Technical Report

CAPE COD NATIONAL SEASHORE RAPID ETHNOGRAPHIC ASSESSMENT REPORT

Madeleine Hall-Arber and Christine James

MITSG 96-6

MIT Sea Grant College Program

Massachusetts Institute
of Technology
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Executive Summary

> The purpose of Cape Cod National Seashore is to assure this and future generations the opportunity to enjoy the outstanding scenic, scientific, historical and recreational resources found here, and to gain a greater appreciation of this environment and man's relationship to it.[1]

Implicit in the Park Service's commissioning of a rapid ethnographic assessment for the Cape Cod National Seashore (CCNS) is a growing appreciation among some natural resource managers that national parks, nature reserves, conservation lands, and the like in the heavily populated Northeast are inextricably linked with the human communities that surround them.[2] In fact, not long (in geologic terms) after the last great glaciers receded north, New England ceased to be a "wilderness," if by that term one means an area unmarked by human activity. As New England-based environmental writer Bill McKibben calls it in the April 1995 issue of *Atlantic Monthly* magazine, "... the East is a real place--not a Yellowstone, with clear boundaries to separate people from nature."[3]

Nearly all of the Cape Cod residents interviewed for this report expressed an essential gratitude to the Seashore for preventing over-development of the lower Cape's fragile coastal environment and preserving the natural beauty of their hometowns. At the same time, nearly all of those interviewed had several suggestions for how the Seashore might better acknowledge both the historic importance and the current interests of the human presence within the Park.

All of this is not to say that, throughout its 25-year tenure, the Park Service has completely ignored the interests and preferences of the residents of Cape Cod. Indeed, the establishment of the Cape Cod National Seashore has been referred to as "a landmark alliance" between the local

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[1] *Cape Cod National Seashore Master Plan*. 1970. National Park Service, Denver Service Center.

[2] In the case of the Cape Cod National Seashore, people actually live *within* the Park's boundaries, particularly in the communities of Truro and Eastham.

[3] Bill McKibben, "An Explosion of Green." *The Atlantic Monthly*, April 1995. p. 83. This expresses a popular perception that some of the National Parks have been carved out of such pristine, untouched-by-human-hand, natural areas that they are managed without reference to traditional human use. In fact, Yellowstone and other western parks commonly associated with "wilderness" maintain active relationships with Native Americans.

communities and officials of the National Park Service.[4] Nevertheless, the diversity of the Cape Cod human population was very poorly represented within that alliance. Nearly all of the representatives from the affected towns to the collaborative process that created the Seashore in 1970 were "Yankee;" that is, they were the descendants of Anglo-European settlers, some of whom could trace their families' presence on the Cape as far back as the time of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. For a host of reasons, including relative wealth, education, and social standing, members of this same constituency remain the most active citizen participants in present-day advisory meetings convened by the Park Service.

To their credit, Park Service personnel at the Cape Cod National Seashore have recognized that they need to attend to the cultural diversity of the Seashore's surrounding human communities in much the same way they attend to the biological diversity of the plant and animal communities within the park's borders. To that end, this rapid ethnographic assessment focuses on the Wampanoag Indians, the Portuguese and Portuguese American populations, and the Cape Verdean and Cape Verdean American populations of Cape Cod who have historic and contemporary ties to the lands within the Seashore but whose input into Park policies and management practices has never before been directly solicited. While the Wampanoag and the Cape Verdeans have incorporated some African-Americans within their populations, African-Americans *per se* are considered separately by researcher Helan Page (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) in her ethnographic overview and assessment project documenting relationships between African-Americans and 18 parks within the North Atlantic region of the National Park Service.

Rapid assessment projects such as this provide an environmental scan of the "ethnographic landscape" suitable for planning purposes and the identification of informational gaps related to park-associated groups and their connections to and uses of the park's resources. Such projects cannot be reasonably expected to provide detailed information on any group and its relationships to the park. Nevertheless, the ethnographic information offered in this report will enable the National

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[4]See *The Cape Cod National Seashore: A Landmark Alliance*, cited in the partially annotated bibliography, attached.

Park Service to develop a more culturally-informed General Management Plan for the Cape Cod National Seashore.

This report features the results of in-depth interviews with 30 community consultants drawn from these different communities. All of the consultants made constructive suggestions for how the Seashore could better weave the story of their particular community into the natural and cultural history of Cape Cod the Park Service interprets for its thousands of visitors each year. Among the most frequently voiced suggestions for improvement were the following:

- Given the historical importance of the Native Americans to this area, include Wampanoag history, culture and current status in all interpretive materials and programs produced by the Park Service.
- Increase educational outreach, particularly to schools and during the "off-season."
- Increase winter programming and/or highlight appropriate off-season activities.
- Consider off-site interpretation programs or signage at Corn Hill and First Encounter Beach.
- Where possible, interpretive signs should include Wampanoag place names, old setters' names, and present names.

In addition to their ideas for including the unique contributions of their forebears to the history of Cape Cod, the community consultants also made suggestions for how the Seashore could be a better source of recreation and education for all of its contemporary neighbors. Among these suggestions were the following:

- Make some accommodation for parking for year-round Provincetown residents at a reduced rate.[5]
- Increase employment of local people, particularly in winter.
- Reopen the Pamet cranberry bog, including Cape Verdean residents on the advisory group.
- Add Pilgrim Lake and Helltown at Hatches Harbor to the interpretive program.

[5] In fact, there is a Cape Cod National Seashore seasonal pass available for $15 per car per summer. That several community consultants complained about the cost of parking and suggested a reduced rate suggests a failure to publicize the availability of the pass in the community.

- Continue to allow traditional harvesting or gathering of fruits and nuts, etc. on an informal basis.
- Accommodate shore fishermen by reducing the cost of the seasonal fee or extending the season by whatever length of time access is denied due to bird protection efforts.

The report starts with an introduction, notes on research methodology and some background on the Principal Investigator and her research colleague. The text is then divided into sections devoted principally to four categories: Native Americans (Wampanoag), Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans, Cape Verdeans, and Contemporary Park Neighbors. In each section, a general overview is offered, followed by recommendations. In the concluding section, the Principal Investigator offers her final thoughts on the information gathered throughout the project, suggests directions for further research, and describes how the Park Service might build relationships with the focus communities based on the heightened interest in the Seashore that this project has engendered in the community consultants surveyed. The last portion of the report offers a list of the names of individuals in each group who are willing to serve as contacts in their communities. The report ends with an annotated bibliography.

1.0 Introduction

The National Park Service requires ethnographic information about Native Americans and others with traditional ties to the parks to be analyzed so that the parks' cultural and natural resources can be managed effectively and sensitively. Identification of sacred resources, impact assessment of the use of resources, analysis of the effects of park programs on people's cultural systems, and analysis of requests to access resources are among the issues to which ethnographic information can contribute.

Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures (REAP) are used to collect and analyze data for planning and program evaluation. Because community views are solicited, REAP can be used to satisfy National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) consultation and information requirements about the effects of potential or planned actions. Preliminary social impact assessments can also be

drawn from the results since not only traditionally associated groups, but neighboring and special interest groups are generally consulted as well.

The goal of this rapid assessment is to focus on cultural and natural resources within Cape Cod National Seashore in order to provide information for the General Management Plan currently in preparation. Established in 1961, the Cape Cod National Seashore consists of 27,000 acres spread over the forty miles between Chatham and Provincetown. For the purposes of the assessment, three cultural groups are the focus: Native Americans, Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans, and Cape Verdeans. These are groups that traditionally made use of the lands now owned by the National Park Service and have, or wish to regain, a special relationship with the land. They are also not normally well-represented in advisory meetings convened by the Park Service.

The Seashore's natural and cultural resources of significance are diverse, including everything from surf casting sites to blueberries and beach plums and from burial sites to old military installations and artists shacks. The goal of the assessment is to document traditional use of the resources and report on their value to both traditionally associated and contemporary neighboring groups.

The report begins with notes on research methods, then is divided into sections devoted principally to four categories: Native Americans, Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans, Cape Verdeans and Contemporary Park Neighbors. In each section, a general overview is offered, followed by recommendations. For ease of reading, the names of individuals who have expressed a willingness to serve as contacts in their communities for an advisory function are listed in a separate section towards the end of the report. (Their agreement to be listed as community contacts does not necessarily mean they are willing and/or able to attend meetings, but that they are knowledgeable and willing to talk to Park Service representatives interested in their communities.)[6]

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[6] Because the investigators did not intend to attribute quotes to individual consultants, release forms were not consistently signed and collected during the research project.

1.1 Research Methodology

Every culture has a structure or pattern that sets boundaries and expectations for the individuals born into that culture. Consequently, every human being starts his or her life already inextricably bound to others with particular beliefs, values, symbols, social organization and institutions, artifacts, and cultural resources. While change is ever a part of the human condition, culture affects how change is effected, perceived and adapted to.

One of anthropology's contributions to human existence is the recognition of the significance of culture and an appreciation for the diversity of cultures that exist. Understanding culture and its effect on human behavior can lead to improved communication among those from different cultures. Furthermore, and perhaps even more importantly, anthropologists focus on the process of cultural change and their analyses may lead to ways of minimizing negative impacts associated with change.

In order to develop an understanding of the culture they are studying, anthropologists elicit the points of view of their community consultants, the "folk perspective." In other words, they are interested in the "emic" categories, that is, cognitive categories, logical constructs and ideology a group uses to understand its own culture. Later, they may describe the culture using "etic" categories, which are the categories, constructs and ideology used by an outsider analyzing a culture.

An early "grand old man" of anthropology, Bronislaw Malinowski, observed that the difference between good common sense and the results of ethnographic research is a consequence of the methodology used.[7] Ethnographic research demands consistency and precision, a systematic and methodical attention to detail, comparison of data that reveals gaps in information and leads to further investigation. While the common sense of many Park personnel and their good relationships with community members is very important to the accomplishment of the Park Service's mission, a study such as this that formally and systematically obtains information from a

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[7] Bronislaw Malinowski. 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. NY: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc.

wide variety of community consultants will reveal aspects of Park resources that may never have been found noteworthy before.

Ideally, an anthropologist likes to live in a community for a year or so, observing and participating in the inhabitants' yearly round of activity, learning who plays a leadership role, who's on the periphery, etc. and studying the workings of the community in a holistic, natural way. Such a research method is quite diffuse and the amount of information garnered can be prodigious on a wide range of topics.

Such a broad study, however, is clearly not always possible or necessary. A rapid assessment uses a different approach, "allowing a team of two or more individuals, usually representing different academic disciplines, to produce qualitative results for decisions about additional research or preliminary decisions for the design and implementation of applied activities."[8] Nevertheless, a rapid assessment is based on an insider's view—relying on participants' knowledge, delineation of critical elements, sense of the elements' relative importance, and their relationship to each other. Also important to the assessment is a record of variability, rather than simply a statement of the "average" case or individual.

