TOURISM IN THE HISTORIC DISTRICTS OF NANTUCKET AND SALEM

by

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

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ABSTRACT

Many studies in the United States are showing that historic sites and districts are among the most popular places for tourists. Given this trend, the local and state governments are pursuing to combine the preservation movement with the economic benefits tourism generates.

This thesis investigates the historic districts of Nantucket and Salem to see how historic preservation is being used for tourism purposes. The discussion is based on preservation-induced tourism that will benefit the local economy and host community.

The approach taken in Nantucket and Salem differ. In Nantucket, the town has articulated the protection and enhancement of tourism as the economic development goal. Most influential in shaping its tourism industry has been the influence by the private sector. It shaped the tourism industry targeting the elite tourists because the carrying capacity is limited on the island. The results have been successful and are reflected in its overall economic performance.

In Salem, because of the decline of the major industries, reliance on the tourism industry is becoming more evident. The city has broad tourism goals for economic development purposes. Additionally, the National Park Service and their coordination with the non-profit organizations are shaping the tourism industry. Salem is well known for its mass tourism based on the witch trials but also has potential in expanding its tourism industry by planning the other type of elite tourism based on maritime and American history.

The two cases suggest that the key for developing a long term preservation-induced tourism industry depends on establishing goals and careful planning. The local government will be providing broad goals for the community, and along with the public, private, and non-profit sectors, will be influential in shaping the future of the tourism industry.

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I would like to express my gratitude for the guidance of my thesis supervisor, Professor Gary Hack and my reader, Professor John de Monchaux. Their advice, direction, and support have given me strength to continue and look beyond the surface of issues.

This thesis would not have been possible without the information that I gathered through interviews in Nantucket and Salem. I appreciate the time and support of my interviewees. Their willingness to provide information and discuss the issues on historic preservation and tourism has contributed and has been the basis of my research.

Personally, I wish to thank my parents for their love and support throughout my studies at MIT. I dedicate this thesis to them as a symbol of appreciation.
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Introduction

Tourism is a big business in the United States. In fact, it is the third largest retail industry, after automotive dealers and food stores. The industry has economic benefits of generating income and employment for the local residents. In 1991, tourism contributed $344 billion to the U.S. economy and generated six million jobs directly and another six million jobs indirectly in the United States, and the industry’s contributions to federal, state, and local taxes amounted to $43.6 billion.

Studies from various states are beginning to show that historic sites and buildings are among the most important attractions to tourists. With this recognition of the important contribution historic sites provide for tourism, local and state governments are challenged to combine the preservation movement with the economic benefits tourism generates.

Given these underlying trends in the United States, this thesis examines how historic preservation is being used to stimulate tourism. Many variables contribute to a healthy environment for tourism induced by historic preservation but problems also exist. The goal of this discussion is to explore tourism based on historic preservation that will benefit the local economy and the majority of residents of the community. I address three themes in particular:
1. How is the urban design of historic districts creating a sense of place to attract tourists?
2. What type of tourism is ideal for the host community?
3. Whose role is it to shape the tourism industry?

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1 Craig, Bruce. Parks, Preservation, Tourism and Economic Development: Have we gone too far? p69.
The first theme addresses how the built environment contributes to attracting tourists. My study covers both historic districts and historic sites within the historic district. It is not my intention to ask whether it is the site or district that is superior in attracting tourists. However, because historic districts have a special feature, creating a sense of place, I believe it is one of the elements that appeal to visitors. From this viewpoint, I investigate the physical environment of the historic districts.

The second and third themes investigate how preservation-induced tourism is planned in a community. When taking the community into consideration, we will need to determine what ideal type of tourism is needed for the prosperity of economic aspects reflecting the capacity of the community. Should it be elite tourism or mass tourism? The decision should be based on the benefit of the community and should not impose major problems on the community. Lastly, I discuss the roles played by the public, private, and non-profit sectors to shape the tourism industry. Because a feasibility capacity limits what one sector can plan and implement, I anticipate that planning and implementing will be joint efforts by the different sectors.

This discussion is sketched in the following way. Chapter 1 begins by describing the preservation movement in the United States and how it has evolved over time from aggressive federal involvement to a change of state and local initiatives. The next section discusses historic preservation and its relationship to tourism. Then, I discuss the goals and plans necessary for a successful development of tourism induced by historic preservation. This discussion covers tourism goals and plans which will benefit the community.
Chapters 2 and 3 examine the case studies of the Nantucket Historic District and Historic Districts in Salem, respectively. Each case begins with a brief history and description of how the tourism industry was developed. Secondly, the chapters describe the economic development issues and how tourism is addressed within the community’s Comprehensive / Master Plan. In the case of Salem, the analysis emphasizes the efforts by the public, private, and non-profit sectors to shape tourism. Thirdly, the chapters present the evolution of the historic districts and the related regulations. Finally, the chapters introduce some of the major attractions within the historic districts. Both places have pursued historic preservation but each has taken a different approach to plan for tourism.

Chapter 4 outlines the lessons learned from tourism in the historic districts of Nantucket and Salem based on the three themes I have presented at the beginning: urban design of historic districts, type of tourism, and roles of various sectors.

When linked properly, historic preservation and tourism can produce a synergy to benefit the local economy and community. However, careful planning is necessary to avoid adverse effects on the host community.
Chapter I.

Characteristics of Historic Preservation and Tourism
1.1 Preservation Movements in the United States

The historic preservation movement in the United States dates back to the end of the nineteenth century. As early as 1896, preservation was sanctioned by the Federal Court, concerning the eminent domain of the historic Civil War battlefield at Gettysburg. In 1910, Charles Sumner Appleton founded the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities to preserve buildings representing a wide range of historical periods.

In 1924, with the involvement of the financial support from the Rockefeller family and the participation of the Federal Government, a project to restore Colonial Williamsburg was initiated. This was the earliest example of the concept of the assembled village. Similar projects have been successfully executed in other places such as Old Salem, North Carolina and Old Sturbridge Village, Massachusetts.

In the 1930s, the first local action for preservation was seen in Charleston, South Carolina and the French Quarter in New Orleans, Louisiana, when the city adopted an historic district ordinance affording legal protection and geographic definition to a major concentration of private historic dwellings.

At the federal level, the National Park Service created the Historic American Building Survey (HABS), the first nationwide program to establish criteria for the recognition of buildings on the basis of their architectural merits or historical associations. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 was passed declaring historic preservation as a national policy and
consolidated federal preservation activities within the National Park Service.

In 1949, the National Trust for Historic Preservation was chartered by Congress as a non-governmental organization to hold and administer public properties of historic value and to serve as a clearinghouse for preservation information and technical assistance.

Following World War II, the nation embarked on building programs that often destroyed historic landmarks. In response, Congress enacted the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966. This law established an inventory of properties, known as the National Register of Historic Places, that lists "districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture", and is maintained by the Secretary of the Interior. According to this new law, the Advisory Council was required by law to review and comment on any federal actions that would impact National Register properties. The NHPA further provided for statewide involvement in historic preservation. A State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) for each state was designated to serve as that state's liaison officer in directing preservation grant-in-aid programs, historical surveys, and preservation planning. This 1966 act marked a new phase in the historic preservation movement characterized by state involvement, recognition of structures of state and local significance, and integration of historic preservation into the local, state, and federal planning processes.

In 1980, NHPA amendments gave state and local governments more authority and funding to implement historic preservation. To stimulate private initiatives in preservation, a loan insurance program has also been
provided. After the 1980s, a new economic and political climate challenged the extensive federal involvement of the previous decades. The emphasis appears to be away from the federal regulations and toward more local government regulations and private sector involvement.

At around the same period, the word "heritage" came increasingly into usage and the new idea of the national heritage corridor program emerged. It is a program to protect nationally significant resources, including architecture, industrial and commercial archaeology, on a regional basis by the joint effort of various sectors. The program's objective is an economic development strategy through tourism, explicitly targeting the underdeveloped areas. Examples include efforts undertaken in Lowell in Massachusetts, Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and Allegheny Ridge Heritage Park in Pennsylvania. The Lowell Project in Massachusetts has been so successful in bringing life back to the deteriorating city that it has become a model of heritage tourism. With recognition of the economic advantages that historic preservation has for tourism purposes, there are many cities and towns that are trying to pursue this path.

1.2 Reasons for Historic Preservation

There are a number of reasons for historic preservation. One may be closely related to the values and purposes of urban design and planning. Conserving buildings and districts of historical and architectural significance is now important to urban design and planning.
Another reason may be general public concern. Maintaining a community’s cultural heritage and encouraging the civic pride that historic and creative buildings have are essentials for future generations.

A third is an economic reason. Rehabilitating an existing building is often more economical than building a new structure. As historic preservation takes place in old buildings or areas, property values begin to rise around the restored structures. Structures in the surrounding area increase in value in relation to the proximity to the restored structures. A restored historic structure or district with historic significance, if publicized will attract people. These people may be residents, businesses or tourists.

The economics of preservation has been supporting cities and rural areas. By investing in the inherited asset a community possess, towns, cities, and regions can generate new prosperity to attract other forms of economic development along with tourism.

1.3 Historic Preservation and Tourism

Recent studies have shown that many people are interested in visiting historic sites and districts. According to Frommer\(^1\), “Every study of travel (non business) motivations has shown that an interest in the achievements of the past is among the three major reasons why people travel. The other two are rest or recreation and the desire to view great natural sights.” A recent study in Virginia has shown that visiting historic sites was the second most popular reason, next to visiting friends.

and relatives. In 1977, a National Travel Survey by the U.S. Census Bureau found that visiting historic sites was the fourth most popular activity of families on trips. A 1983 California survey found that three of the first five activities planned by tourists were heritage-related. A 1986 Illinois traveler's survey found that historic sites and the Illinois State Fair were the two most popular attractions people wanted to visit in the next year.

1.3.1 Reasons for Visiting Historic Sites

Why are historic sites so attractive to tourists? There are several reasons. Among the most important factors listed by Roddewigo, I have selected several reasons relevant to my study. One is that in an era of nationally franchised restaurants, department stores, and the development of strip shopping centers, all places look like one another. The contrast that historic places and districts create is a unique experience tourists enjoy. The second is that historic sites give people a sense of continuity with their own past that allows them to better understand themselves. Third, the members of the baby boom generation are now approaching middle age. They are intensely interested in educating their children about history and architecture. Lastly, people are discovering regional cuisines and the best places to experience them is in the historic buildings or districts.

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5 Roddewigo, Richard. Setting America’s Heritage... Without Selling Out. p3.
1.3.2 Benefits from Preservation-induced Tourism

Historic preservation and tourism can combine in a powerful synergy. When the two link well, these are the benefits. When a city/town has a historic or cultural site, it can attract visitors. It creates a purpose to visit. Once visitors arrive, the revenue they produce in return will help offset the costs of maintaining the site. It may also help support infrastructure development that is necessary for the community. As visitors to the historic/cultural site spend money in shops, restaurants, and hotels, they will expand the local economy.

Additionally, the host community can cultivate a feeling of pride that has led to putting more effort into improving their environment. There have been examples that as more tourists come to the community, individuals in the area have repaired and painted their houses, cut their yards and planted flowers, and the community has benefited as a whole.

An area that develops its potential for historic preservation induced tourism creates new opportunities for tourists to gain an understanding of an unfamiliar place. At the same time, as more tourists arrive, new opportunities for more historic preservation emerge in the community.

The largest benefit of historic preservation and tourism may be that opportunities increase for diversifying the economy. This can be accomplished by maintaining the special characteristics of the community.
1.4 Goals and Planning for Tourism

The economic advantages and community benefits from historic preservation induced tourism have been articulated. When a community has determined to develop its tourism industry based on historic preservation, planning and protecting resources becomes inevitable. To ensure that the tourism resources have a long and productive life, setting up goals and plans will become essential.

To develop the tourism industry for a community, goals and plans for tourism need to be clarified. Goals are abstract concepts which are intended to provide general directions. For the goals to be effective, goals must be feasible. In tourism, this means the community’s approach needs to be realistic and attractive for tourists in a competitive market. To develop a satisfactory tourist product, the cooperation of many sectors, especially the public sector, is necessary for the industry to be successful. For tourism in the United States, the goals need to be a subset of overall community objectives, since tourism goals represent the interests of one of several activities within the local community.

