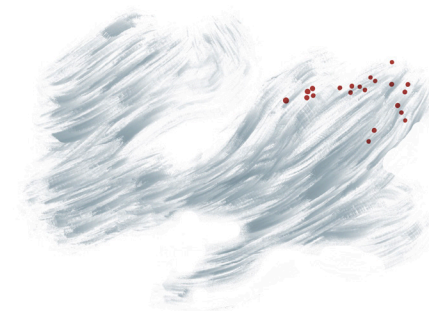
Beach & Waterfront

Beaches and the waterfront were often mentioned in our interviews as a reason for liking Cape Ann. They were also described as a battleground for various forces: tourism, fishing industry, real estate development, privatization, and conservation.



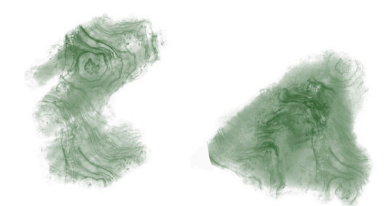
Marshland

Marshland is where various lives rise and fall along the tide. It is also the place where sea level rise is changing its rhythm.



Quarries

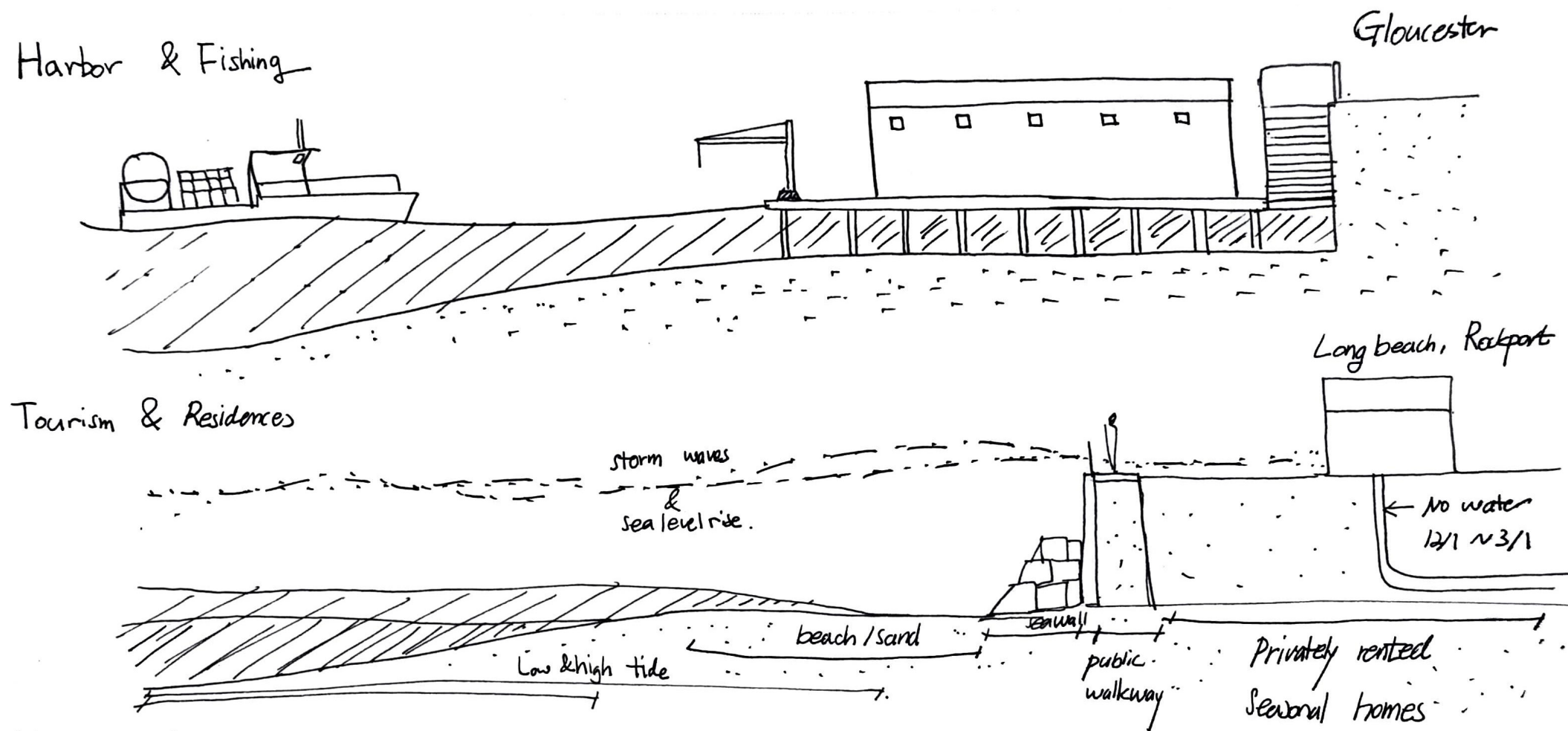
Quarries are places of extraction and recovery in the land. One can see the fall of the industry and how nature filled back in.



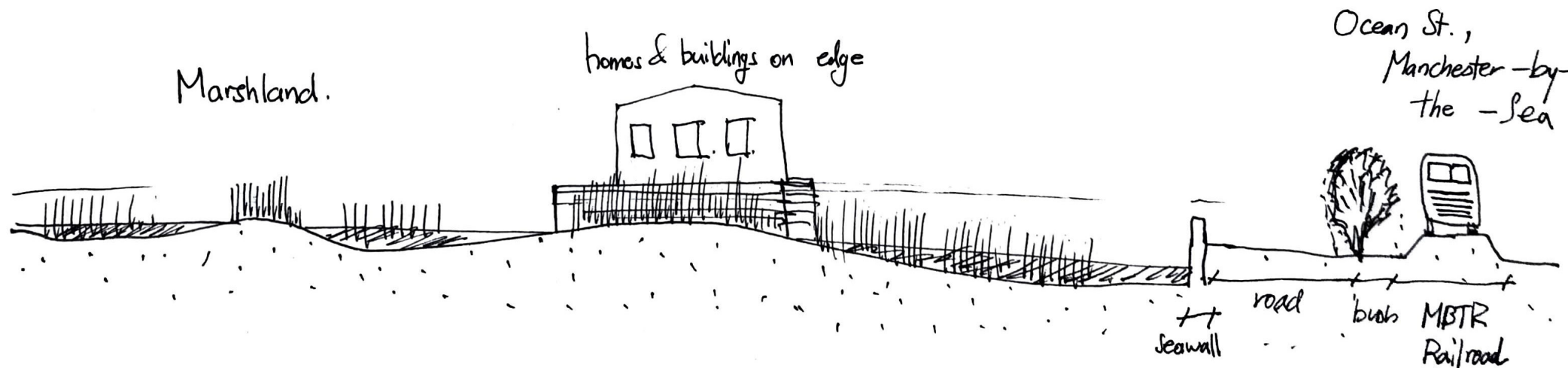
Forest (Dogtown)

Forest and Dogtown are the inner landscapes of Cape Ann. Dogtown is one of the earliest European settlements in America. Its landscape tells various stories: from the early days of the settlement and its disappearance to those of the homeless people currently living in the forest.

Beach & Waterfront



Marshland & Transportation Infra



Section sketch of Gloucester, Rockport, Manchester-by-the-Sea

This hypothetical section shows three different moments in the waterfront. For instance, the working waterfront in Gloucester downtown is populated with various fishing industry facilities. Some residents mourned the decline of the industry and talked about how tourism is taking over the working waterfront.

Long Beach in Rockport shows how tourism occupies the waterfront landscape. Public access is limited to a narrow walkway while the private residents rent out the property. The town controls access to these properties by limiting water supply during the off season.

The privatization of the beach and waterfront was visible on the road to the Eastern Point as well. Although Eastern Point is very close to the downtown and we only drove for about ten minutes, the houses were much bigger than in Gloucester's downtown.

We passed several signs reading "private property" or "private road." These signs discouraged access into these spaces without access codes.

Ocean Street in Manchester-by-the-Sea is close to the MBTA railway as well as marshland. Its proximity suggested how sea level rise could devastate the public transit system in Cape Ann.



Beach sand

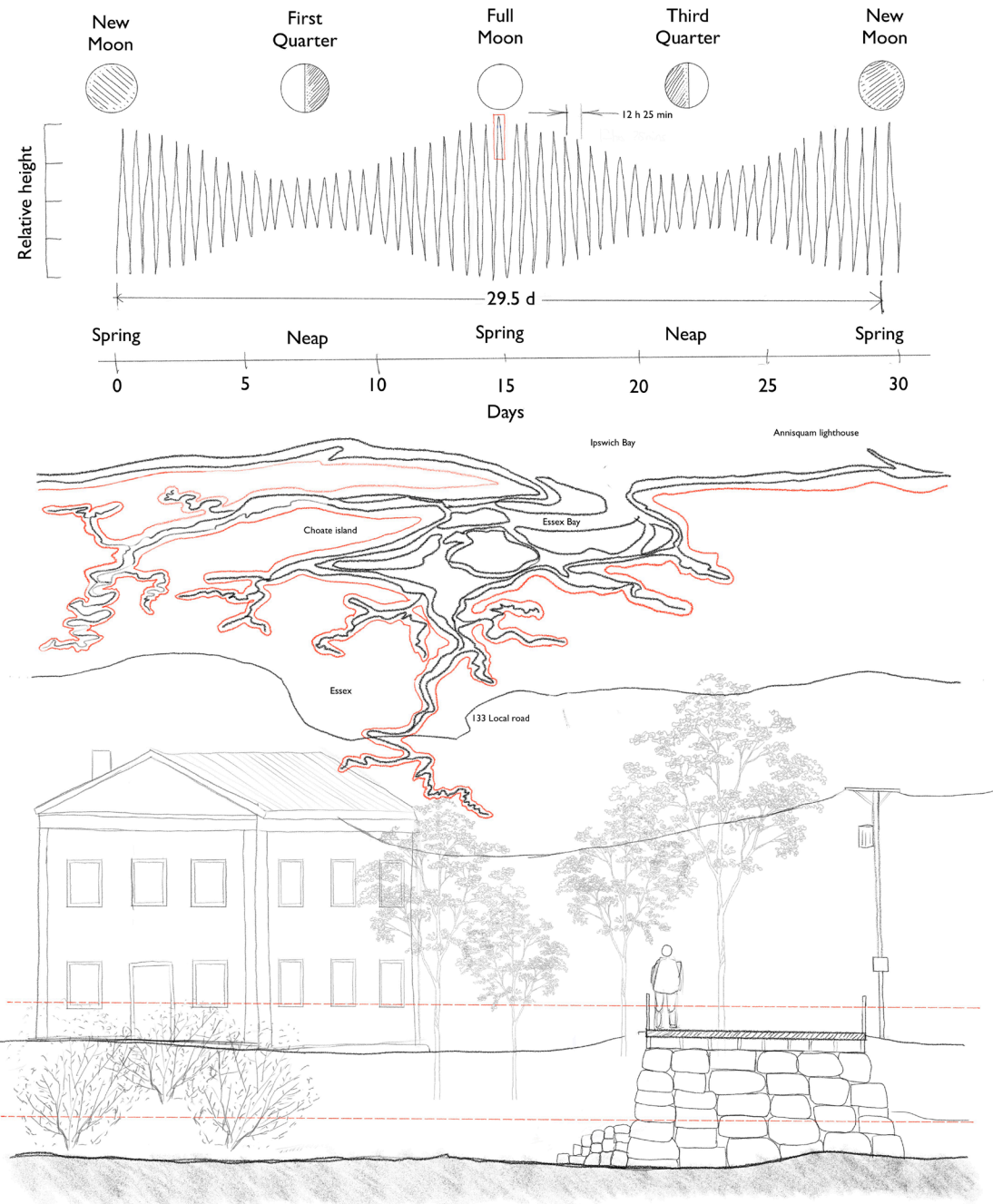
Breakwater

walkway(public)

Seasonal leasing property

The Long Beach walkway shows a clear contrast between public access and private access. Although the land is owned by the town, its homes are rented for the season. The town controls access to these homes by providing the water and sewage. One interviewee talked about how the seawall would need to be reinforced and made higher in order to protect the homes from the rising sea level. One of the reasons the renters were against the higher seawall was that it would block the view of the ocean—not to mention the cost. He talked about how absurd it was to just restore the seawall in front of the Gloucester High school. After the flooding and storm, the wall needed to be restored, but it was restored to the original level, not higher. The interviewee thought that this was absurd.

# Marshland



Marsh sketch

In the marshland, one interviewee talked about how unprecedented flooding is occurring in her neighborhood. For her, this is a sign of climate change. During one storm, the bridge at a nearby street was completely flooded. Her neighbor said that he has never seen something like this in his lifetime. She said that now, during the high tides, the tide comes in further upstream and stays longer.

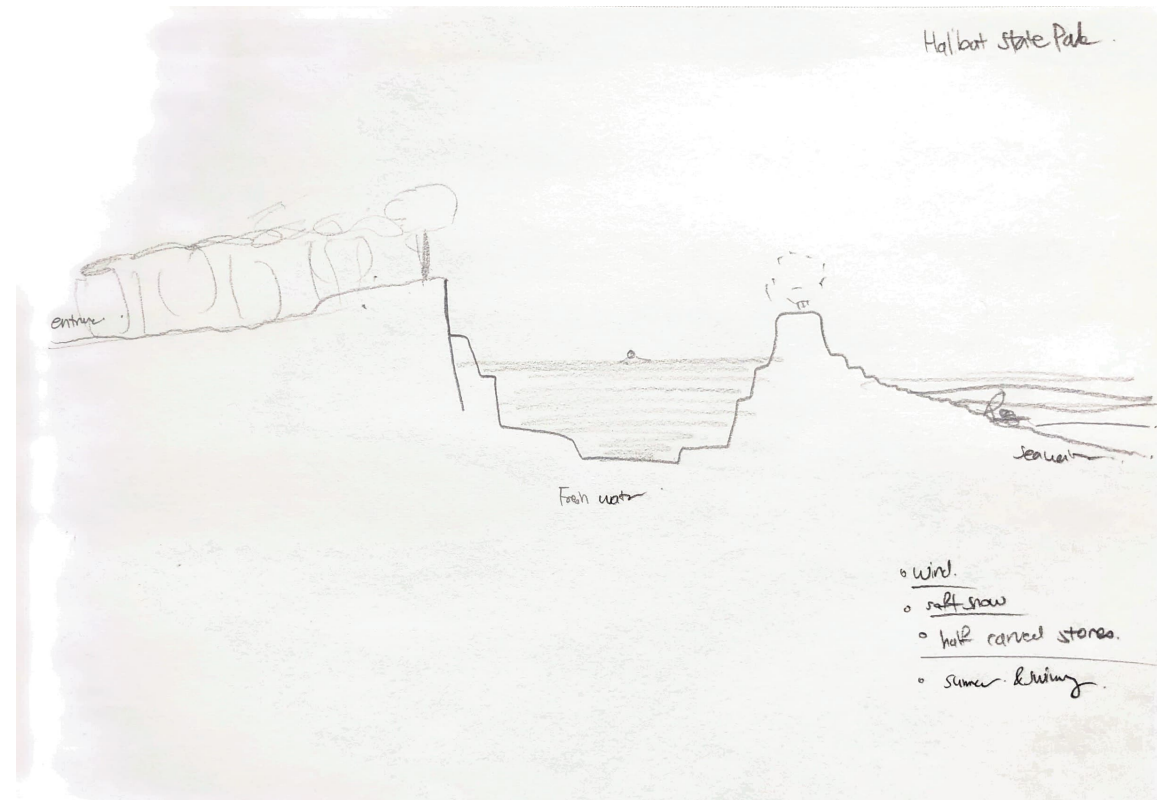


Marsh during low tide

The temporality around marshland was affected by the ebb and flow. It created not only visual differences but also varying levels of access. During low tide, one could walk on the marsh, treading on the soft ground. While one could not walk on the marsh during high tide, some residents owned kayaks and other small boats and could use them to make the journey from their homes to the beach.

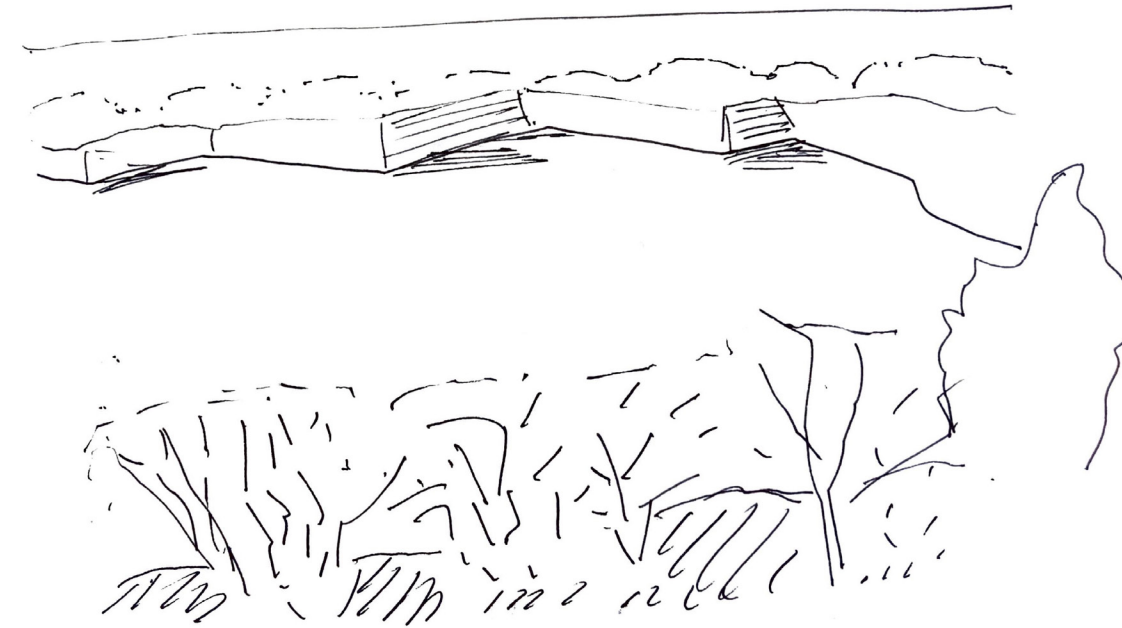


## Quarries



Quarry sketch

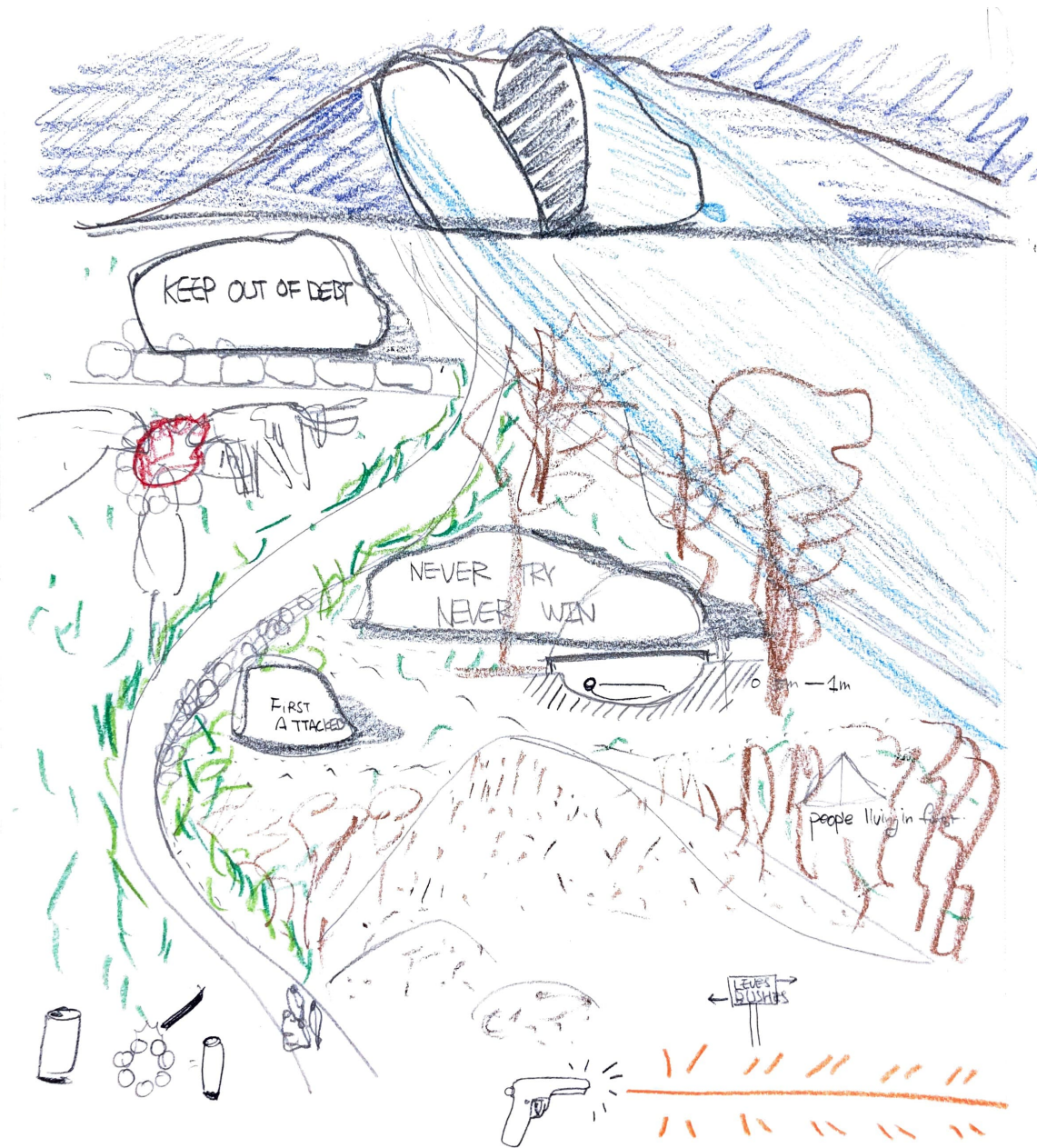
When we visited Halibut Point, we walked around the landscape. Some families visited together, and they were walking on the snow, finding their path towards the ocean. I followed the steps of others who walked before me. What used to be picturesque or romantic landscapes of ruins were covered, and I could no longer see the remnants of the quarries—granite half-formed into a circular column, rectilinear rocks with scars of chisels and spikes. Dogs ran around the paths, their passing marked with yellow spots of snow. The quarry at Halibut Point was still partly frozen. The straight cuts of granite into the landscape stood out. From the granite quarry, inside freshwater and outside saltwater were both visible.