For the rapid assessment of ethnographic resources of the Cape Cod National Seashore, both knowledgeable community consultants and selected "individual respondents" were used. The former were able to speak for their group and the latter offered variability—speaking from personal knowledge and behavior and thus providing a cross-check to information gathered from the community consultant. Where conflicting opinions were offered, both views have been recorded. In a short term study, it is not always possible to determine whether or not views are accurate. Furthermore, for planning purposes, even mistaken views are important so that the agency understands how its actions or activities are perceived.

Knowledgeable Portuguese and Portuguese-American community consultants were initially identified through discussions with Park personnel and a local government official; Cape Verdean

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[8] James Beebe, 1995, "Basic Concepts and Techniques of Rapid Appraisal" in *Human Organization* 54:1:42-51 (Spring).

contacts were identified through a Cape Cod Academy teacher who has been collecting oral histories of Cape Verdeans on Cape Cod. For the Wampanoag, the Tribal Councils of Mashpee and Martha's Vineyard were contacted, as well as the Massachusetts Office of Indian Affairs and Plimouth Plantation. Following the accepted professional practice known as the "snowball method" of identifying interview subjects, when community members were interviewed, they were asked to suggest other appropriate spokespersons in their community. As is often the case in anthropological research, not all individuals identified as potential spokespersons wished to be interviewed, and some who were interviewed requested anonymity.

Originally, I had planned to rely primarily on telephone interviews with knowledgeable community members. However, a number of the individuals to whom we were referred were either non-native speakers of English or elderly with concomitant hearing loss, rendering telephone interviewing unsatisfactory. Therefore, my colleague and I often met with individuals in their homes or businesses.

Although time constraints limited the numbers of visits we could make to Cape Cod, this change in research technique had fortuitous consequences. The visits enabled my colleague and I to work as a team representing different disciplines and experiences which led to greater variety in the study and raised issues that might otherwise have been overlooked.[9] The long drives to and from Cape Cod provided uninterrupted opportunities to discuss and compare the information collected.

Interviews were open-ended. I explained that the Park Service was engaged in a long-term planning process and was aware that not all of the traditional users of what is now Park land have representatives who attend public hearings or otherwise indicate their views on issues relating to the Park. I also told consultants that the Park Service felt that the planning process should take into account the historical as well as current or potential use and value of park lands, so that their opinions were important.

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[9] Beebe (*Ibid*) emphasizes the importance of a team approach in rapid assessment, noting that it tends to improve the quality of information and provides crosschecks.

In the course of the interviews, I did not use a formal survey instrument, though I had prepared notes on areas that Park personnel had indicated were of particular interest to them. The interviews were semi-structured conversations in which I asked what areas of the Park were significant to the informants and whether their choices reflected historical or current use. Most of the interviews lasted a couple of hours and covered a wide range of topics of interest—background of the individuals and their families; their association with the Park; their associations with others in their community; views on what the Park Service is doing, proposed to do in the past, what might be appropriate in the future. Depending upon the individual's role in the community and connection to the Park, I would inquire about specific areas within the Seashore, or topics, such as the Coast Guard, Fresh Brook Village and the Pamet cranberry bog. I also asked if the community member would like to be contacted by the Park Service directly if plans were made that affected his or her historical or current use of the park lands.

In total, we interviewed thirty people, eighteen in person and twelve on the telephone. Interviews, whether in person or on the phone, lasted from fifteen minutes to six hours, though most were between 90 minutes and two hours long. Extensive notes were recorded by hand at each interview and were later typed.

In addition to the interviews, we spent some time reviewing the National Park Service archives and consulting the World Wide Web for appropriate bibliographic references. Those that were available in local libraries were reviewed. The literature offered additional opportunities to cross-check the information collected in the course of interviewing.

A map of Cape Cod, with some of the major cultural resources noted, is included in the appendix.

Because of the time limitations imposed upon this research, I believe that, as with any rapid assessment, the conclusions should be considered tentative. They might be best used as a framework, an indication of what is probably most significant to the populations sampled and what might be important to consider in the future, for both planning and research. As anthropologist

James Beebe notes, rapid assessment is "a tool for starting the learning process."[10]

1.2 Personal Background and Experience

My training as a cultural anthropologist and my two decades of experience with various occupational communities in New England prepared me well for performing this rapid assessment. The majority of my professional research has focused on fishermen, their wives, families and occupational communities throughout New England. That on-going research requires telephone and face-to-face interviewing, participation in public hearings, management meetings, and fishermen's fora, literature searches and development of a wide network of social scientists.

Much of my research over the years has concerned the social impacts of changes in fisheries management, an interest spawned while I was still a graduate student. In fact, I spent a summer doing fieldwork among Portuguese-American fishermen in Provincetown. Consequently, I had a degree of familiarity with the community and some first-hand knowledge of the geography and history of the Park prior to beginning this project.

1.3 Colleague's Background and Experience

Christine James recently earned her Master's degree from the Tufts University Urban & Environmental Policy program; her thesis was an exploration of the roles and perspectives of fisheries management held by women involved in Maine's fishing industry. Christine's professional experience prior to coming to MIT was with community-based human service agencies in greater Boston. Based on her experience with direct service provision and her studies in policy development and implementation, Christine focuses on how public policy affects, and is affected by, local communities and different constituencies within communities. In addition, through her work in urban neighborhoods, Christine has considerable experience with recent immigrants (non-English speaking) to the United States. Her theoretical focus and experience complements mine—to the benefit of the rapid assessment.

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[10] *Ibid.*

1.4 Annotated Bibliography

The annotated bibliography was prepared principally by Christine James. Christine researched the following topics in her effort to compile the annotated bibliography: the history of the Cape Cod National Seashore, from its inception to the present; policies and management practices currently followed at the Seashore, by the National Park Service and, more broadly, by the Department of the Interior; the history of Provincetown, and most particularly, the community's Portuguese and Portuguese-American populations; the history and present status of the Wampanoag Indians; and the history and current status of Cape Cod's Cape Verdean population, with particular attention to those Cape Verdean immigrants who worked in the cranberry bogs.

2.0 Native Americans

The Wampanoags live in Southeastern Massachusetts, Cape Cod and the Islands, an area their forebears named "Land of the First Light" and "Land of the Turtle."[11] In 1620, when the Pilgrims first came ashore at a place known now as Truro, Cape Cod, in search of safe harbor, tillable land and fresh water, the Wampanoags were already using large areas of the lower Cape for farming, storage of crops, and for hunting. The Indians had no permanent settlements, but moved from place to place depending on the time of year, weather conditions, availability of game and shellfish, etc. Under Myles Standish's leadership, the Pilgrims eventually settled in what is now Plymouth, across the bay from their original landfall.

By mid-1621, the Pilgrims of New Plymouth Colony had come to rely on the Wampanoag for advice on hunting, fishing and farming—one of the first Indians to help was Samoset who had learned some English from cod fishermen. Over the next few years, increasing numbers of English settlers moved north, south and west from Plymouth to build sturdy houses and fenced-in farms, a custom strange to the Indians who held land in common rather than having private or exclusive ownership of property. As the English settlements spread throughout the Cape,

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[11] Russell Peters. 1987. *The Wampanoags of Mashpee.* Nimrod Press.

theWampanoag were forced into increasingly smaller portions of their homeland (see Figure 1).[12] To mitigate the potential anger of the displaced native peoples, the leaders of the English colony designated certain areas such as Mashpee, Manomet, Pocasset and Yanno as Indian Plantations and placed them off-limits to new settlers.[13]

However, over time, the majority of the plantations succumbed to the encroachment of the English and the Indians were pushed off the most desirable areas. Richard Bourne, a missionary, attempted to record the Wampanoag's ownership of Mashpee, but it wasn't until 1685 that his son was able to convince the Plymouth court to confirm and secure the Mashpee title to the "South Sea Indians" and their children forever.[14] Despite their legal title, later court rulings allowed Barnstable and individuals to usurp Indian property. Nevertheless, Wampanoag descendants of Cape Cod Indians have maintained a strong presence in Martha's Vineyard and Mashpee.

The history of the Wampanoag on Cape Cod follows the pattern repeated throughout the Americas whenever Europeans desired land used by Indians. It is a grim history with atrocities and killing—on both sides of the conflict. It is also a history of opportunities lost, opportunities for mutual acceptance and learning that would have benefited both the Indians and the Europeans.

Nevertheless, Native American tradition has not been entirely lost and many of their values parallel those suggested by the National Park Service's mission. In particular, the Wampanoag's attachment to the land, their traditional belief that the earth is the center of existence and that an equilibrium must be maintained—whatever comes out of the land must be repaid or put back—expresses a value that might be described today as underlying the concept of "sustainable use." In traditional Wampanoag belief, everything in creation is part of the "Medicine Circle," "everything springs from the earth and returns to it in a timeless cycle."[15]

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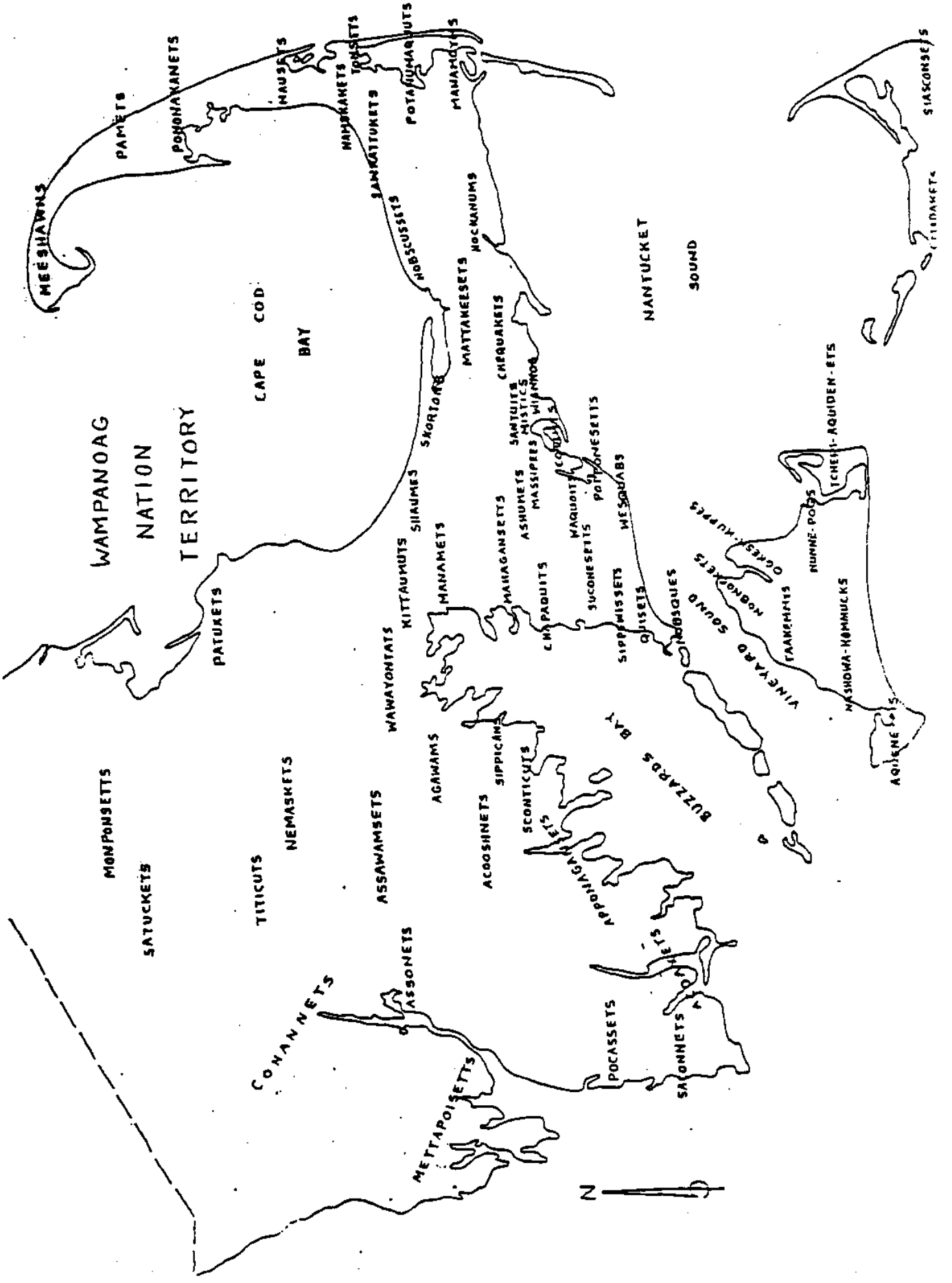
[12] The Wampanoag Nation consists of a large number of tribes, only a few of which have been federally recognized. Figure 1 shows the tribes and the areas they traditionally inhabited, on a map provided by the Wampanoag Tribal Council, Mashpee.