Typically, overall community objectives are addressed in a comprehensive plan of a community. The comprehensive plan represents the only formal, unified overview of the quality of life in a community. The plan reports on how a community is performing in the way of providing affordable housing, transportation systems, employment growth, economic development, growth management, and environmental issues to name a few. Each of these issues is addressed in an element of a plan. They provide a setting for what the community wants in the future. Comprehensive plans are a declaration of policy and the intent of the local
government, and they have the power of enforcement. A policy for tourism for a community is addressed sometimes in several categories but typically will be under economic development.

Until quite recently, most tourism goals and planning have been oriented toward business interests and economic growth. The prime motivation for tourism development and planning has been economic gain, both for the private and public sectors.

However, there has been a gradual broading in the economic approach to tourism planning. According to Clare A. Gunn, tourism goals should be as following:

1. to provide for "user satisfactions" because it is the tourist that needs to be attracted and satisfied if a destination is to prosper.
2. to provide for "increased rewards to ownership and development" for those entrepreneurs who risk their capital in development, for without such venture capital the industry will be stillborn.
3. to provide "protection of environmental resource assets" such as historical and archeological sites.

His first two goals are business oriented but the final one recognizes the symbiotic relationship between a successful tourism industry and environment. Communities must realize the fragility of certain resources and protect them if they are to develop into a long-term industry.

Among the three goals, there are basically four components to tourism development that are important for achieving the first goal of user satisfaction. They are tourist attractions, accommodations, transportation, and other tourist services such as tourist information centers, convenience goods, banks, etc. Because the tourist faces many problems

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and inconveniences while traveling, locations where the tourist dollars are desired should strive to provide a pleasant, convenient environment.

Additionally, deciding on the type of tourism to be developed for a community is important at its planning stage. Types of tourism can range from general interest sight-seeing to small-scale special interest tourism related to culture. The income level needs to be decided. Some destinations are opting for “elite” tourism, in other words controlled development aiming for a high expenditure tourist market. Others range from a very limited small scale level of a few thousand tourists to “mass” tourism involving much larger numbers of visitors.

Ultimately, a well planned tourism program is one that will balance competing considerations. For the tourism industry to prosper in the long term, the balance between economic benefits and community capacity will become the key. Also, in the process of planning and developing the tourism industry, the cooperation and support of various sectors; the public, private, and non-profit sectors, will shape the actual outcomes.

My case studies are of Nantucket Island and Salem, places that have a long history in historic preservation and have used their inherited resources for tourism. As mentioned earlier, establishing goals and plans is important in tourism planning. The following two chapters will illustrate, the different approach as in planning and the different key players in the tourism industry that have shaped the different outcomes.
Chapter II.

Case Study: Nantucket Historic District

Fig. 2.1 Commercial Area

Fig. 2.2 Old Homes and Street
2.1 Characteristics of Nantucket

Nantucket Island is located twenty-five miles off the southern coast of Cape Cod. It is fourteen miles east to west with a varying width of three to six miles north to south. Nantucket also includes two other small islands Tuckernuck and Muskeget Island, which are on the far western end of the main island. Nantucket's shoreline perimeter includes eighty-two miles of beaches, and its water is warmed by the tropical Gulf Stream. Townspeople value the natural resources of the island, and over thirty-six percent of the open land has been placed under permanent conservation.
Nantucket is a popular summer resort with a large proportion of second homes. The population increases roughly from 7,000 in winter to an estimated range of 30,000 to 40,000 people in summer. Several factors contribute to Nantucket’s success as a resort. First is the historic buildings and streets that have been preserved. The visitor is able to experience an atmosphere which is historic. The buildings have been restored and adapted for present uses but the feeling of the past is maintained.

Second, beaches, dunes, forests, and ponds make up the natural beauty of the island. The variety of plants found on Nantucket is greater than any other area similar in size in the United States. The island has rare birds and plants such as the short-eared owl and Nantucket Shadbush.

Third, the climate of the island is milder than much of New England in summer. The humid breezy weather is cooler than the mainland.

With these factors, Nantucket has developed into a much sought resort. For the purpose of my thesis, I will only be focusing on the element of the built environment contributing to enhance tourism on the island.

2.1.1 Brief History of Nantucket Island

The first white settlers of Nantucket Island came from the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1659 who chose to isolate themselves from the society of Puritans. The first Nantucketers wanted to earn their living by concentrating on the wool textile industry. However, the greatest disadvantage to relying on the textile industry was the lack of a source of energy. During the seventeenth century, economic progress was meager
because the income from textile was limited. Eventually, the islanders grew their own crops and fished from the surrounding waters to make a living. The homes that were built in this era were modest and plain.

In 1699, Parliament passed an act forbidding the colonists to trade in woolen goods. Like all colonies, Nantucket was forced out of the wool trade by the English monopoly. To make a living, the islanders began to pioneer whaling. Homes scattered on the western end of the island were moved close to the harbor. This became the rise of the whaling industry.

One of the characteristics of the islanders in the eighteenth century was Quakers' religion becoming the unifying force. Quakers wore plain clothes and did not like change. Because of the simple life and frugality, Quakers had no churches, but plain meetinghouses. These influences lasted until they broke up in factions early in the nineteenth century.

The eighteenth century was a slow transition from a self-sufficient agricultural community to an industrial town. Dwellings, shops, crafts, and cottages all were grouped around the harbor. Homes where built on the street line with little space between them. They were plain, modest, and small. All were wood-frame construction and none were in brick or stone. Nantucket's simple dwellings reflect the domination of Quakers and its conservative taste of frugality.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Nantucket was most prosperous. The production of whale oil and trades associated with whaling such as shipbuilders, chandlers, coopers, candlemakers, maintained the economy. In 1830, Nantucket was the third largest town in Massachusetts, next to Boston and Salem. Commercial buildings were
connected to other buildings along some sections of Main Street. Large splendid houses were built on the principal streets from the wealth of whaling.

In July of 1846, the Great Fire broke out in a shop along Main Street. It destroyed almost all of the downtown, burning down over three hundred buildings. Only three buildings made of brick were saved on Main Street.

The rebuilding of the town could not stop the decline of the whaling industry. The population fell from 10,000 to 4,000 in ten years. One of the main reasons for the decline of the whaling industry was “railroad”. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the rise of railroad transportation was evident. Nantucket was no longer able to compete with places such as New Bedford, which had deep harbors and railroad connections with major markets. The other reason was the development of “petroleum” as a fuel for lights. The production cost was much lower than whale oil. The decline started in the late 1850s and the last whaling ship left Nantucket Harbor in 1869.

2.1.2. Development of the Tourism Industry

After the collapse of the whaling industry, the islanders struggled to make a living on their own. The 1850s and 1860s were periods of deep depression and people again relied on fishing and farming. Because of the out-migration during this period of time, the town became a ghost town. On the mainland, large beautiful Victorian houses were being rebuilt, but because Nantucket lacked financial resources for new construction, the built environment on the island remained unchanged.
Following the Civil War, the country entered a period of expansion. Nantucket was ready for the vacationers. The resort industry took off in the 1870s. There was a heritage of hundreds of homes from the simple farm houses of the 1680's to the elegant houses built during the whaling prosperity.

The first step in Nantucket's recovery and development of the resort business was the conversion of large houses into hotels. These hotels may not have necessarily been the best lodging, but the temperature was cooler in Nantucket which was a large asset in an era without air conditioning. A summer vacation business was born on the island.

The affluent summer visitors began demanding larger and more luxurious facilities. The 1880s and 1890s was the time that the true era of resort hotels began. From then on, fishing and agriculture became secondary business.

The number of hotel rooms¹ available today does not differ from the number of rooms a century ago. This is because, starting in the last decade of the nineteenth century, there was a trend toward single family summer houses which still continues today.

The summer houses are basically of two types. One is the construction of new houses reflects the contemporary architectural styles. The other is the renovation and preservation of Old Nantucket houses. The summer house movement was a gradual movement by individuals.

¹ According to the Nantucket Lodging Association, there are 1,350 rooms.
Fig. 2.4  Summer Homes by the Waterfront
2.2 Tourism and Comprehensive Plan of Nantucket

This section will investigate how "tourism" is positioned in Nantucket's economy today. Following the decline of the whaling industry, the economy of Nantucket has been replaced primarily by the "new" tourist industry. This industry is and will continue to be the most prominent industry on the island. Presently, other key industries include construction, fishing, and agriculture but they are not supportive enough to stand on their own.

2.2.1 Tourism for Economic Development

The first half of the twentieth century was a steady movement of developing of the tourism industry. Then following the redevelopment of the waterfront in the late 1960's the tourism industry really started to boom. This is reflected in the year round population had remained stable approximately 3,000 to 3,500 people from 1880 to 1970. With the tourism industry and its potential for new employment opportunities, the population increased by 34.8 percent between 1970 to 1980 and by 18.2 percent during the decade to 1990\(^2\).

As of 1993, the key tourism economic sector of retail and service composed 55.7 percent (3,248) of the jobs on Nantucket. If the construction sector is added because it serves mainly the second home market, another 7.5 percent (723)\(^3\) are tourism related. Additionally, a large portion of the transportation sector and finance, insurance, and real estate sectors could also qualify as tourism industry.

\(^2\) 1990 Census of Population and Housing.
\(^3\) LandUse Incorporated. The Economic Base Study Report, p8.
While no firm statistics are available on the exact number of persons employed by tourism, it is safe to say that at least 60 to 70 percent of all jobs on Nantucket are tourism related\(^4\).

With the success of the tourism industry, the median income for household was $40,331 in 1989 which is $7,686 higher than that of the state. This figure is an increase of 30.7 percent\(^5\) compared to a decade ago. The high figure also may include the wealthy retirees who have moved to the island. Taking inflation into account, the growth is also larger than the state. The percent of people below the poverty level in 1989 is 5.7 percent which is 3.2 percent lower than the state average. For Nantucket, tourism is the driving force stabilizing the economy.

2.2.2. Comprehensive Plan

According to the Comprehensive Plan Nantucket, Massachusetts, \textit{Goals and Objectives for Balanced Growth}\(^6\), the overall goal for the economy was a healthy economy to strengthen and diversify the year-round economy. The first objective was “the protection and enhancement of tourism, to protect the economic integrity of the Island’s principal, long-term industry - tourism”. To fulfill this objective other sub-objectives were listed\(^7\).

1. Nurture and protect the image of the island as a pleasurable visiting experience by reason of its cultural heritage, scenic qualities, and small town atmosphere.

\(^6\) Adopted on November 13, 1990 by a vote of Town Meeting as the Town’s overall, long-range comprehensive planning policy and guide for the management of future growth.
\(^7\) The Nantucket Planning and Economic Development Commission. \textit{Goals and Objectives for Balanced Growth.} p34.
2. Protect the very cultural and natural resources that visitors come to the Island to enjoy.
3. Promote and accommodate increases in visitor activity in the "shoulder" season (spring and fall); minimize visitor increases during the peak summer season.
4. Keep island residents and workers informed about the importance of the tourism industry to the future health of the local economy; support programs that instill positive attitudes and skills in those involved in the "front lines" of the tourism industry.
5. Provide improved public services, particularly in the downtown area.
6. Seek to keep the downtown business district a vital, well-balanced mix of activities and businesses throughout the year.
7. Improve opportunities for reasonably priced housing for summer workers employed in tourism-related activities.

As tourism is listed as the first objective in the Comprehensive Plan for the town, it is evident that tourism is the vital force for its economic development policy in the long term. Although, there is a stated intention to diversify the year-round economy, the resources on the island make it difficult for the economy to rely on other industries. One way of achieving a year-round economy may be to expand the tourist season. The Chamber of Commerce is presently making an effort by hosting festivals and events to lengthen the shoulder seasons.

As listed in the fourth sub-objective, it is important for the islanders to obtain education in tourism to improve the perception of tourism and learn how important it is to their lives.