Sketch of quarry

One interviewee showed us a book with photographs of granite quarries at different times of the year. His photographs showed the same spots of the quarries in spring, summer, fall, and winter. Although they were in the same spot, depending on the time of the year and weather, the stones displayed different colors.

## Dogtown Forest



Reconstructed image of Dogtown walk

Dogtown was a landscape of stories and fantasies. Even before we visited the place, we heard stories of people living in the forest of Dogtown, including its early history and anecdotes from the locals. Our first impression of the space was marked by the sounds of gunshots from a nearby shooting range. Surrounded by tall trees, we felt peaceful, yet occasional gunshots tore through the quietness. While we were in one place, gunshots over the hills told us another story.



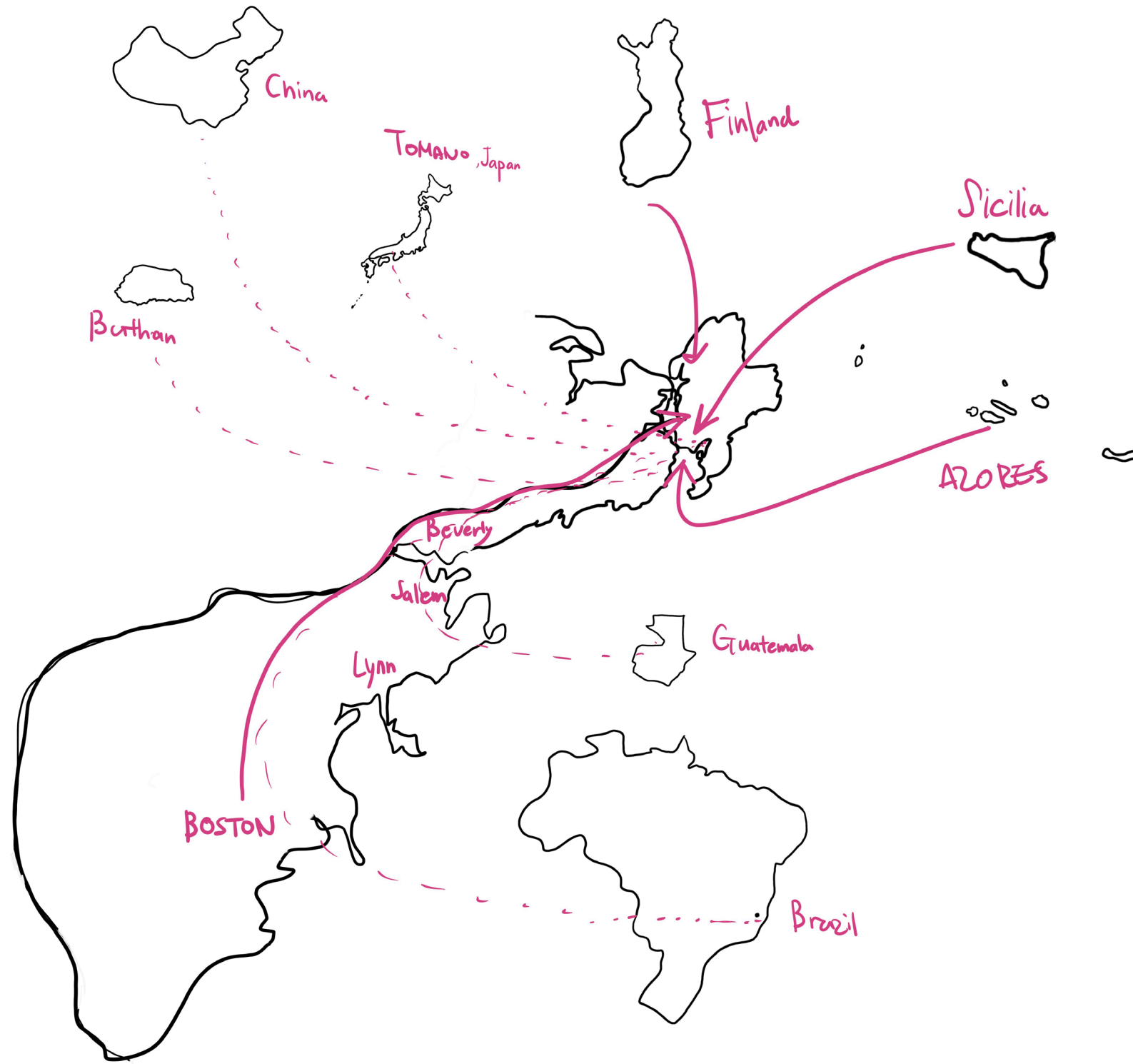
Compost mound and stone engravings in Dogtown

During the walk, the landscapes of Dogtown told us stories of the past. On the way to the deep forest, we encountered a twenty to thirty foot mound of leaves. Leaves collected throughout the city were dumped there to decompose. The magnitude of the compost mound suggested an urbanity hidden in the forest. Later, another local told us that there have been discussions about getting rid of the compost mound.

The most outspoken stories of Dogtown were in the stones. Boulders were engraved to mark the number of settlements and also bore some axioms. These engravings were done by Roger Babson (1875–1967). Babson, who made a fortune through his entrepreneurship, accumulated significant estates in Dogtown. When donated the land to the city as a part of the reservoir system during the Great Depression, he commissioned a stone worker to carve approximately two dozen boulders. Those inscriptions range from “Keep Out of Debt” to “Never Try Never Win.” Some people placed coins on the ‘Keep Out of Debt’ boulder.

While we were in the forest, the landscape constantly told us stories from past time periods and places. The overlap of multiple times and places almost made us dizzy.

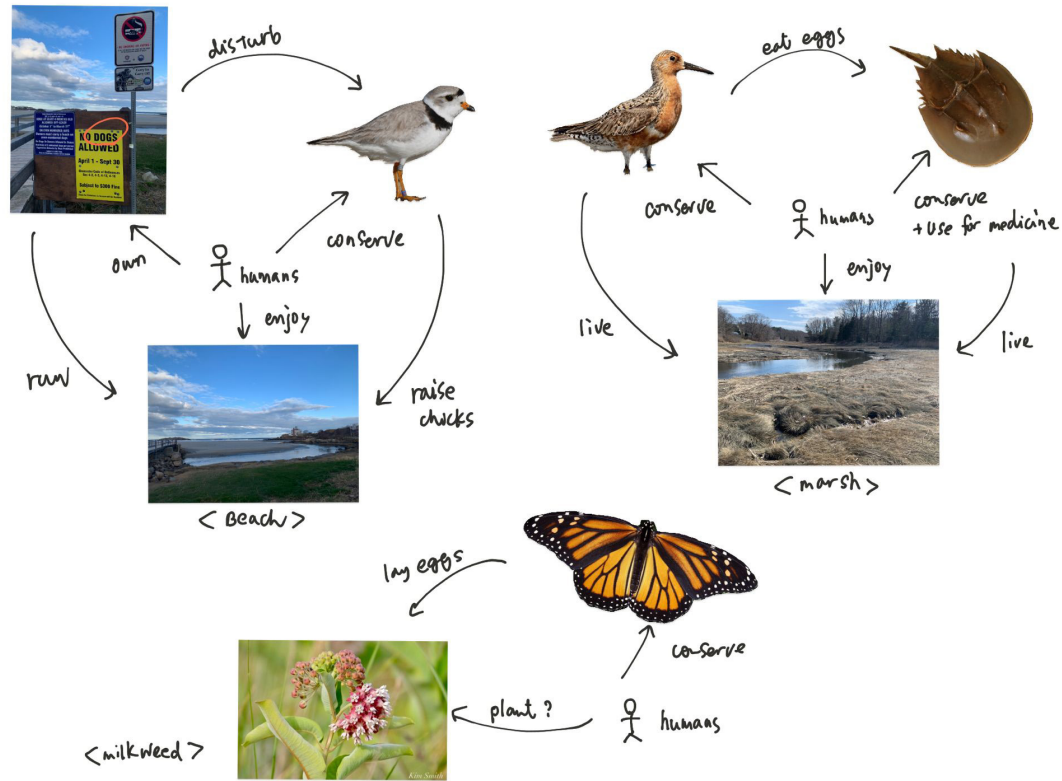
# People of Cape Ann



Cape Ann has been influenced by people with different cultural backgrounds since the first settlers from Dorchester, England, landed in Gloucester in 1623. As we explained earlier, we encountered people who have roots in the Aeolian (Sicilian) Islands (Italy) and Azores Islands (Portugal). There is an extensive Finnish-American community in Lanesville and an English-American one in Annisquam. Immigrants are mainly from Minas Gerais and the Governador Valadares areas of Brazil and from Guatemala. Recently, Cape Ann has also welcomed Afghan refugees.

According to the United States census, Gloucester's population is 2.2% African American and 1.9% Asian. This means some of our experience here might have commonalities with that of ethnic minorities. For example, we were often asked where we were from. When we told residents we are from Japan and Korea, they often shared their connections to those countries. Since Gloucester and Tamano in Japan are sister cities, some residents had experiences in hosting Japanese students at their homes. Some residents who work at Gorton's, a Gloucester fish processing company, told us that Gorton's parent company is Japanese. We also heard some stories from veterans, especially Navy veterans. One told us that he worked in Hawaii and he got to know some Japanese people there. The other shared that he was stationed in Iwakuni, Japan when he was serving as a Marine.

## Species of Cape Ann



We came across many different species during our fieldwork. We directly observed some of them, and others were mentioned during the conversations and interviews. These species can shed light on how humans interact with nature because human behavior directly or indirectly influences the habitats of those species.

For example, stories of piping plovers, dogs, red knot birds, horseshoe crabs, monarch butterflies, and milkweed plants were brought up by residents working on habitat conservation. Piping plovers, red knot birds, and monarch butterflies are all migratory and Cape Ann landscapes are an integral part of their migration journey. Piping plovers come every year and raise their chicks at Good Harbor, a public beach where many residents enjoy walking their dogs. Dogs are a predator of chicks. The relationship of the red knot bird and horseshoe crab is that of predator and prey: red knot birds eat horseshoe crabs' eggs. In this case, humans are also a predator of the horseshoe crab. Their blue-colored blood contains a substance called

Collage/sketch of species

Limulus Amebocyte Lysate (LAL), which is used in medicine. The monarch butterfly and milkweed plant illustrate the way humans judge aesthetic and ecosystem values in certain landscapes. Milkweed plants can provide monarch butterflies a place to lay eggs; however, they are not generally deemed to be aesthetically beautiful.

In the case of ocean resources such as fish and lobster, Cape Ann's human involvement is much more obvious. America's oldest seaport has been long been a center for seafood supply chains. We encountered several local initiatives to make this food system more sustainable. For example, waste products from seafood processing are now being used as a fish fertilizer. Bycatch fish are locally sold, with recipes being introduced through events and books.

## 2. Perceptions of Climate Change — 6 Characters

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Chapter 2 introduces six characters. Each character has been constructed based on the patterns found during the fieldwork, including interviews.

Miriam

Mario

Sally

Jonathan

Caleb

Kathy

## Miriam

### Q. Could you tell us about yourself? Why do you live in Cape Ann?

Hello, I am Miriam. I was born and grew up here. Then I lived in Boston and raised my family there. I used to visit Cape Ann during the holidays with my family. And after I retired and my parents passed away, I moved to this house. It was twenty years ago. I always wanted to come back. And now here I am! Living in my home where my ancestors lived for generations. I used to work in garden design. After retirement, I have been enjoying gardening and making artwork. My other passion is bird watching. Cape Ann landscapes attract birds, too!

### Q. What do you like about living in Cape Ann?

Beautiful landscapes. Like beaches and marshes. Those places are habitats for migratory birds, butterflies, horseshoe crabs, and more. We also have unique places like the quarries and Dogtown. Have you been to Dogtown? It is one of the earliest European settlements in America and the local history is fascinating. Cape Ann carries its heritage as a fishing port and art colony, but we should not forget Dogtown, which was a home for eighty families in the 1600s but has been abandoned since 1830. Also, old granite quarries have a long connection to the Finnish-American community in Lanesville. I like how the rocks show different colors and textures season by season. Some locals like to swim in the quarries too! Have you seen the movie CODA? It won an Oscar this year! There is one scene where the actors swam in our neighborhood quarries.

Our community is quite active, and I love it. I have been helping my friends who are into protecting shorebirds like piping plovers at Good Harbor beach. We changed local rules! We changed the starting date of banning off-leash dogs on the beach from May 1 to April 1 next year. This way, we can protect piping plovers' nests and chicks, which usually hatch in April. Unleashed dogs chase shorebirds, messing up their nests and scare chicks. Some people who felt unsafe with the unleashed dogs supported this change as well.

### Q. What do you not like about Cape Ann? Do you have any concerns or hopes for the future of Cape Ann?

I am concerned that people might destroy nature more in the future. Humans should not bother nature. I have one story. When I was a child, there used to be a windshield cleaning service in gas stations because there were too many bugs around. But now, as you know, there is no such service. Humans started to use pesticides and killed those bugs. You might think it is a good change. But think about birds. What would they eat if there were no bugs? We have been intervening in nature too much. I like how my house keeps its private ambience. You have to pass a dirt road to reach here, so there are not so many houses here. But there were even fewer before. People have cut down trees and destroyed nature to build houses and make

roads. Imagine how much more disturbance to nature humans would create when more people start to move here. The denser the area, the more harm to nature. I like Cape Ann the way it is now and I want to keep it as is.

### Q. Tell us how you feel about climate change. Do you think the climate in Cape Ann is changing?

The weather is changing. Winter has been warmer. The amount of snow in recent years, compared to ten years ago, is definitely less. During the high tide, I see water coming higher and staying longer. I see different kinds of birds these days. I wonder if it is because some birds are moving more north because of climate change.

### Q. What is your greatest concern for the future of climate change in Cape Ann? What can be done to better prepare Cape Ann for the impacts of climate change?

I want Cape Ann to stay as it is. Look, I worked my entire life and retired. I have a small house and my family, with a garden. I am satisfied as it is. Climate change is hard to stop, and there aren't many things I can do. I am not sure how much time I have. I will leave these problems to the next generation.

Mario

Q. Could you tell us about yourself?

I am a third-generation fisherman. My parents moved to the United States from Sicily after the Vesuvius volcano erupted in the 1950s. I have brothers and sisters who are all married and raised their families here. We still keep some Sicilian traditions. You should stay till June to see our St. Peter's Fiesta and watch the Greasy Poles. St. Joseph's day is fun, too. We celebrate by making pasta together. Well, I heard that you guys are interested in climate change. Do you have questions regarding that?

Q. Do you think the climate in Cape Ann is changing?

There used to be many horseshoe crabs on the beach. My brothers, sisters, and I used to catch them as a child. But, now they are gone. Even sardines and mackerel can't be found anymore. It was so abundant back then.

Q. What is your greatest concern for the future of Cape Ann?

I'm concerned about the fishing industry. There used to be 917 fishing boats in this town in 1991, but we only have seventy fishing boats now. Fishermen are losing their jobs. And it is not just about fishermen, it is the entire industry that is at stake here. I often see obituaries of local fishermen in the newspapers. Every year, we are losing the knowledge and skills of these fishermen. And not many young people are interested in continuing this profession. We fed America. But now the government has imposed so many regulations that it is almost impossible to continue fishing. They buy off permits every year. So we have fewer and fewer fishing boats in the water. We need to protect the generational pipeline. If we don't do anything, it will be all lost.

Q. Do you think the decline of the industry has to do with climate change?

I am not sure if it was government regulation or climate change, actually. The government and scientists talk about fish stock assessment as if they are solid facts. However, fish move. Even if it is not there, it doesn't mean that they are all gone. Maybe it is somewhere else. For instance, cod seems to have a ten- or fifteen-year cycle. In the 1990s, they were completely gone, but in the 2000s, the population came back more than ever. What I am trying to say is that no one fully understands how the ocean works. The government has put many regulations "to protect" the ocean and fishery, but have they made our ocean better? Fishermen used to catch what was abundant based on the season. However, nowadays, the government regulates the type of fish we can catch and its amount. If we catch too much, then we would have to either pay a fine to bring it in or throw it away. Isn't it absurd?

One time, we allowed scientists to be on our boats for the Sea Sampling Program. We were trying to share our knowledge of the ocean. We knew where we could find more cod. I thought they would reflect our voices in the

stock assessment. Actually, in my opinion, it is impossible to properly assess the fish stock based on sampling technique because "fish move." Some fish are even in abundance! Anyways, this later turned into a monitoring program. Now we have to pay out of pocket to bring the observer on board. Our cooperation was used against us. They say they make regulations for the fishermen to work less and earn more, but they don't listen to us. Those government officials listen to lawyers and scientists, but not people like us who actually spend time in the ocean. Now I feel like giving up this fight.

Q. What can be done to better prepare Cape Ann for the impacts of climate change?

What the fishing industry can do is modernize the fleet and train young fishermen. If we can reduce our carbon footprint by changing the fishing vessel engines and introducing gutting machines, the industry can be sustainable and protect our ocean. Some people suggest that we should build an offshore wind farm. I think it is a nearsighted proposal. They argue that this is for the ocean and Earth. However, what they don't talk about is the environmental destruction caused by this construction. These wind turbines are often built on the swath of fertile fishing land. They pour an immense amount of construction materials into the ocean to build these facilities. Then the Coast Guard will block any access to fishing vessels nearby. Why? Because if your boat sinks, they can't send the helicopters because of the wind turbines. Also fish can feel the electricity through their organs. They will move away from the high-voltage cables in the ocean. Some people might think that the fishing industry is evil to the ocean. But this is where we made our living and fed the American people and the world. Why would we harm our ocean?

Q. What are your hopes for the future of Cape Ann?

What I loved most about living as a fisherman is the sovereign life. We roam free in the ocean, following the stock, and work when we want to. And it seems that is the nature of many fishermen. I have a friend who just retired recently. You know what he does now? He drives around the town collecting recycles and electronics. He says it is like fishing on the ground haha. But seriously, I wish this way of living—sovereign life on the water—can be passed on to the next generations. I will also do my part to train more younger fishermen to continue this tradition.

Sally

Q. Could you tell us about yourself? Why do you live in Cape Ann?

My name is Sally. I am a pastor.

Q. What do you like about living in Cape Ann?

The sense of community. Community ties are quite strong here.

Q. What do you not like about Cape Ann?

I can't think of any. I haven't lived here long enough to say something. Most of the residents here are longtime residents—over forty years. I hear people joking that 'he lived here for seventeen years but still some of his neighbors say that he is a visitor.'

Q. Do you have any concerns or hope for the future of Cape Ann?

The lack of a young generation concerns me. People living in Cape Ann are mostly the elderly and not many young families. Our church members are mostly elders, too. It is problem for many other churches here. Seriously, we need to start thinking about how to invite young people to our community.

Q. Tell us how you feel about climate change. Do you think the climate in Cape Ann is changing?

Climate change is a real thing. Many people in this congregation believe in climate change as well, but many of them aren't active. They are retired, maybe taking care of their grandchildren. Sea level rise is real. The shorelines are receding, and the tide is getting higher. It's time for humans to rethink our relationship with nature and earth. I stepped into this religious world after I studied and worked in other fields. I think the role of religion is to approach this global issue spiritually. So, I often preach about climate change and how we can be connected to nature. I also incorporate the topic into my prayers. Every week, just keeping it in front of people. Let people be aware of climate change and its impacts.

Q. What can be done to better prepare Cape Ann for the impacts of climate change?

I think the first step is to slow down. Climate change action is not just about doing or changing. Instead, it is understanding our relationship to the environment. All creation has a spark of life, and we are one part of the whole. But we have lost our connection to nature. We have cut down trees and polluted our water and air. Our actions have consequences. We can reconnect to nature through our bodies and spirituality. It is important for everyone to take small actions which can be done on a daily basis.

Q. Is anyone doing anything about climate change in Cape Ann?

Some churches and religious groups in this area collaborate often. Our church organizes together with other churches to do beach cleaning. There are also other local volunteer groups doing similar activities. It may seem futile in the face of global climate change, but it is a small but visible first step. We also collaborate on other social issues. Recently we marched together against the war in Ukraine and for the Black Lives Matter movement as well as climate change and more!



Jonathan

Q. Could you tell us about yourself? And why do you live in Cape Ann?

Hello, my name is Jonathan. I married, got divorced, and now live with a new wife. We have two sons, a teenager and the other one is in his early twenties. I have lived here for almost twenty years now. I came to Gloucester because my relatives from the same village immigrated here and invited me to come. Actually, Gloucester has a long history of immigrants and, interestingly, each immigrant ethnic group not only belongs to the same nationality but also the same town. Many Italians here are from Sicily. The Portuguese are from Azores Island and a lot of Brazilians are from around Governador Valadares in the Minas Gerais state.

The immigrant community has strong ties within, so I was not really worried about coming to the USA. Oh, it was easier coming to the states then. Now the visa process is more complicated. Since my immigrant community has been here long enough, we were able to establish some businesses like landscaping and house cleaning.

Q. What do you like about living in Cape Ann?

I like beaches. I still remember so vividly when I arrived in Gloucester in the early summer in June of 2001. The ocean was shining gorgeously, so I thought I had come to a paradise. People are nice here, too! People here are really caring and independent. During the pandemic, the old YMCA gym was used as a temporary shelter. Then the community helped bring in blankets, underwear, socks, and food. By the time they closed the shelter as Covid cases lowered, my friend who worked as a shelter manager there gained weight. He joked that he went to live in the gym but ended up gaining weight because they received so much food from the community. Also, many community safety-net systems are working effectively. There are day resource centers, food pantries, shelters, ESL classes and more. The city's human rights committee is active, too. They are trying to change the existing driver's license system into a more immigrant-friendly one.