[13] Russell Peters. 1987. *The Wampanoags of Mashpee*. Nimrod Press.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*

Figure 1 Wampanoag Nation Territory (contributed by the Mashpee Tribal Council)



2.1 Ethnographic Resources within the Park—Wampanoag

A map Champlain drew of the Great Salt Marsh in 1603 indicates fields and wigwams. The area was probably used seasonally for farming by the Wampanoags. One interesting artifact in this area is a sharpening stone that was moved from the marsh to trailside early in the Park's existence. There is some official disagreement as to the provenance of this stone. According to National Park Service archaeologists (e.g., Hsu), the stone is not an artifact but, rather, a glacial feature; USGS geologists (e.g., Oldale) say it is not naturally-occuring but, rather, a man-made object.[16] One community consultant noted that it is likely both. "After all, every stone on the Cape is a glacial feature." A sharpening stone is generally a stone that happens to be of the right type for sharpening tools and is used wherever found, "it is not a great cultural feat." Another community consultant felt that it is a significant artifact, however, and should be noted and cared for.

Currently, Park interpretive programs, exhibits, signage and literature devote limited attention to the first inhabitants of the areas now comprising Cape Cod's National Seashore. Elements of interpretive media with Native American subject matter include: folders on Fort Hill, Pamet Cranberry Bog, and Smalls Swamp Trail; wayside exhibits at Skiff Hill; and museum exhibits at the Province Lands Visitor Center. There are also some related titles among the books the NPS authorizes Eastern National to sell.[17]

On Great Island, there are plaques showing early European settlements, but little or nothing on the Native Americans. High Head was cited by a Wampanoag consultant as an appropriate spot for even so modest an acknowledgment as a statue. Another Wampanoag suggested that Fort Hill be cleared of forest and plaques be erected to note that the indigenous use of the land was for farming.

Any grave sites within Seashore confines are of interest to the Wampanoag. According to the Wampanoag individuals interviewed, the indigenous people on the Cape want to be informed

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[16] Frank Ackerman, written communication. May 12, 1995.
[17] Frank Ackerman, written communication. May 12, 1995.

of any archaeological digs of Wampanoag settlements, particularly if the digs will include disturbing gravesites. (The legal requisites associated with the treatment of Native American gravesites as contrasted with those for Euro-American gravesites suggests a lack of respect for the Native Americans, according to the Wampanoag consultants.) Where there are archaeological digs at Indian sites, the Wampanoag feel very strongly that an Indian representative should be consulted and allowed to monitor the dig. This sentiment was expressed by a member of the Mashpee Tribal Council; an acknowledged Wampanoag scholar who is himself an Assonet Wampanoag; and a well-known and respected Wampanoag resident of the mid-Cape area. It was noted in one interview that the Indians who visited the archaeological dig at Coast Guard beach were well treated. The Wampanoag appreciated being permitted to perform some traditional ceremonies there. "It is important to be able to put a closure to things."

According to a Wampanoag who has lived on the Cape nearly all of his life, any fresh water springs within the Park boundaries would likely to have been Native American sites of significance. Several fresh water springs exist around Chatham, but I have not been able to identify any true springs within Park boundaries. There are fresh water outflows occasionally, possibly from fresh water lens that develop in the cliffs. In addition, one Portuguese-American consultant noted that one area of the dunes near Provincetown where she played as a child, she and her friends called "the oasis," because they only had to dig down a short distance to reach fresh water. Ponds, already identified by the Park, were undoubtedly used traditionally for fishing and hunting of waterfowl.

Shell middens in Truro, Wellfleet and Eastham Beach were noted as potentially important sites. The Wampanoag were hunters and fishermen, moving inland when the waterways and clam beds froze, moving towards the coast in the warmer weather. Many Wampanoag continue to fish and hunt. Though no one identified any particular individual who relies solely on his or her catch in the Park for subsistence, I was told that there are one or two individuals living a traditional Wampanoag life style eschewing modern conveniences. "Living like someone you would

probably call a hermit," a tribal elder explained.

Stick piles might also indicate a sacred site. When people passed the sacred sites on the ancient paths, they would add a stick to the pile out of respect for an elder. Because of the long history of disrespect for native tradition on the part of Euro-Americans, as well as the forced movement and/or confinement of Indians to the areas around Mashpee and Gay Head during the 1800's, traditional knowledge about spiritually important sites on the lower Cape is not generally shared with non-Indians.

> "If you disburse people from their native area, they may forget specific places. Plus, that kind of information was beaten out of us by missionaries and educators who denied we ever even had a culture," remarked one Wampanoag who is an acknowledged expert on his people.

A tribal elder specifically noted that many traditions are just simply not discussed with the local descendants of the Europeans, but are nevertheless maintained. Use of sweat lodges and moon lodges were cited as specific examples of such traditions.

There are additional constraints on locating specific sites because the land itself has changed shape. At one time, Coast Guard beach stretched ten miles out to sea; what sites may be underwater now, no one can say. Nevertheless, it is clear that the area comprising the Seashore is important and considered "fragile" or "sensitive" to all the Wampanoag Indians, even if few spots can be designated as "the" site of particular significance. Because the Wampanoags were not sedentary people, their settlements tended to be seasonal, but they did continuously return to the vicinity.

An anthropologist who has studied visitors to the Park noted that archeologists are familiar with many Native American sites within the Park's borders. While frequently discussed in academic circles, public release of this information is avoided due to a fear of "visitors running around finding and digging up sites." Such knowledge, however, would clearly be of interest to Wampanoag in the region.

Though the current Indian population of the lower Cape is quite small, Martha's Vineyard and Mashpee both boast significant populations. According to a member of their Tribal Council,

because of the geographical distance involved, the Aquinna (Gay Head) tribe of Martha's Vineyard would defer to the Mashpee Indians in most matters pertaining to the Cape Cod National Seashore. The Aquinna do, however, retain a general interest in what happens in the area and a particular interest in anything that might affect fishing off the coast.

2.2 Ethnographic Resources Close to the Park—Wampanoag

Two sites that are of very serious interest to the Wampanoag are Corn Hill and First Encounter Beach. Corn Hill was where Pilgrims with Myles Standish found corn that had been stashed for the winter by the Wampanoag and took it. First Encounter Beach was the first place Pilgrims saw Native Americans (the Indians had seen their "first whites" many years before.) Because of past experience with Europeans, it is said that the Indians feared the *Mayflower* was a slave ship. Shots of arrows and musket fire were exchanged, but no one was hurt during this first encounter. This first recorded interaction foreshadowed the serious conflicts Wampanoags would have with Euro-Americans over time.

Because both Corn Hill and First Encounter Beach are outside of the Park's boundaries and town-owned, the National Park Service has no direct control over how or whether the sites are interpreted. Still, in its role as technical advisor, the NPS could provide accurate historical information on both sites and encourage municipal officials to incorporate that information into appropriate interpretive materials. Funds for the creation and maintenance of interpretive signage and/or for the publication and distribution of written materials could perhaps be sought from private foundations under the shared auspices of the CCNS, the host towns, Wampanoag and Mashpee tribal associations, local historical societies, and Cape Cod Community College or other local educational institution.

2.3 Interpretive Programs—Wampanoag

Should the Park Service decide to devote more of its interpretive programs and exhibits to explorations of the human interaction with and impact on the natural resources protected within the

Cape Cod National Seashore, I strongly suggest that knowledgeable Wampanoag be consulted. Many mistaken interpretations of Native American traditions and inaccurate accounts of the treatment of Native Americans by the dominant Anglo culture have been recorded and remain in common use as references. (See bibliographical notes for Bowden and Ronda's *John Eliot's Indian Dialogues*). Fortunately, there are Wampanoag, proud of their heritage, who are willing to provide the Park Service with accurate information or help in researching topics of interest.

Prejudice against the Native Americans still exists on Cape Cod. Ignorance about their lives and culture feeds the historic prejudice. Educating their visitors about the Native Americans who live on Cape Cod now, as well as those in the past who were the first to appreciate the area that is now the National Seashore, would be a valuable role for the Park Service to play.

In turn, the Park Service might incorporate some valuable lessons from the Wampanoag in their programs. For example, the Wampanoags emphasize the importance of considering the effects of their actions on the seventh generation to come. What ideal could better fit the goals of the Park Service? The Wampanoag would be excellent partners—their long term association with the resources of the Park, the importance of consensual decision-making in their tradition, and the value they place on the land and its resources for sustainable use are all in accord with Park Service ideals.

2.4 Recommendations

- Given the historical importance of the Native Americans to this area, visitors' experience would be substantially enhanced by the presence of the Wampanoag Indians in the interpretive material.[18] Respect for the indigenous people could be easily demonstrated through additional exhibits at the Visitors' Centers. A replica of a typical Wampanog village would also be appropriate.[19] While Plimoth Plantation does have a

[18] This is an opinion shared by the Wampanoag, the Cape Verdeans, the Portuguese, the Portuguese-Americans and the researchers alike.