Another important policy identified in the Comprehensive Plan under the growth management is the "historic preservation, architectural design and cultural landscape protection". The objective is to provide a more comprehensive protection for Nantucket’s rich architectural heritage and unique cultural landscape by involving broader participation in preservation advocacy by public and private interests. The community
has a strong background in supporting historic preservation and architectural design, but with the influx of more people accompanied by the success of the tourism industry, more attention is necessary to maintain the physical asset the community possess. This can be accomplished by the coordination with the Historical District Commission which will be discussed in the next section.
2.3 Nantucket Historic District

This section will identify those factors which contribute to maintaining the historic architecture and integrity of the built environment. Although the typical house in Nantucket is a two and half story high clapboard or shingled house made of wood, there are also structures in the commercial areas constructed using brick materials. How has a sense of place been created in such a setting? This is an important question because the harmony of the structure has led to attracting tourists to the island. In the case of Nantucket, the most influential force for continuous conformity of the built environment has been implemented through the establishment of the Nantucket Historic District.

2.3.1. Old and Historic District of Nantucket and Siasconset

Throughout Nantucket's history, a strong community guidance regarding its architecture has existed. This came initially from the influence of the Quakers. They required simplicity and plainness in the detail of their houses. The shingled, unornamented houses set the dominant theme for Nantucket's simple approach to its architectural. As early as in the 1700s, there is a story about a house frame shipped over from the mainland. The house was found to be two stories front and back which did not conform with the architectural style in Nantucket. Some of the islanders felt uneasiness as the house was likely to introduce change to Nantucket. Eventually, the owner of the house compromised by cutting down the back posts.

Even after the decline of the Quakers, community guidance for its architecture prevails. In July of 1937, a town meeting was held and
Nantucket’s contractors, builders, carpenters, masons, civic organizations, real estate offices, dealing in building materials and architects voluntarily adopted a common set of specifications for exterior additions and alterations to old Nantucket houses. This was an informal agreement to respect the architecture and to assure the buildings would follow the customary way in Nantucket.

During the period when Nantucket was a small community composed of people holding similar values, it was easier to maintain the characteristics of the community. However, as more off islanders recognized the beauty of Nantucket, the influx of outsiders increased. People with different values started to come to Nantucket. To protect the island, the islanders began to realize that protection was needed through some sort of regulatory measures.

In the 1950s, a group of individuals, including realtors and architects, starting noticing the changes occurring on the island. These individuals were islanders who cared about the community and were mostly concerned about maintaining the historic flavor of the community. These people heard about the establishment of historic districts in Charleston, South Carolina and the French Quarter, Louisiana and started lobbying the National Park Service so that Nantucket could get the same protection as these communities.

In 1955, Nantucket became one of the first Massachusetts communities to seek protection of its historical character under a state statute. Two districts, the Old and Historic District of Nantucket centered around the old town of Nantucket and the Old and Historic District of Siasconset.

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located on the eastern coast of the island, were established as Local Historic Districts. The boundaries of these Districts and location on the island is illustrated on Figure 2.5. The National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, designated the two local Historic Districts a National Historic Landmark in 1966 and subsequently listed it in the National Register of Historic Places.

These two Historic Districts are the traditional settlements, and nearly 95% of the population lived there in 1955. No land use plans, zoning codes, or design controls were in effect over the land at this time. The lack of any control of roughly 95% of the total land on Nantucket is largely due because until the early sixties, the existing housing stock and empty lots on the edges of Nantucket and Siasconset Districts met the needs of summer and year round residents.

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9 A object, structure, buildings, site, and district is certified as historic and listed in the National Register of Historic Places if it has significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering and culture. Resource of national importance are designated as National Historic Landmarks and are also included in the National Register.

2.3.2 The Expansion of the Nantucket Historic District

Open land outside of the Old Historic Districts were not subject to design criteria set forth in 1955. Nearly all construction in the island’s open space was residential in the 1950s and early 1960s. Prior to the enactment of the zoning by-law in 1972, some condominiums were erected. However, when the zoning by-law was adopted, the town determined that multi-family dwellings were out of character on Nantucket and were prohibited until 1990’s.

In 1969, at the western end of the island in Madaket, a large scale development encompassing several hundred acres called “Tristam’s Landing” began. This was a condominium development of several hundred units including groups of three or four structures each containing five to six units. The condominium concept was not a traditional development in Nantucket. Additionally, the distinctive features of the units: cantilevered design, plywood sheeting, sliding glass doors, were a violation of the design standards in effect within the Historic Districts. The condominium concept and the radical designs got an immediate response from the islanders.

In 1970, the state legislature repealed the Historic District Act of 1955 and under a new act the entire island of Nantucket including Muskeget and Tuckernet Islands were established as a local Historic District. Since July of 1975, all of Nantucket island has been listed on the National Register of Historic Places. With the passage of the 1970 act, Tristam’s Landings became subject to changes in its design. The developers modified the

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original plan and added more single family houses and changed the
design of the remaining condominium units.

2.3.3 Regulations to Protect Nantucket Historic Districts

The legislative purpose of the Nantucket Historic District Act is “to
promote the general welfare of the inhabitants of the town of Nantucket
(1) through the preservation and protection of historic buildings, places
and districts of historic interest, (2) through the development of an
appropriate setting for these buildings, places, and districts, and (3)
through the benefits resulting to the economy of Nantucket through the
promotion of these historic associations". To carry out these purposes, the
Nantucket Historic District Commission (HDC) has been created
comprising five unpaid resident taxpayers who are local citizens elected
for staggered three years term at the annual town meeting. The
commission members are responsible for issuing the permit for any new
construction, alteration (repair, renovation, room addition), and
demolition, in any way that affects the exterior architectural feature. Also,
the Commission must approve in advance erection or display of any sign
exceeding two feet in length and six inches in width.

Since the HDC began its function, the responsibilities have increased. As
of 1996, it reviews an average of fifty requests for Certificates of
Appropriateness weekly which are estimated to amount to over 2,700
requests by the end of the year. Compared to 1989, there is 35 percent
increase in requests. Of the requests, 20 percent are for new houses and
among this group half are for summer houses that are extremely

14 Authorized under Massachusetts General Law, Chapter 395, Section 7.
expensive. The remaining 80 percent are for renovations and alterations of existing structures.

To provide a common point of reference on how to relate new construction and renovation to the island’s architectural heritage, a design guideline manual “Building With Nantucket in Mind” has been published by the HDC. The Commission has provided the following goals for new design and construction\(^\text{16}\).

Goals for construction in the Old Town of Nantucket

1. To preserve as unchanged as possible the old structures built before the middle of the 19th century in their original settings and conditions; also to maintain the fundamental harmony of the historic community by approving new structures and changes in old ones only when they will blend harmoniously with the traditions of the era before 1846.
2. To preserve the historic character of the old town of Nantucket as a whole, including its pedestrian scale as well as its close and complementary pattern.
3. To preserve the integrity of the historic buildings that physically express the history of the island; to encourage faithful maintenance and accurate restorations of historic structures; to insure that all additions to or alterations of historic buildings are compatible with the original building.
4. To insure that all new buildings are compatible with the buildings adjacent to them to contribute to the overall harmony of the street; to encourage new buildings that, while reflecting the traditions and character of historic buildings, are in themselves high quality designs for this area.
5. To encourage new development adjacent to the town to continue the traditions and fabric of the town, particularly with regard to its historic pattern, scale, streetside building alignment and pedestrian details.

Goals for Construction Outside the Town of Nantucket

1. To protect the character of existing small settlements on the island, especially Siasconset, but also Wauwinet, Quidnet, Surfside and

\(^{15}\) Interview with the Nantucket Historic District Commission.
Madaket: and to insure that all new construction in or adjacent to them is harmonious with their intrinsic unity.

2. To foster a relatedness of character and 'sense of place' among all new buildings, based on traditional forms, so that they share a common identity and express their common heritage.

3. To preserve and protect the spacious character of the natural landscape outside of high-density settlements through the sensitive design of buildings, including their siting; to encourage clustering of houses; to minimize the visual impact on the landscape of scattered new houses; and to insure that new buildings are designed as partners with the land, not its conquerors.

4. To encourage new constructions that are of the highest design quality and that represent careful responses to the specific site features year-round climate and the needs and desires of the occupants.

The design guidelines are especially strict in the Old Town of Nantucket and Siasconset where the old settlements are located. Building features subject to review include siting of buildings, landscaping, height, scale, fences, walkways, driveways, roofs, pitch, dormers, skylight window and doorway, and exterior architectural elements, such as design, color, door platform and steps, porches, roof walks, surface material, trim, colors. There are also specific guidelines for building in open landscape area and commercial developments controlling exterior lighting and vending machines.

One of the reasons that the harmony of the compatible structures is maintained in Nantucket is due to these detailed guidelines. Moreover, it seems that the scale of a building is the most important factor which determines compatibility of the setting. A big contrast of scale between adjacent buildings has disruptive effects visually. A similar scale will provide a fundamental relatedness. The unified charm of the streets of Nantucket is due to its consistency of scale.
As previously mentioned in the goals of construction, in general Nantucket buildings have a small scale which is correlated to the dimensions of the human body. Therefore, structures are scaled to what a pedestrian could see. The 1700s and 1800s buildings have smaller dimensions. In the nineteenth century structures, the scale gets larger. The overall size and ornaments are increased, reflecting the greater wealth. This increase of scale of architecture is seen in the Upper Main Street where the new mansions were built with the wealth of the whaling industry. In Nantucket, there is an agglomeration among buildings of similar scale. This reflects the recommendation in the guidebook\textsuperscript{17}: “Any new construction in the town should be of a scale compatible with that of adjacent buildings. Also the scale of spaces between buildings should be carefully considered”.

Additionally, the height recommendation in the guidelines is another element which correlates to the scale. Typically, the cornices of Nantucket houses are approximately eighteen feet from the ground. The later Federal and Greek Revival houses are three to five feet higher because they sit on high basements. The recommendation in the guidebook mentions\textsuperscript{18}: “On a street of generally aligned facades, it is recommended that any new construction conform to the predominant height of the facades of the existing buildings on the street”. When constructing on open space, it is recommended that buildings not exceed twenty five feet in height.

The design review of Nantucket is evaluated to be precise and stringent in terms of a large number of architectural details and the limited range of architectural expression which can be approved. Although the design

\textsuperscript{17} Land, Christopher. Building With Nantucket in Mind. p67.
review is strict, enforcement has worked smoothly. There have only been two cases, a motel development in the 1960s in Siasconset and "Nantucket Commons", a commercial development in the late 1980s, for which the process was troublesome. To deter violation of the design review, there is a process of penalizing the violators by fines.

The fundamental goal for building on Nantucket is to express the continuity so the new buildings become a part of their setting within the island, rather than isolated objects. The new construction is to be related to its site, its neighbors and its heritage. The design review process is necessary to prevent thoughtless construction that will spoil the quality of Nantucket architecture.

\[\text{Land, Christopher. Building With Nantucket in Mind. p66.}\]
2.4 Attractions Within the Nantucket Historic District

This section introduces some of the major historical and cultural attractions that travelers to Nantucket Historic District visit. It has been the individuals, community, major associations, private sector, and local government's effort to have a variety of attractions available.

2.4.1 Historical and Cultural Attractions

There are a large number of attractions in this category available on the island. Therefore, some of the major attractions and organizations quite visible in shaping the tourist industry will be introduced.

Nantucket Historical Association (NHA) was founded in 1894 to help preserve Nantucket's history mainly through acquisition of real property and collections. The NHA maintains nine sites in and around town to preserve and show to the public which are the following¹⁹.

- **The Museum of Nantucket History.** The building was erected in 1846 and was the Thomas Macey Warehouse which stored equipment used to outfit island whaleships. The museum exhibits Nantucket's geological beginnings, the whaling era, and the evolution of the summer resort.

- **The Whaling Museum,** was formerly the Hadwen-Barney candleworks, where whale oil was refined. The museum has exhibits on South Seas exploration, the skeleton of a forty-foot whale, and artifacts from the sinking of the Essex, a whaleship that was rammed by a whale and became the inspiration for the novel Moby-Dick.

- **Quaker Meeting House and Fair Street Museum,** was built in 1839 as a school for the Quakers. It is the last architectural remnant of a Quaker community that once dominated the island's cultural life.

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¹⁹ Nantucket Historical Association. Museum Guide and Walking Tour. (Pamphlet)
Macy-Christian House was once the home of Nathaniel Macy, who in the eighteenth century was a successful merchant before the Revolution. The house features rooms decorated with a fine collection of furniture and decorative art.