Q. What do you not like about Cape Ann?

There are very few non-white people here. Quite a white community. My son's best friend at high school is Asian. When he visited my house once to see my son after he had gone to a college near Boston for a year, he shared how shocking it was for him to encounter Asian people so often in his new environment. I also have a neighbor. She is Black and living in a group home. I got to know her because I see her almost every day at the same time passing in front of my house. She once shared to me that how she wishes she would have black friends, though she really likes her current white friends who she sees every day at Grace Center.

Q. What is your greatest concern for the future of Cape Ann?

Housing. Rent keeps increasing. We are now living in one big house and

share other floors with other immigrant families. The rent is already high. I'm afraid it will keep increasing. So I hope we will have more affordable housing options so that people here can keep staying in the area. Also so new populations can move here more easily.

Q. Tell us how you feel about climate change.

I am worried about sea level rise. My house is on the hill so we will not be affected. But I wonder about billion-dollar houses in Eastern Point. We sometimes do landscaping and cleaning work for those huge summer houses. Those houses are very close to the shoreline.

Q. What can be done to better prepare Cape Ann for the impacts of climate change?

Maybe tree planting? I heard from our client that there are active tree planting groups like the Friends of Manchester Trees and Project Elm.

## Caleb

### Q. Could you tell us about yourself? Why do you live in Cape Ann?

Well, my name is Caleb. I have been in the field of marine science for more than thirty years. I am originally from New England. I did my bachelor's and master's on the West Coast. After my studies, I worked in various countries. Marine research eventually brought me to Cape Ann, and now I have lived here since 2015.

### Q. What do you like about living in Cape Ann?

Nature. Not only are we close to the ocean, but there are also nice hiking and mountain bike trails. I also like kayaking in the marsh areas. Not to mention the innovator spirit historically embedded in this area. Did you have a chance to visit Hammond Castle? The castle was the home of John Hays Hammond, Jr., known as the inventor of remote control. Also, in my opinion, what the science community offers here is new and attractive. There are several programs offering new opportunities in this town. For example, my scientist friends working to accelerate tech-driven innovations—like drones for whale research—share a makers' space. Some genomic research groups on marine resources like sea urchins, Jonah crabs, seabed sediments, and fish offer summer science programs for school children. There is also a program that provides lab technician training programs for young adults and high school students. After the training, many go to work in the biochemistry and biomanufacturing industry in Massachusetts. Some of them come from fishermen's families, so their relationship with the fishing industry can be another potential way to bridge the fishing industry and the science community. It's also surprising most of the graduates want to stay in the area. I hope this becomes a new trend in Cape Ann so that we will have more young generations. I remember at first some residents were skeptical about the science community's role here. But as we give back to the community through these various ways, they started to open their minds more. Now, some have an understanding of our research itself, too. One time, a fisherman brought us a righteye flounder which had its eyes on the opposite side. He thought we would be interested in seeing it. And we loved it!

### Q. What do you not like about Cape Ann?

I can't think of any. One thing that surprised me, though, is how the town looks so different in the summer and off season. The summer population increases significantly with visitors and people who have summer houses here.

### Q. What is your greatest concern for the future of Cape Ann?

It is the destruction of the ocean ecosystem in this area. Marine scientists like us are, all in all, working to sustain a healthy ocean ecosystem and hoping to contribute to the blue economy. I hope the scientific data we provide can be useful for people and nature. The ocean is an incredibly

complex ecosystem, and there are many things we don't know yet. For example, this year, the number of Jonah crabs increased in this area. It was so abundant that I saw some fisherman giving out Jonah crabs to their friends for free. They were bycatch of lobster traps, but there were just so many these days! We do not know exactly if the Jonah crabs have increased or why, but our primary observation is that it has increased.

### Q. What are your hopes for the future of Cape Ann?

I think the scientific community has huge potential here for a sustainable blue economy. Each organization's approach differs, but I am sure we, as a science community, share the same goal: we want to contribute to the Cape Ann community and its blue economy. So let me introduce some ongoing initiatives I know. There is a program to diversify career opportunities for younger generations by offering technical training, which connects ocean science to biomanufacturing and biochemistry. There is another one to foster an innovative mindset and tech literacy through a makers' space. I know that the fishing industry is in need of modernizing the fleet and installing new machines for ice-making and gutting that can ease the labor-intensive character of the industry and maybe invite young generations. Maybe tech education can help those move some way or another. So, yes, I do hope the relationship between the fishing industry and the scientific community continues to grow.

### Q. Tell us how you feel about climate change. Do you think the climate in Cape Ann is changing? What is your greatest concern for the future of climate change in Cape Ann?

First, I have to say that I am not an expert. But, at least I can say that storms have been getting stronger. The flooding of Gloucester High School a few years ago was big news. I can tell the stronger storms cause erosion. But building seawalls, or other kinds of large infrastructure, has to be carefully discussed because it will impact the ecosystem around the waterfront and beaches. Also, the sea temperature is rising. The Gulf of Maine is one of the fastest-warming waters and its ecosystem has already been impacted. We would have to be concerned about lobsters, which Gloucester relies on a lot because as the water gets warmer they would move deeper or north. Imagine if lobsters disappear. It would be detrimental not only to the industry itself but to the entire local economy.

### Q. What can be done to better prepare Cape Ann for the impacts of climate change?

I think "climate change" can, and should, bring people with different views together. We have tried to create connections with the local community. I wouldn't say it was easy, but I don't think our institution would have been the same without them. It is hard to engage various groups in the decision-making, but it is worth it.

Kathy

Q. Could you tell us about yourself?

Hi, my name is Kathy. I am a mother of two children: an eighteen-year-old son who is in his first year of college and a fifteen-year-old daughter who goes to Gloucester High School. I have lived in West Gloucester for the past twenty-one years. I used to work in Boston, commuting by train, but I got a job in Cape Ann around ten years ago. Now I work in a community charity organization as an administrator.

Q. Why do you live in Cape Ann?

My family is from this area and I grew up here till high school. I moved to Boston for college and work. But I always wanted to come back here. It is such a nice community here. When we had our first child, I decided to come back to Gloucester.

Q. What do you like about living in Cape Ann?

Of course, the beautiful beaches and landscapes like the ocean, the quarries. It's a nice place to raise kids. I also like that Gloucester has a history of a hardworking fishing community and a mixture of diverse cultures. Not only are there Sicilians, Portuguese, and Finns, but also Brazilians, Guatemalans, and some Asians. As diverse as the occupations here—from fishermen, artists, to scientists, there are groups of people with different wealth. Both of my children went to Gloucester High School. It is a large school. The children of million-dollar families in Eastern Point and hardworking immigrants study and hang out together. I really like how the school exposes my kids to various groups in society, instead of siloing them in homogeneity. We really have good both public and private schools in the area. Rockport is known for being a smaller school with a quality education. I also have some friends sending their kids to the Waldorf school in Beverly.

Q. What do you not like about Cape Ann?

How can you not like this town?

Q. What is your greatest concern for the future of Cape Ann?

I am actually worried about housing situations in this area. Houses are becoming more expensive, and our children might not be able to afford to live here in the future. My husband and I are considering selling this house and moving to a smaller house after our children move out.

Q. Tell us how you feel about climate change. Do you think the climate in Cape Ann is changing?

I feel that summer is getting hotter. Before, we did not need A/C. When I felt too hot at home, I could just walk to the beach and jump in. Soon I felt cold. But last year, when I dived into the water when it was too hot, the water was so lukewarm that it didn't cool me down at all! So I had to install A/C in our house this year. Also, sea level rise! I am concerned about more frequent

flooding. When the GHS parking lot was flooded, it was a big shock a few years ago. More than fifty cars were damaged. Oh, but not everyone thinks it is a problem. I visited my neighbor's house during the high tide one day. Her house was surrounded by water! But she was saying that it's beautiful to be surrounded by water. She could say that probably because she has another house.

Q. Are there any positive sides of climate change?

It's a tough question. Climate change can be a common ground for people to think about the town's future together. As I said, Cape Ann has a strong sense of community, so I hope we can tackle this problem together.

Q. What can be done to better prepare Cape Ann for the impacts of climate change?

I recently changed my car to an electric car. I think other people can also do the same... I also try to recycle really well, reduce plastics, and plant more trees. Um... And I am willing to do more, but feel a bit frustrated because I am not sure if this is enough to stop climate change. I don't feel so.

Q. Is anyone doing anything about climate change in Cape Ann?

I know there is a tree-planting initiative, which I am a part of. Also, I believe conservationist groups are active in protecting beaches and marshes for shorebirds and migratory birds.

Q. What is your greatest concern for the future of climate change in Cape Ann?

As the waves come higher with stronger storms, they might break bridges over the 128. Since Cape Ann is an island, if the 128 bridge collapses, it will be a huge problem because people will be stuck on the island.

### 3. Analysis

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Convinced

Uncertain

Anxious

Indifferent

Unperturbed

Unwilling

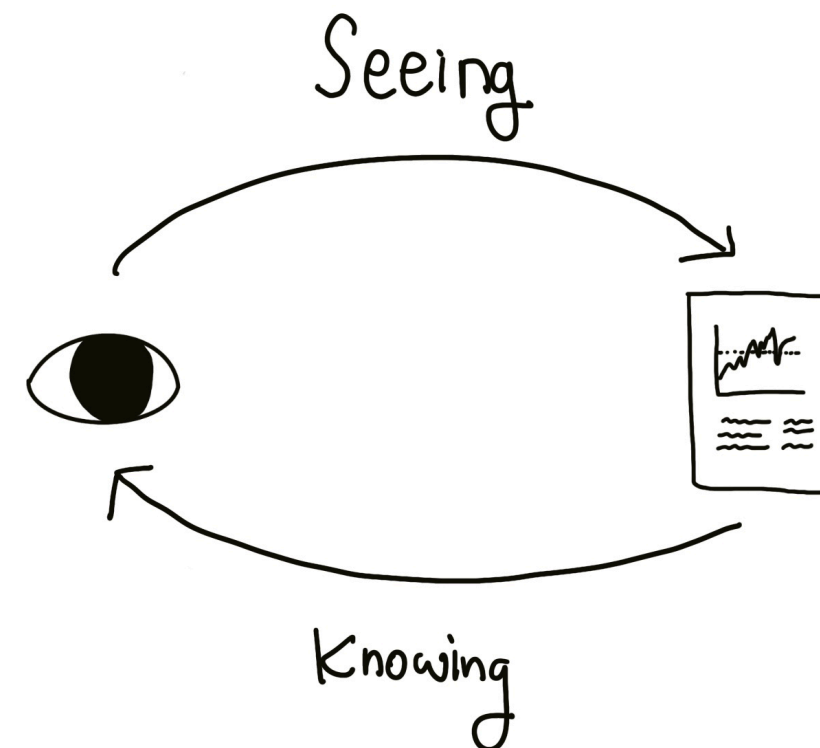
## Convinced

“Convinced” is a state of accepting information, regardless of one’s preferences. During our fieldwork, we found many interviewees that were “convinced” about climate change. When asked about climate change, they relied on subjective experiences and scientific explanations. Longtime residents noticed changes in their environments and used climate change as a way to make sense of these changes. The more they saw, the more they knew. The more they knew, the more they saw. For instance, Kathy and Caleb mentioned Gloucester High School (GHS) parking lot flooding as a sign of climate change. The elevation of the GHS parking lot is as low as the surface of the ocean. On a regular day, from the GHS field adjacent to the parking lot, we could observe boats passing in the canal. The GHS flooding was the event mentioned most often by the interviewees. This incident was particularly shocking to the residents because the high school parking lot was where the city recommended to park the cars since it limited street parking during the storm. In other words, the GHS parking lot was thought to be safe. It was safe, however, until massive floods destroyed sixty cars in the lot on January 5, 2018. At the time, then-Chief Administrative Officer Jim Destino told WBZ that “it’s an act of God, really. It’s a storm.” However, when the flooding of GHS repeated only a couple months later in April, the student news of Gloucester High School claimed that “GHS will continue to flood due to sea level rise, climate change.” Now, four years later, climate change appears to be obvious to some residents both by virtue of these incidents and their scientific explanations.

Another experience that residents cited as a sign of climate change is how the beaches, marshes, and shoreline have changed over time. Kathy, who lives near the marsh, talked about how high tides tend to stay longer than before, presumably because of sea level rise. According to their longtime observation, shorelines have receded much further into the land. Kathy also talked about having to install A/C in her house. Her cooling ritual during summer, which was to go out into the nearby water and dive for a minute and to return home, no longer worked because the water was too warm. This subjective experience was substantiated by the scientific fact that the Gulf of Maine is one of the fastest warming bodies of water in the globe.

Residents also cited the absence of local species as a sign of climate change. Mario and Miriam mentioned that they no longer see horseshoe crabs and some kinds of birds. Mario talked about how he used to catch horseshoe crabs when he was young. But he couldn’t find them anymore. Noticing absences of, or differences in, local species leads to concern for their habitats. Residents in this category often participated in actions for climate change on various scales. For instance, one interviewee worked to protect shorebirds by changing a local ordinance to extend the limited dog access to the beach. The character, Kathy, changed her car to an electric vehicle to reduce carbon emissions. She also participates in tree planting.

The convinced combine their subjective experiences with scientific reasoning and often consider climate change in their decision-making.



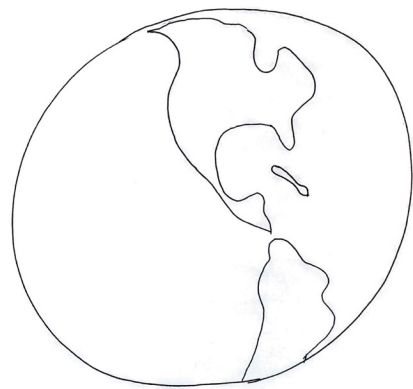
## Uncertain

Feeling uncertain refers to a lack of conviction. When people were asked about climate change in Cape Ann, many of our interviewees answered with uncertainty. The uncertain may agree that there is global climate change, but they are not sure if it is happening in Cape Ann. This uncertainty derives from two reasons: a lack of subjective evidence of climate change and feeling insufficient to making an argument about the climate.

Even well-educated interviewees expressed uncertainty. When asked about climate change in Cape Ann, the first reaction of two highly-educated interviewees was to state that they were “not an expert in climate change.” This caution could be related to professional practice, but also to how they perceived climate change as a scientific or “objective” matter, considering subjective experience and observation secondary. They may feel unable to make a statement about climate change without scientific data.

This feeling of insufficiency to make a climate argument may come from the gap between weather and climate. Climate, in a narrow sense, is usually defined as the average weather, or more rigorously as the statistical description in terms of the mean and variability of relevant quantities over a period of time ranging from months to thousands or millions of years. By definition, climate suggests a larger geographical scope and longer time period than weather. Interviewees felt comfortable talking about bad weather, but “bad climate” or climate change was not an easy argument to make based on one’s own experience. Interviewees often said that they are not sure because (1) they did not know if there are scientific results specific to Cape Ann or (2) their observations were not long enough or accurate enough to describe climate change.

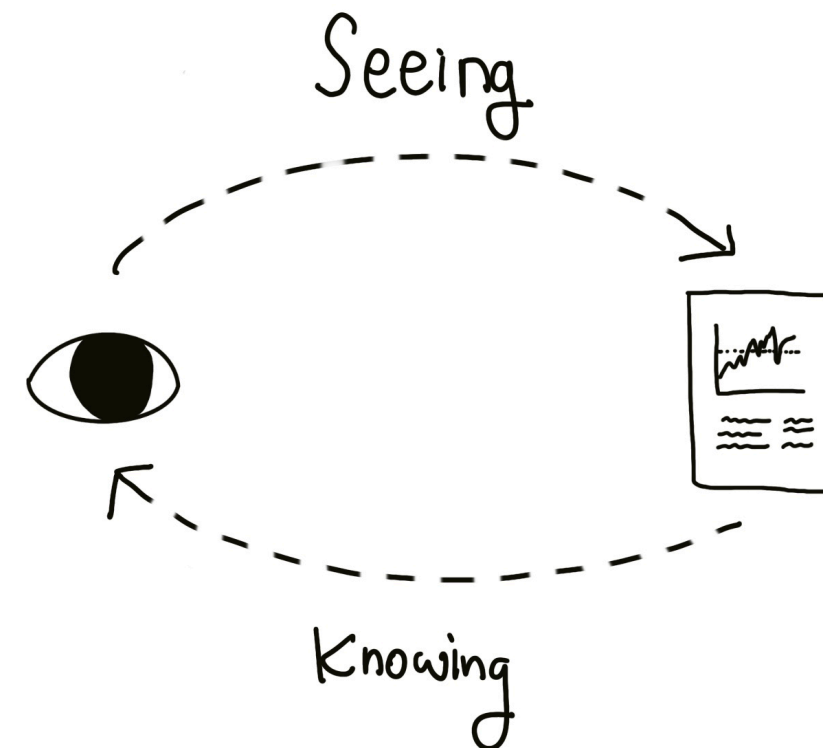
For the uncertain, it is important to provide scientific explanations for local experiences of climate change. The first step in convincing the uncertain is to provide them with enough information about climate change in Cape Ann in a manner they can understand.



Climate



Weather



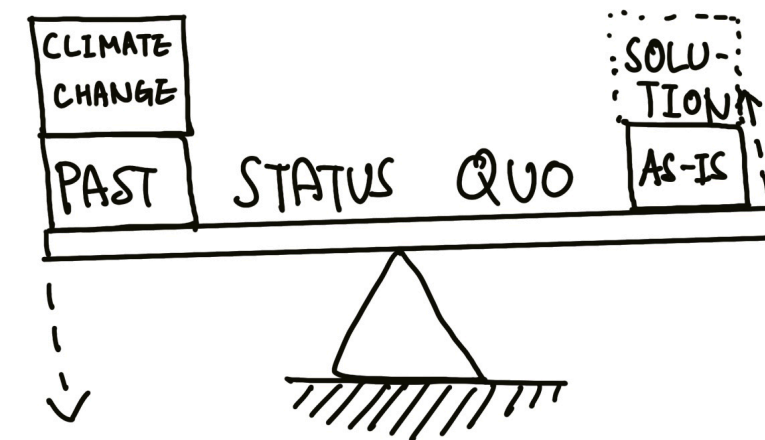
## Anxious

Anxiety is a state of mind arising from the fear of losing certainty. Interviewees like Miriam and Sally expressed anxiety when it comes to climate change. Anxiety comes from losing what has been certain for them such as beautiful landscapes—especially beaches. These landscapes have provided both refuge and leisure to the residents for a long time. As a result, they worry about how climate change will change these beautiful landscapes. Beaches might not be the same in the future. Understanding climate change and its power to change these landscapes produces a sense that one can lose something certain, known, and precious to him- or herself. They have an underlying desire to keep the status quo. As many characters expressed, many interviewees chose to stay in Cape Ann because they liked the place as it is.

Anxiety is exacerbated by a lack of meaningful and effective solutions to secure certainty. Some interviewees felt ineffective in the face of global climate change because individual efforts do not appear to produce measurable and noticeable impacts.

If anxiety is not resolved, the anxious choose various coping mechanisms. One way is to externalize the risk, comforting oneself by saying “climate change is happening, but it would not affect me” or “it is not my problem, but the next generation’s.” Another way is to underestimate the risk. The former is what we define as the “indifferent,” the latter the “unperturbed.”

In response to feeling powerless or anxious in front of climate change, one interviewee emphasized slowing down. The alarming news might help some people to act immediately, but without a clear solution, this can make some people more anxious. She emphasized that the first step is to slow down and reconnect to nature.



## Indifferent

Indifferent refers to a state of lacking interest or sympathy. Those indifferent to climate change have either no interest in or no sympathy to the subject. The lack of interest is possible when they assume climate change does not impact their everyday life significantly. The indifferent tend to think of climate change as severe weather events, unaware of other socioeconomic impacts of climate change. Because they cannot feel it nor see its impacts, they are not interested in it.