[19] All of the Wampanoag interviewed thought that the idea of a village reconstruction was good. We were cautioned, by one individual, that a lack of knowledge and the limited expertise available could make this project difficult to accomplish.

portion of a village, some of the community consultants for this project suggested that the scripted dialogue at the Plantation limits the opportunity for knowledge of the diversity of culture and beliefs of the Wampanoag to be communicated.

- Support the Wampanoag Survival Camp.[20] The Mashpee's chief will be running a camp for interested young tribal members to teach them some basic survival skills. The Park could provide information on any known campsites in the Seashore, helping to guide field trips from the survival camp. This could also be an avenue for communication about traditional management of resources and the Park Service's views on what has changed and how resources can be appropriately managed today. Formation of conservation attitudes among youth can be a powerful tool for resource management. Also, such outreach work builds a constituency that is likely to support the Park Service.
- Consider cooperating with municipal officials to provide off-site interpretation programs or signage at Corn Hill and First Encounter Beach offering a balanced interpretation that includes the Native American viewpoint.[21]
- Where possible, interpretive signs should include Wampanoag place names, old settlers' names and present names.[22]

2.5 Suggestions for further consideration

- Fort Hill should be maintained as an open area. If not farmed, at least the brush should be kept cut down (and the encroaching forest restrained) to show what the land looked like when the white settlers first came.[23]

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[20] This was suggested by a Tribal Elder and is supported by the researchers as well.

[21] Suggested by a Wampanoag; the researchers agree.

[22] Suggested by a long-term resident of Provincetown (Portuguese-American); Wampanoag and the researchers agree.

[23] This idea should be analysed carefully before implementation. Woods may be sufficiently scarce on the lower Cape to warrant allowing nature to "take its course." Interviewees disagreed as to whether or not keeping the area cleared as it was in 1620 is more or less valuable than the trees. If the land were to be used as it was traditionally, i.e., farmed, there might be less disagreement. A Wampanoag suggested this based on historical/traditional land use, but other community consultants, particularly a Portuguese-American consultant disagreed. The Park Service is considering continuing mowing, some burning, no-till hay production and/or grazing to return the area to a more

3.0 Portuguese and Portuguese-American

Provincetown and Truro are the major population centers on the lower Cape of Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans. The first of the Portuguese who settled in Provincetown were probably whalers who then turned to fishing as whaling became less profitable. While there are a few fishermen of backgrounds other than Portuguese, the Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans have been the backbone of the fishing industry out of Provincetown since about 1894.[24] Today, even the fishermen who are third and fourth generation Americans frequently refer to themselves as being part of the "Portugee fleet." While tourism is critically important to the town's economy, fishing holds an extremely significant place in the image of the town—both among residents and non-residents.

Because the Provincelands had long been state property before the National Seashore came in, the people of Provincetown were accustomed to a certain level of resource protection coupled with access for recreational use. Beach access, hiking and bicycling, hunting and fishing are all valued, as are berry-picking, rose-hip and beach plum picking and other harvesting activities. While most community consultants expressed their appreciation for resource protection (keeping the large resorts out), it is in Provincetown that the strongest sentiments of resentment against the Park are voiced.

The Portuguese themselves do not necessarily speak with one voice, however. The Portuguese community of Provincetown actually consists of several distinct groups. One group consists of Portuguese-Americans who describe themselves as "Portuguese," but who may be second, third or fourth generation. This group may be further divided between those whose relatives originally came from continental Portugal and those who descended from Azorean immigrants, depending on how many generations they have lived in the area. Furthermore, they

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traditional land use pattern.

[24] Josef Berger (pseudonym Jeremiah Digges). 1941. *In Great Waters*. New York: MacMillan Co. Berger noted that there were a handful of Portuguese in Provincetown in 1840; by 1894 the Portuguese population numbered over 2,000.

are also frequently descended from both Portuguese and non-Portuguese forebears.

As has been described in anthropological analyses of ethnicity, the ethnic boundary is flexible. Many Portuguese-Americans have married Americans of other ethnic backgrounds. Years ago, one Provincetown fisherman told me that when he was with his Irish buddies, he was Irish, when he was with his Portuguese grandfather, he was definitely Portuguese.

In general, however, Provincetown residents with any Portuguese ancestry tend to emphasize their Portuguese identity first. Food traditions are maintained and the pride associated with being a "fishing community with a Portugee fleet" is obvious early in conversations.

Recent immigrants (even those here for 10 or 25 years) make a clear distinction between Azoreans and continental Portuguese; indeed, they sometimes also distinguish among immigrants from different islands in the Azores. Furthermore, the recent immigrants are sharply distinguished from long-term residents.

An immigrant from the mainland of Portugual who has lived in Provincetown for seventeen years (except for four years spent in New Bedford), has learned to speak English, became a citizen, and is active in her Portuguese-speaking community noted that the older generation of Portuguese came from the Azores and the more recent, those who immigrated within the last twenty-five years, are from the mainland of Portugal. She told us that the older generation resents the younger and, with a few exceptions, there is not much interaction between the groups. Language differences could be a contributing factor, she added.

Discussions with the Portuguese-Americans who have lived here for several generations and often "mixed" with those of other ancestry indicated less awareness of any hostility towards or resentment of the more recent immigrants. The impression I had is that the "older generation" believes that if they appear unfriendly to the more recent immigrants, it has more to do with language barriers and busy lives than ethnicity.

One of the Portuguese American consultants whose father was a first generation American commented that in the 1940's there was a division between West Ender and East Ender youth in

Provincetown depending on whether the children went to school in the east or west end of town. She explained that she was intimidated by the East Enders until she was older and she got to know some of them in high school. She was not aware of this division having anything to do with residence being associated with ethnic background. However, an older Portuguese American said that the East Enders were "the elite, where the descendants of the Pilgrims lived." The Portuguese lived in the West End.

The different groups of Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans may have different interests and concerns on topics related to the National Seashore. Caution is advised, therefore, when decisions are to be based on opinions of "the" Portuguese community. Nevertheless, on the issues discussed below, most seem to agree.

In the discussion, I sometimes refer to Provincetown residents rather than "the Portuguese." For the purposes of this assessment, I spoke most often with Portuguese or Portuguese-Americans in Provincetown; however, on several of the issues raised, both those of Portuguese and those of other ethnic backgrounds shared the same concerns, so these are generalized as town-wide issues and I refer to the consultants as Provincetown residents.

3.1 A Note on Equity

In my study of fisheries management, I have found that New Englanders are particularly concerned with equity. In Provincetown, many of the park rules and regulations appear driven by the three month influx of tourists. Seeing themselves as having nobly given up the Provincelands for the public good, residents feel that some special exceptions should be made to accommodate their needs and desires, particularly in the off-season. Naturally, the greatest supporters of the Park are those who take advantage of its resources. Making it easier for the year-round residents to access these resources would surely increase their support and thereby ease management.

The issue that most clearly illustrates the perception of an imbalance of power between Portuguese (and Portuguese-Americans) and the National Park Service is the case of Race Point

Road.[25] Two years after the incident, community consultants still raise it as a red flag—an indication that the Park Service doesn't care about the views of the local residents, but makes decisions based on what they think will help summer tourism.

3.2 Ethnographic resources—Portuguese and Portuguese American

> The land is a big part of my life. A group of us Portuguese-Americans who grew up together were always out, and we have an intimate knowledge of the area encompassed by the Park. We can talk to each other mentioning landmarks like the first oasis or spots that maybe no one else knows, things like "you know that old oak tree that's near the tree shaped like a harp? That's where I spotted the box turtle." We swam in the ponds, chased herring, went horseback riding. It was a fairy tale existence.

Beaches

Herring Cove or "New Beach" is generally the first beach discussed by the Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans. As part of the original Provincelands, local people have long used it both for swimming and walking. Historically, Herring Cove was an important harbor, a point that could be made in interpretive programs.

Though not ethnographic resources, *per se*, bicycle and hiking trails throughout the Seashore are greatly appreciated by the Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans. Most noted that they were particularly pleasant in the off-season. In a sense, they facilitate traditional use of the lands that are now part of the Park, since people have always enjoyed the various terrains in what is now park land. Before the National Park was established, however, there were fewer rules about where and how the lands could be enjoyed.

An issue of primary importance is what is regarded as inequitable access to the seashore during the summer months because of the cost of parking. The people of Provincetown know that their neighbors have town beaches which allow them to park at little or no cost if they have a residential sticker. Furthermore, even tourists are eligible for a temporary sticker if they rent a place to stay for a week or more. It galls the Provincetown residents that they have no access to a

[25] Discussed in more detail below.

beach unless they pay—it seems highly inequitable that they have given their land up for the good of the nation, only to be denied what they view as their rights by residence. Particularly questioned is the policy of charging those who walk or bicycle into the Park. Community consultants almost all (independently) mentioned that the Service should encourage alternative transport by not charging. In addition, a few commented that children should be allowed in free.

None of the Provincetown community consultants who commented on access to the beaches mentioned the CCNS seasonal passes available to residents at a cost of $15.00/car per summer. It is unknown whether the consultants' failure to mention this service was because they are unaware of the availability of passes, or because they reject the CCNS policy of charging residents for access to the beaches, regardless of the relatively low cost of such passes.

The informal policy of directing the segregation of the homosexual communities from the heterosexual is approved of, particularly since, I was informed, tourists with children who have not grown up in Provincetown might not be comfortable with an integrated situation. Tourism is crucial to the town's economy, so maintenance of the separation of these groups is considered necessary and appropriate.

Asked about attitudes towards homosexuals who come in large numbers to Provincetown in the summer, most local people indicated a fairly tolerant view. Everyone seems to have individual friends who are homosexual, so such comments as, "they are people like everyone else, no better, no worse," were common. I was told, however, that when there is a group of heterosexual people, in a bar, on the pier, or gathered elsewhere, sometimes negative comments are made about the homosexual community. But, it seems that this is generally regarded as a display of "macho bravado" rather than a serious barrier between the heterosexual and homosexual communities. What is, however, disliked among the heterosexual residents of Provincetown, is public sexual display. Regardless of whether such overt displays are by heterosexual couples or homosexual ones, it is disapproved.

Fishing from the beach

Surf casting areas within the Park are probably the most significant to Provincetown's Portuguese community. Closures due to the "birds" (the piping plover) upset many, "people should be considered more important than birds," one consultant commented. Another Portuguese community consultant indicated that if the closure has to be put in place, the Service should at least extend the season at either end and/or should discount the cost of the permit.

Harvests

> "Hell, my family lived off the land in a half-assed way before my father got a better paying job. We picked berries, fished, shot game, shellfished....everything. My mom always baked homemade bread and we had beach plum preserves. After my father started making more money, we started eating out of cans and I told my mom that we ate better when we were poor."