Hadwen House was built in 1845 by the whale-oil merchant William Hadwen. It is one of the most elegant mansions that the NHA owns, with interiors featuring a rich array of mid-nineteenth century furniture, carpeting, and wallpaper. The gardens at the rear of the house are maintained by the Nantucket Garden Club.

The Old Mill was built of old ship's timbers by mariner Nathan Wilbur in 1746. The long spar and wheel are used to rotate the top of the mill and turn the sails into the wind.

Old Gaol is a jail constructed in 1805 using massive timbers and iron straps. The jail held Nantucket prisoners accused of crimes such as murder, drunkenness, and embezzlement until 1933.

Hose-Cart House was built in 1886 to house the hand-pumper fire cart. Similar cart houses were located throughout the town and enabled volunteer firefighters to respond to any threat of fire.

Oldest House was erected in 1686 by Tristram Coffin and John Gardner as a wedding present for their children, Jethro and Mary Gardner Coffin. This house is one of the last architectural remnants of Nantucket’s early beginning as a cooperative farming community.

The Nantucket Historical Association owns and operates these sites but it has been one of the chief beneficiaries of the Nantucket Historical Trust. The Trust was established in 1957 by Walter Beinecke, Jr. and his father, both philanthropists, for the purpose of preserving, restoring, and repairing buildings, monuments, sites, and property. Although a separate entity, the Trust is also designed to assist Nantucket Historical Association and has committed to its mission by providing operating funds and paying for renovation of NHA’s structures.

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The Maria Mitchell Association is another organization that owns and operates a series of attractions related to America’s first woman astronomer, Maria Mitchell, who grew up on Nantucket. In 1847, she discovered the comet and became the first woman Professor of Astronomy. The Association offers education for adults and children in astronomy, environment science, and Nantucket history.

The Birthplace, is where Maria Mitchell was born. It is one of the most fascinating historic homes of Nantucket. The building and interior have been preserved and restored to exemplify the typical mid-nineteenth century Quaker design. The house features the only public roofwalk on the island.

Hinchman House, is a natural history museum and headquarters for bird walks, wildflower walks, natural science lecture series and children’s nature classes.

Maria Mitchell Observatory. Due to the inaccessibility of the building, tours for the public are not conducted presently but the Observatory hosts internships for young scientists investigating topics of current interest in astronomy using the most recent observational data.

Other buildings are used for tourist attractions, and among the best survivor are the churches. The Unitarian (South)Church, built in 1809 is one of the most famous churches in town. The church houses both the town clock and the 1810 bell in its gold-domed tower. The African Meeting House, which was built in 1823, still stands today as the only public building constructed and occupied by the island’s African Americans in the nineteenth century. The building served as a church, meeting house, and social center for the community. It is one of the few historic buildings being restored today, and before the end of the century it is expected to operate as a museum exhibiting the history of Nantucket’s African and Cape Verdean communities.
Among the Government buildings, Nantucket Athenaeum was one of the first buildings to be rebuilt after the fire. The rebuilt structure was originally used as a lecture hall and museum. It has been the town's library since 1900.

2.4.2 Waterfront Redevelopment

Apart from the historical and cultural attractions that are open as museums and houses for the public, shops and services provided in the downtown area are important destination for tourists. Some of the buildings that the shops and services are using have taken the form of adaptive use of older buildings. The waterfront was a new development conforming to the urban design of the downtown area.

In the 1960s, one of the most influential developments to influence tourism on Nantucket was the redevelopment on the waterfront. In the late 1950s, Walter Beinecke Jr., vice president of Sperry Hutchinson Green Stamp, a long time summer resident, saw potential in the waterfront as the gateway to the island. After the decline of the whaling industry, the waterfront had been underutilized and the decaying waterfront received no new work since the fire of 1846. Walter Beinecke established a real estate company, Sherburne Associates, and in 1963 he started purchasing Straight, Old South, and Commercial Wharves. The wharves were a collection of broken down docking remains; they were old and rotting pilings with some buildings. Sherburne Associates announced plans to redevelop the Nantucket waterfront at a cost of eight million dollars in 1968. Sherburne Associates noted that the waterfront would be developed with the policy of molding the needs of the twentieth century

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living with the atmosphere of the past and that new structures would be kept with the town’s original simple architecture.

The waterfront redevelopment was completed during the winter of 1968. When the development was finished, new life was brought to the harbor by providing a new retail area containing up-scale shops, restaurants, and a marina complex. Between 1963 to 1970, the waterfront was not within the original boundaries of the Old Historic District of Nantucket. However, the development was completed to conform to the architectural integrity of the Historic District. The newly constructed buildings were one-and-a-half to two and a half story structure saltboxes, a simple Quaker-influenced clapboard structure and included common features such as shingles, small paned windows and simple white trim. The waterfront had become functional again in less than a century and the pleasing aesthetics bolstered the island’s tourist industry.

Fig. 2.6 After Waterfront Redevelopment
2.4.3 Downtown Area

After the completion of the waterfront, Walter Beinecke started purchasing the commercial property downtown. At the height of his efforts, he owned two thirds of the commercial area. His intention was to create an upscale commercial area and to discourage the T-shirt and knickknack shops. He replaced the marginal enterprises with shops selling needlepoint and native-woolen materials. He believed that since Nantucket is an island and land is limited, the only way to manage growth was by limiting access to the island. Instead of having fifty people with ten dollars, he wanted to have five people with a hundred dollars come. The only way to do this was by up-grading the cultural and historical environment. For a community that makes a living on appearance, he felt there needed to be a legitimate way for the place to look. He encouraged attractive shops and categorically refused all franchise operations.

According to information from my interview\(^{22}\), initially when Walter Beinecke started the waterfront redevelopment, during one year, the islanders wore buttons, “Ban the B” and “No man is an island”. There were local citizens who were making a living from the fishing industry. His plans to redevelop the waterfront were going to produce unemployment issues. However, Beinecke’s main objective was to manage and protect the unique environment of Nantucket which would lead to a prosperous economy through the tourism industry. Apart from his real estate business, he has shown his commitment to the community by renovating antique houses, providing funding for landscaping for Nantucket Airport, and planting trees and flowers in the downtown

\(^{22}\) Interview with the Nantucket Historic District Commission.
through his non-profit organization Nantucket Historical Trust. He is also a cofounder of the Nantucket Conservation Foundation, an organization trying to increase open space to protect the natural beauty of the island. In 1988, Walter Beinecke won the individual Presidential Award for his historic preservation accomplishment on Nantucket over the past twenty-five years. This was the first award given to an individual since the passing of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.

In December 1986, after fulfilling his objectives on Nantucket, Walter Beinecke sold Sherburne Associates to Winthrop Financial Associates of Boston for a rumored $54 million. His accomplishment is more than what the island’s free market forces and government regulation combined could have done.

Fig. 2.7 Downtown Area

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2.5 Findings

The influence of the Quakers in the earlier times started the preservation movement on the island and this has been carried out through twentieth century. Events of the economic downturn after the decline of the whaling industry were accidental but was another factor in preserving the architectural integrity that the community holds a pride of.

The philosophy to preserve the built environment from its early times developed to establish the island as a Historic District. Nantucket, together with Beacon Hill, were the first two communities to become designated as Historic Districts in 1955. With the jurisdiction that the Nantucket Historic District Commission has, they became the police power to control all aesthetic changes that occurred on the built environment for nearly forty years. Compared to other Massachusetts Historic Districts, Nantucket is known to have a stringent design review process with regard to a large number of detailed subjects and a limited range of architectural expressions possible. Although the design review is stringent, had it not been for these regulations, the preservation of the whole island would not have been possible.

The island is privileged to have organizations such as the Nantucket Historical Association and the Maria Mitchell Association which have preserved important buildings that made it possible to have historical and cultural attractions. The Nantucket Historical Trust was instrumental in assisting the activities of the Nantucket Historical Association and providing funding for other infrastructure improvements on the island.
Philanthropist and businessman Walter Beinecke, Jr. has been a sheer force of his energy and financial resources for preservation and developing the successful tourism industry on the island. He has accomplished this through the waterfront redevelopment and influence of the downtown area as well as through his Nantucket Historical Trust. Beinecke's influence has determined the shape of growth and preservation on Nantucket. Had it not been for his efficient judgment and financial resources, the results we see in Nantucket may not have become a reality.

Local residents may argue that because the tourism industry has been overwhelmingly successful, it has raised the cost of living on the island. This cannot be denied. Although, at the same time, the local residents have also benefited from appreciation of property values. According to my interview²⁴, some have mentioned that the home values have gone up so high that the local residents can no longer afford to buy a home for themselves. According to the 1990 census data, the value of over 28 percent of homes on Nantucket is over $400,000. When compared to the home value of moderate local houses which averages between $200,000 to $250,000, one third of the housing exceeding $400,000 will make it harder in the future for the islanders to purchase houses for themselves. However, to resolve the issue of housing, the Comprehensive Plan of 1990, has addressed the needs to create and maintain affordable housing units throughout the town.

²⁴ Interview with the Nantucket Historical Association.
Chapter III.

Case Study: Historic Districts of Salem

Fig. 3.1 Old Town Hall
3.1 Characteristics of Salem

Salem is a waterfront city with a population of 38,000 people located on the north shore of Massachusetts, sixteen miles north of Boston. It is part of the Boston Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area and is located in Essex County.

Fig. 3.2 Regional Map of City of Salem
From the beginning of the twentieth century, Salem has had the fundamentals as a tourist site. However, until the 1950s, Salem was better known as a successful business, retail, legal, transportation, and manufacturing center. With its balanced economy, it is a diverse city with a population of both blue and white collar workers. Since the 1960s and 70s, the economy has experienced a downturn, losing its manufacturing and retail base. With these circumstances, the reliance on the tourism industry has increased.

Visitors to Salem enjoy several types of attractions. First are the museums focusing on the Salem witch trials of 1692. Salem’s tourism is centered around and is well known internationally for its witches. There are also large collections of maritime history and Asian and Pacific cultures which are less well known but cover a longer period of Salem’s important history.

Second is the architectural heritage from three centuries. Several different historic districts have a number of beautiful mansions built in the Georgian, Federal, Greek Revival, and Victorian styles.

Third is the attractions on the waterfront. Since the 1930s, the National Park Service has maintained a presence reflecting the historic importance of the maritime era. In the late 1970s, adjacent to the National Maritime Historic Site, a new development including specialty shops and restaurants has been completed. In the 1990’s, additional plans for expanding the National Maritime Historic Site have been approved.

Together with all of these elements, Salem has entered a new era to continue to develop its tourism industry.
3.1.1 Brief History of Salem

Salem was settled in 1626 by a group of Englishmen led by Roger Conant. He called the settlement Naumkeag, an Indian work meaning, "fishing place". Three years later the settlement became the first town in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the present name "Salem" was taken from the Hebrew word "shalom", meaning peace. At one time, Salem encompassed areas presently known as Danvers, Peabody, Beverly, Manchester, Marblehead, Wenham, and a part of Swampscott.

The first recorded voyage of a Salem vessel to the West Indies was in 1638. These long voyages meant many months of tedious work in the cold, dangerous water to catch cod and then export them abroad. When the ships returned, they were filled with cargoes of cotton, tobacco, salt, and slaves. These journeys were the start to stepping beyond the home market, and this became the new way leading to prosperity.

Late in the seventeenth century, the fear which surrounded witchcraft came to a tragic peak, accusing 200 people, hanging nineteen and pressing one man to death. It began in 1692, when two young girls became avid pupils of black magic. They began to have fits and convinced people that the girls’ actions were caused by disciples of the devil. During this time, some of the highly respected citizens were arrested. In 1693, the Colonial Governor, whose own wife was accused of witchcraft, ordered the trials to stop and free the prisoners.

After the 1700s, the fishing industry developed other related industries of ship building and commerce. The fishing village changed to a thriving market town. The town began to lose its old world look and gave way to
more upscale architecture, such as Georgian style. Larger richly furnished houses increased in the town center.

In the eighteenth century, the trade laws imposed by England began to damage Salem’s active shipping trade. In 1775, after several confrontation between England and the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the Revolution began. Salem’s fleet, active since the 1600s, played an important role during the Revolutionary War. Because New York and Boston were occupied by the British, the colonies depended on Salem and other nearby ports for shipments of arms and for trade with other European countries.