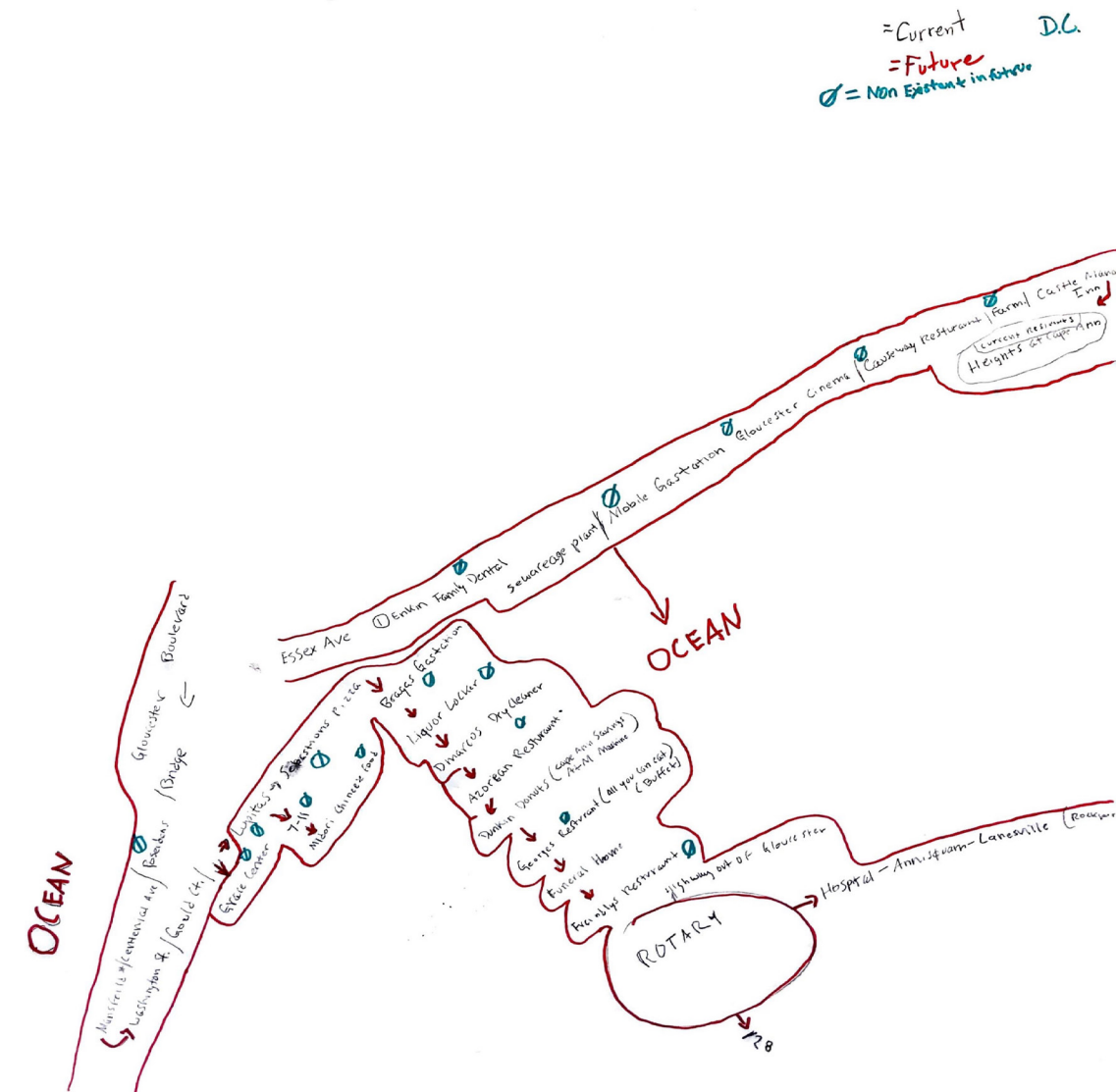
Like many other modern citizens, the character Sally, spends most of her time indoors—at home, her workplace, or even the gym. If one's daily life happens mostly indoors, commuting by car between home and work, there is less of a chance to feel nature or weather. Without experiencing weather, climate change is not perceivable. Its impacts are even harder to imagine.

The character Sally talked about the lack of time to even feel the weather. Life is full of other pressing matters: unfinished tasks from work, growing kids, ill parents, bills to pay... These matters require immediate attention. If not these matters, there are many distractions: YouTube, social networks, TV shows... Climate change is only a distant event somewhere in the globe.

During a cognitive map workshop, one participant drew the following map. The participant marked his usual route between the group home residence and Grace Center, carefully writing all the stores and streets he passes by. When we asked the participant if this map would change in 2038, the participant said, "No, this would be the same." Only when we asked where the ocean was did the participant write "ocean" on the map. Without much interaction with natural surroundings in one's daily routine, it is hard to consider how climate change can change one's daily life.

The indifferent that lack sympathy, on the other hand, acknowledge global climate change and its impacts. However, they are not willing to actively prepare or act on climate change. The reasons vary. One might feel too satisfied to change anything in one's life. One interviewee mentioned that he/she feels satisfied with the status quo and wishes he/she can spend the rest of life as it is. He/she thinks that climate change is happening, but it is "the next generation's problem." The indifferent choose to externalize the risk of climate change from their world.

The desire to keep the status quo may connect to a position against development and housing. During the fieldwork, we noticed that one of the biggest concerns in Cape Ann is housing. As Jonathan and Kathy said, the rising cost of housing and rent in Cape Ann has been concerning for many residents. But increasing density in the area polarizes the local residents because many residents like Cape Ann as it is without "congestion" caused by density. New developments or immigrants are not desired.



Cognitive Map by a participant



## Unperturbed

Unperturbed is a state of calm based on confidence in relation to concerns or problems. Climate change, for the unperturbed, is another problem to be prepared and overcome. Past experiences of recovering from weather events such as storms give the unperturbed confidence regardless of the actual capacity to withstand climate change.

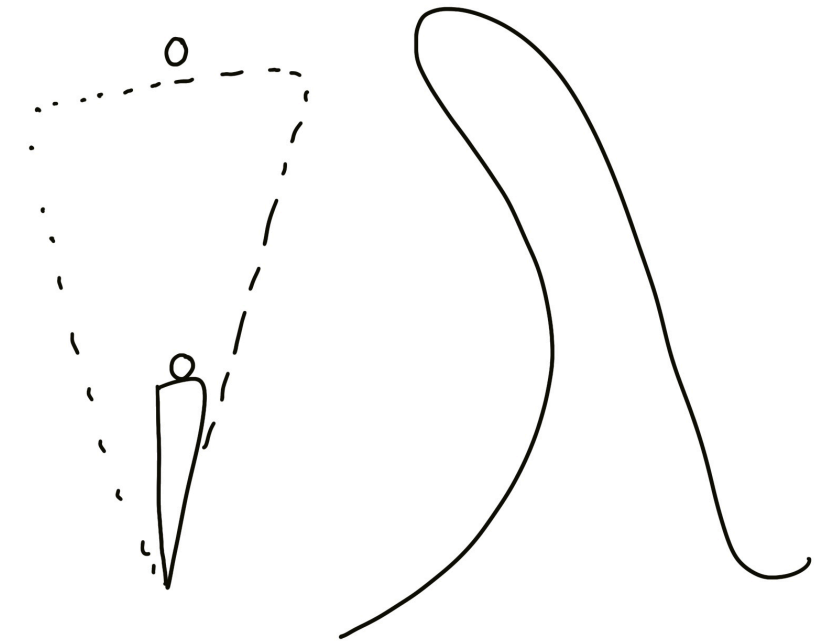
The indifferent and the unperturbed may both think climate change is not an immediate issue. But the difference is readiness; while the former is not interested in taking actions, the latter is ready to take action or prepare for an expected natural disaster. The unperturbed in Cape Ann have gone through countless floods and storms that they came to believe they would be okay even if the next one comes. Their resilience level has reached the point of thinking that climate change is something they can overcome.

Both the indifferent and the unperturbed may think climate change is not an immediate issue. The difference is readiness; while the former is not concerned with preparations, the latter prepares for an expected natural disaster. The unperturbed in Cape Ann have gone through countless floods and storms that they came to believe they can overcome climate change as well.

Some interviewees in the waterfront described the nature of their work as “wet.” They get wet all the time so they were not afraid of more wetness or for example, flooding. They are ready for the wetness: their facility is flood resistant with various means from placing their expensive machines on the second floor to engineered concrete slabs and drainage systems.

Another interviewee pointed out Motif Number 1, a famous fishing shack and landmark in Rockport, which the Great Storm 2038 is expected to destroy, has been rebuilt already. The original fishing shack was destroyed by the blizzard of 1978, but the exact replica was rebuilt in the same year. His argument was that another destruction of Motif Number 1 by storm can give an unintended message for the unperturbed that things can be recovered again as it did. The unperturbed might perceive the same building a monument of resilience.

Resilience, according to IPCC, is “capacity of social, economic, and environmental systems to cope with a hazardous event or trend or disturbance...” Irony of the unperturbed is that the perceived resilience might not match with the actual. Climate change communication for the unperturbed should focus on delivering how climate change is different from the weather events in the past.



## Unwilling

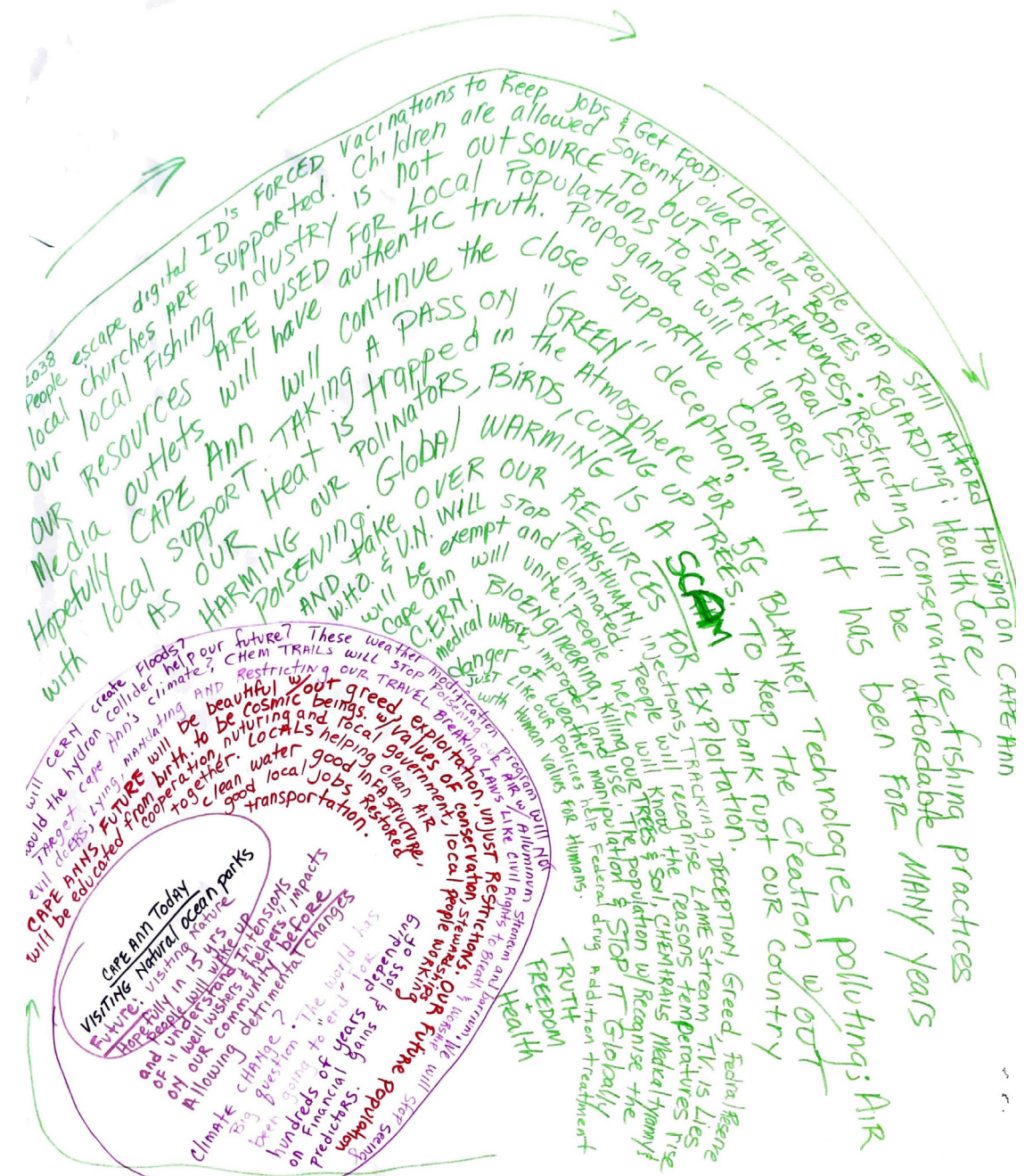
There were interviewees who were unwilling to accept climate change. "Unwilling" refers to a state of rejecting or accepting reluctantly. They believe climate change is not happening, or is happening but "slowly and unnoticeably," or is a "scam." A common characteristic of the unwilling is to doubt the media, experts, science, and technologies. The unwilling have a sense of being under attack by larger forces, such as the government. The unwilling is not simply emotional nor ignorant, but instead privileges their own judgements more than those of the experts.

For example, Mario, when asked about climate change, substituted a discussion on government regulations. He thinks many regulations on the fishing industry were introduced to "protect the ocean," or "against climate change." These regulations promised to allow fishermen to "work less and earn more" because there would be more fish if regulated properly. However, he did not feel the positive environmental impacts or the fish stock increase from these regulations. Instead, these regulations reduced the resilience and flexibility of the fishermen. The government would always argue that they are making the ocean healthier, but they consider installing offshore wind farms in the fertile fishery, pouring concrete and installing high voltage cables in the water. This would affect so many marine lives. Mario can't help but doubt the "true" intention of the government. Because of these experiences, Mario thinks the government is attacking fishermen and wonders if it were "climate change or government regulations" that contributed to the decline of the fishing industry. Therefore Mario is unwilling to accept the "climate change" agenda.

The unwilling position is justified by privileging subjective experiences or other factors than climate change. For instance, one interviewee was asked about if climate change affects the sales of his/her marine product, the interviewee said that "it is more market forces, not climate change." While the interviewee worked in the industry for a long time, the interviewee could not feel the climate change because the measure of climate change is the one species that he/she is trading. One might criticize this point of view as myopic, but given the history of regulations in the industry, it is understandable why the interviewee thinks to accept climate change is to bring more regulations.

Being unwilling to accept the climate change agenda does not mean "not caring about nature." In fact, it is almost the opposite. As much as they are feeling under attack, they want to protect their surroundings including nature. For instance, Mario would not agree to more regulations, but he thinks modernizing the fleet and upgrading the engines of the fishing boats can reduce carbon footprints and help the fishing industry. He thinks of fishermen as "stewards of the ocean." He might oppose offshore wind farms because it is another source of destruction in "our ocean." One interviewee

said, "Why would we harm our ocean? It is where we make our living." Another interviewee who called global warming a "SCAM" and described their preferred future as consisting of "cosmic beings, with values of conservation, stewardships, cooperation, nurturing and local government, local people working together. Locals helping clean air, clean water, good infrastructure, good local jobs restored transportation." We think finding a common ground with the unwilling based on a specific agenda is an important step for inclusive climate change decision-making.



Cognitive Map by a participant

## 4. Conclusion

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This report, “Cape Ann Fieldwork,” describes the landscapes of Cape Ann, outlines perceptions towards climate change through six composite characters, and categorizes six characteristic attitudes and behaviors: Convinced, Uncertain, Anxious, Indifferent, Unperturbed, and Unwilling. Those six characteristics appear, in varying degrees, across all characters. Still, creating six categories of climate change attitudes allows designers, planners, and community members involved in future Cape Ann climate change planning to understand the necessity of different communication designs for respective attitudes. Developing six (or more) ways of communication that most effectively impact suit each mindset toward climate change could serve as a starting point for climate change action. Instead of trying to reach a consensus on how people think about and act on climate change, we emphasize the importance of employing various communication methods that will make each community member take action, collectively realizing a resilient coastal community.

One evening in April, we watched “Fish Tales: The Guest” at Gloucester Stage Company. We wrote this “Cape Ann Fieldwork” with the excitement of imagining what if we create the theater production. Now, we have the setting (Chapter 1), the cast (Chapter 2), and an analysis of why the cast thinks the way they think (Chapter 3). Given the Office of Urbanization’s 2038 scenario, what would these characters do? How might we communicate that scenario to each member of the cast? And what would be your reaction? The report, as a collection of theatrical tales and devices, proposes that you immerse yourself in it. Then it is time for you to create a story together. You may have read this report as an audience; now you can step in, as actors, to create a future story for Cape Ann. We hope that our report not only addresses the urgent need for including diverse voices in planning but also provides tools to achieve their collective goals.

## Acknowledgments

We thank the four Cape Ann municipalities for supporting this project, which received funding from the City of Gloucester and the Town of Manchester-by-the-Sea. We would like to express our deep gratitude to community members of Gloucester, Rockport, Manchester-by-the-Sea, and Essex for their guidance, hospitality, suggestions, and insights. We appreciate the residents of Cape Ann who took the time to meet and talk with us for interviews and welcomed us to the community. Thank you for making us feel at home.

# OFFICE FOR URBANIZATION

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**Future of the American City:**

THE CASE OF CAPE ANN:  
Cultural Landscapes

September 30, 2020

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**Introduction**

**Observations**

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**Common Cultural Landscapes**

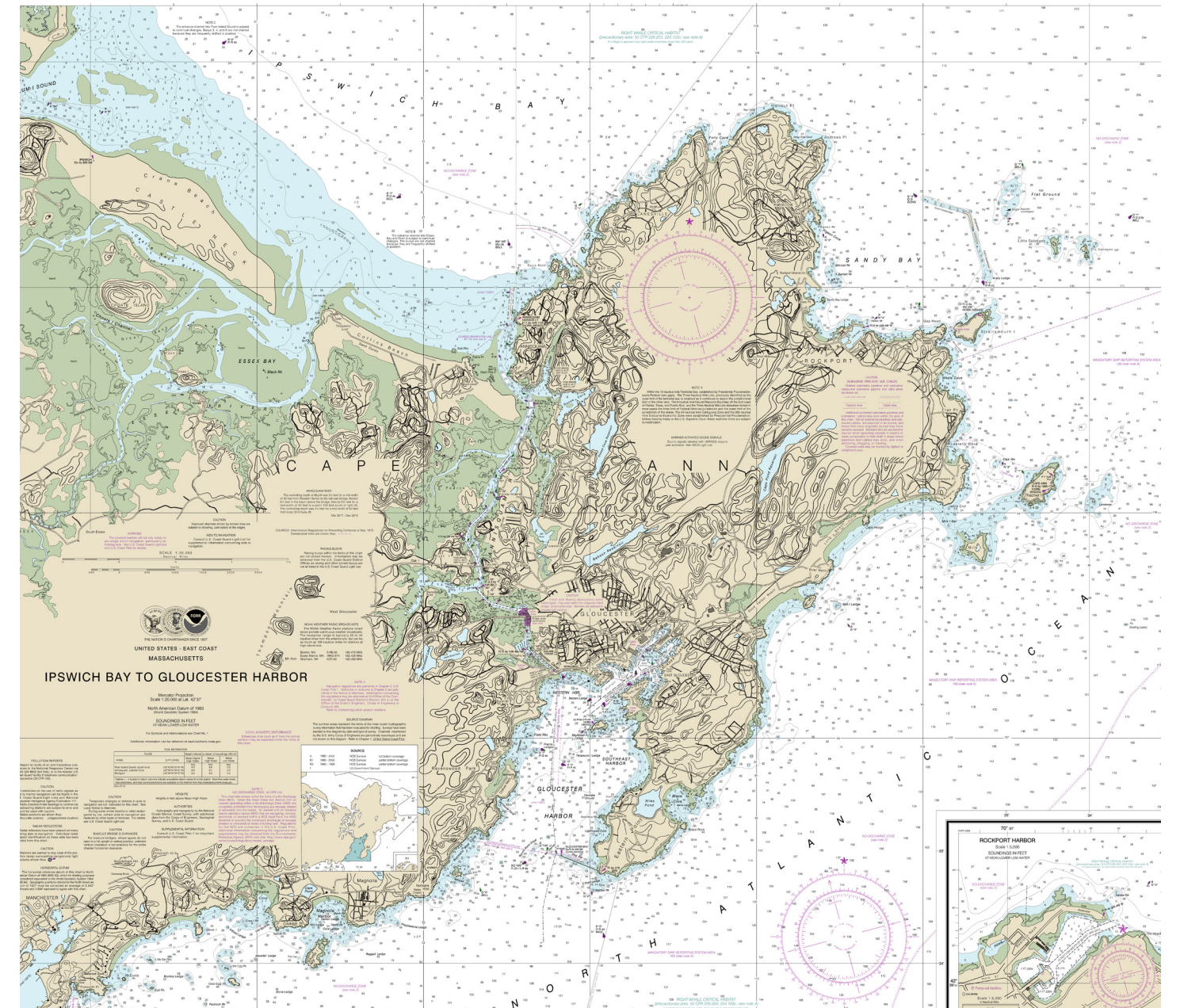
**Imaginaries**

**Communities**

~

**Notes**

Introduction



NOAA Office of Coast Survey. NOAA Raster Navigational Charts - 13279 - Ipswich Bay to Gloucester Harbor MA. 2007. National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration, Office of Coast Survey. Harvard Geospatial Library.

# Cape Ann is a New World region that was divided into towns.

Essex incorporated 1819 (from Ipswich)

Gloucester incorporated 1642

Manchester-by-the-Sea incorporated 1645 (from Salem)

Rockport incorporated 1840 (from Gloucester as an enclave of estates and summer homes)



Samuel Holland and Henry Mowat. *A Plan of the harbour and Peninsula of Cape Ann in North America*. 1776. Pen and ink. Washington, D.C, Library of Congress.



**Cape Ann was first a seascape, then a landscape built around the harbor.**



Franklin Lithograph Co. *City of Gloucester, Mass.* 1873. Boston, Boston Public Library.



# Cape Ann has diverse and differing class distribution.



Nubar Alexanian. *Twelve images of members of the Fishermen's Wives of Gloucester*. 1981. Gelatin silver process. Records of the Fishermen's Wives of Gloucester, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.



# Artists and poets are engaged in actively place- making Cape Ann.



Marsden Hartley. *The Old Bars, Dogtown*. 1936. Oil on canvas. Gloucester, Cape Ann Museum.



# Cape Ann's pleasant image obscures its colonial, slave, and labor histories.



Detroit Publishing Co. *Unveiling Tablet Commemorating First Settlement of Massachusetts Bay Colony*. 1907. Enduring Gloucester. <https://enduringgloucester.com/2018/02/14/the-settlement-of-cape-ann-what-is-the-real-story/>



# Cape Ann relates to Nature through preservation of the picturesque landscape.



Fitz Henry Lane. *A Rough Sea*. 1854. Oil on canvas. Gloucester, Cape Ann Museum.



# Cape Ann is actively experimenting with green infrastructure.



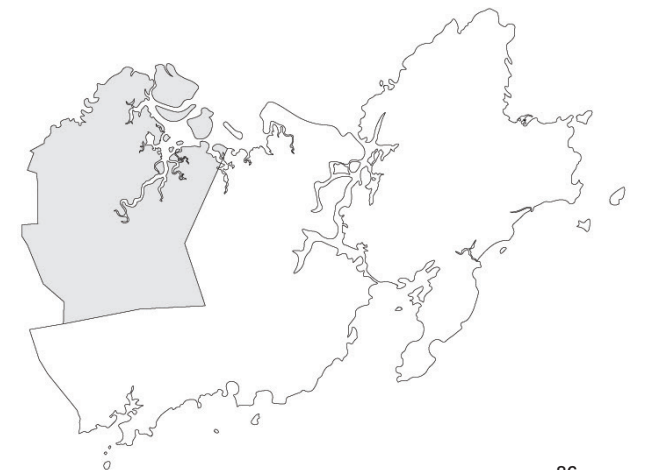
Fletcher6. *Wind Turbines in Gloucester*. 2014. Wikimedia Commons.