Blueberries, cranberries, beach plums, mushrooms, rose hips and bayberries are among the most commonly harvested fruits or plants in park lands. Stories of family outings for harvesting date back well before the Park was established, so it is clearly a "traditional" use. The Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans said that they harvested for their own consumption or for gifts to relatives and friends.

Mushrooms may be in a slightly different category since they are said, by Park employee-consultants, to be most frequently harvested by French Canadians at Head of the Meadow. The Portuguese-Americans who said they collected mushrooms noted that they did so only if they were in the company of someone knowledgeable.

Many people talked about how they look forward to the harvest season. However, not everyone is aware of what type of harvesting is permitted under Park Service regulations. One Portuguese American community consultant quietly said, "I know it's against the law, but we always harvested the beach plums, the berries and rose hips, so ..." Some local people reportedly collect sea lavender to decorate their houses, a traditional use that is not permitted by the Park's rules.

Driftwood Collecting

Flotsam and Jetsam permits are needed to collect driftwood now. One community

consultant, though not objecting to the permit *per se*, noted that one has to also have a beach sticker for a four-wheel drive vehicle to be on the beach. If one tries to obtain one in the winter, it is not always possible because of such snafus as the Park Service running out of old stickers before the new ones are printed. This is just one example of the perceived Park Service tendency to focus too narrowly on preparing for the summer, rather than accommodating year-round residents.

Hunting

Hunting for rabbits, birds, and game has been a long tradition among the Portuguese and other Provincetown residents. Many look forward to the season; hunting is part of their family tradition. The trails are well-marked and hunters are not allowed to hunt near the trails or habitations. It makes sense to most people to continue to allow the limited hunting that is currently permitted. The one week of permitted rifle hunting is a time when most non-hunters simply avoid hiking. The hunting season is considered short enough, by all interviewed, to allow coexistence. I was not able to find any knowledge of subsistence hunting currently on-going in the Park. Avid hunters reportedly tend to travel north to New Hampshire or Vermont for a few weeks of hunting.

One individual expressed serious concern about the coyote population and its lack of natural predators. She noted that she now rarely sees small game (e.g., rabbits) that used to be plentiful along the trails, that people residing near the park have lost cats and even small dogs, and that she and others have seen coyotes near residential areas even in the daylight. Despite an aversion to hunting because of her personal love of animals, she would not be averse to population control hunts of coyote.

Dune access

The dunes presently within CCNS boundaries have been planted and replanted with beach grass nearly every 20 years since 1890.[26] At least one conservation-oriented Provincetown (Portuguese American) native believes that limiting the use of ORVs on the dunes is probably a good idea because of the ecological damage that can be wreaked. However, this same person

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[26] Frank Ackerman, written communication, May 12, 1995.

asserts that if visitors' ORV use is limited, then the Park Service's use of ORVs should also be limited. "After all, ORVs don't belong in a natural system."

Another Provincetown resident, the wife of a Portuguese fishermen, loved the pristine, windswept dunes (before they were so widely planted with beach grass) and misses the drives she used to take. She suggested the Park Service

> "meet us [the Provincetown residents] half-way." Perhaps they could open up a trail only in the winter, a few days a week, on a trial basis. If people took advantage of the opportunity or did not follow the trail, it could again be closed. But a winter, partial opening would allow local people to enjoy the dunes again without threatening the kind of damage that might ensue with overuse in summertime.[27]

Another Portuguese American mentioned that as a child, the second family car was always a jeep. That was before the Park was established, when there were no rules and they could drive anywhere.

> I was fortunate enough to have had that experience, but now I have mixed feelings. The dunes do need protection. Also, it's not my idea of vacation. They [the ORVs] park right next to each other in a group; I'd rather pitch a tent off on my own.

Provincelands Visitors Center

Provincetown suffers from very high unemployment in the winter, now even more so than in the past because of downturns in the fishing industry. In season, the local people have to work as hard as they possibly can to earn enough money for the year. Many people work two or more jobs during the tourist season, so they have little time for recreation or educational programs at the Center.[28] If they have visitors, they will bring them to the Center and will encourage their children to visit. During the winter, when Provincetown residents have more time, the Park Service has virtually no programs. Several community consultants suggested that the Park Service have more

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[27] Other than the few words in quotes, this is a paraphrase of the consultant's words.

[28] The brevity of available recreational time accounts for some of the anger over parking fees. If an individual has only an hour for a quick visit to the beach, they do not want to have to pay a full day's rate, so they are inhibited from taking advantage of the resources they live near.

winter programming for the residents of the area.[29]

Interpretation of fishing and whaling would be more appropriate at the North District rather than Eastham. The importance of fishing and, in the past, whaling to Portuguese community can not be overstated. Herring Cove, for example, was a big harbor that people should be able to learn about. This Visitors' Center has been neglected—the building and in particular, the audio-visual area needs updating.

Several people commented that they would also be very interested in learning more about the Native Americans who were once so much a part of the lower Cape.

Information about the availability of programs and/or special activities should be better distributed. Perhaps a column in the *Provincetown Advocate* would be appropriate and some Park literature in Portuguese (to be distributed someplace like Gloria's Restaurant that often has a Portuguese-speaking clientele).

The outreach program that involved rangers going to the local schools to lead environmental education/science programs is highly regarded. More such efforts are encouraged. The 1970 Master Plan for the Cape Cod National Seashore stated that off-season visits by schools would be encouraged. Unfortunately, many schools depend on their Parent Teacher Association (PTA) for funds for such field trips and, as one community consultant put it, "There's not much money around here in the winter, so the PTA is not active." Therefore, without Park Service funding for such visits, their numbers are apt to continue to be limited.

One interviewee made the point that the value of well-trained educators providing programs for the schools would not be limited to the educational value, but would also teach the young people that the Park Service benefits the area. People work to preserve what they like. If taught early to appreciate the park and the reasons for the various regulations, it is likely that there would be more local support for the Park and its resource management practices.

For the same reason, programming that local residents could participate in (during the off-

[29] The research for this study was conducted before the 1995 winter lecture series. None of the community consultants mentioned the presentations at town Councils on Aging 1982-88.

tourist season) and identify with (with Portuguese, Native American and Cape Verdean foci) would provide opportunities to explain to local residents the rationale for various regulations. Management is always easier when those managed understand the reasons for, and agree with, the regulations. In addition, good will would be engendered.

Effective programs could be developed using local people knowledgeable about the area and/or the local ethnic groups' activities. College-educated "experts" from off-Cape are not always the most appealing to those who live in the area.

Wooded Road to Race Point

Several community consultants brought up a Park Service project that the Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans (and reportedly, most Provincetown residents) adamantly opposed. The Park Service wanted to modify the section of the road that passes from Route 6 to Race Point. The plan was to straighten and widen the winding road. Six hundred trees (including a unique mature stand of beeches) would have been cut and the project would have cost $1.5 million. The community consultants said that it was a beautiful road with overhanging trees that they had loved all of their lives. "It would have ruined what was unique about the area," expressed one of the consultants. That the Park Service apparently began the project, surveying and setting out flags, before most of the Provincetown residents were even aware of the plans, was particularly disapproved.

Dune Shacks

Most of the Portuguese American consultants who remarked on the Peaked Hill dune shacks regarded them as a "part of history" and felt they should be retained.

> All my life I've visited the dune shacks. They are lovely and should be allowed to be restored and maintained. It's a part of Provincetown's history that should be respected.

Opinions of other, non-Portuguese-American residents of Provincetown ranged from one extreme of enthusiastic support to the opposite of "tear 'em down."

There have been a number of shifts in Park policy regarding the dune shacks. One

consultant whose family owns a shack noted that the family supported the establishment of the National Seashore and had been told that the dune shack would remain the family's—in perpetuity. Later, when the rules were encoded, the Seashore retained the right to tear down the shacks after life tenancy or 25 years, whichever was shorter. Not surprisingly, the family was not pleased with what they regarded as a policy change.

The Peaked Hill Trust is a nonprofit organization that manages some of the dune shacks and arranged to have them designated as National Historic Sites. Anyone is eligible to join the Trust and may then "put their hat in" a lottery for a week's use of one of the shacks. In addition to the access to the shacks through the Trust, three shacks reverted to the Park after the owners died or the shacks were abandoned, so the Park Service issued a Request for Proposals (RFP) for individuals to propose a plan for managing the shacks under a 10-year lease. However, the stipulations of the RFP included expensive renovations and quite technical requirements, limiting the potential responses to "the elite." Organizations such as conservation groups and the Peaked Hill Trust were not eligible to respond to the RFP. "So few people are able to use the shacks that it seems like a closed club," complained one consultant.

If the traditional use was maintained—for artists—then there might be more general support. Recently an agreement was reached among the Park Service, the Fine Arts Work Center in Provincetown, and the Peaked Hill Trust for the latter two organizations to jointly manage the shacks under Park Service control. Another non-Portuguese Provincetown resident noted that the shacks are so much a part of Provincetown's history and art that it would be "too bad" to destroy them.

Pilgrim Lake

Pilgrim Lake should be interpreted according to one community consultant. When it was open to the sea, it naturally was a major harbor for Provincetown (East Harbor) where whales were flensed in the early 1800's. Square nails, old wood, puddles of wax are evidence of some of the activity. Fertilizer from fish racks was produced there through the 1930's. I suspect that not

all members of the Portuguese and Portuguese community are aware of the history of Pilgrim Lake. However, consultants were in accord with each other in stressing the importance and value of interpreting the historical record of the area so that all the groups involved are represented.

Helltown at Hatches Harbor

Joshua Stickney Nickerson owned the Nickerson Oil Works which operated at Helltown for about a decade from 1880-1890. In addition, herring processing occurred here and herring seiners hailed out of Hatches Harbor. Its colorful and important history deserves interpretation, a community consultant urged. As with Pilgrim Lake, it is unclear how general the knowledge of old historical sites pervades the community, but again, it seems to be a commonly held view that any efforts the Park Service makes in adding depth to the historical record—in this case by highlighting the roles of the Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans—would further the goals of the Park Service.

Long Point

Jonathan Cook owned the Long Point Oil Works which operated here from about 1870 to 1890. The ribs of a schooner once used to store whale bones can still be seen. Foundations for 50 to 100 houses that graced the area around Long Point can also be seen. One community consultant strongly encourages the Park Service to use large signs to inform bottle-seekers and other visitors to the area that it is protected federal land and an archeological resource that must not be disturbed.

Highland Light

One Portuguese American expressed concern about plans to move Highland Light: "Moving it to protect it is fine, it is a beautiful light, but avoid making it into a visitor's center with a large paved lot. Try to keep it as it is, even if it has to be in a different spot."

3.3 Interpretive Programs—Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans

The Casa Da Saudade Library in New Bedford has served the Portuguese population since 1852. They are currently developing a section devoted to fishing and would be a useful source of information if the Park Service decides to include more about the Portuguese and Portuguese-

Americans in their interpretive programs.