Additionally, during the revolutionary years, privateering became a major activity. Salem vessels captured over 400 enemy ships. Wealthy Salem merchants and seaman contributed to this effort, and the profits from privateering provided the foundation of many Salem fortunes.

The most prosperous era of Salem’s shipping activities as a leader in the Far Eastern luxuries trade came after the Revolution and lasted until 1812. At this time, Salem was the second largest town in Massachusetts next to Boston. To be competitive, Salem’s merchants knew they had to break out of the old pattern. They started competing for trade in distant ports. The destinations of voyages were to places such as West Indies, Africa, India, Philippines, Japan, Sumatra, New Zealand, and Australia.

The great success in merchant shipping brought enormous wealth and sophistication to Salem. It was a period of architectural blossoming, and luxurious houses were erected in the Federal style. Samuel McIntire was the most famous architect of the time, whose expertise included carving and furniture design. Initially, the expensive houses were built by the
waterfront but at this time three-storied Federal style houses were built on Essex Street, Chestnut Street, and Washington Square.

The decline of Salem’s greatest era came with President Jefferson’s Embargo Act in the 1810s. Within a year, nearly all of Salem’s fleet was idle. Later, near the end of the nineteenth century, Salem Harbor was not deep enough to accommodate the larger and faster clipperships. After the decline of foreign trade, the city began to move into new directions. The first cotton mills and tanneries were opened, and the city became an industrial pioneer. Large numbers of immigrants came to seek jobs.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Nathaniel Hawthorne, a native of Salem emerged as an author. Hawthorne gathered material for his most important novels, “The Scarlet Letter” and “The House of Seven Gables”, in Salem.

In 1914, a devastating fire broke out in one of the leather factories. It spread rapidly over 290 acres of land, razing 1,600 buildings. Fortunately, the central portion of the city, where most of the architecture of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries is located was safe.

3.1.2 Development of the Tourism Industry

Salem was not severely hit by the Great Depression in the 1930s because of its balanced economy. The decade following the depression experienced a growth in the city’s retail center as one of the busiest in New England. Manufacturing companies of electric products and games such as Parker Brothers Games gradually replaced Salem’s shoe and leather industries.
In 1953, the mill of Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company closed and in 1958, the North Shore Center shopping mall opened in Peabody. This actually accelerated the shift away from manufacturing and moved retail to shopping malls. Although there had been tourists to Salem before this time, from this period on, reliance on the tourism industry became evident.

In the 1960s, to restore life to the downtown shopping center, the Urban Renewal Program was planned. However, the initial Urban Renewal Plan was unsuccessful because of the massive demolition of architecturally significant buildings. This resulted in bitter opposition from a coalition of preservationists. The redevelopment philosophy shifted to preservation and rehabilitation in the 1970s with a new plan. This together with the economic decline and the preservation and rehabilitation movement, stimulated Salem's tourism industry.

Fig. 3.3    Essex Mall after Urban Renewal
3.2 The Economy and Planning Tourism in Salem

This section will first analyze the economy of Salem and the role "tourism" plays. Following, key players of promoting tourism in Salem will be identified. They include the public sector, the private sector, and non-profit organizations.

3.2.1 The Economy

Salem has undergone adjustment over the last fifty years to respond to the changes occurring in the industrial sector, regional transportation network, and retailing sector. Modern light industry prefers a large one story space located near a major interstate. Salem lacked the conditions to provide a large industrial space which was relatively far from major highways. The city is working to retain its remaining industries and has been successful in attracting a few new industries, such as high technology and handicrafts. However, as a whole, many of the regional traditional industries have relocated. Presently, manufacturing accounts for less than 20 percent of employment\(^1\).

Salem's downtown retail district has faced strong competition from regional malls in Peabody and from suburban retail strips on Highland Avenue within the city. In the 1970s, an Urban Renewal Plan was implemented in the downtown, converting Essex Street into a pedestrian mall. East India Mall (presently Museum Place Mall) was completed within the pedestrian mall as the focal point for shopping in the area. However, although the urban design of the downtown area was modified with the facade improvement program, the business of the retail shops

has not prospered and vacant storefronts are visible. Efforts to bring back life to the downtown shops are still continuing.

The utility and communications industries in Salem are important to support the economy of Salem. The new England Power Company (NEPCO), Nynex, and Mass Electric are the top three taxpayers. Boston Gas is also within the top ten.

In 1989, the median household income in Salem was $32,645 which is about $4,000 lower than the state. The percent of persons below the poverty level is 11.7 percent, which is 1.8 percent higher than the state. As a whole the economy is not doing well and the state has designated Salem as an Economic Target Area.

3.2.2 Tourism for Economic Development

As of 1994, the services sector composed 38.6 percent (6,989) of jobs. Those employed in the sector work primarily for North Shore Medical Center, Salem State College, and Peabody Essex Museum. The wholesale, retail, and trade sectors follow by employing 4,053 people (22.4%)². It is difficult to calculate statistics on the number of persons employed in the tourism sector but among these two sectors, a large portion could be assumed to be related to tourism. Salem’s economy is not solely reliant on tourism, as is the case of Nantucket, but there is a large population presumably employed by the tourism industry.

In 1995 in Salem, tourism provided almost $6.6 million in annual salaries to more than 500 Salem residents. It has generated an estimated $25 million in spending and accounted for $325,000 in real estate tax.

3.2.3. Tourism Efforts by the City of Salem

Since Mayor Harrington has taken office in 1990, he has recognized the economic impact of tourism. He has outlined a plan that pursues vitality for the city. As his first task, he supported the hotel / motel tax plan which was ultimately accepted by the City Council. In 1992, the Mayor organized a marketing campaign in Salem centered on the witch trial history which resulted in increases to Salem’s visitor attractions. After the success of the 1992 Salem Tercentenary Committee of 1692 witch trial, the Mayor established a position of Tourism Director in January 1993. The Office of Tourism and Cultural Affairs engages in marketing the tourism agenda.

The Chamber of Commerce is playing another role in promoting tourism especially through its support of the “Haunted Happenings”, an event during the Halloween season started in 1982 to extend the visitors’ season throughout the fall. After the establishment of the Office of Tourism and Cultural Affairs, it seems that the Chamber of Commerce has been playing more of a supportive role in promoting tourism.

With the assistance of the Salem Planning Department, a new 1996 Master Plan Update for the 1996-2006 decade is presently being compiled. It is anticipated that the Master Plan Update will focus on promotion and enhancement of a diversified economy, improvement of the downtown

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3 Data from the Office of Tourism and Cultural Affairs.
economic climate, redevelopment of the waterfront, and tourism development.

The redevelopment of the waterfront is a goal since the Comprehensive Plan in 1979 was compiled. In 1994, the city received a grant from the Executive Office of Communities and Development to complete a study of Salem’s waterfront to identify opportunities for marine-related economic development. This study, Maritime District Development District, proposed redevelopment of the South River channel area, creation of a Downtown Maritime District, and comprehensive harbor planning. The main focus is to create South River (South Harbor) that connects with the downtown (Fig. 3.4). The objective is to create an active, mixed-use urban waterfront that includes a marina, parks, walkways, and a parking garage, as well as festival programming. In addition, a study to promote the expansion of a working port to accommodate more oceangoing cargo tankers, cruise ships, and high speed cargo ships has been completed. The planning and implementation for both of these projects will take a few more years. Compared to other communities across the country, Salem’s waterfront is underutilized. The city has recognized the importance to turn the coastline for economic development tourism and recreation planning for residents.

In 1995, it is estimated that over one million tourists visited Salem. According to the my interviews, two different types of tourism exist in Salem. One is tourism centered on witch craft. Within this category, attractions on the witch craft heritage are based on human rights issues and also on the “tacky” type of tourism related to the witches. The other

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4 Data from the Office of Tourism and Cultural Affairs.
5 Interview with the Planning Department, City of Salem.
6 Interview with the Office of Tourism and Cultural Affairs.
type of tourism is the cultural heritage which is based on maritime and American History era. It seems to be that the majority of tourists come to Salem for a one day trip to visit attractions related to the "tacky" witch attractions. However these tourists tend to spend little money during their stay.

Fig. 3.4 Location of South River and Downtown Area

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7 Interview with the Salem Partnership.
The city is beginning to realize that by promoting its cultural heritage on American history and the maritime era, the length of stay by visitors can be expanded, and this will increase the expenditures by the tourists. However, in order for this to happen, more lodging needs to be provided as only 222 rooms are available in Salem. Strategic marketing to increase overnight stays will also become necessary.

I feel there are visitors interested in both types of tourism. But at the same time, tourist may only be interested in cultural heritage, so promotion of both types needs to be addressed.

The city of Salem is promoting tourism for economic development purposes and it will become essential for the expansion of its economy. Although two elements being the witch attractions and cultural heritage, exist in Salem, because the witches are better known nationally and internationally, the city’s stance seems to be to continue marketing tourism based on “witches” rather than on cultural tourism.

3.2.4 Other Tourism Efforts

In 1938, the National Park Service established its first urban national park, “National Maritime Historic Site”, by the waterfront with Derby Wharf and Central Wharf as its focal point. Its national significance was recognized as the busiest wharf in the Colonies during the Revolution. Since its establishment, no upgrading of the wharves have been conducted and in the mid 1980s, Central Wharf was beginning to be washed away in the water. To obtain funding for the repair from the Federal Government,

8 Data from the Office of Tourism and Cultural Affairs.
a joint effort was being supported by the city, Salem Partnership⁹, and National Park Service. This became the Salem Project, which is a $25 - $30 million initiative to revitalize Salem’s National Maritime Historic Site, begun in 1988 when Congress appropriated the funds. The Salem Project has three components:

1. Restoration of Derby and Central Wharves, dredging between the wharves, and constructing a replica warehouses.
2. Construction of a multi-media, 14,000 sq. ft. Visitor’s Center at the vacant Salem Armory¹⁰.
3. Construction and berthing of a replica of the sailing ship “Friendship” at the Maritime Site.

The Salem Partnership is another organization that has been influential on tourism in Salem and which has been working closely with the National Park Service. The non-profit organization was established in 1987 when public and private leaders in Salem gathered together to find a direction for the city to improve business opportunities and enhance the quality of life in the city and the region. Over the years, the Salem Partnership has been involved in many important projects and has been taking the leading role to revitalizing the community. Among projects related to tourism, the Salem Partnership has been active in the following projects¹¹:

1. Renovation of the National Park’s Salem Maritime Site
2. Construction of the Salem Visitor Center in the former Armory

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⁹ Broad-based coalition of local leaders from the public and private sector.
¹⁰ Completed and open in downtown in June 1994.
¹¹ Compiled based on brochure obtained from the Salem Partnership.
3. Expansion of the National Park Services activities in Salem and throughout Essex County
4. Formation of the Salem Seaport Partnership, a coalition of more than forty maritime related businesses
5. Designs to rebuild Salem harbor for tourism and trade
6. Implementation of the McIntire Historic District Walkways

Among these projects, the project of expanding the National Park Service’s activities throughout Essex County, with Salem as the hub for tourism on the North Shore, has been an interesting and an exceptional initiative. The Salem Partnership working with the National Park Service, established the Essex Heritage Adhoc Commission and created the Essex Heritage Trail to promote tourism in Salem as a core for the entire North Shore region\(^\text{12}\).

Although Salem is known for the witch trials, the most significant period in the city’s development occurred when the Port of Salem was known around the world. It was during this era that the city’s mansions were built. The Salem Partnership has made the rebirth of the Salem harbor a major focus of its activities and it could be said that it functions as the catalyst in uniting Salem’s historic and cultural resources.

The other key institution in Salem’s tourism is the oldest continuously operating museum in America, the Peabody Museum, which was founded in 1799 by mariners and merchants from the East India Marine Society. The Peabody Museum merged with Essex Institute in 1992 to form the Peabody Essex Museum. This significant cultural institution is one of the important players in the city’s economy. Targeting 1999, there is an

\(^{12}\) Interview with the Salem Partnership.
expansion plan of the Peabody Essex Museum, and new investment will be made in it\textsuperscript{13}. After the renovation, the galleries will be modernized and exhibits rotated. By changing the exhibits, the Museum is hoping to have people come back to see the new exhibits.