# Cape Ann has 6 distinct common cultural landscapes.



photoholic1. Essex Marsh & Egret. 2009. Flickr.com



Common Cultural Landscapes: **Survey**

Subsistence Commons

Hardened Harbors

Oceanside Retreats

Access Corridors

Cape Ann Commercial Districts

Picturesque Lands



Common Cultural Landscapes: **Subsistence Commons**

First period Colonial American houses and surroundings

House lot

Tilled crops

Pasture

Haying meadows

Thatch marshes

Woodlots

Saltbox and Colonial Architecture



The White -Ellery House is an oft-cited example of First Period "saltbox" architecture. It was built in 1710 on the Town Green of Gloucester for Reverend John White. *White-Ellery House*. c. 1880. Fitz Henry Lane Historical Archive. [https://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical\\_material/?section=White-Ellery+House](https://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical_material/?section=White-Ellery+House).

Common Cultural Landscapes: **Subsistence Commons**

Colonial landscapes



Inge Morath. *Set scene during filming of "The Crucible"*. 1995. Hog's Island, Essex River Estuary, Essex, MA. Pro Magnum Photos. <https://pro.magnumphotos.com/Catalogue/Inge-Morath/1995/USA-Film-The-Crucible-NN145067.html>.

Dogtown Common



Alice Curtis. *Dogtown*. 1908. Wikimedia Commons.

Salt marsh hay



*Spartina patens* drying on staddle. Photograph shared by Tom Bassett, possibly taken by George Dexter. c. 1900. historic-ipswich.org'



Photograph from Charles Wendell Townsend. *Sand Dunes and Salt Marshes* (Boston: Dana Estes & Company, 1913). Accessed July 2, 2020. <http://www.kellsraft.com/SandDunes/SandDunesCh08.html>.

Common Cultural Landscapes: **Hardened Harbors**

Breakwaters

Lighthouses

Wharves

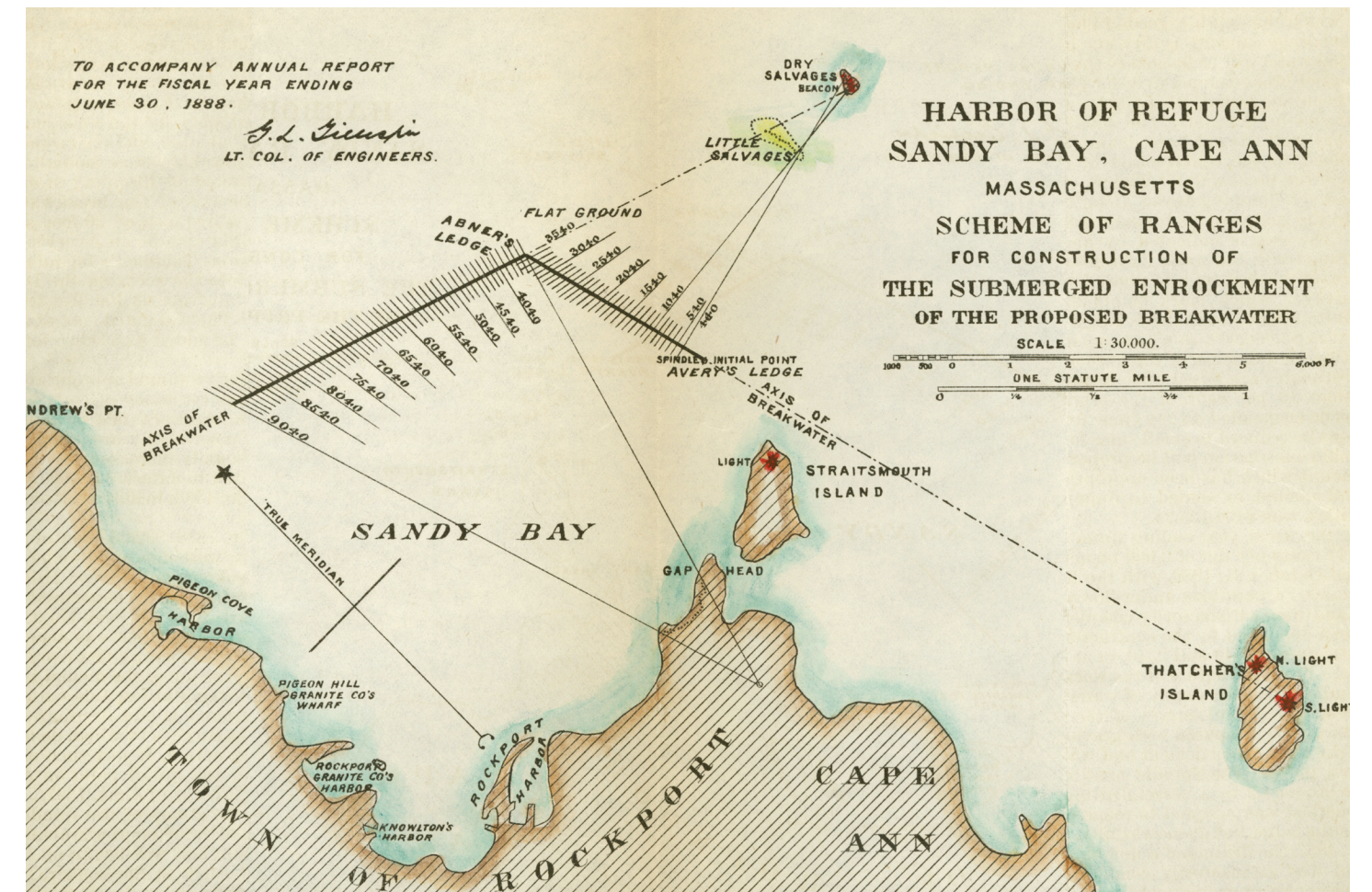
Productive intertidal zone

Working harbor

Breakwaters

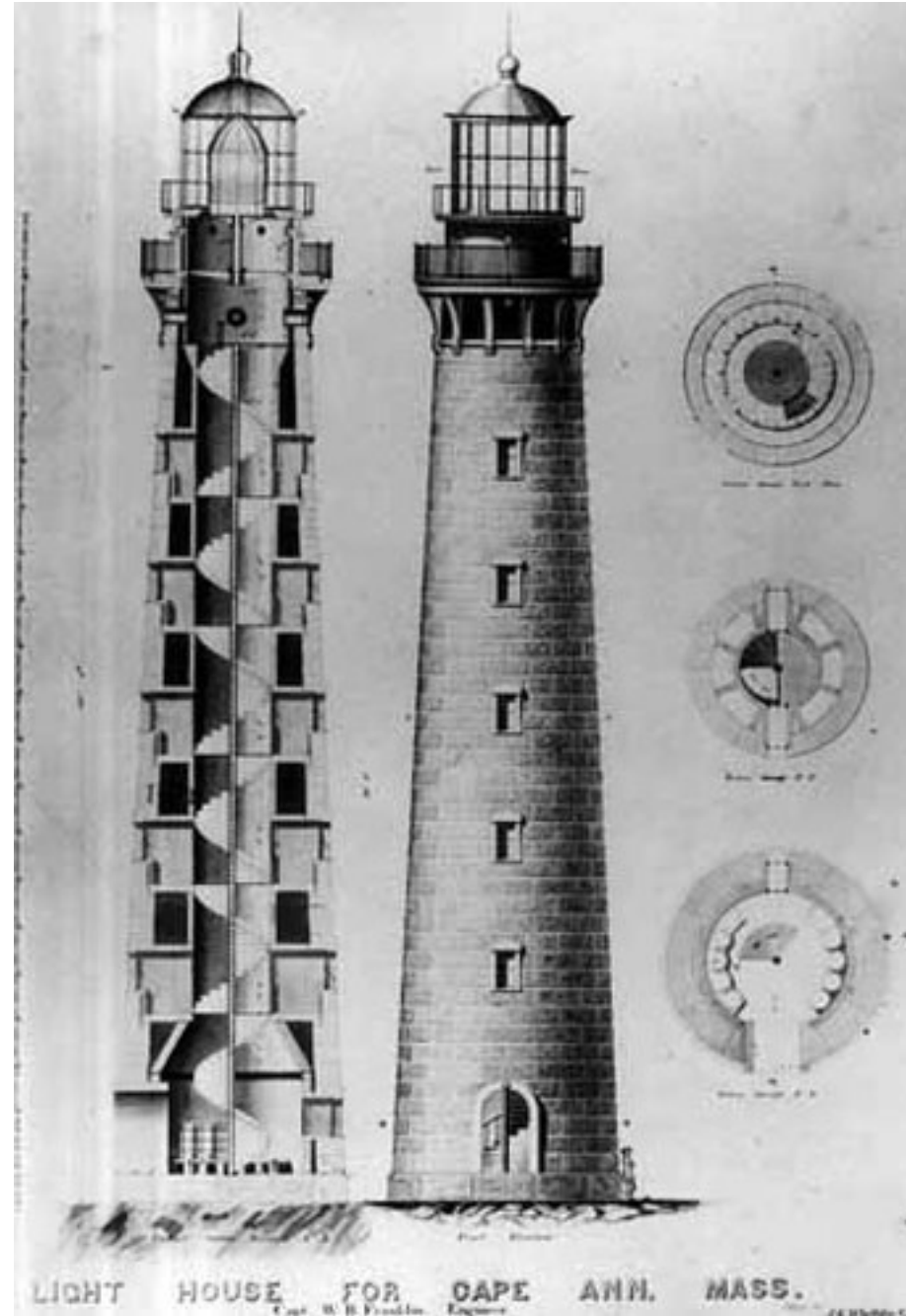
Dog Bar

Sandy Bay Breakwater



United States Army Corps of Engineers. Harbor of Refuge, Sandy Bay, Cape Ann, Massachusetts: Scheme of Ranges for the Construction of the Submerged Enrockment of the Proposed Breakwater. 1888. Digital Commons, Salem State University.

Six lighthouses across Cape Ann



U.S. Coast Guard. *Plans for Thacher Island Lighthouses*. 1861. New England Lighthouses: A Virtual Guide. <http://www.newenglandlighthouses.net/thacher-island-twin-lights-history.html>

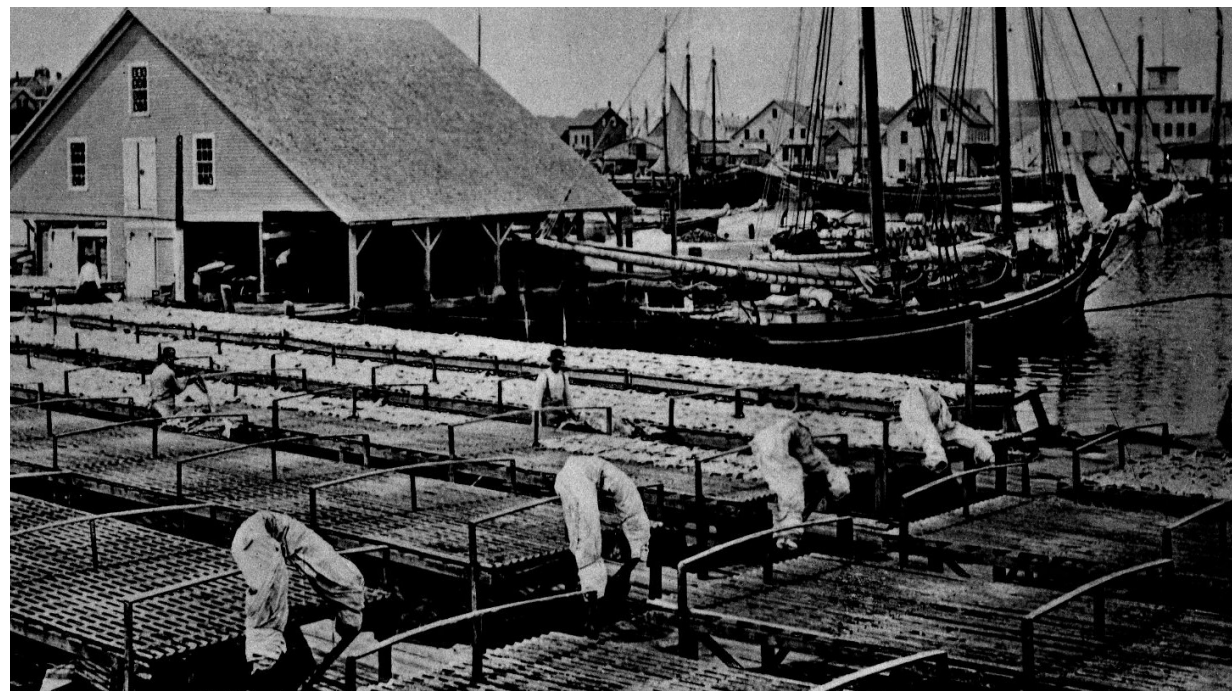
Wharves



Henry Francis Walling. *Detail showing graving beach (Map of the Town of Gloucester and Rockport)*. 1851. Cape Ann Museum, Fitz Henry Lane Historical Archive.

Common Cultural Landscapes: **Hardened Harbors**

Fish drying racks or “fish flakes”



Top: *The Pageant of America*. The New York Public Library Photography Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs.  
Bottom: *J.F. Wonson & Co's Wharf, showing fish flakes*. Cape Ann Museum, Fitz Henry Lane Historical Archive. From: Charles Brown. *Gloucester Picturesque*, c. 1900.

Productive intertidal zone



Matt Kalinowski. *Charlie McNeil, The Captain of the Essex Clam Beds*. 2020. The Other Cape. <http://www.theothercape.com/stories/2017/4/18/clamming>.

Common Cultural Landscapes: **Hardened Harbors**

Working harbors



Robert M. Ring. *Gloucester Harbor in Spring*. Gloucester: Robert M. Ring Photography. <https://www.robertmringphotography.com/photo/gloucester-harbor-in-spring/>.



Still Image from the Perfect Storm. *The Crow's Nest*. [crowstnests.com](http://crowstnests.com). Accessed June 25, 2020.

Common Cultural Landscapes: **Oceanside Retreats**

Estates

Yacht clubs

Marinas

Hotels

Eclectic estates

Estates



Chimneys House, Gardens, and Private Beach, Manchester-By-The Sea. [thechimneysondanabeach.com](http://thechimneysondanabeach.com)



Common Cultural Landscapes: **Oceanside Retreats**

Yacht clubs and marinas



Annisquam Yacht Club. Accessed July 2, 2020. [https://www.annisquamyc.org/images/header\\_photos/Yacht-club-view.jpg](https://www.annisquamyc.org/images/header_photos/Yacht-club-view.jpg)



Gloucester Marina. 2008. MA Office of Travel & Tourism. Flickr.com.

Hotels



The Beauport Hotel. Gloucester, MA. Accessed July 2, 2020, <https://www.booking.com/hotel/us/beauport-gloucester.html>.

Eclectic Estates



Hammond Museum between Magnolia and Gloucester. Postcard. Gloucester Lyceum & Sawyer Free Library.



Sleeper-McCann House designed by interior designer Henry Davis Sleeper in 1908. Accessed June 18, 2020. <https://twitter.com/HistoricNE/status/1004714534928572417/photo/2>.

Common Cultural Landscapes: **Access Corridors**

Canal

Railroad

Highway

Highway icons

Bridges

“The Cut” Bridge at Blynman Canal



Blynman Bridge. Accessed June 25, 2020. [https://marinas.com/view/bridge/4jujg\\_Blynman\\_Bridge\\_West\\_Gloucester\\_MA\\_United\\_States](https://marinas.com/view/bridge/4jujg_Blynman_Bridge_West_Gloucester_MA_United_States)

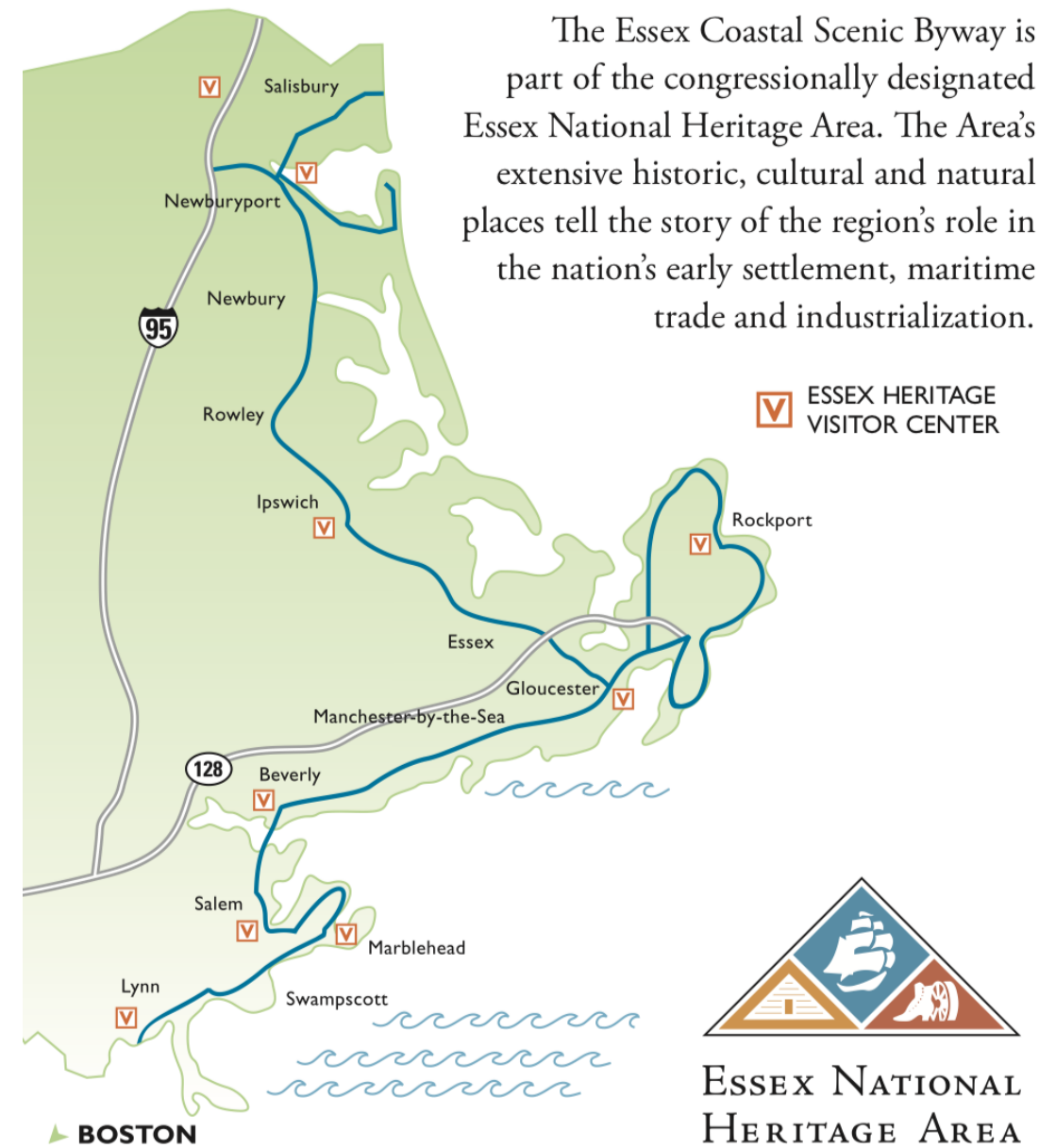
## MBTA Commuter Rail



MBTA #1009 leads an outbound Newburyport-Rockport Line train over Manchester Draw. 2014. Wikimedia Commons.

The Newbury/Rockport Line is a branch of the MBTA commuter rail system, adapted from the Eastern Railroad which opened in 1826.

## Highway



Essex National Heritage Area. Essex Scenic Coastal Byway. 2012. [www.coastalbyway.org](http://www.coastalbyway.org).

Established in the mid-2000s, the Essex Coastal Byway connects 14 communities north of Boston, to promote visitation and visibility of local landmarks.

## Highway Icons



Paul Keleher. *The iconic Fisherman's Memorial, designed by Leonard Craske, visible on Route 127 as it passes Gloucester harbor.* 2007. Wikimedia Commons.

## Bridges



Bob Rapp. *The bridge over Lobster Cove, Bridgewater Street, Annisquam, Cape Ann, MA.* Gloucester Lyceum & Sawyer Free Library.