In addition, the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Reference Section, has photographs of Portuguese fishermen and their families taken by John Collier in Provincetown during World War II, copies of which could be obtained for exhibiting.

3.4 Recommendations[30]

- Using the successful program that involved rangers visiting schools as a model, increase educational outreach, particularly to schools and during the "off-season." Some Portuguese language literature might be appropriate.
- Make some accommodation for parking for year-around Provincetown residents at a reduced rate. Perhaps a reduced-rate sticker for the summer would be a reasonable compromise.
- Set up a sign system or a ranger (with radio contact to the lot) to let visitors know when the parking lot is full—before they spend long periods of time in line.[31] Traffic control to keep cars from blocking access to the airport is particularly important to some.
- Accommodate the shore fishermen by reducing the cost of the seasonal fee or extending the season by whatever length of time access is denied due to bird protection efforts.
- Fishing and whaling interpretation should include significant pieces on both the Portuguese (Azoreans and mainlanders) and the Cape Verdeans.
- Increase winter programming and/or highlight appropriate off-season activities, interesting aspects of seasonal changes in the Park, etc.
- Increase employment of local people, particularly in the winter season. (The Coast Guard was well-supported and had many local recruits when they maintained the policy of stationing local Guardsmen locally.)

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[30] All of these recommendations stem from suggestions by Portuguese and Portuguese American community consultants. The researcher agrees with the recommendations.

[31] The Master Plan for the Cape Cod National Seashore (1970:49) points out the "a system of improved communications is desirable in the interest of all concerned, including the confused visitor...information on the nearest beach where parking is available" and a network of radio communication and/or signs was suggested.

- Pilgrim Lake, Helltown and Long Point would be appropriate additions to the interpretation program.
- Continue to permit traditonal harvesting and/or gather of fruits and plants on an informal basis

3.5 Suggestion worthy of further consideration[32]

- Open a trail for ORV use during the winter, one or two days per week.

4.0 Cape Verdeans

A newspaper article in the *Cape Cod Times* (12/14/94) referred to the Cape Verdeans as the "'other' Cape Codders, people of color who settled here decades ago, working the land and the cranberry bogs and helping shape the Cape's destiny." Many of the Cape Verdean immigrants originally were farmers who came from the islands of Brava or Fogo, but like the Portuguese, the first Cape Verdeans came to Cape Cod aboard whaling vessels.

As the whaling industry became less profitable and the jobs less attractive to "Yankee" fishermen, Cape Verdeans were recruited to fill out the crews. The inhabitants of the Cape Verdean island of Brava became renowned as whalers. Despite its name Cape Verde, an archipelago of twenty-one islands off the coast of Africa, suffers from erratic rainfall and periodic droughts. Until recently, when engineering advances allowed the islanders to tap water in their mountains to irrigate their fields, the poor water supply led to impoverished conditions exacerbated by colonial rule, so young men were eager to join the whalers.[33]

In the late 1800's, when steamship travel became popular and the whaling industry died out, old sailing vessels were sold at very low prices. Some Cape Verdean immigrants "pooled their resources and converted them into cargo and passenger ships, known as packet boats, for regular sailing" between New Bedford (Massachusetts), Providence (Rhode Island) and Cape

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[32] This was suggested by the wife of a Portuguese American. The researcher suggests that it be looked into, balancing ecological and community interests, before changes in current regulations are made.

[33] Marilyn Halter. 1993. *Between Race and Ethnicity*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Verde.[34]

About the same time, labor was being sought for textile mills and cranberry bogs of southeastern Massachusetts and Cape Verdeans found work in both industries. Repeating a pattern familiar to other immigrants to the United States, as Cape Verdeans found jobs and saved money, they sent for relatives from the islands.

Historian Marilyn Halter notes that by 1910, Cape Verdeans dominated the harvesting of the cranberry bogs on the Cape. While some of the Cape Verdeans were able to survive year-round by combining a variety of seasonal harvesting activities, others worked the cranberry bogs in the summer and fall and then took factory or mill jobs for the winter. Others stayed in New Bedford year-round, the men generally working in the cotton mills, the rope works or in maritime jobs (on tugs, lighthouse tenders, merchant steamers, or as longshoremen), though not in fishing for the most part. Women ran boarding houses or worked as domestics. Because of discrimination, Cape Verdeans were rarely hired for skilled jobs, regardless of their qualifications or education.

While cranberries were a crop new to the Cape Verdeans, as one community consultant told me, "they liked to dig ground." Discrimination kept some of the darker-skinned Cape Verdeans from being hired for higher-paying textile mill work, so they turned to farm labor, harvesting strawberries, blueberries and cranberries, but others came to the bogs as children with their parents and other relatives. Women planted, weeded and picked (harvested) the cranberries, initially by hand, later by scoop; men dug and sanded the bogs and picked the cranberries, usually by scoop. The youngest children played alongside their relatives and as they grew a little older, began picking the underberries (those missed by the scoop).

Working in the bogs was incredibly hard work with low pay ($1 for 10 hours work) and poor housing, but the Cape Verdeans managed to save money to send back to the islands. Music and story-telling, working with their relatives, helped some cope with the harsh working

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[34] *Ibid*, p.5.

conditions. Relatively few of the Cape Verdeans in the early days bought land because most of their savings was sent to Cape Verde. Later, when the idea of returning to Cape Verde was abandoned, individuals did begin to buy land and build their own houses. A few bought sufficient land to dig their own bogs. Today, many of those bogs have returned to the wild because the young people have gone to college and left the area for greater opportunities elsewhere.

"Greenhorns," usually single, young men, recently from the islands, would often live in shacks at the bog during the season. These were rarely more than shells of a structure with bunk beds and a stove, no running water. Families lived in rough cottages or tenements, but almost everyone strived to have a garden. Fresh, home-grown vegetables and fruit were their main sustenance during the summer. The surplus was canned for the winter, a tradition still popular.

4.1 Ethnographic Resources—Cape Verdean

A Working Cranberry Bog

While I did not interview anyone who actually worked the bog at Pamet River in Truro, the bog the National Park Service is considering leasing out to a cranberry bog farmer, I did interview several Cape Verdeans who had worked on other bogs closer to Harwich. One 94 year-old man told me that a friend of his was given the Pamet bog after World War I because he was the best friend of the owner's son who had been killed in the war. My informant said he didn't know if the story was true, but that was what his friend told him.

Those interviewed would like to see a working bog in the Park. As historian Marilyn Halter discusses, Cape Verdeans have long been "invisible," not only here in the United States, but also within the Portuguese colonial system. Because they are a mixture of races, they've suffered discrimination and, for various reasons, no complete history has been ever been recorded. The community consultants I spoke with have all spent a portion of their lives working in the bogs. A working bog in the Park would provide opportunities for interpretation that acknowledge the extremely important role Cape Verdeans played in the cranberry industry, making them more "visible."

Other non-Cape Verdean consultants agreed that a working bog surrounded with open moors and heathlands would be ideal. Cranberry bogs are regarded as a unique part of Cape Cod's heritage, interesting to see and beautiful (particularly when the cranberries are ready for harvest).

I was told that some of the larger cranberry farmers in Harwich did not place a bid to return the Pamet bog to a working bog because of the issues of water shortages in Truro and the fear that it would be impossible to clear a profit growing the cranberries organically—if for no other reason than the cost of labor for weeding.

4.2 Interpretive Programs—Cape Verdean

Like the other ethnic groups that have long been attached to the lands owned by the Park Service, the Cape Verdeans would like to be recognized—at the very least in interpretation. The Brooks Academy Museum and Library in Harwich has paraphernalia and memorabilia from the cranberry industry that might be loaned to the Park Service for exhibits or special programs. They also have quite a bit of information and memorabilia from the Cape Verdeans.

4.3 Recommendations[35]

- Reopen the cranberry bog, using Cape Verdeans on the advisory group
- Add Cape Verdean history to interpretive programs

5.0 Contemporary Park Neighbors

While focusing principally on the Wampanoag, the Cape Verdeans and the Portuguese-Americans, for comparative purposes and particularly for the variety that anthropologist James Beebe suggests is critical for a rapid assessment, I also interviewed people who have either been long-term residents of the area and/or employees of the Park.[36] Most of the individuals

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[35] These recommendations are based on the opinions of the Cape Verdeans I interviewed. I concur.

[36] James Beebe, 1995, "Basic Concepts and Techniques of Rapid Appraisal" in *Human Organization* 54:1:42-51 (Spring).

interviewed are of mixed ethnicity, Irish-Portuguese, English-Irish, Nova Scotian, etc., and said they would rather speak for themselves or their families than for a particular cultural group. It would take further research to determine if an English-based ("old-time Yankee") Cape Cod culture is distinguishable. However, comments on specific sites in the Park suggest that several of these sites remain ethnographic resources of long-term, traditional interest to Cape Codders, regardless of whether or not these Cape Codders consider themselves a distinctive ethnic group.

5.1 Ethnographic Resources—Contemporary Neighbors

Bound Brook and the Smallpox Cemetery[37]

Bound Brook was a Methodist settlement of which interesting cellar holes remain. According to one consultant, a long-time resident historian, the Park Service should clear the settlement's old smallpox cemetery or at least make it less cumbersome for local groups to care for it. ("It shouldn't require an impact statement to clear the cemetery.")

The consultant explained that a group of six people who are descendants of some of those buried in the cemetery at one time wanted to rake the cemetery, but were told they had to go through a permit process which also required a sponsor. Since then, the group referred to as "Smallpox is History," has been sponsored by Seamen's Bank and will apparently be allowed to clear the cemetery. The consultant commented that the cemetery, which had been owned by the State, went to the Park with the Provincelands and that the Park Service has an obligation to take proper care of it.

Fresh Brook Village

This is one of the earliest European settlements on the Cape and should be looked at again, according to a long-term Park employee. Among aspects of historical interest are the changes in the water table. Smith Tavern, alternatively known as Wellfleet Tavern or Great Island Tavern, situated within the area that was Fresh Brook Village, is the subject of a Plimoth Plantation study.

[37] Acadia National Park and St. Paul's Church (Manhattan site) also have cemeteries treated as ethnographic resources.

The village may be an acknowledged ethnographic resource for a "Yankee" population, should it still exist. However, an otherwise well-informed Portuguese-American park user and resident of Provincetown had never heard of Fresh Brook Village.

Coast Guard and the US Life Saving Service

Little information on the Coast Guard's predecessor, US Life Saving Service, beyond what is known or surmised from John Dalton's 1903 book was offered by those I interviewed. One consultant noted that gillnet fishermen often joined the service for a few years because, apart from the station's keeper, the stations were only manned October to April, so service did not interfere with the best gillnetting period. This consultant did suggest that the one remaining Life Saving Service Station in the Park should be lived-in for proper maintenance.