Historic Salem Incorporated is another organization which has supported tourism through its historic preservation activities. The organization was established in 1944 as a joint venture by the city and a group of individuals for the advocacy and education of historic preservation. The first project that the Historic Salem Inc. engaged in was the protection of two houses: the Witch House and the Nathaniel Bowditch House. After renovating these houses, Historic Salem turned them over to the city. Historic Salem Inc. is recognized as a force for preservation and education in the city of Salem. Its main mission is to advocate historic preservation because the architectural significance of Salem is precious, and they believe it can enhance economic development. Historic Salem Inc. has four hundred members and they support high quality, historically compatible development to ensure that Salem’s growth will be linked to its past. It is working to preserve and to improve the historic character of the city and neighborhoods.

These examples indicate that the initiative by the non-profit organizations together with the efforts of the National Park Service, are supporting how tourism is shaped in Salem. Had it not been for their diverse activities, tourism would not have developed as we see it now.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{13} Interview with the Peabody Essex Museum.}
3.3 Historic Districts of Salem

This section will investigate the built environment in the historic districts of Salem and how its urban design is affecting whether tourists are attracted to Salem. Quite different from Nantucket, several Local and National Register Historic Districts are scattered in Salem. Additionally, the Salem Redevelopment Authority has jurisdiction over the urban design in the downtown area where the Urban Renewal Plan was implemented. Although, one recognizes Salem as a historic city with a variety of architecture starting from the seventeenth century style to the Georgian Revival style, the urban design of Salem seems to lack the uniformity which is seen in Nantucket.

3.3.1 Difference of the Local Historic Districts and National Register Historic District

From a property owner's viewpoint, substantial differences exist between owning a property which is listed in a National Register Historic District and one which is part of a Local Historic District.

Local Historic Districts are established and administered by the community and have the purposes of preserving the unique characteristics of structures and their surroundings within a certain area and maintaining and improving the setting for those structures. Additionally, the builders of new structures in the area are encouraged to choose architectural designs which will complement the historic structures of the area. Inclusion in a Local Historic District recognizes the property's relationship to an area that has a distinctive historical character but does not automatically provide protection from adverse effects caused by the federal
government. Owners of property in the Local Historic Districts must submit proposals to the Commission regarding any exterior changes they want to make. In addition the responsibilities of the Local Historic District Commission to a property is locally determined and are different for each Local Historic District.

The National Register of Historic Districts is “important” in American history, culture, architecture, or archaeology and is a federal designation that is administered by the Secretary of the Interior through the State Historical Commission. Listing in the National Register recognizes that the area is important to the history of the community, state or nation and allows the owner of income-producing properties certain federal tax incentives for renovation. The district is provided limited protection from adverse effects by the federally funded, licensed, or assisted projects and in no way limits the owner’s use of the property unless public funding is used. If the property is listed in the National Register, the owner can do anything with it. There is no review process for changes to the property.

Properties within the Local Historic Districts and National Register Districts are automatically included in the State Register of Historic Places. Listing in the State Register provides limited protection from adverse effects by state funded, licensed, or assisted projects and when available provides owners of municipal or private nonprofit properties the opportunity to apply for matching state grants.
3.3.2 Local Historic Districts

The Salem Historical Commission was established in 1971 and by 1985 had created four Local Historic Districts (Fig. 3.5) (Refer to Appendix):

(1) McIntire Historic District
(2) Washington Square Historic District
(3) Derby Street Historic District
(4) Lafayette Street Historic District

The Commission is a volunteer board of Salem residents appointed by the Mayor and approved by the City Council. It is the official agent of the municipal government responsible for community wide historic preservation planning and for regulatory design review within the designated Local Historic District.

The four Local Historic Districts have been recognized for their historical and architectural significance, so a resident in an historic district is required by law to receive approval for any exterior alterations prior to commencing the work from the Salem Historical Commission. Design review by the Salem Historical Commission is mandated under Chapter 40C of the Massachusetts General Laws and the Salem Historical Commission Ordinance which established Salem’s Local Historic Districts. As of 1995, a total of 115 requests were reviewed\(^\text{14}\). In any case, the Commission must make a determination within 60 days from the date the application is received. A property owner cannot receive a building permit unless a certificate has been issued.

The design guidelines for changes visible from a public way include\(^\text{15}\):

\(^{14}\) Interview with the Salem Historical Commission.
\(^{15}\) Salem Historical Commission Guidelines Notebook. p3.
1. Additions, new construction, and alterations. Alternations may include changes in design, material, color or outward appearance of the structure including, but not limited to, doors, walls, fences, entrances, gutters, railings, roofs, chimneys, porches / decks, skylights, windows and exterior staircases.

2. Removal of any features (i.e. shutters, porches, siding, windows, fences, railings, doors, chimneys).

3. Demolition including structural, walls, fences, exterior staircases, garages, sheds, etc.

4. Paint colors (including windows, doors, porches, storms) satellite dishes, solar panels.

5. Roof color and materials.

6. Free standing lights posts / fixtures. signs and sign posts.

The Commission has no jurisdiction over the following:

1. Terraces, walks, driveway materials, sidewalks and similar structures provided that any structure is substantially at grade level.

2. Storm doors, storm windows, screens, window air conditioners, lighting fixtures attached to the building, antennae and similar appurtenances.

3. Interior work that does not affect the exterior in material, design or outward appearance.

4. Landscaping.

The emphasis in the design guidelines is based on the principal elevation of buildings from a public way. The guidelines state, “intrusive contemporary features should be avoided on the front facade and where visibility from public ways is high”. The philosophy is that historically, rear elevation has changed over time to meet family needs, so the restriction should be more focused on the front where visibility from the public way is apparent.

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According to information obtained through interviews\textsuperscript{19}, a judgment on how the house or structure should be is based “individually” in relationship with the special characteristics the structure has. Because some of the structures were erected at similar times, there is conformity for certain areas. One outstanding example would be the Chestnut Street in the McIntire Local Historic District. However, in general, the guidelines do not present any specific ideas on scale which contributes to uniformity of urban design.

The design guidelines in the Local Historical District are considered to be stringent when compared to the downtown area under the jurisdiction of the Salem Redevelopment Authority\textsuperscript{20}. New people moving into the Local Historic Districts are aware of the regulations and usually they are people who want to become part of the history. However, people that had lived in the area before the Local Historic Districts where established had difficulty complying with the guidelines at the beginning. In general, people living in the historic districts are cooperative and enforcement of the guidelines is not difficult. Only four to five cases had enforcement problems. In the Local Historic District, a person commencing work on the exterior of a building without necessary approval of the Salem Historical Commission is subject up to $500 per day from the date of the violation\textsuperscript{21}. This may be one of the reasons for so few violations.

\textsuperscript{19} Interview with the Salem Historical Commission.
\textsuperscript{20} Interview with the Salem Historical Commission.
\textsuperscript{21} Salem Historical Commission Guidelines Notebook. p3.
3.3.3. The National Register Historic District and the Jurisdiction of the Salem Redevelopment Authority in The Urban Renewal Plan Area

In 1966, Salem received its first listings in the National Register of Historic Places. Salem presently has twenty properties and thirteen districts on the National Register. Adjacent to the downtown area of Salem, there are nine National Register Historic Districts (Fig. 3.5) (Refer to Appendix):

1. The Charter Street National Historic District
2. The Chestnut Street National Historic District
3. The Crombie Street National Historic District
4. The Derby Waterfront National Historic District
5. The Downtown Salem National Historic District
6. The Federal Street National Historic District
7. The Peabody Museum National Historic District
8. The Salem Common National Historic District
9. The Essex Institute National Historic District

For the National Register Historic Districts, the property owner has no limits on how to use the property unless public funding is used. Basically, there is no design review process. However, in the area where the National Register Historic Districts fall within the boundaries of the Local Historic Districts, the Salem Historical Commission has jurisdiction over the design review. Additionally, for the area where the Urban Renewal Plan; Heritage Plaza East and West, was implemented, the Salem Redevelopment Authority (SRA) has jurisdiction over the design review. This means the (1) Charter Street National Register District, (5) Downtown Salem National Register District, (6) Federal Street National Register District, (7) Peabody Museum National Register District, and (9) Essex Institute National Register District are under the jurisdiction of SRA. It is interesting Local Historic Districts do not exist within the Urban Renewal area. The overlap within the Urban Renewal area was avoided.
to prevent the complicated situation in which two organizations govern one area.

The Salem Redevelopment Authority has a Design Review Board (DRB), which functions as an advisory to the SRA. The design review board is composed of five residents of Salem and the members review the designs of major alterations, additions, new building construction, minor alterations of buildings, and signs. Since the Design Review Board is an advisory, the SRA staff can override the decisions made by the DRB, although this is very rare.
The Design Review Board’s guidelines that are still currently effective is based on the “Building Design Criteria” developed during the Urban Renewal Plan. According to information obtained through interviews\footnote{Interview with the Salem Redevelopment Authority.}, although the guidelines are effective, they are not fully used anymore. From observation of the downtown area, I anticipate the criteria especially addressing issues on exterior appearance\footnote{Interview with the Salem Redevelopment Authority.} that are still in use are the following such as 1) structures shall be a harmonious part of the street as a whole, 2) all exterior building faces are to be constructed of red brick or stone, 3) maximum and minimum height limitations - no structure should exceed a height of two times the distance from the centerline of the public way along the primary building frontage, no structure should fall below a height of one times the distance for the centerline of the public way along primary building frontage. But as previously mentioned, the guidelines is not fully used anymore, the criteria for evaluating a structure in the downtown area is conducted in a flexible way.

The “Sign Design Criteria” is also presented in the urban renewal plan and a specific “Sign Manual” has been developed. According to the information gathered through interviews, the SRA is having the most difficulty in enforcing the sign regulations. One of the frequently seen examples is that although free standing signs are not allowed, many merchants are using them.

Although the SRA advocates for quality design and contemporary buildings, the urban design issues are one of the many items on their agenda. They need to balance the other economic development issues. Some of the preservationists I interviewed mentioned that compared to
the Salem Historical Commission, the SRA is more flexible on urban design. Additionally, since the downtown area is challenged with business difficulty, enforcement of decisions made by the SRA is not followed through. According to my interview\textsuperscript{24}, violations on large structures do not occur but there are several signage problems. The free standing sign is one example. At present, the SRA has been overlooking some of the signage violations because they are busy with other priorities apart from urban design. Therefore, the businesses that lack the understanding of the economic benefits from historic preservation take advantage.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{signage_violation.png}
\caption{Signage Violation}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{23} Salem Redevelopment Authority. \textit{Urban Renewal Plan}, p66-71. \\
\textsuperscript{24} Interview with the Salem Redevelopment Authority.
3.4 Attractions within the Local and National Register Historic Districts

Within the Local and National Register Historic Districts adjacent to the downtown area, there are a number of attractions for visitors. In 1985, a Heritage Trail was created to guide tourists to the various attractions. A red line has been painted along the sidewalks to make the location clear to tourists. In 1990, this trail was extended with a new one called the McIntire Historic District Walkways which was implemented by the Salem Partnership. The new walkway is marked with a brass plaque planted on the ground and in some areas bollards are put out as gateposts to attractions. Following are some of the major attractions near downtown Salem by category.  

<Maritime and American History>

(1) **National Park Service Visitor Center**, opened in 1994 in the old armory building to better serve visitors to Salem. There are exhibits on early settlement, maritime age, leather and textile industry. Information on the Essex Heritage Trail is also available.

(2) **Peabody Essex Museum**, is the largest museum north of Boston, the Peabody was founded in 1799 by the sea captains and supercargoes of Salem’s East India marine Society as the repository for artifacts and navigational information gathered from around the world. The museum has collections of maritime history and art, Asian and Pacific cultures, Asian export art, archaeology, and natural history. The museum merged with the Essex Institute in 1992, with galleries, historic houses, a research library and a museum shop.

(3) **Salem Maritime National Historic Site**, established in 1938 by the National Park Service as its first urban national site. The focal point of the site is Derby Wharf, extending nearly 2,000 feet into Salem Harbor, and the Custom House directly opposite Derby Wharf. Three other structures are a part of the maritime site: Derby House, the oldest brick dwelling in Salem, the Hawkes House and the Rum Shop.

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25 Based on material compiled by the Office of Tourism and Cultural Affairs.
(4) The House of Seven Gables Historic Site, was built in 1668 by John Turner, a Salem sea captain. The gables were the inspiration for Nathaniel Hawthorne's novel of the same name, written in 1851. The Gables is the centerpiece of a unique historic site on Salem Harbor which also contains two other seventeenth century dwellings, Hawthorne's Birthplace, a nineteenth century house, and period gardens.