Common Cultural Landscapes: **Commercial Districts**

Historic districts

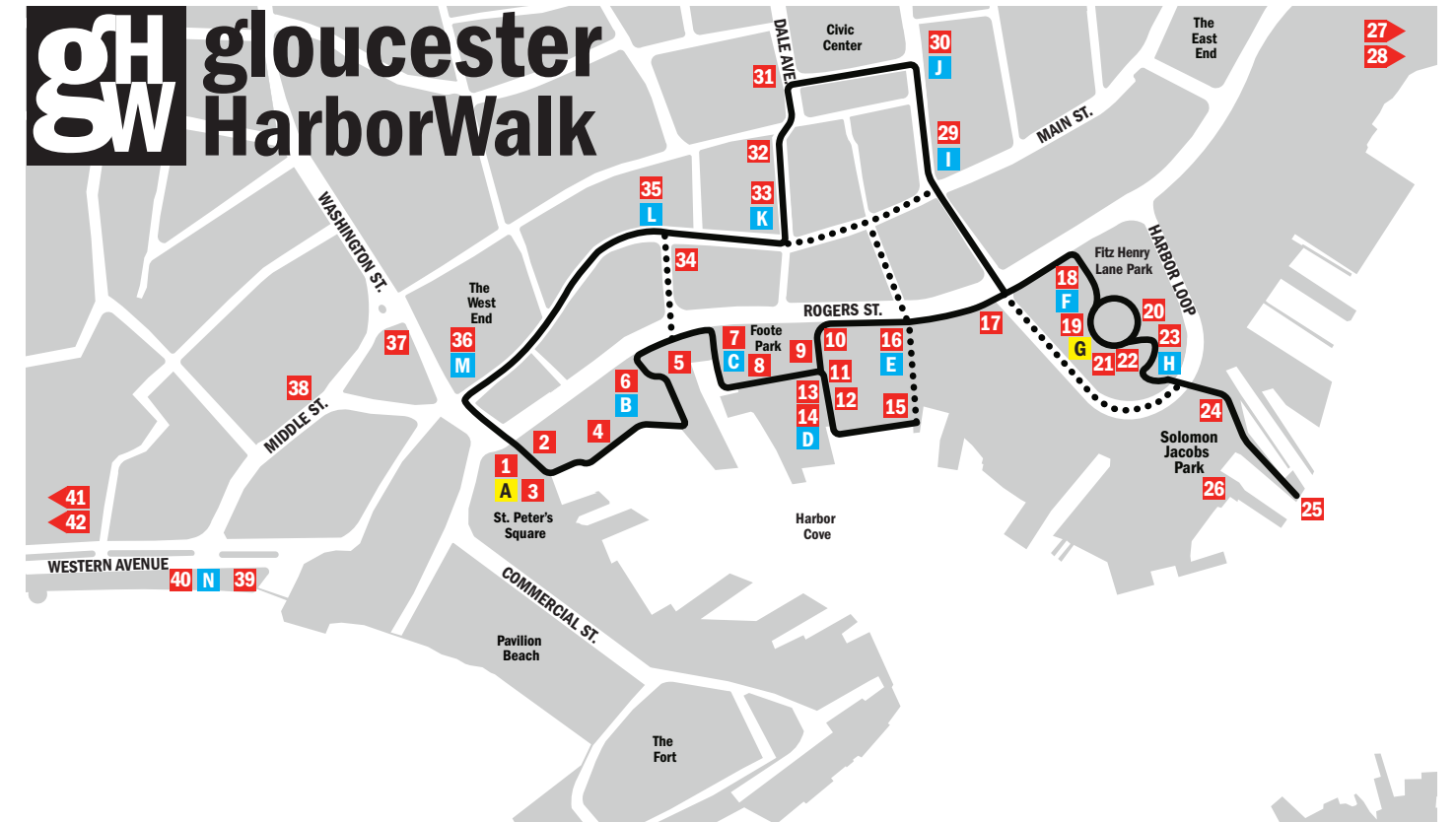
Historic tourism

Artist strips

Seafood institutions

Year-round challenges

Historic Districts



Historic Walking Tour of Gloucester, MA. Accessed July 6, 2020. [gloucester.harborwalk.org](http://gloucester.harborwalk.org)

Historic Tourism



Aimee O'Brien Jeyarajan. *Essex Antiques Shop*. 2005. Massachusetts Office of Travel and Tourism. Flickr.com

Artist Strips



Harvey Barrison. *Rocky Neck*. 2011. Gloucester, MA. Flickr.com

Common Cultural Landscapes: **Commercial Districts**

Seafood Institutions



Jim McAllister. *Woodman's Seafood in Essex*. 2012. Massachusetts Office of Travel and Tourism. Flickr.com.

Year-Round Challenges



Robyn Lafata. *March 2, 2018 Bomb Cyclone*. 2019. Digital photograph. Essex, Woodmans of Essex.



Common Cultural Landscapes: **Picturesque Lands**

Pleasure estuary

Cordgrass salt marsh

Restoration dunes

Sheltering sand beach

Wooded wetland stand

Pine forest

Coastal islands

Farm-to-table agriculture

Open waters

Pleasure estuary



Leo Formenoy. *Ardelle on her first sail down the Essex River*. 2012. Boatbuilding with Burnham. <http://boatbuildingwithburnham.blogspot.com/2011/08/schooner-ardelle-will-sail-into.html>.



Essex County Greenbelt Association. *Great Marsh*. 2018. Greenbelt. [ecga.org](http://ecga.org).

Common Cultural Landscapes: **Picturesque Lands**

Cordgrass salt marsh

**Cape Ann saltwater wetland species**

- Common tern (*Sterna hirundo*)
- Northern harrier (*Circus hudsonius*)
- Least tern (*Sternula antillarum*)
- Salt marsh cordgrass (*Spartina alterniflora*)
- High marsh cordgrass (*Spartina patens*)
- Low marsh cordgrass (*Spartina maritima*)



Restoration dunes

Sheltering sand beach

**Cape Ann beach and dune species**

- Piping plover (*Charadrius melodus*)
- Beach plum (*Prunus maritima*)
- Herring gull (*Larus smithsonianus*)
- Black grass (*Juncus gerardii*)
- Marsh elder (*Iva frutescens*)
- Greater yellowlegs (*Tringa melanoleuca*)



Beachapedia.org. *Piping Plover*.



Kirk R. Williamson. Wicked Local Staff Photo. <https://www.wickedlocal.com/article/20160526/news/160526614?template=ampart>

## Common Cultural Landscapes: Picturesque Lands

### Pine Forest

#### Inland forests

Eastern white pine (*Pinus strobus*)  
American beech (*Fagus grandifolia*)  
Eastern hemlock (*Tsuga canadensis*)  
Various oak species  
Common polypody fern (*Polypodium vulgare*)  
Pileated woodpecker (*Drocopus pileatus*)  
Red squirrel (*Sciurus vulgaris*)



### Wooded wetland stand

Black tupelo (*Nyssa sylvatica*)  
Red maple (*Acer rubrum*)  
Purple martin (*Progne subis*)  
Sweetbay magnolia (*Magnolia virginiana*)

### Vernal Ponds

Four-toed salamander (*Hemidactylium scutatum*)  
Spring peeper (*Pseudacris crucifer*)  
Fairy shrimp (*Artemia salina*)



Adriano S. Fernwood Lake and Old Salem Trail Lake. 2018. <https://www.alltrails.com/trail/us/massachusetts/fernwood-lake-blue-trail-and-old-salem-trail-loop/photos>



Jamie Booth. Red Maple Swamp Trail. Thompson Street Reservation. 2020. <https://www.alltrails.com/trail/us/massachusetts/red-maple-swamp-trail--3/photos>

Common Cultural Landscapes: **Picturesque Lands**

Coastal islands



U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Northeast Region. Thacher Island National Wildlife Refuge off of Rockport, Massachusetts. 2008. Wikimedia Commons.

Farm-to-table agriculture



Northshore Magazine. *Greenbelt awarded \$1 Million to Permanently Protect Farmland.* 2018. North Shore Magazine.

Common Cultural Landscapes: **Picturesque Lands**

Open waters



*North Shore Frogmen at Pigeon Cove in Rockport, MA. 1959. LIFE Magazine. northshorefrogmen.com*



*Brian Sawyer. 7 Seas Whale Watch. 2011. Gloucester. Flickr.com.*

## Imaginaries

Pre-1609	Beyond the Marsh
1604-1642	Arrival From the Sea
1642-1700	From Sea to Land
1700-1830	Porting Out
1830-1930	Granite Paves the Way
1930- 1980	Cape Escape
1980-2010	Commuting Culture
2010-	Greening the “Other” Cape

Imaginaries: **Stories of Labor and Leisure Between Sea and Land**



**Pre-1604**

Beyond The Marsh

The Pawtucket people lived seasonally on Cape Ann, depending on upland farms, estuaries, and the resources of the sea to sustain their communities.



**1604-1642**

Arrival From the Sea

Groups of English colonists and investors attempt to map, settle, use, and finally claim Cape Ann as a fishing and farming community.



**1642-1700**

From Sea To Land

Colonial settlement is fortified through the erasure of indigenous culture and the deeding of major portions of land.



**1700-1830**

Porting Out

The harbor develops as Cape Ann's economy shifts from farming to shipbuilding and other maritime activities including wealth extracted through the triangular slave trade.



**1830-1930**

Granite Paves the Way

The extraction of granite and its export by rail fuels the Cape's economy.



**1930-1980**

Cape Escape

An image of coastal leisure on the Cape is cultivated for the seasonal Boston elite.



**1980-2010**

Commuting Culture

Highway and rail corridors provide greater access to Boston as the maritime economy shifts to appeal to commuters and tourists.



**2010-2030**

Greening the "Other" Cape

Cape Ann pushes to maintain a distinct image through the adoption of sustainable energy economies.

Imaginaries: **Beyond the Marsh - 1604**

Agawam	[Beyond the Marsh]
Annisquam	[End of the Marsh]
Chebacco	[Area in between]
Winniahdin	[In the vicinity of the heights]
Agamenticus	[Beyond the mountain rising from the small tidal river]
Wingaersheek	[Where there are sea whelk]

The Algonquian-speaking Pawtucket people originally came from the Pennacook homelands in New Hampshire to inhabit Cape Ann.

Europeans used various names to refer to indigenous people living on the Cape including Agawam (eastern Essex county) and Naumkeag (southern Essex County). These names reflect the village or sagamoreship names of the places of the Pawtucket's seasonal habitation, rather than a tribal affiliation.

The Pawtucket people built temporary shelters that formed coastal villages during summer months and retreated inland during the winter, allowing for a diverse economy of forest, farm, marsh, and fishing resources.<sup>1</sup>



"Evidence-based Late Woodland Pennacook-Abenaki Seasonal village excavated at Shattuck Farm, Andover". Lepionka, Mary Ellen. "Environmental Factors in Native Settlement Patterns." Native Americans of Cape Ann. [capeannhistory.org/](http://capeannhistory.org/)



Cap aux Iles [Islands Cape]

le Beau port

Samuel de Champlain's 1606 mapping of Gloucester harbor marks the halting onset of European occupation of Cape Ann.



Samuel de Champlain. *Les chiffres montrent les brasses d'eau.* 1613. Pen and ink on paper. Providence, Brown University Library.

Imaginary: **Arrival From the Sea: 1604-1642**

European arrival begins as coastal outposts of Plymouth, and as a fishing and farming venture led by speculators of the Dorchester Company.<sup>2</sup>



John Foster. *A Mapp of New England*. 1677. Woodcut. Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society.

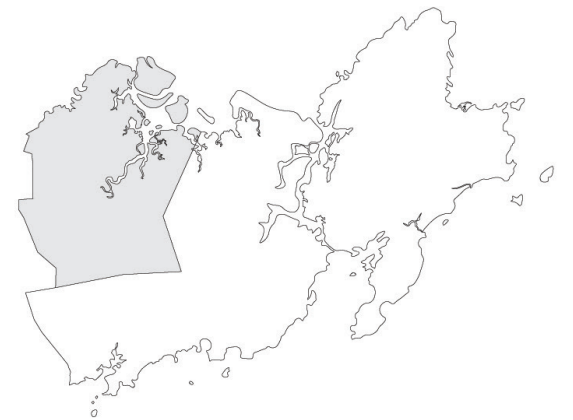
Imaginaries: For Sea to Land: 1642-1700



John Mason. *Map of Gloucester, Cape Ann.* 1831. Harvard Map Collection digital maps.

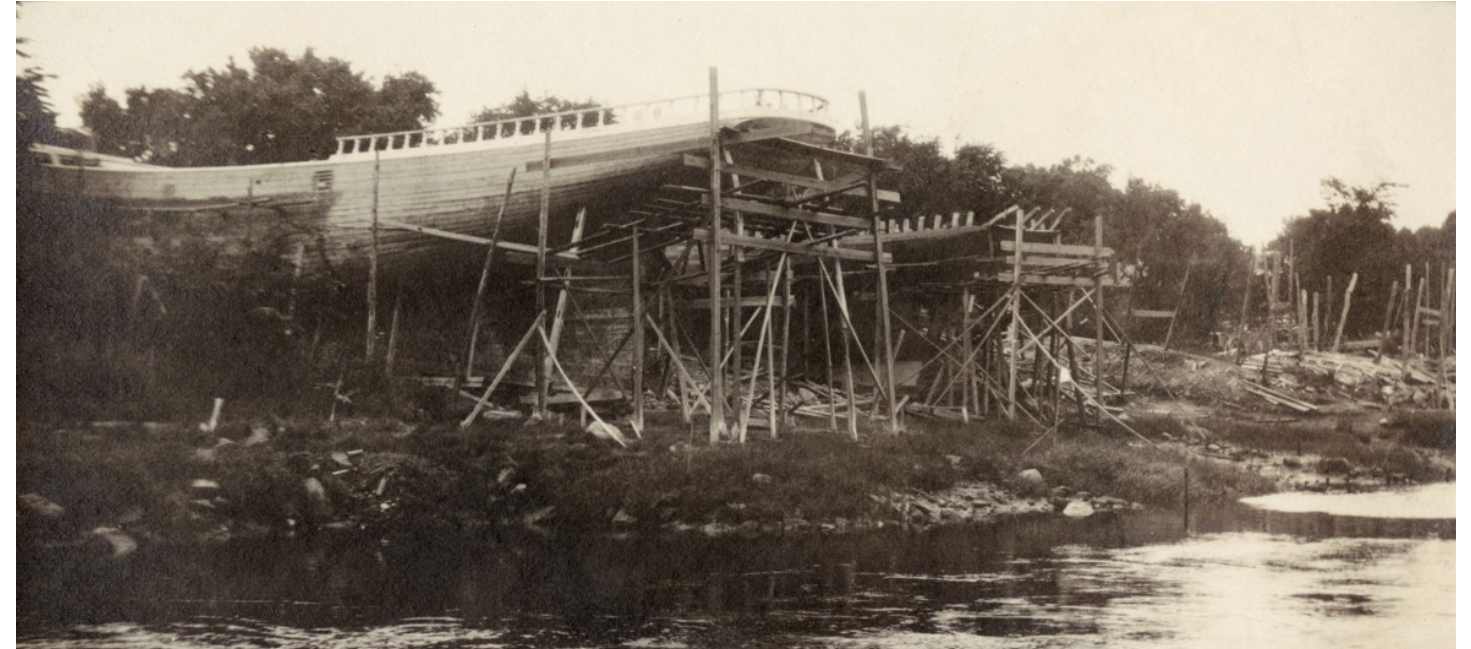


John Foster. *Essex, Mass, Cuomo and Falls Village.* 1845. Woodcut. Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society.



Imaginaries: **Porting Out: 1700-1830**

Fueled by its upland forests, the economy of Cape Ann in the 18th century was characterized by shipbuilding in Gloucester and Essex.



*Ship building in Essex, Mass. Circa 1850-1940. Photographic print. Gleason Public Library: The Wilkins Notebooks. digitalcommonwealth.org*



*S.G.W. Benjamin. Arrival of a fishing schooner. 1875. Herper's New Monthly Magazine. historicipswich.org*

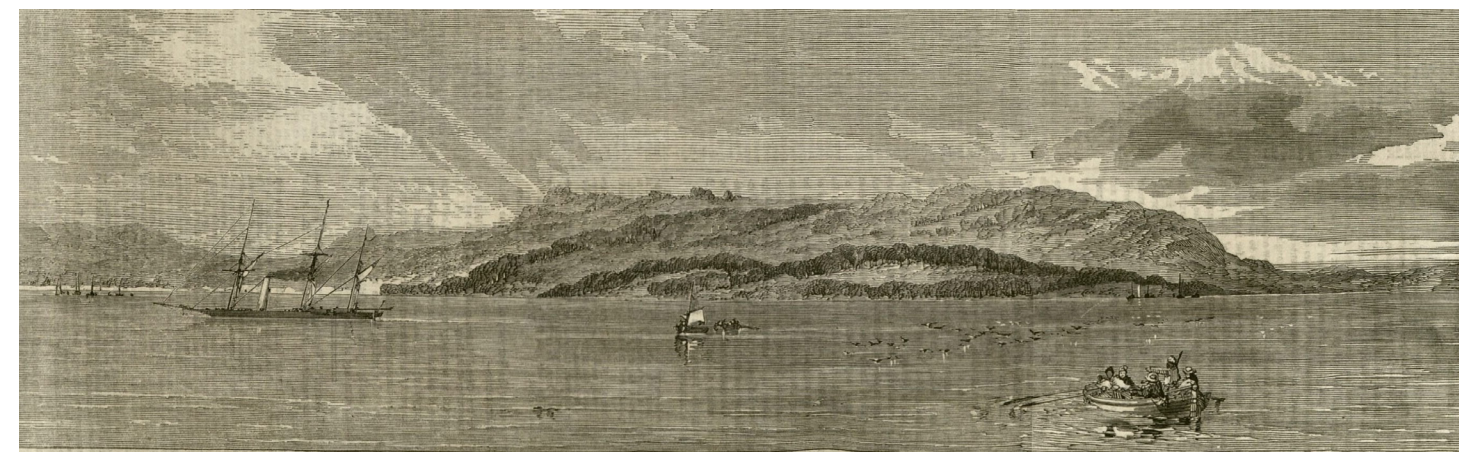
## Imaginaries: **Porting Out: 1700-1830**

Schooner building shifted towards maritime trade at the end of this era. As this change took place, the physical town center of Gloucester moved to the harbor.

The economies of shipbuilding and maritime trade were heavily tied to the exploitation, sale, and ownership of enslaved Africans. Dried fish caught by locals in Gloucester was traded for molasses in Dutch slave colonies on the northern coast of South America. The molasses was then processed into rum in distilleries on Cape Ann.\* Some wealthy Cape Ann merchants directly bought and sold enslaved people.<sup>3</sup>



Edward Babson, a Gloucester sea captain and his ship *Cadet*, made his wealth in the Surinam slave trade business. Henry Fitz Lane. *Brig "Cadet" in Gloucester Harbor*. Late 1840s. Oil on canvas. Cape Ann Museum, Fitz Henry Lane Historical Archive.



Cape Ann merchants owned enslaved people on Cuban coffee plantations. Source: *View of the Plantations near Havana, Cuba*. 1859. *The Illustrated London News*. [visualizingabolition.org](http://visualizingabolition.org)

Imaginaries: **Porting Out: 1700-1830**

The cotton industry was also a major part of mid-19th century Cape Ann economy and was another material history linking the region to the slave trade. The wealth generated by the Rockport Cotton Mill was heavily dependent on the importation of cotton produced by enslaved people on plantations in the south.<sup>4</sup>



John S.E. Rogers. *Rockport Steam Cotton Mills*. Circa 1865. Robert N. Dennis collection of stereoscopic views. New York Public Library. Wikimedia Commons.

Imaginations: **Granite Paves the Way: 1830-1930**



Walter Gardner. *Rockport Quarry*. c. 1890s. Photograph. Cape Ann Museum, Gloucester.

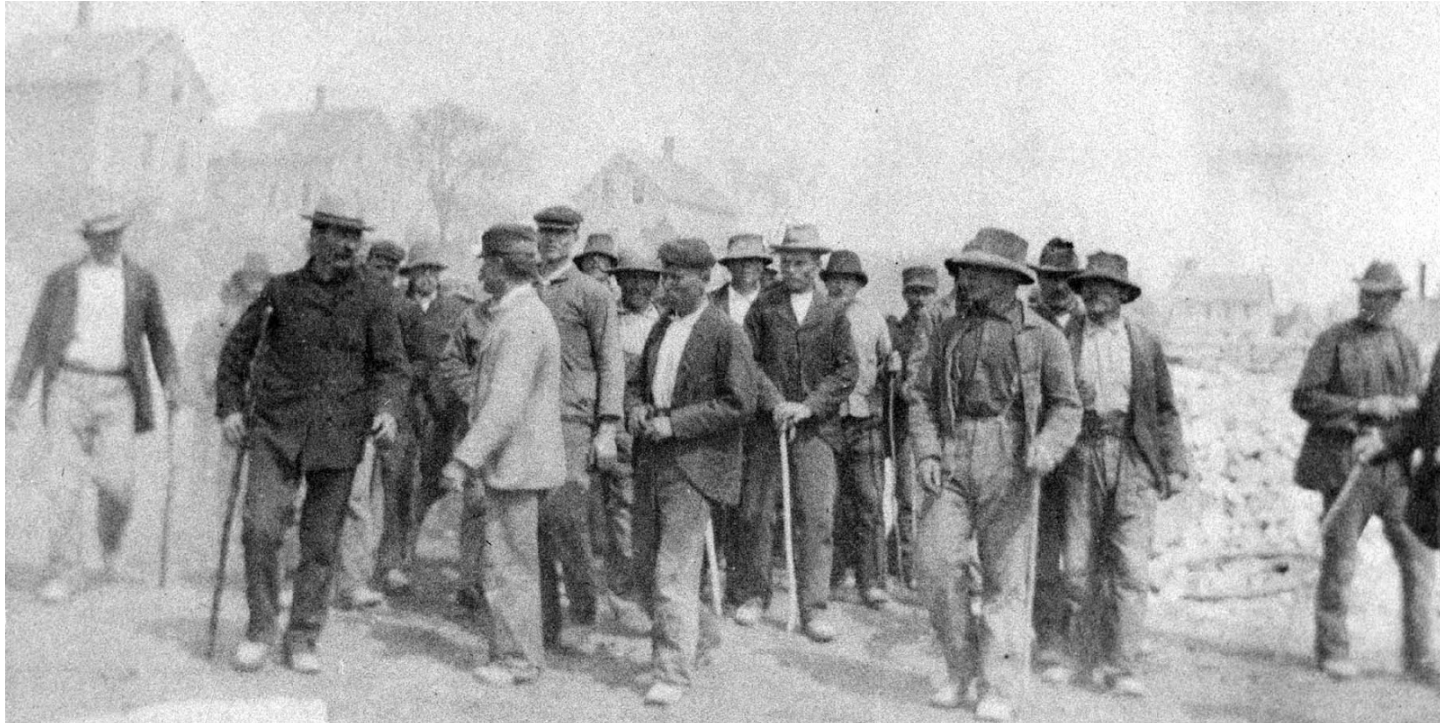
The extraction of granite from Cape Ann's post-glacial landscape grew immensely in Rockport and Gloucester during this period, becoming second only to fishing.<sup>5</sup> During winter months, Cape Ann workers cut blocks of granite into paving stones that were then shipped to pave the streets of New York, Philadelphia, and other Atlantic coastal cities.