A couple of people pointed out that several generations from the area served in the Coast Guard after it was established in 1915 because in the early days it provided a good steady income and recruits could remain in the area during their service. Sites associated with either the Life Saving Service or the Coast Guard could well be ethnographic resources associated with ethnic groups other than those I was concentrating upon.

Ice Houses

Enormous ice-keeping capacity grew about Great Pond, Provincetown, from the end of the Civil War to the 1930's or '40's. Partial foundations remain of five ice houses on NPS property. The houses were constructed of double walls with sawdust in-between to serve as insulation. Ice was cut from the ponds in the winter and stored in the houses until needed for the preservation of fish being transported off the Cape. After 1900, seven cold storage facilities were built for fish storage and one or two of these started manufacturing ice, so the importance of the pond-cut ice

diminished. Nevertheless, the natural ice remained less-expensive and important in the area for several more decades.

Bicycle Paths and Horseback Riding

Almost universal support for the paths was expressed. Just one note of caution was sounded: the extension of the path should be along Route 6, not carved out of existing woods or fire roads (the fire roads are some of the only places left for horseback riders).

Clapps Pond

A community consultant with strong environmental concerns said that Clapps Pond needs more focused attention because it is a rare environment—quaking bog.[38] The consultant suggested that it should have an interpretive bridge passed over it as has been done in other sensitive ecosystems such as the Everglades. Several consultants thought that trading the pond for the transfer station would be a good idea[39] and that more education and much better tending is needed. The exterior boundary of the Cape Cod National Seashore currently runs through the middle of Clapp's Pond. Therefore, a land exchange such as the one suggested, would need to be complemented by an extension of the Park's boundary.

Currently, Clapps Pond is used by young people as a place to ride their dirt bikes. One individual observed that the bikes tear up the environment, leaving it "pretty unsightly," but that the bikes do entertain the kids.

Airport

The airport has served Provincetown since the 1940's. Several consultants noted that the airport allows people to live (full-time and/or seasonally) in Provincetown who could not otherwise live in such a remote community. It also contributes to the town's economy, bringing in tourists on a regular basis. Sightseeing flights have been conducted since the 1950's, but are very non-

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[38] According to NBS biologist Portnoy, whose specialty is wetlands ecology, Clapps Pond is a pond, not a quaking bog. (Frank Ackerman, written communication, May 12, 1995.)

[39] The Secretary of the Interior has the authority to exchange Federally owned lands for other lands within the boundary according to the Cape Cod National Seashore Master Plan (1970).

invasive, using an antique plane flying 60 mph, avoiding whales and other potentially sensitive resources.

Geography limits the potential for airport growth, even if it were desired. Both the airport commission and the local community are in a limited growth mode, recognizing the limitations of water and sewerage in the area. Two community consultants noted that the Park Service has been difficult to work with vis-a-vis the airport. They tend to be "heavy-handed and officious" rather than talking to the townspeople and learning about their needs and desires, the consultants explained. "They [Park Service] complained about things like the gas tanks being visible from the Visitor's Center."[40]

A third informant noted that there should be a way to use airport hangars for community fund-raisers or other activities without actually contradicting National Park Service policy of leasing Park property for fund-raisers. Perhaps the agreement could be routed through the airport commission? Such a policy would again offer opportunities for the Park Service to improve relationships with the community without damaging the resources being managed.

Dogs

Community consultants often mentioned that they appreciated being able to walk the fire trails in the Park with their dogs. One consultant requested that the rangers be a little more flexible about leash law enforcement in mid-winter in deserted areas. One consultant said that dogs should be prohibited from March to June in Beech Forest when the warblers are nesting.

5.2 Rangers and The Park Service

Interactions between visitors and National Park Service personnel clearly have the potential to enhance or to diminish visitors' enjoyment of and appreciation for the Park and its resources. When community consultants expressed their opinions about Park Service staff, many acknowledged that there are some excellent rangers. At the same time, they often added:

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[40] If such a complaint was indeed made by the Park Service, it may have had to do with the Park Service's directive to preserve historic vistas. Nevertheless, the fact that a consultant, who in general is very enthusiastic about the Park Service, felt that the complaint was officious, demonstrates the importance of explaining the rationale behind Park Service decisions.

"the nice ones often come from the area," talk to local people, and participate in town boards or activities.

In other words, staff members who are sensitive to the culture, interests and needs of neighboring groups—whether they be Wampanoag, Portuguese, Portuguese American, Cape Verdean and/or other contemporary groups—are able to communicate their respect for the diverse groups while being responsible Park Service employees. Others, consultants said, tend to have an attitude that is inappropriate for the area. Those who have an authoritarian manner, who seem to imply that the Park would be better off without people using it, are most resented.

Other opinions expressed in the course of interviews included a number of suggestions for both Cape Cod National Seashore and for the National Park Service:

> One consultant suggested that there be more coordination among interpretive services, resource management and maintenance.
>
> Another consultant said that staff should be promoted within the Park, not transferred for each upward movement within the Service. National personnel policies should have some flexibility (wool and polyester uniforms are not appropriate in every climate!)

I was told that if the Park Service made an effort and used some imagination, they could easily win supporters.

> Such effort is particularly needed in the Provincetown area because the Park lands are not as integrated into the town itself as they are in Eastham and Truro. A little public relations activity—such as using the chipper to chip residents' Christmas trees—would be a good idea.

5.3 Park's Educational Outreach

Updated signage and hands-on interpretation is needed. Technology could be incorporated to relieve some of the personnel from the labor-intensive trail talks.

Less energy should be devoted to enforcing the rules against topless sunbathing, and more to educating people about the delicate nature of the dunes. "The story of Cape Cod is a really grand one with lots of dimensions in time and space." The Park Service could relate the story of

the inter-relatedness of the Cape's human and natural resources with more "grandeur and dimensionality."

5.2 Recommendations

- Fresh Brook Village should be revisited for possible interpretation or highlighting
- Focus more attention on the Clapps Pond, possibly a rare quaking bog
- Bound Brook also would be an interesting site for interpretation (at least signage)
- The ice house foundations should be protected
- Pay more attention to the material culture (resources) extant in the National Seashore
- Updating of existing signage/interpretation, increasing use of technology for interactive exhibits, would be a great improvement
- Don't ignore National Park Service rangers and other personnel—there's a wealth of information in-house.

6.0 Additional research needs

While the Wampanoag express a strong attachment to their past and are very much aware of their traditional use of the lands that are now a part of the Seashore, apart from a mention of one site (noted in Confidential Appendix), most of the community consultants interviewed were either unwilling or unable to identify exact locations of areas of spiritual or legendary significance. Longer term ethnographic research, especially if conducted with the cooperation of archaeologists, might reveal such areas. Trust is not something that can be demanded, and rarely develops overnight, so research to identify specific sensitive areas is not an appropriate goal for a rapid assessment.

Additional work would be needed to identify individuals who actually worked in the Pamet River cranberry bog. While other Cape Verdeans can offer general information about cranberry bog construction, care and maintenance, as well as the care and harvesting of the crop, only a worker from that site could authenticate the interpretation.

Interest in the local Coast Guard was expressed by some community consultants, but all referred the researchers to one history book that was actually about the Life Saving Service, the Coast Guard's predecessor. The names of the participants recorded in the book reflected participation of both "Yankees" and Portuguese. Further research might reveal sites of interest in the Seashore that should be interpreted.

Whaling, fishing, tourism—the principal occupations of the Portuguese in Provincetown—reflect both changes in American history and changes that have occurred in man's relationship with natural resources. More complete research on the Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans and incorporation of the results in interpretive programs would contribute to a richer understanding of the historical context of the Cape Cod National Seashore.

6.1 Nature versus Material Culture

More than one consultant noted that the Park Service emphasizes the natural resources rather than material culture associated with traditional uses of the park lands. Maintenance of material culture seems to be low on the list of the Seashore's priorities. Several consultants noted that the Park Service is missing an opportunity to protect historical sites.[41]

7.0 Conclusion

Interviews with residents of the lower Cape indicate a dualistic view of the National Seashore and the Park Service: great appreciation for the fact that the Park has protected the area from condominium or resort development but, at the same time, a sense of resentment and/or frustration that the Service is dominated by a "wilderness mentality" that fails to accommodate the differences inherent in a park as intertwined with people and communities as Cape Cod.

> "They should keep in mind that this corner of the United States has been lived in and heavily used since the beginning...They treat it like it is Yosemite!"[42]

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[41] In some cases, the problem may be linked to government procurement processes that sometimes result in higher than average costs so the maintenance or repair becomes unaffordable and the item of material culture is destroyed. Cited as an example was the Salt Pond House just south of the Visitor's Center at Eastham that was allowed to deteriorate, then estimate of repair costs was so great that the building was torn down rather than saved.

[42] See footnote 3.

Because there are no formal mechanisms for information exchange between NPS personnel and members of the cultural groups surveyed in this report, there are significant misperceptions of the needs, motives and operational constraints facing both the Park and these groups. The conflicts, or potential for conflicts, that arise in many cases may be attributed to a lack of mutual understanding arising from "a failure to communicate." This failure, in turn, originates in part from differences in cultures—i.e., differences in expectations, values, and models of behavior. Where there is communication, mutual respect often develops and management of fragile resources is improved. Communication between the highlighted groups and the Park could be improved through culturally-informed consultation. That opportunities for such consultation exist now is clear from the willingness expressed by a number of the individuals interviewed for this report to act as resources on their cultural community for Park personnel.

The Wampanoag

Today's Wampanoag are descendants of indigenous peoples who farmed and fished the natural resources of the Cape Cod seashore long before Europeans even visited, much less settled in the area. Any sites which reveal Native American pre- or post-contact activity are significant to the Wampanoag of today. The Wampanoag value links with their ancestors and regard their remains with particular awe and veneration. But insensitivity to (not to say callous disregard of) Native American concerns has long been a pattern in Euro-American behavior, exemplified in Cape Cod by the Pilgrims' theft of Wampanoag corn stores, followed by centuries of land seizure, armed confrontation, and forced migration.

A frequently cited example of European-American insensitivity to Native American tradition is the treatment of human remains. Archaeological digs around the country have sent thousands of Native American remains to the Smithsonian and other museums, to the horror of many Native American peoples. Changes in attitudes towards Native Americans have finally resulted in the return of many of the remains to their tribes for reburial. While one Wampanoag community

consultant maintains that all archaeological digs on Native American remains should cease: "What more are they going to learn (from additional digs) that they don't already know?" Another Wampanoag commented that, if such archaeological research is to continue, the group would expect to be accorded the respect the Cape Cod National Seashore demonstrated when remains were uncovered at Coast Guard Beach. In this instance, the Park Service notified the tribe and allowed Wampanoag to perform special ceremonies at the site. That was an opportunity for communication that the Park Service seized, to its credit.

Still, the Seashore rarely illuminates the history of the Wampanoag, either by exhibit or interpretation in the Park. Inclusion of the Wampanoag's conservation ethic, as well as the record of indigenous people's land use patterns on the Cape, would enrich the visitor's experience while subtly teaching the benefits of sustainable resource use.