(5) Chestnut Street, is one of the most beautiful and architecturally distinguished streets in the United States. It is the heart of the largest historical districts in the city lined with mansions built by Salem’s sea captains in the early nineteenth century.

(6) The Old Burying Point, also known as the Charter Street Cemetery was first used sometime prior to 1637. It is the city’s oldest burial place and one of the oldest burial grounds in the nation.

(7) Hamilton Hall, was designed by Samuel McIntire in 1805 and was named for Alexander Hamilton. The Hall is considered an architectural gem.

(8) Pickering House, was erected in 1651. It is the oldest house in the United States to be occupied continuously by the same family. Unusual in its architectural development, the house contains antiques, paintings, Chinese porcelain, and letters from George Washington and other statesmen.

<Heritage of Witches>

(9) Salem Witch Trials Memorial, was dedicated in August of 1992 during the city side Tercentenary Commemoration. The award-winning design uses natural materials to create a reflective environment invoking the lessons of human rights.

(10) Witch House, is the restored home of Jonathan Corwin, one of the judges of the Salem witch trials. The home is the only structure still standing in Salem with direct ties to the Witch Trials. The house tour blends information about seventeenth century architecture, furnishings, and lifestyles.
<Other Witch Attractions>

(11) Salem Witch Museum, established in 1972, the museum provides information about the events of the Salem Witch Trials of 1692. This museum is the most popular attraction in Salem.

(12) Witch Dungeon Museum. Presentation of a witch trial adapted from the 1692 historical transcripts is performed by professional actors.

(13) Salem Wax Museum of Witches and Seafarers, is Salem’s newest attraction. The London-made wax figurines in a multimedia presentation show the terror of the Witch Trials and the bold exploits of Seafarers.

<Shopping and Dining>

(14) Essex Mall, is the downtown pedestrian mall where Museum Place Mall is also located. There are restaurants, and shops: antiques, gifts, T-shirts, a hobby shop, and boutiques.

(15) Pickering Wharf, built in 1978 by the waterfront near downtown Salem is a complex with condominiums, specialty shops, and a variety of restaurants. It is one of the favorite places for visitors to shop and dine.
3.5 Findings

Salem is a historic city, with several Local Historic Districts and National Register Historic Districts. However, the two different jurisdictions over the historic districts have different policies: one is purely preserving and the other is preserving and promoting economic development. Old historic buildings and structures do exist, ranging in different architectural styles, and some have compatible settings within the historic district. But as a whole, a lack of harmony of the built environment exists.

From my research, I feel that the city lacks vision on the type of tourism Salem would like to pursue in the future. There seems to be a split in what type of “tourism” is desirable for the city. The City of Salem (Office of Tourism and Cultural Affairs) is trying to promote more of the “witches” because it is a magnet to attract people. The witches have two characteristics. At its extreme, it can become very “ghoulish” and this tendency has been dominant in Salem until quite recently. However, a slight shift occurred during the Tercentenary Celebration. An attempts to show tourists the truth of what happened in the witch trials based on human rights issues is being incorporated.

The other asset that Salem has for tourism is its “cultural heritage” based on its architectural, maritime and American history. By selling cultural tourism, different types of people, generally people with more money, will visit Salem. With the diverse cultural attractions, the length of stay of visitors can be expanded and their expenditure will help the community. By attracting higher income people to Salem, the impact on the tourist expenditure per capita will be greater. This is because the impact on expenditure per capita, the net social benefit from tourism, is the social
cost (disruption from tourism impact) subtracted from the tourism dollars spent in a local economy. As mentioned earlier, because a host community has a carrying capacity, the lower the social cost, the larger the benefits from tourism will be.

Presently, the Peabody Essex Museum (Fig. 3.8) has an expansion plan targeting the end of the century. The Peabody Essex Museum draws tourists generally with a higher income and with its new plans, it is expected that the number of repeat visitors to the Museum will be enhanced. I feel that the downtown retail that is not performing well should try to coordinate efforts with the Museum’s plan because of its proximity in terms of location. An establishment of an umbrella organization to unite the efforts of the museum and the downtown retail area may help expand business opportunities in the area.

The McIntire (or Chestnut) Historic District (Fig. 3.9) is also an area more tourists can be drawn to. According to information gathered through interviews26, the tourists to Salem are usually drawn to the downtown, Salem Commons, and the waterfront area. The McIntire Historic District has the architectural significance and design uniformity that makes it distinct from other Historic Districts. The Salem Partnership has implemented the McIntire Historic District Walkways as its initial steps. The residents in the area have also been cooperative at putting out benches during the summer seasons when the tourist visit the neighborhood.

My sense is that to obtain a larger benefit from tourism, organizations such as the Salem Partnership acting as a leader with the National Park

26 Interview with the Office of Tourism and Cultural Affairs.
Service and the Peabody Essex Museum can contribute by promoting cultural tourism.

Fig. 3.8 Peabody Essex Museum

Fig. 3.9 Chestnut Street
Chapter IV.

Lessons from Tourism in the Historic Districts of
Nantucket and Salem
Lessons from Tourism in the Historic Districts of Nantucket and Salem

The historic island of Nantucket and the City of Salem have developed as popular destinations for tourists in the twentieth century. Since these settlements arose in the middle of the seventeenth century, the three hundred and fifty years history has helped shape them as tourist sites. Through the process of investigating the two case studies, I have specifically tried to address the following three themes: urban design of historic districts, type of tourism, and roles of various sectors.

4.1 Historic Districts: The Governing Body of Historic Districts and Their Influence on Urban Design

In Nantucket, the preservation philosophy inherited from the period when the Quakers lived in the community has been the foundation for enabling the island to visibly maintain the historic fabric. This strong community concern over the built environment has developed to establish the entire island as a historic district. The regulations through the Nantucket Historic District Commission (HDC) have functioned to retain the urban design we see today. The HDC is known to have very stringent rules for new construction, alterations, and demolition in any way effecting the exterior architectural features. The enforcement of the design review has worked well and when there is a violation, fines are imposed by the HDC.

Because the entire island is within the boundaries of the Nantucket Historic District and governed by a single body, only one perspective for evaluating the built environment exists. Uniformity can be more easily
maintained when one organization governs the whole built environment. There is a sense of place that makes Nantucket distinct from other built environments. More specifically, harmony of the compatible structure comes from the design guidelines developed by the Nantucket Historical District Commission, which emphasize the "scale" of a building to be the most important factor. Nantucket buildings are small in scale; furthermore, the scale is correlated to the dimension of the human body. The scale of the buildings determines a compatible setting, which attracts visitors and enables a unique experience for visitors and residents.

In the case of Salem, there are Local Historic Districts as well as National Register Historic Districts. The Local Historic Districts are under the jurisdiction of the Salem Historical Commission, which has relatively strict regulations for historic preservation. The enforcement of the design review by the Salem Historical Commission has functioned well. The few violation occurred when regulations were not enforced. When a violation occurs within the Local Historic District, the Salem Historical Commission imposes a fine.

The emphasis on their design guidelines is based on the principal elevation of a building from the public way. Additionally, the evaluation of the structure is based "individually", reflecting the special characteristics the structure has. Since some of the structures were erected in a similar era and in a related architectural style, some areas within a historic district will have conformity. But because so many different architectural styles are scattered about in Salem, achieving uniformity of the built environment as a city is difficult. As earlier mentioned, certain areas in the historic districts such as Chestnut Street or around the Commons areas
have special architectural characteristics. If these places are publicized, they will become effective tools to invite more tourists to Salem.

The downtown area of the National Register Historic Districts is governed by the Salem Redevelopment Authority (SRA) and has a different philosophy on urban design from the Salem Historical Commission. Apart from historic preservation, the SRA has many other economic development objectives. For the SRA, historic preservation is one of the many objectives to be achieved. Although the Urban Renewal Plan implemented facade improvements in the downtown area, business conditions in the area have not improved. Much vacant retail space is visible to the pedestrians. Some of the businesses who do not understand the value historic preservation has for economic development have been violating regulations on signage. Although free standing signs are not allowed, some of the merchants use them. Presently, the SRA has been overlooking some of the signage violation because they are busy with other activities. The businesses lacking understanding of historic preservation in the area are taking advantage of the SRA's silence. Although violation of signs may seem to be a minor aspect, I think it is important because it has visual impact on the pedestrians.

From my observation and from my interviews, Salem appears to be a city, which on the whole is without continuity in terms of urban design. Although Salem has a sense of being a historic city, it lacks of a sense of place as a whole. However, even though the entire city lacks uniformity, this does not mean that the individual historic districts cannot be used for tourism purposes. Salem should try to plan and promote the usage of historic districts with outstanding appeal for tourists.
From these two cases, I propose the following:

1. If the harmony of a compatible setting or continuity of the built environment is the goal for tourism development for the entire area where the tourists will be visiting, one organization should have the jurisdiction over the design review for the area. The jurisdiction should not be segmented in small areas by different organizations. If this is not possible, an organization that will link the interest of the different organizations needs to be established in order to maintain some kind of common ground for the entire area.

2. The design review must be enforced. If not, the influence on the area will be minimal and the design review will function only as an advocate for historic preservation. Penalizing the violators will strengthen the enforcement of the design review. One method may be to impose a fine.

3. The importance of historic preservation and how it can help economic development for the area needs to be publicized with the intent of permeating the whole community. This will eventually smooth the enforcement of the decisions made by the design review.
4.2 Elite Tourism and Mass Tourism

After entering the twentieth century, Nantucket has evolved as a resort with a large proportion of second home owners spending their summer vacations on the island. Because the island is mainly a destination for second home owners, in general, higher income people have visited the island from its start. Tourism for the wealthier people has accelerated since the redevelopment of the waterfront in the late 1960s and with the control of the downtown by Walter Beinecke, Jr.. He focused on shaping “elite” tourism because of the limited capacity of the island. The number of people coming to the island had to be managed. He excluded all franchise stores and encouraged high-end shops so only a limited number of wealthy visitors would come. He eliminated “tacky” shops such as those selling inexpensive T-shirts and souvenirs.

As a strategy, his philosophy was successful, and the economy of Nantucket is performing well with a high median income and low poverty level compared to the state average. The minimum conflict we see on the island is that because elite tourism has been so successful, the cost of living has gone up, and price of housing has increased. As a result, the local residents may have difficulty purchasing their own houses in the future. However, with an economy solely reliant on tourism, and with the fundamentals inherent in Nantucket, focusing on elite tourism was a successful strategy. Elite tourism is selective about its audience, but management is easier and the impact on expenditure per capita is large. For Nantucket, because environmental resource assets are limited, and taking into consideration a long term tourism industry, the strategy aiming only at high income tourists was practical.
In contrast to Nantucket, Salem had a more balanced economy until the middle of the twentieth century. However, after the 1960s and 1970s, Salem is inevitably having to face the same destiny to rely more on tourism. The type of tourism we see in Salem is quite different from that of Nantucket. Many of the visitors to Salem are drawn by the witch attractions. The witch attractions have two facets. Although the heritage of the witch trials is part of American history, at its extreme, it can be used for a ghoulish type of tourism. The other facet is the more serious truth of what really happened during the witch trials, considered in terms of human rights. A large number of tourists are attracted to Salem by the melodramatic type of witch attractions featured at the Salem Witch Museum, the Witch Dungeon Museum, and the Salem Wax Museum of Witches and Seafarers. These “mass” tourists usually are one day visitors spending a very small amount of money in Salem.

To benefit the economy, Salem needs to have visitors that stay longer and spend larger amounts of money. This can be accomplished by planning and promoting not only the witch attractions but the other cultural attractions as well such as the Maritime National Historic Site, the House of Seven Gables, the Peabody Essex Museum, and the McIntire Historic District Walkways. Because the people will also be seeing other cultural attractions, the length of stay can be extended. Generally, the people interested in these cultural attractions are those considered to be “elite” tourists. The witches can draw a large number of people and from this big pie of visitors, tourists also interested in upscale attractions can be converted in the pie for elite tourism. Because elite tourism is composed of wealthier people, the impact on expenditure per capita or the net social benefit will become larger. Planning for elite tourism may be one solution for Salem to regain its economic stability and raise the median income. By
promoting and planning both types of tourism, the benefits can be complimented. However, focusing only on mass tourism is not an ideal solution for Salem because of little economic benefit. More focus on promoting and planning elite tourism needs to be considered.