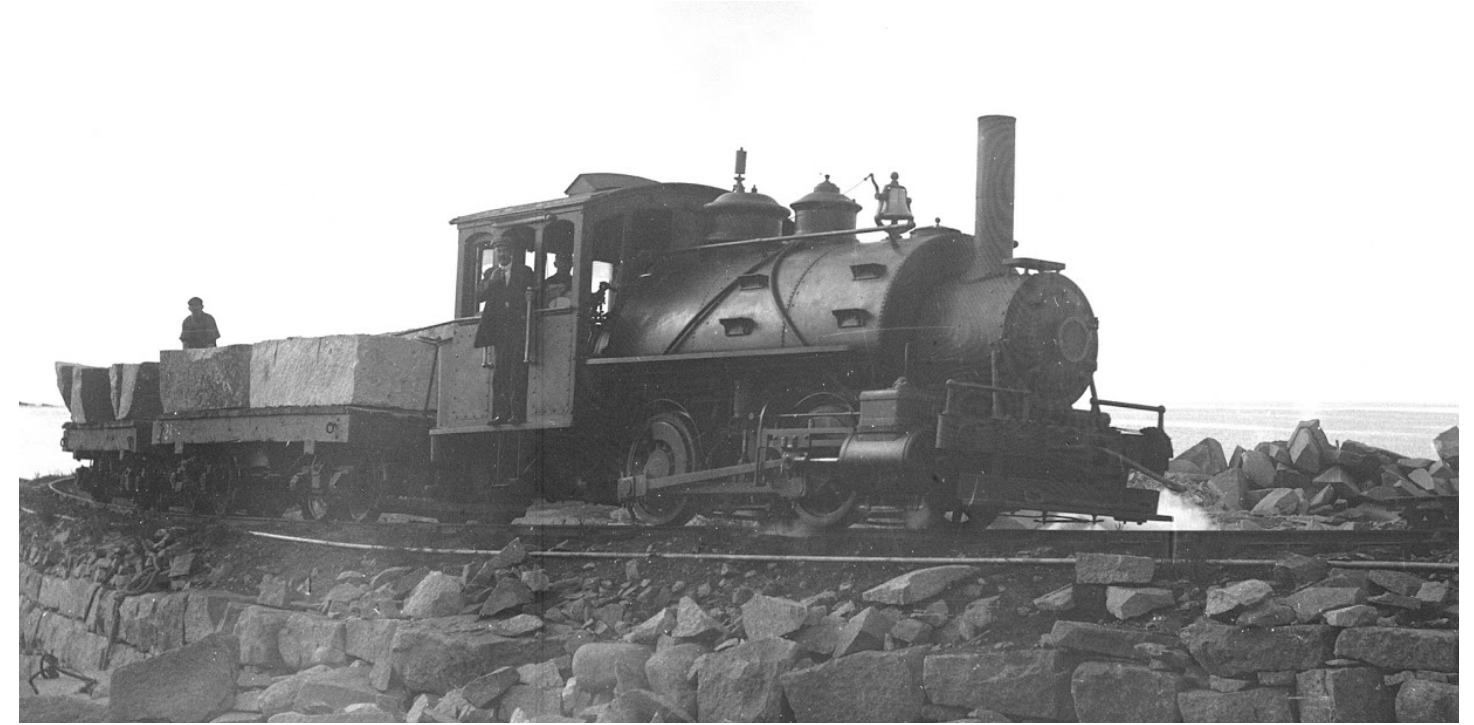
Alfred J Wiggin. *Loading Granite at Knowlton's Wharf*. 1852. Sandy Bay Historical Society. halibutpointnotes.blogspot.com

Imaginations: **Granite Paves the Way: 1830-1930**

Immigrant communities in Rockport and Gloucester were heavily involved in labor activism in the quarries. Most notably, a group of Finnish-American quarrymen went on strike in 1899, eventually achieving rights such as a nine hour work day.<sup>6</sup>



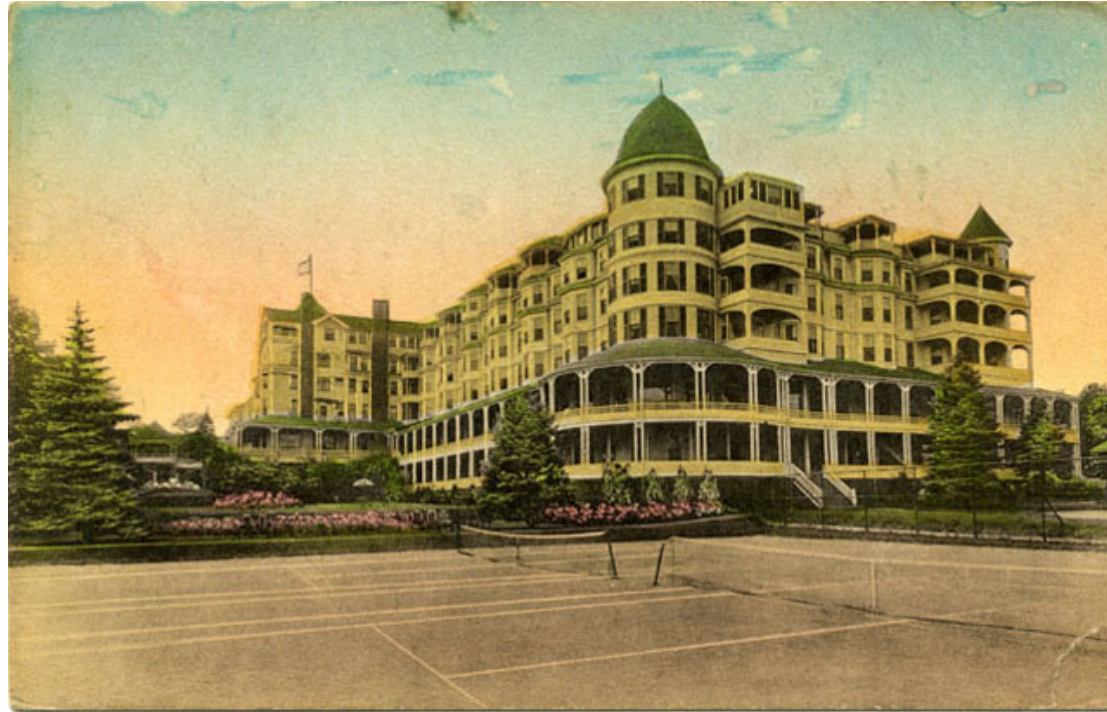
Louis Rogers. *Strikers on the Rockport Granite Company wharf*. The Barbara Erkkila Collection, Cape Ann Museum, Gloucester, MA.



Charles Cleaves. *Locomotive Nella delivering granite blocks to Folly Cove*. 1909. Sandy Bay Historical Society. Halibut Point Notes Blog. [halibutpointnotes.blogspot.com](http://halibutpointnotes.blogspot.com)



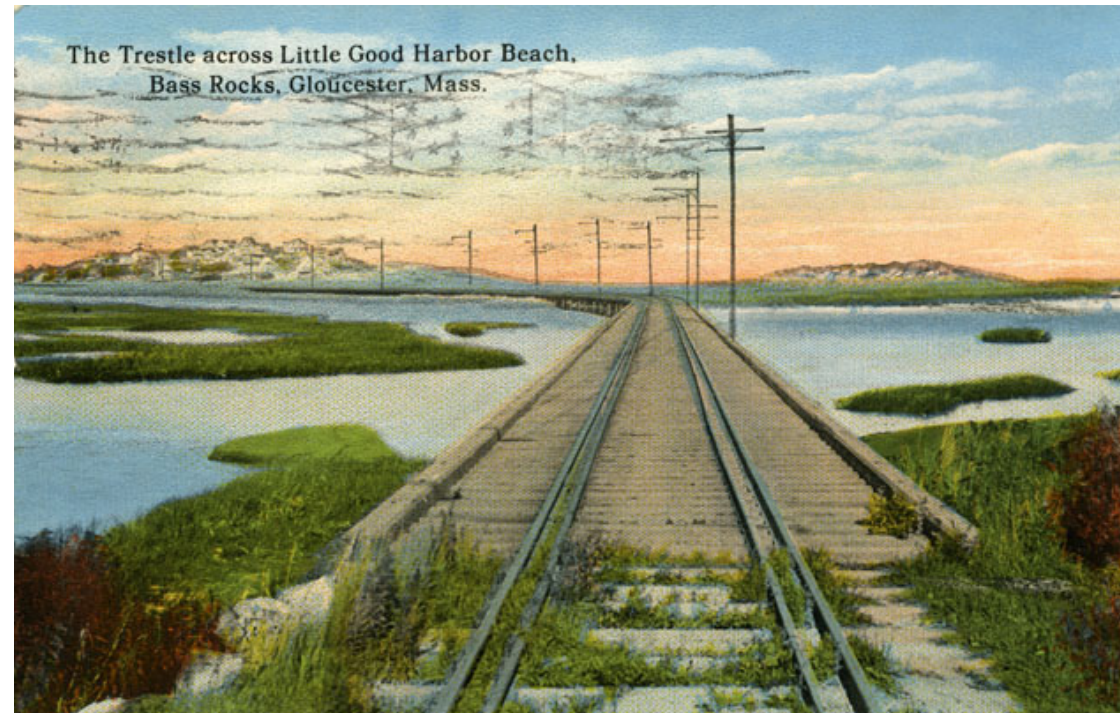
Imaginaries: **Cape Escape: 1930-1980**



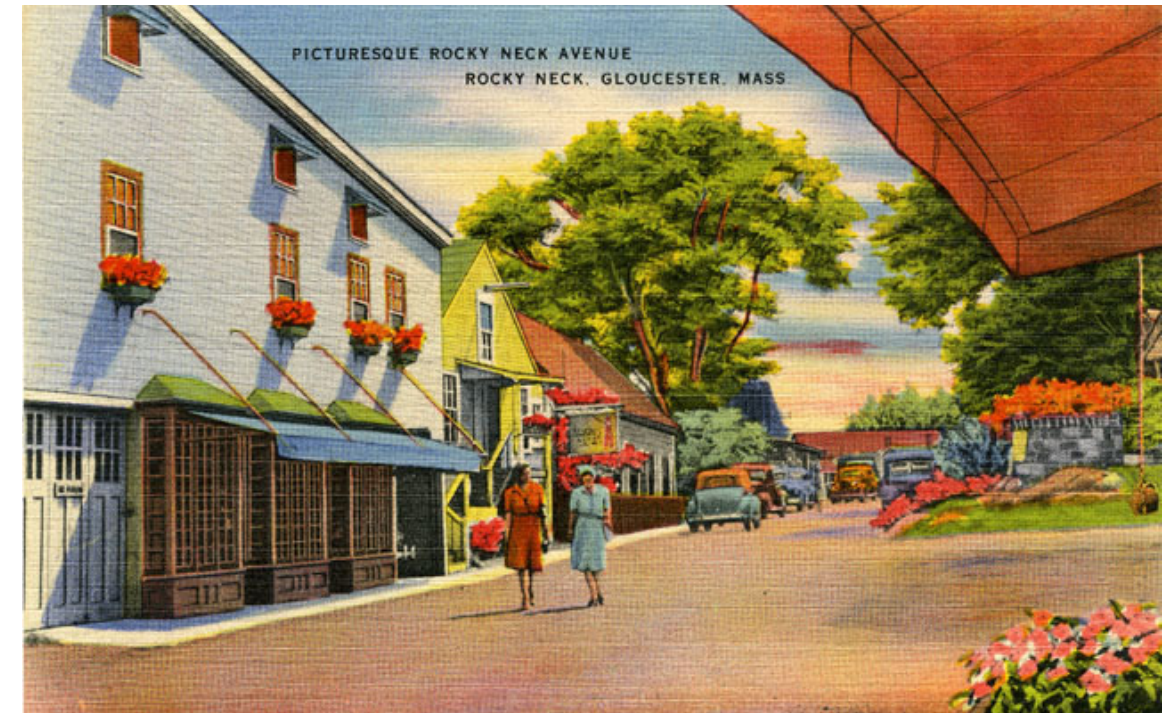
Gloucester Postcard Collection, *Magnolia as a Destination - The Oceanside Cottages*, Sawyer Free Library Digital Collection.



Gloucester Postcard Collection, *Annisquam Yacht Club*, Sawyer Free Library Digital Collection.



Gloucester Postcard Collection, *Trestle Across Good Harbor Beach*, Sawyer Free Library Digital Collection.



Gloucester Postcard Collection, *Rocky Neck*, Sawyer Free Library Digital Collection.

Imaginaries: **Cape Escape: 1930-1980**



Gloucester Postcard Collection, *Manchester-by-the-Sea*, Sawyer Free Library Digital Collection.



Gloucester Postcard Collection, *Annisquam Willows*, Sawyer Free Library Digital Collection.



Gloucester Postcard Collection, *Murray Gilman House*, Sawyer Free Library Digital Collection.



Gloucester Postcard Collection, *Bearskin Neck, Rockport*, Sawyer Free Library Digital Collection.

Imaginaries: **Cape Escape: 1930-1980**

In the middle of the century, Cape Ann, particularly Gloucester and Rockport, attracted artists and poets drawn to the region's landscape and mythology.

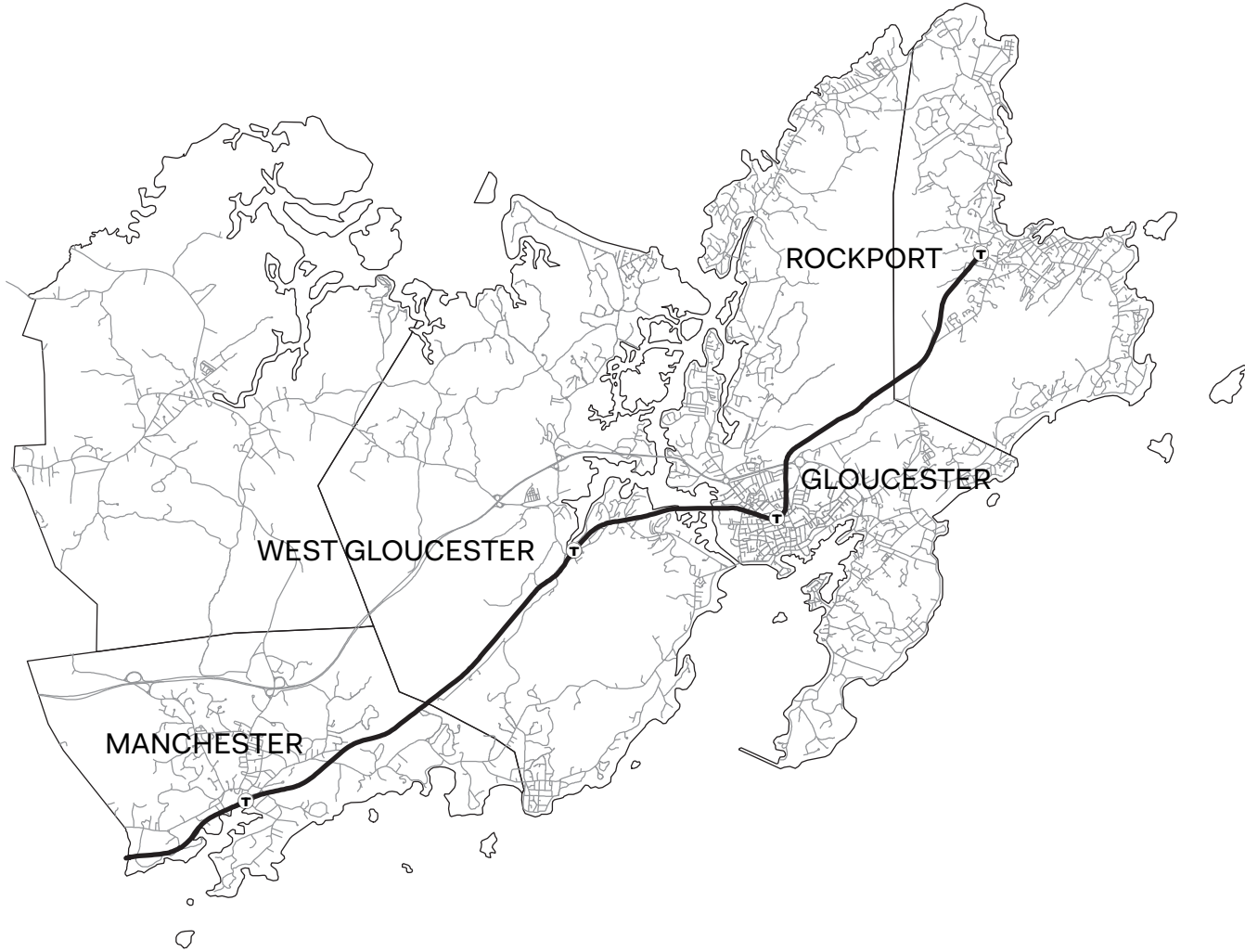


Aaron Siskind. *Gloucester*. 1944. Photograph. Harvard Art Museums, Gift of Richard L. Menschel.

Charles Olson, the influential poet who taught at Black Mountain College, spent his summers in Gloucester--the setting for his work *The Maximus Poems* in which he imagines "an ideal Gloucester in which communal values have replaced commercial ones."<sup>7</sup>



Charles Olson, *Charles Olson Reads from Maximus Poems IV, V, VI*, 1975.



MBTA Commuter Rail stops and roads on Cape Ann

Imaginaries: **Greening the “Other Cape”**



Backyard Grower's, Burnham's Field Farmer's Market, a community garden in downtown Gloucester, built through the Backyard Growers Community garden program, July 2, 2020.



Gloucester, MA Facebook, Cape Ann Farmer's Market at Stage Fort Park, July 2019.

Three wind turbines were installed in Gloucester in 2012. The city became part of the Green Communities Program (2010), providing funding for LED streetlights and a small electric vehicle fleet. The Solar Challenge Program has allowed local residents to more easily obtain private solar installations.

## Communities

Neighborhoods of Cape Ann

Identities

Demographics

Communities: **Neighborhoods of Cape Ann**



## Communities: **Neighborhoods of Cape Ann**



Benham Collection, *Rocky Neck*, early 1870s, Glass plate negative, Cape Ann Museum Library & Archive.

### East Gloucester<sup>8</sup>

- The historic center of Gloucester's fishing industry
- Now a relatively economically diverse residential neighborhood

### Rocky Neck<sup>9</sup>

- Tourist shops and galleries occupy what were once fish shacks
- Occupied from 1880s-1970s by artists
- Hotels were built in the early 20th century to house tourists and artists<sup>11</sup>



Gloucester Lyceum and Sawyer Free Library, *The Mooreland and cottages, Bass Rocks, Gloucester, Mass*, Digital Commonwealth.

### Eastern Point

- Dominated by single family homes on large plots including summer cottage estates
- One of the wealthiest communities on the Cape

### Bass Rocks

- Summer resort area developed in the early 20th century

### Brier Neck

- Early 20th century summer resort community, historically upper-middle class, though modest in architectural style



## Communities: **Neighborhoods of Cape Ann**



Cape Ann Finns, *The Finnish Workers Association's Finn Hall, Lanesville, 19th century.*

### Lanesville

- In its early history, was home to fishermen and whalers of primarily English descent followed by a community of Irish-Americans
- As quarrying became a dominant industry, a flourishing Finnish-American culture emerged bound together by artist and socialist working class values and shared immigrant heritage
- Dairy farming was also significant during the quarry period
- Granite quarry unions were part of a network of Finnish-American union activism across the country



Edwin Clymer, *A View From Above, Halibut Point Notes.*

### Folly Cove

- Scattered residential neighborhood on the tip of Cape Ann that attracted artists, particularly granite sculptors during the 20th century



George H. Walker, *Pigeon Cove, Rockport, Essex County, Mass, 1886*, Boston Public Library Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, Digital Commonwealth.

### Pigeon Cove

- Similar geographically to Folly Cove, but with a distinct Finnish, Swedish, and Norwegian immigrant history and historic working harbor for granite quarrying and shipping

## Communities: **Neighborhoods of Cape Ann**



Gloucester Postcard Collection, *Manchester-by-the-Sea*, Sawyer Free Library.  
Below: The American Architect and Building News, *Sketches of Kragssyde*, 1885.

### Manchester-By-The-Sea

- Developed by colonial settlers as a small fishing community
- Evolved as a holiday retreat destination for wealthy Boston elite and a serving class. This era produced an eclectic architectural heritage
- Many commuting professionals live here today



Maryl Martin Collection, *Magnolia Massachusetts Point Bathing Beach*, Antique postcard.

### Magnolia

- A small coastal community developed during the era of hotel building on the Cape
- Upper middle-class suburban and second home community
- Culturally similar to Manchester

## Communities: **Neighborhoods of Cape Ann**



Woodman's of Essex, *The Causeway in Essex*, 2018.

### Essex

- Relatively less dense-- suburban and rural area of Cape Ann
- The Causeway (Highway 133) provides access to its small central commercial district
- Historically working class communities of shipbuilders and clammers remain key to visual character
- Primarily white, middle and upper-class, single family homeowners



Windhill Realty, *Conomo Point*, 2020.

### Conomo Point

- One-hundred-year-old summer community with 104 seasonal cottages and year-round homes on town-leased land
- Conversion of summer homes to year-round homes was ended in 1982

## Communities: **Neighborhoods of Cape Ann**



Design Lively Blog, *Main Street in Gloucester*, 2012, [www.withwindle.wordpress.com/2012/02/21/day-trip-gloucester-ma](http://www.withwindle.wordpress.com/2012/02/21/day-trip-gloucester-ma)

### Downtown Gloucester

- Dominant cultural identity historically centered around Italian and specifically Sicilian fishing community, reflected in the Italian bakeries and cafes on Main Street
- Most diverse neighborhood socioeconomically as well as culturally
- Median income is lowest across Cape Ann
- Significant renter-occupied housing



Jay Albert, *Portuguese Hill and Our Lady of Good Voyage Church*, 2010, Cape Ann Images, [www.capeannimages.blogspot.com/2010/01/gloucester-architecture.html](http://www.capeannimages.blogspot.com/2010/01/gloucester-architecture.html)

### Portuguese Hill

- Portuguese immigrants settled here in the mid-nineteenth century, joining the fishing community
- Roman Catholic church, Our Lady of Good Voyage Church, originally built in 1892, rebuilt in 1914, defines the neighborhood
- Referred to as "Portagee Hill"

## Communities: **Neighborhoods of Cape Ann**



Yvon van Pelt, *The Fort Neighborhood*, Google Earth.