Additionally, the big pie of mass tourism in some cases may not always include elite tourism. The elite tourist may not want to visit the ghoulish Salem Witch Museum. In some cases, the two different types of tourism may not be complimentary. Eventually, ways to promote and plan for elite tourism need to be addressed.

My proposal for mass and elite tourism is as following:

1. If a community has the fundamentals for planning elite tourism, pursue the strategy because economic benefit through the impact on expenditure per capita (net social benefit) is large. The first step to achieve elite tourism is fulfilling user satisfaction. Because the motivation for traveling depends heavily on the range of cultural attractions, having enough cultural attractions including cultural events is important. The other components of tourism development needed for visitors are accommodations, transportation, and services. Since elite tourism aims for a high expenditure tourist market, these other components such as accommodations and retail shops should also be planned to serve the high income tourists.

2. However, elite tourism also has the danger of escalating the cost of living for the local residents, so measures to address these issues need to be thought of early on before the problem become evident.

3. Mass tourism has the advantages of attracting large numbers of visitors. However, the expenditures by such visitors is usually small. Strategies
on how to increase elite tourism included in this big pie of mass
tourism needs to be addressed to bring in more expenditure per capita
(net social benefit).

4. If a community has the fundamentals for planning and promoting
mass and elite tourism, consider ways to promote both types because
there are situations in which the two different audiences of tourists do
d not compliment each other.

4.3 Role of the Public, Private, and Non-Profit Sectors for Shaping
Tourism

To develop tourism, a community needs goals and plans at the initial
stage. The tourism goal is part of the community’s overall development
plan so typically the tourism goal is included in a comprehensive / master
plan of a community.

In Nantucket, the Comprehensive Plan adopted in 1990 describes its first
overall economic objective as, “the protection and enhancement of
tourism”. The Town of Nantucket has presented a clear vision for the
island which has penetrated the community. Because the tourism goal
must reflect the community’s overall goal, the local government is
responsible for determining the tourism goal.

Additionally, the private sector has played an effective role in shaping
tourism in Nantucket. The waterfront redevelopment and the ownership
of the commercial property by Walter Beinecke, Jr. have been influential
in shaping elite tourism on the island. His ideas of limiting tourists to
only wealthy people has been successful in screening the shops and
services available on the island. These accomplishments would not have been possible had it not been for his judgment and financial resources. Planning and implementing the redevelopment of the waterfront cost eight million dollars. The commercial property in the downtown was said to be sold by Walter Beinecke to Winthrop Financial Associates in 1986 at a price of $54 million, which shows the abundant financial resources he had.

The non-profit organizations, the Nantucket Historical Association, the Nantucket Historical Trust, and the Maria Mitchell Association are also playing an active role in preserving important buildings as cultural attractions and providing funding for other infrastructure improvements on the island. The uniqueness of these organizations is that since neither profit making nor representing the public is their objective, more flexibility and continuity in their mission is maintained. For example, the Nantucket Historical Association has continued its mission of preserving the history of Nantucket for over 100 years.

In Nantucket, the town's vision, continuous efforts on the part of non-profit organizations, and Walter Beneicke's financial resources together have shaped the tourist industry. I consider Walter Beinecke, Jr. to have been the most influential in shaping the tourism industry. However, I think that the contribution made by Walter Beinecke is an exception not seen in most communities.

In Salem, the economy inevitably needs to rely on tourism. The redevelopment of the waterfront and tourism development will become the focus of the Master Plan that is currently being compiled. The city recognizes and is planning for the tourist industry. However, I feel that
the city has not articulated what type of tourism it wants: mass tourism, elite tourism, or an ideal combination for the future of the city. At the same time, the city may not be able to clarify its stance on the type of tourism it should have because the city needs to represent the interests of all the residents including businesses of Salem. After all, the Mayor is an elected official.

Another active player in the tourism arena is the National Park Service. With the cooperation of the non-profit organization, the Salem Partnership, the two organizations have been influential in planning and upgrading the National Maritime Historic Site which is part of the cultural tourism scene. By lobbying Congress, federal funding of $25 - $30 million has been obtained for this project. Had it not been for this financial resource, new investment in the site would not have been possible. This is evidence that public sector money can help fill the gap if there is not sufficient private capacity to carry out projects.

The Peabody Essex Museum is another influential institution for promoting cultural tourism. The new expansion plan is estimated to bring repeat visitors to the museum. If coordination between the Peabody Essex Museum and the downtown area is established, new life may be brought back to the downtown area.

The coordination of the City’s vision, non-profit organization’s efforts, and federal government support is shaping tourism in Salem.
From my analysis of the two cases, I propose the following:

1. The local government (town / city) should take the lead to determine tourism goals for the community because the local government has the responsibility of addressing the goals (policy) for the overall development plan for the community. This can been accomplished by adopting a tourism plan as part of a comprehensive / master plan for the community.

2. Financial resources is one of the key elements for planning and implementing tourism. The private sector will invest in tourism projects when high potential of accumulating profit exists. The non-profit organizations will also support tourism financially within their capacity. When both the private and non-profit sectors lack financial resources, public funding can help fill in the gap.

3. The non-profit organizations can play an effective role in planning and implementing tourism. They can be supportive in different ways, such as raising funds, providing sites for attractions, actual planning and implementing of tourist attractions.

4. The mission of non-profit organizations is flexible. This enables them to take on a diverse role, especially when the public sector cannot take a particular stance because it needs to represent the interest of the entire community.

5. The non-profit organizations can pursue their mission over a longer period. The private sector continues to operate as long as there are profits and the public sector may not be able to continue tourism plans when an administration changes.
4.4 Conclusion

Nantucket Island and the City of Salem illustrate how historic preservation enable communities to develop their tourism industry when historic assets are inherited.

In the case of Nantucket, preserving its historic resources for tourism purposes is explicitly for the economic prosperity of the island. Salem is following the same path as Nantucket, in which it will inevitably need to increase its reliance on tourism for economic development goals. Recent trends show more tourists travel to historic sites. With the high demand for visiting historic sites and districts, many communities in the United States are developing tourism induced by historic preservation because of the economic benefits it brings.

However, for the long term continuity of preservation-induced tourism, goals and plans need to be articulated. Careful planning is necessary because historic resources have carrying capacity and because local governments along with other sectors need to clarify the selection of the optimum type of tourism to benefit the community. Ultimately, it will be the role of the local government to provide the broad goals of future tourism for the community but other public, private, and non-profit organizations will also be the key players in planning and implementing the tourism industry.
Appendix

List of Interviewees

Bibliography
(1) The McIntire Historic District was established in 1981 and this district incorporates two previously established districts, the Chestnut Street Historic District (1971) and the Federal Street Area Historic District (1976), with the addition of 249 structures on upper Essex, Broad, and Warren Streets. The district is named for Salem’s celebrated architect-carver, Samuel McIntire. His first major commission, the Pierce-Nichols House (1782) and several of his mature works including Hamilton Hall (1805), are among the buildings preserved within the district. This densely settled residential area of the city contains one of the greatest concentrations of Federal style structures. The repetition of the three story Federal houses is highly regarded as providing a pleasing uniformity to the architecture of the street.

(2) The Derby Street Historic District was established in 1974 and includes all of the buildings on both sides of Derby Street beginning at Herbert Street and extending north of Blockhouse Square. Derby Wharf and the entire House of Seven Cables complex off Turner Street are also included. Derby Street retains its strong association with the city’s maritime history during the half century that Salem served as one of the leading ports. The structures in the area include old wooden houses that were warehouses and shops as well as more extravagant structures from the wealth of the foreign commerce in the 1760 to 1820 period. On either side of the 1819 Custom House stand important houses in the Georgian Colonial and Federal styles.

(3) The Washington Square Historic District was established in 1977 and includes the nine-acre Salem Common, properly called Washington Square, and most of the structures which abut it on three surrounding streets, Washington Square North, South, and West. The Common played an important role in the city’s military and civic history. In 1802, this open land was leveled and the erection of gates and a fence made the land become desirable for residential use. For two decades thereafter, a number of the city’s leading merchants built imposing spacious and extravagant mansions facing the Commons. Later in the nineteenth century, Victorian eclectic architecture was erected in the area behind the Commons mansions.
The Lafayette Street Historic District was created in 1985 and contains Salem’s most important collection of late nineteenth century Victorian residences. The district is composed of three blocks, extending along Lafayette Street from Holly and Leach Streets to Forest and Clifton Avenues. This district is located somewhat further away from the downtown area where the major attractions are located.

The Charter Street National Historic District was established in 1975 and consists of the Grimshawe house (1770), the Pickman House (1638) and Charter Street Cemetery (1637). The district contains the only remaining elements of the thriving business and residential neighborhood that once stood there and was created by the neighborhood’s proximity to the South River.

The Chestnut Street National Historic District was established initially in 1973 and enlarged in 1978. It overlaps but covers a larger area than the McIntire Local Historic District.

The Crombie Street National Historic District was established in 1983 and is composed of the eight remaining buildings of this downtown residential enclave. The district includes a cross-section of residential buildings from various periods of development.

The Derby Waterfront National Historic District was established in 1976. This district also overlaps with the Local Historic District but covers a larger area.

The Downtown Salem National Historic District was established in 1983. The character of the area is uniformly urban and commercial, although the different periods of development contribute varied expressions of style, density and mass. The Downtown Salem District is an expansion of the Old Town Hall District, which was listed on the National Register in 1972, and incorporates two individual sites, Salem City Hall listed in 1973, and the Joshua Ward House listed in 1978.
The Federal Street National Historic District was established in 1983. The block of Federal Street between Washington and North Streets is set apart from the rest of the street on the east by the width of Washington Street and urban renewal clearance, and on the west, by a sharp bend in the course of the street with a change to a more uniform residential character. The Federal Street District is a self contained block, characterized by contrasts of scale. This district is an expansion of a district containing only the three Essex County buildings that were listed on the National Register in 1976.

The Peabody Museum National Historic District was established in 1966 and consists of property owned by the Peabody Essex Museum of Salem. The Peabody Essex Museum of Salem is internationally recognized in maritime history, ethnology, and regional natural history. The oldest and most important portion of the complex is East India Marine Hall erected in 1824 to 1825 for the East India Marine Society, the forerunner organization of the Peabody Museum.

The Salem Common National Historic District was established in 1976 and overlaps and covers a larger area than the Washington Square Local Historic District. The Essex Institute National Historic District, which was established in 1972, is also included in this district.
List of Interviewees

<Nantucket>

Ms. Patricia A. Butler, Administrator, Nantucket Historic District Commission, February 23, 1996.

Ms. Maurene J. Campbell, Executive Director, Nantucket Island Chamber of Commerce, February 20, 1996.


Mr. Jeremy Slavitz, Coent Coordinator, Nantucket Historical Association, February 23, 1996.

Mr. Eric Savetsky, Land Use Planner, Nantucket Planning and Economic Development Commission, February 23, 1996.

<Salem>

Ms. Larissa V. Brown, Community Development Planner, Planning Department, City of Salem, March 12, 1996.

Ms. Michelle Cammarata, Assistant Director for Economic Development, Planning Department, City of Salem, March 12, 1996.

Ms. Barbara Clearly, Board of Directors, Salem Redevelopment Authority, April 9, 1996.

Mr. Len Conway, Project Manager, Office of Tourism and Cultural Affairs, City of Salem, March 25, 1996.

Mr. Eric M. Grant, Visitor Programs Coordinator, Peabody Essex Museum, March 17, 1996.

Ms. Jane A. Guy, Assistant Director of Preservation Planning, Planning Department, City of Salem, March 12, 1996.

Ms. Anne C. Harris, Executive Director, The Salem Partnership, March 25, 1996.

Ms. Mariellen Norris, Executive Director, Office of Tourism and Cultural Affairs, City of Salem, March 25, 1996.


Ms. Helen Sides, Chairman, Salem Historical Commission, March 27, 1996 (telephone interview).
Ms. Hazel Trembley, National Park Service, March 17, 1996.

Mr. John Wathne, President, Historic Salem Incorporated, March 25, 1996.
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