### The Fort

- Hilly waterfront neighborhood sitting in the midst of the Inner Harbor, one of the oldest neighborhoods in Gloucester
- Stands out in the imaginary of local communities where icons such as Charles Olsen lived and Fiesta is hosted
- Has become the site of controversy over new development vs. retaining a working waterfront



Google Maps, *West Gloucester off Essex Ave*, 2019.

### West Gloucester

- The most rural area of Gloucester composed of single-family homes, reflecting agricultural past
- Low and middle income residents
- Did not develop as much as other areas of the Cape in 19th and 20th centuries

## Communities: **Neighborhoods of Cape Ann**



Ren Fuller, *Annisquam's Lobster Cove*, Courtesy The Market Restaurant.

### Annisquam

- Middle and upper class residential waterfront neighborhood
- Prominent community theater and yachting community
- Fishing and commercial port from mid-18th to mid-19th centuries, that evolved into summer estate development

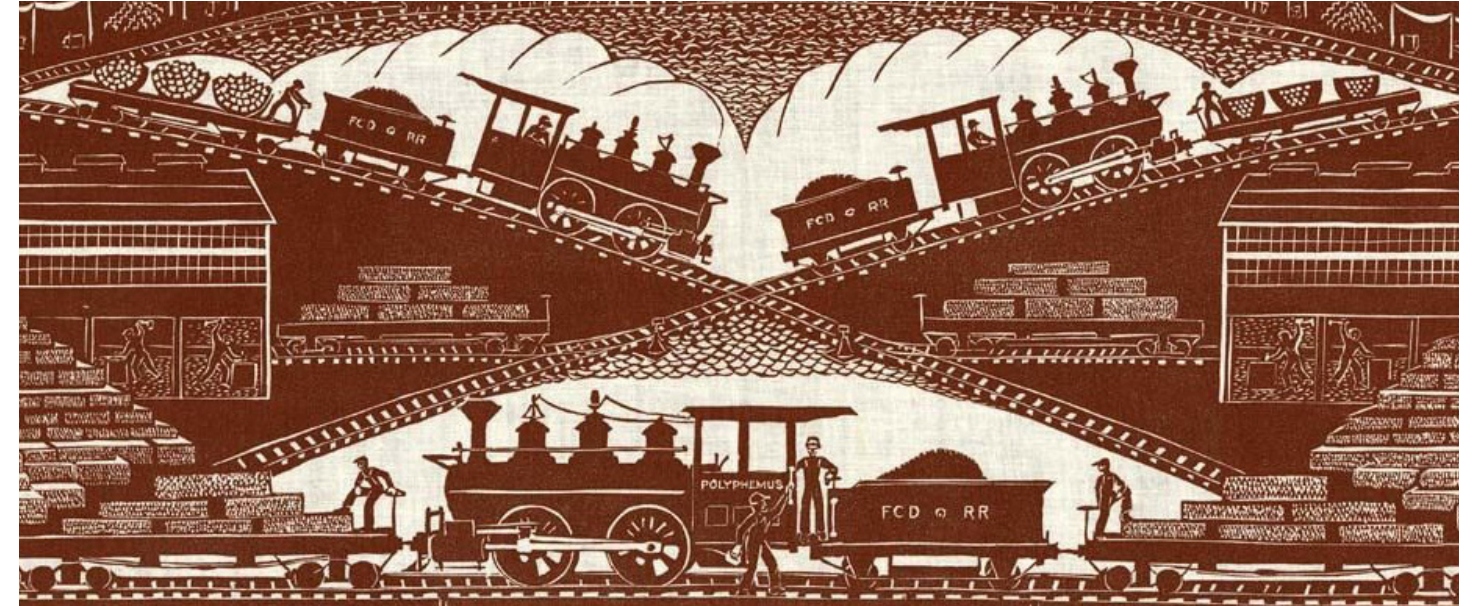
### Wheeler's Point

- Single family homes on Annisquam river



Kindra Clineff, *The fishing community remains a dominant cultural force. St. Peter's Fiesta--a five day festival celebrating the patron saint of fisherman--takes place every summer in the streets of Gloucester, 2012*, Massachusetts Office of Travel and Tourism.

Cape Ann is understood historically as a community of immigrant cultures and working class identities including Sicilians, Portuguese, Finnish, Swedish, and Irish-American communities. These are reflected in the cultural imaginary through festivals, culinary traditions, and art. Throughout its recent history, the fishing community, quarry workers, and artists contributed to a strong network of community organizing.



Eino Natti, *Polyphemus*, 1950, Ink on cotton, Cape Ann Museum.



Dead in the Water - The Documentary, *Poster protesting NOAA from the documentary Dead in the Water, 2020.*



Alice M. Curtis, *Harriet Johnson*, 1928, [www.capeannslavery.org](http://www.capeannslavery.org)

Cape Ann is currently doing work to understand the hidden history of enslaved people in the region, including slaveowners, slave traders, sea captains, and business owners. This work is both a research endeavor and also a contemporary endeavor to understand the ongoing legacy of slavery on Cape Ann.

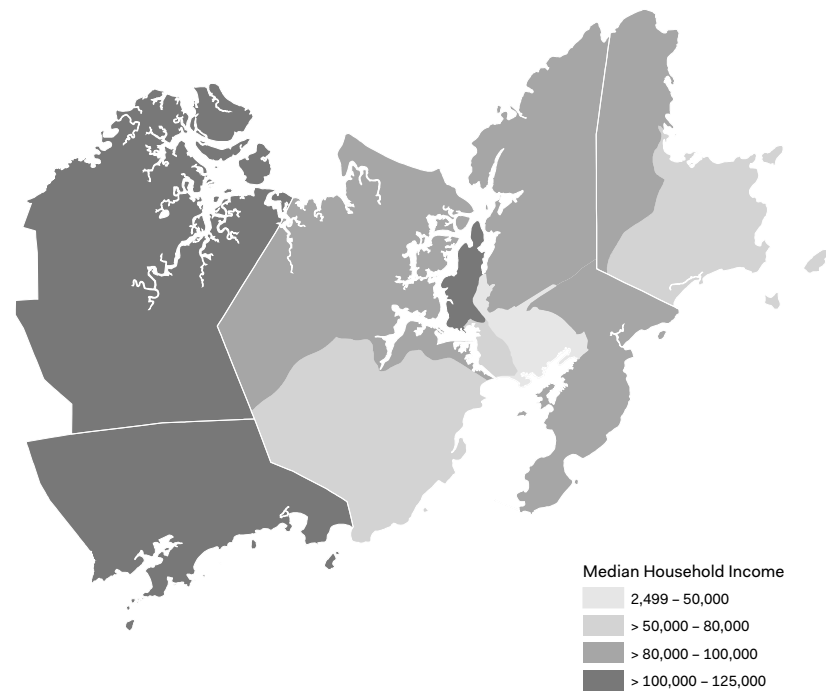


William F. Halsall, *The four ships John Winthrop brought to New England, 1630*, [www.enduringgloucester.com](http://www.enduringgloucester.com)

Cape Ann has also created a site, *Enduring Gloucester*, that details how Gloucester's founding has shaped its future, with a monolithic economy based around fishing that was the result of its founding as a poor town compared to its Massachusetts equivalencies. The project is led by historian Mary Ellen Lepionka, who is working on a history of Cape Ann from the Ice Age to 1700 A.D.

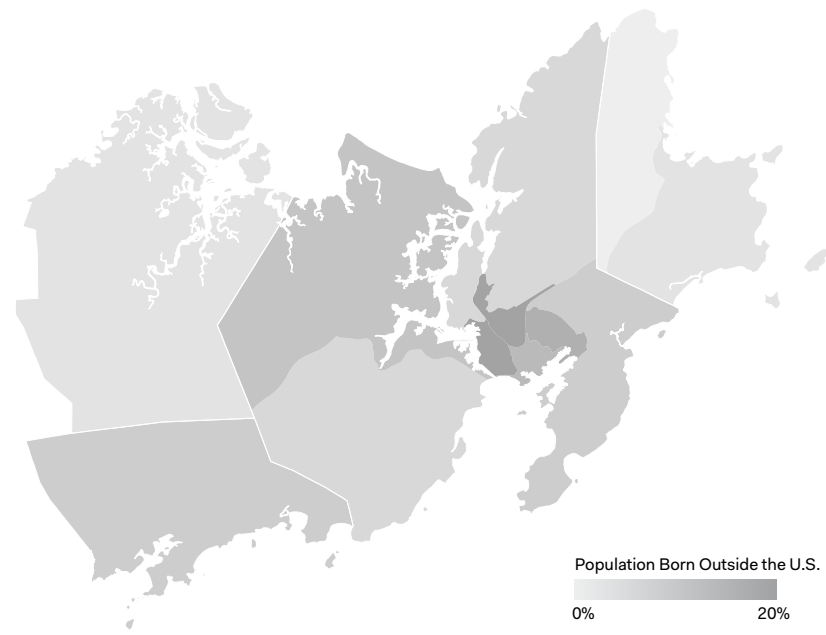


Communities: **Demographics**



Data by Census Tract from the U.S. Census Bureau. *American Community Survey 2014-2018*. ArcGIS Living Atlas of the World.

Communities: **Demographics**



## January

Martin Luther King Day Celebration | Gloucester | January 18  
*Annual celebration of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday presented by the Gloucester Meetinghouse Foundation*

Holocaust Remembrance Day | Gloucester | January 27  
*Holocaust Remembrance day program organized by Gloucester Meetinghouse Foundation and Temple Ahavat Achim*

## February

Cape Ann Winter Birding Weekend | Gloucester | Saturday in February  
*Annual weekend organized by 7 Seas Whale Watch, Cape Ann Chamber of Commerce, Massachusetts Audubon Society and local ornithologists with presentations, exhibitions, artistic demonstrations and excursions to the Stellwagen Banks National Marine Sanctuary headquartered at the Elks Club at Bass Rock*

## March

Irish Sweepstakes | Ipswich | St. Patrick's Day  
*Annual event sponsored by the Cape Ann Chamber of Commerce with \$20,000 in prizes*

Bach Birthday Concert | Gloucester | Late in the month  
*Annual early spring concert celebrating the birthday of Johann Sebastian Bach organized by the Gloucester Meetinghouse Foundation*

## April

Pride Stride | Gloucester | Last Saturday in April  
*Annual fundraising walk for Cape Ann non-profits and community groups*

## May

Backshore 5 Mile and 5K | Gloucester | Third Saturday of May  
*Annual road race at Good Harbor Beach*

Motif No. 1 Day | Rockport | Third Saturday of the month  
*Day-long festival honoring Rockport's heritage and future in the arts with poetry, dance, art, live music, a run, local food and beer in honor of the fishing shack Motif No. 1, sponsored by Rockport Exchange*

## June

International Dory Races | Gloucester | One week in June  
*The International Dory Races is a week-long event in Gloucester in June, followed by a week-long event in Nova Scotia in August with races organized by International Dorries*

St. Peter's Fiesta | Gloucester | Last week of June  
*Five-day celebration honoring the patron saint of the fisherman Saint Peter, including live music, a road race, greasy pole contest, dancing and seine boat races, mass and awards ceremonies around Gloucester Harbor*

## July

Fishtown Horribles Parade | Gloucester | July 4th  
*Parade started in Riverdale in the 1930s by farmer's children dressing in outlandish costumes. The Parade marches through downtown across Stacey Boulevard to Gloucester High School*

Salute to America | Manchester-by-the-Sea | July 4th  
*Parade through downtown Manchester-by-the-Sea and barbecue in Masconomo Park with fireworks to celebrate the Fourth of July*

## August

Gloucester Blues Festival | Gloucester | Saturday in August  
*Open air music festival on Cressey Beach in Stage Fort Park*

Riverfest Seaside Music Festival | Gloucester | Saturday in August  
*Annual free show in Stage Fort Park, Gloucester sponsored by independent radio station 92.5 The River*

Celebrate the Clean Harbor Open Water Swimming Festival | Gloucester | Weekend in August  
*Series of swimming events in Gloucester Harbor*

Gloucester Waterfront Festival | Gloucester | Third Weekend in August  
*Two-day festival held in Stage Fort Park with local artisans, food, music and crafts*

Festival-by-the-Sea | Manchester-by-the-Sea | First Weekend in August  
*Day-long festival organized by the Manchester Division of the Cape Ann Chamber of Commerce centered on Masconomo Park with booths throughout downtown Manchester-by-the-Sea*

Summer Show | Gloucester | Weekend in August  
*The Annisquam Village Players puts on a volunteer summer play at the Annisquam Village Hall*

## September

Around Cape Ann 25K | Gloucester and Rockport | First Weekend in September  
*Seaside 25k organized by the Cape Ann YMCA along the coast through Gloucester and Rockport*

Gloucester Schooner Festival | Gloucester | Labor Day weekend  
*Annual event honoring the role of fishing in Gloucester Harbor with a Parade of Sail through Gloucester Harbor to Eastern Point, sponsored by Maritime Gloucester*

Fishbox Derby | Gloucester | Sunday in September  
*Fishbox derby car race on Rogers Street in Gloucester between Gorton's Fish Plant and the Rose Baker Senior Center where contestants race their own cars through downtown*

Maritime Heritage Day | Gloucester | Labor Day weekend  
*Family event on the working waterfront in Gloucester with demonstrations, schooner charters and local food*

Trails and Sails | Cape Ann | Ten days in late September  
*Series of events organized and coordinated by Essex Heritage that includes walking tours, schooner sails, art gallery visits and historical lessons across Essex County, including various sites on Cape Ann*

Classic Car Show | Gloucester | Saturday early in the month  
*Vintage car show on the Gloucester Meetinghouse green*

## October

Fall Festival | Gloucester | First Saturday of the month  
*Community celebration with local vendors organized by Bridge Cape Ann at the waterfront pavilion at Cape Ann's Marina Resort by Mile Marker One restaurant*

Rockport Harvestfest | Rockport | Saturday mid-month  
*Annual food-based festival with local seafood, pastries, grass-fed beef, pizza, beer and wine and local music on T Wharf in downtown Rockport, sponsored by Rockport Exchange*

Essex ClamFest | Essex | Third Saturday of the month  
*Chowder tasting festival in Shepard Memorial Park sponsored by the Cape Ann Chamber of Commerce*

Annisquam Arts and Crafts Show | Gloucester | Weekend in early October  
*Artisans and craftsmen in Annisquam put on a weekend-long open gallery and show*

Haunted Halloween | Gloucester | Halloween  
*Trick-or-treating and Halloween celebration at Hammond Castle*

## November

Kent Circle Tree Lighting | Gloucester | Saturday after Thanksgiving  
*Holiday tree lighting ceremony*

## December

Middle Street Walk | Gloucester | Saturday in December  
*Seasonal celebration of local businesses across Gloucester*

Christmas-by-the-Sea | Manchester-by-the-Sea | First weekend in December  
*Christmas celebrations organized by the Cape Ann Chamber of Commerce, Manchester Garden Club, Manchester Woman's Club and Manchester Masons with Santa arriving by boat, a Christmas concert, and lighting of tree on Manchester-by-the-Sea's Town Green*

Lobster Trap Tree Lighting | Gloucester | Second Saturday in December  
*Annual lighting of lobster trap tree constructed in downtown Gloucester on Main Street with caroling*

Rockport New Year's Eve | Rockport | New Year's Eve  
*Local businesses around downtown Rockport and Bearskin Neck stay open to welcome revelers into the New Year with music, food, story telling and a midnight ball drop*

## Spring

Cape Ann Artisan's Tour | Gloucester and Rockport | Saturday in late spring  
*Self-guided tour of artists' studios in downtown Gloucester, downtown Rockport and Rocky Neck*

## Summer

Harborwalk Summer Cinema | Gloucester | Saturday evenings  
*Weekly outdoor movies on the Gloucester harbor walk organized by the City of Gloucester, Cape Ann Cinema and Stage and North Shore Radio 104.9*

Outdoor Walking Tours | Gloucester | Saturdays  
*Series of tours organized by the Cape Ann Museum focusing on the career of artist Fitz Henry Lane and Hopper's Houses*

## Communities: **Calendar**

Main Street Block Party | Gloucester | Saturdays throughout the summer  
*Block party events in the evenings on Saturdays organized by the Chamber of Commerce. Main Street is closed to vehicle traffic while restaurants and shops stay open with music and food*

Rockport Farmer's Market | Rockport | Saturdays from the end of June to mid-October  
*Farmer's market in the Rockport Music parking lot in the commercial center with locally grown produce and farm products*

Rockport Chamber Music Festival | Rockport | Weekends July to September  
*Chamber Music Festival featuring local and international musicians, sponsored by non-profit group Rockport Music and held at Shalin Liu Performance Center in downtown Rockport*

Cape Ann Farmer's Market | Gloucester | First week in July to second week of October  
*Farmer's market at Maritime Gloucester with locally grown produce, seafood and food producers*

Essex Farmer's Market | Essex | June to October  
*Farmer's market at Memorial Field in Essex with locally grown produce and seafood*

Magnolia Farmer's Market | Gloucester | Sundays June to October  
*Market on Lexington Avenue in Magnolia, Gloucester with locally grown produce and seafood*

Blackburn Challenge | Gloucester | Saturday during the summer  
*20 mile open water rowing challenge circumnavigating Cape Ann from the Gloucester Marina on the Annisquam River, commemorating Howard Blackburn's midwinter row from Burgeo Bank fishing grounds to Newfoundland*

## Fall

Army/Navy Flag Football Game | Gloucester | Late November or early December  
*Flag football game and watch party organized by Cape Ann Veterans Services and held at Newall Stadium in Gloucester*

Art Auction | Gloucester | Saturday in late September or October  
*Auction to support the Gloucester Lyceum and Sawyer Free Public Library*

Cape Ann Artisan's Tour | Gloucester and Rockport | Saturday in early fall  
*Self-guided tour of artists' studios in downtown Gloucester, downtown Rockport and Rocky Neck*

## Communities: **Major Employers**

### Essex

Essex Elementary School  
Essex Fire Dept.  
Mayer Tree Service  
Quinn Brothers Iron Works  
Village Restaurant  
Blue Marlin Grill  
Carpenter & Mac Neille Architect  
Ck Pearl Restaurant  
Essex Conference Center & Retreat  
Essex River Basin Adventures  
Essex Room  
Gullwing Service Co

### Manchester-by-the-Sea

Brookwood School  
J Barrett  
Crosby's Marketplace  
Essex County Club  
Family Medicine Assoc.  
Landmark Elementary  
Manchester Athletic Club  
Manchester Essex Regl. High  
Manchester Essex Regl. Middle  
Memorial School

### Gloucester

Addison Gilbert Hospital  
Connected Home Care  
Seaport Grille  
Applied Materials Inc.  
Bomco Inc.  
Compass Program of Action Inc.  
Freudenberg-Nok GP  
Gloucester Engineering Co Inc.  
Gloucester High School  
Head Start  
Market Basket  
O'Maley Middle School  
Seacoast Nursing and Retirement  
Shaw's Supermarket  
Super Stop & Shop  
US Commerce Dept.  
Whole Food Market  
YMCA North Shore  
Annisquam Yacht Club  
Beauport Hotel Gloucester  
Beeman Elementary School  
Cape Ann Medical Center  
Cape Ann Savings Bank

### Rockport

Rockport Superintendent-School  
Den-Mar Rehab & Nurse Ctr.  
Rockport Elementary  
Rockport Fire Dept.  
Rockport High School  
Sandy Bay Machine INc.  
Harbor Master  
Michael's Restaurant  
My Place By the Sea  
Pleasant Street Cottages  
Rockport Country Club

Communities: **Major Organizations**

Conservation Organizations

Rockport Art Colony

Great Marsh

Rockport Cultural District

Essex County Trail Association

Rocky Neck Art Colony

Essex Shipbuilding Museum

Essex National Heritage Area

Greenbelt: Essex County's Land Trust

## Notes

- 1 Mary Ellen Lepionka, "Environmental Factors in Native Settlement Patterns," *Cape Ann History*, [www.capeannhistory.org](http://www.capeannhistory.org) and Mary Ellen Lepionka, "Who Were the Agawam Indians, Really?" *Historic Ipswich*, October 7, 2019.
- 2 Mary Ellen Lepionka, "The Settlement of Cape Ann: What is the Real Story," *Enduring Gloucester*, 2018, [www.enduringgloucester.com/2018/02/14/the-settlement-of-cape-ann-what-is-the-real-story](http://www.enduringgloucester.com/2018/02/14/the-settlement-of-cape-ann-what-is-the-real-story).
- 3 "The Role of Slavery in the Cape Ann Economy," *Cape Ann Slavery & Abolition*, [www.capeannslavery.org/the-role-of-slavery-in-the-cape-ann-economy/](http://www.capeannslavery.org/the-role-of-slavery-in-the-cape-ann-economy/)
- 4 Cape Ann Slavery, "The Role of Slavery in the Cape Ann Economy."
- 5 "Granite Quarrying," *Cape Ann Museum*, [www.capeannmuseum.org](http://www.capeannmuseum.org)
- 6 Martin Ray, "The Granite Industry, Part 6 D - Labor Strikes," *Notes from Halibut Point*, June 2017, [www.halibutpointnotes.blogspot.com/2017/06](http://www.halibutpointnotes.blogspot.com/2017/06).
- 7 Charles Olson, "Charles Olson Reads from Maximus Poems IV, V, VI," *Folkways Records*, 1975.
- 8 Patty Knaggs, "Gloucester Neighborhoods: East Gloucester," *Cape Ann and the North Shore*, accessed August 6, 2020, [www.capeannandthenorthshore.com](http://www.capeannandthenorthshore.com).
- 9 "Neighborhood Overviews," City of Gloucester, 2012, [www.gloucester-ma.gov](http://www.gloucester-ma.gov)





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