Appreciation and respect for Wampanoag culture would also be enhanced by a well-designed and researched exhibit. It is critically important, however, to base interpretation and/or exhibits on the knowledge of Wampanoag community consultants. Too often in the past, the history and culture of the Native American population has been distorted, albeit by well-meaning but misinformed individuals.

The Cape Verdeans

Cape Verdeans also have long been associated with the lands that are now part of the Cape Cod National Seashore. Their association was dominated by the experience of working in the cranberry bogs. The history of Cape Verdeans on Cape Cod is not well-known outside the community, but is impressive. Hard work under harsh conditions at home on the drought-plagued Cape Verde islands was exchanged for hard work under harsher conditions on whaling vessels. When whaling died out, the Cape Verdeans found work in the cotton mills and cranberry fields of Cape Cod. Because of discrimination, Cape Verdeans were usually given the most difficult, lowest paying jobs. Nevertheless, with ingenuity and effort, the islanders saved money to send to relatives, enabling many to emigrate to the U.S.

The history of Cape Verdeans on Cape Cod reveals man's dependence and profound impact on the land. It was through their labor that the cranberry industry was born and land use was changed. As young Cape Verdeans of today make choices different from their parents, the use of the land is transforming again—with many bogs returning to their wild state. Labor is no longer as plentiful and cheap as it was years ago. While still facing some discrimination, opportunities for education and different careers are much greater for Cape Verdeans today.

In an age when far too many people seem to think that cranberry juice appears automatically on grocery shelves, a working bog would offer visitors the opportunity to see how natural resources, while affected by humans, can be wisely used. Inclusion of the role of the Cape Verdean population on Cape Cod in any interpretation of the working bog would make them more "visible," and would enrich the visitors' experience and their enjoyment of the National Park.

The Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans

Having lived in Provincetown and enjoyed the nearby natural resources for about 120 years before Cape Cod National Park was established, the Portuguese American community has a complex relationship with the park. Many appreciate the role of the Park as caretaker and preserver of the natural resources of the area. None of those interviewed regret the existence of the Park. Most believe that if the Park had not been established, major portions of the land would have been developed into private resorts.

Nevertheless, some discontent with park policies exists among the Portuguese and Portuguese American residents of Provincetown. This discontent stems in part from a perception of inequity. Comparing themselves with residents of five other towns which border the National Seashore, Provincetowners feel that their neighbors have retained privileges of access to the seashore denied Provincetown people.

A number of the consultants believe that other towns bordering the Seashore have retained town beaches where those with resident stickers may enter and park free. The resentment of entrance fees is exacerbated by the economic circumstances in which Portuguese and Portuguese-

Americans currently find themselves. Commercial fishing was the traditional occupation of many of the Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans of Provincetown. Over the last several years, the fishing industry has declined and families have become more and more dependent on the tourist industry for their livelihood. Community consultants talked of working two and three jobs in the summer to make enough money during the short season to survive the winter. Provincetown residents feel that is unreasonable to be charged an entrance fee for the rare hour (or rarer day) they may have off to enjoy the Seashore in the hot summer months. Moreover, the fee is particularly resented by those who have made the effort to walk or bicycle to the beach.

Harvesting activities, driftwood collecting, surf-casting, and hunting are among the traditional uses of the Park that remain highly valued within the Portuguese American population of Provincetown. Walking and horseback-riding are also traditional uses of the land that offer opportunities for people to enjoy the Park. Bicycling has been facilitated by the trails, something that is greatly appreciated.

Incorporation of the Portuguese contribution to the area in interpretive programs and exhibits would "add to the visitor's enjoyment," and would help visitors "gain a greater appreciation of this environment and man's relationship to it," to quote the National Park Service's objectives for the Cape Cod National Seashore, as cited in the 1970 Master Plan.

Contemporary Neighbors

"Contemporary neighboring groups" in Provincetown, both those who are of Portuguese background and those who are not, express concern that the Park's programming and policies are focused almost exclusively on the three-month tourist season with insufficient regard for local interests and concerns. Increasing the educational outreach program would have the dual benefit of teaching young people about environmental science (important lessons for those using the unique and fragile resources of the National Seashore) and providing opportunity for increased communication between Park Service personnel and Provincetown residents.

Community consultants indicated that most people in the area appreciate the natural

resources that the Cape Cod National Seashore protects. What they do not all realize, however, is the fragility of those resources. Because they think of the resources within the Seashore in terms of their traditional and historical use, the Park's neighbors do not always understand the rationale behind the regulations that the National Park imposes. According to local groups, strictures or policies of the national organization (the Park Service) sometimes burden or prohibit local use of Seashore resources through seemingly unnecessary requisites. Culturally sensitive outreach and communication efforts can overcome such opposition, simplify planning and result in effective, locally appropriate management.

8.0 Community Consultants

Wampanoag

Frank James, West Chatham (508-945-4470)
Frank is a musician and a fine model boat-builder whose models have traveled with a Smithsonian exhibit. He is also the founder of the National Day of Mourning, a Native American counterpart to Thanksgiving. Although he feels very strongly about past and current inequities and injustices in the treatment of Indians, he also welcomes opportunities to teach people about the Wampanoag. He was the first to suggest the idea of developing a Wampanoag village at the Seashore. He has participated in interpretive programs at the Park in the past.

Anita Little (Mother Bear), Mashpee Tribal Elder (508-477-0208) or (home 508-362-3581)
Mother Bear has experienced the "unfriendliness" of some of the towns on the Cape to Native Americans, but she is willing to serve as a resource to the National Seashore when (or if) an interest is taken in the Wampanoag. She retains a strong faith in traditional beliefs and seems particularly knowledgeable about women's traditional roles, as well as about today's organization of the Wampanoag. She would also be particularly interested in being contacted whenever a new grave or camp site is discovered. Mother Bear is collaborating with the Gay Head Indians on a language project, so should be contacted if Wampanoag place names are to be added to plaques.

Nanepashemet, Plimoth Plantation (508-746-1622, ext. 385)[43]
As a historian by training and inclination, Nanepashemet is interested in all aspects of the Wampanoag's past. He is currently working on a project that includes research into the Wampanoag language. His interest in place names makes him an excellent resource if the Park Service decides to include Wampanoag place names on their plaques and literature. Furthermore, he is experienced in designing and constructing a portion of a Wampanoag village at Plimoth Plantation, so would be an obvious source of information should the Service undertake the construction of a village. Likewise, he would be a good source of information about architectural styles, materials, and processes.

Matthew Vanderhoop, Natural Resources, Gay Head Tribal Council (508-645-9265)
Although the Gay Head Wampanoag Tribal Council defers to the Mashpee Tribal Council in matters relating to the Park (on the basis of their relative proximity), if there were to be any extensive projects involving Indians, they would like to be contacted.

Barbara Stevens (508-487-2142)
Though born in New Bedford, Barbara has lived in Provincetown for forty years, so she has had a long acquaintance with the land that is now part of the Cape Cod National Seashore. The granddaughter of a full-blooded Wampanoag, Barbara maintains links with Wampanoag around the Cape, Martha's Vineyard and the New Bedford-Fall River area.

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[43] Sadly, in September 1995, Nanepashemet suffered a heart attack and at the time of this writing, it was not yet clear whether he will be able to resume his work.

Portuguese

Gloria Da Lomba, Provincetown restaurant owner (508-487-0015)
Gloria, a citizen, has been living in the US for 17 years. She speaks English and Portuguese, maintains a strong network with all the recent immigrants.

Portuguese American

Charles "Stormy" Mayo, Center for Coastal Studies (508-487-3622)
Half "Yankee," half Portuguese, Stormy says that he is atypical of either group because of his environmental activism. However, by virtue of his being originally from Provincetown, as were his parents and grandparents, in addition to his interest in and exploration of the Park lands, he is an appropriate contact.

Warren Perry (508-487-0545)
Warren is Portuguese-Irish, born in Provincetown, worked for the National Park Service before retirement. He also worked with the NEED Collaborative in their educational outreach efforts. He has plaques commemorating his storytelling, dockside tours and rope tricks demonstrations to students. His wife's grandparents were from the Azores and owned a cranberry bog in Barnstable.

Paul Tasher (508-487-9314)
A Portuguese American Provincetown fisherman, Paul and his family were early supporters of the Park. He remains a frequent user of the Park and is very willing to talk about both the benefits and costs of national park status of the former Provincelands.

Cape Verdean

John and Tina Raneo (508-432-0418)
Both John and Tina were born on the Cape, as were their mothers. Their fathers and grandparents were immigrants. John is the former police chief of Harwich and is very active in the historical society. He has a wonderful collection of books on Cape Verdeans and would be very interested in seeing more attention paid to the history of the Cape Verdeans on the Cape. Both John and Tina picked cranberries as young adults.

Eugene Texeira (unlisted phone number, contact through John Raneo)
As a new immigrant , Eugene was not very strong and had a hard time when he tried to work in the cranberry bogs. To sand the bogs, the men had to push wheelbarrows on planks across the bogs; Eugene found it hard to keep his upright. For a time, he was allowed to stay in the shack as "cook" for the other workers. He was given room and board, but not otherwise paid. The first job he had that paid 50 cents per hour (as opposed to $1 for 10 hours) was working on the railroad—"that was good money!" Eugene, though too old to work in the bogs himself, said that he would welcome an opportunity to oversee the construction and operation of a bog. "If the Park Service needs somebody to teach...I could do it."

Laura Pires-Hester (contact through Rebecca Joseph, National Park Service)
A Cape Verdean cultural anthropologist and native Cape Codder, she is a consultant to the Smithsonian Institute 1995 Festival of American Folklife. She is also conducting an evaluation of the Parnet Cranberry Bog as a Traditional Cultural Property for the

purposes of the NPS nomination of the site to the National Register of Historic Places.

Although not in the community, *per se*, other knowledgeable contacts for information pertaining to Cape Verdeans are: Marilyn Halter, Boston University, who has studied Cape Verdeans in the U.S., and Pat Doherty of the Cape Cod Academy in Osterville whose students have been compiling oral histories of Cape Verdeans of Cape Cod.

Contemporary Neighboring Groups

George Bryant (508-487-0657)
Does real estate surveys for a living, but what really interests him is the history of local and marine-related activities. He's constantly adding to his archive of data and photos of 19th century fishing and the local area. He offers lectures about houses and local genealogy. He is willing to provide copies of some of his photos for Park Service exhibits.

David Goode, Assistant Town Manager, Provincetown (508-487-7000)
Although new to the area, David seems to have quickly learned who are the activists in town and what issues are on their minds. He is an excellent source of references and/or contacts.

Rangers and Seasonal Interpreters

Those, like Ranger St. Aubin and Dave Spang, who have been with the Park Service since its inception, are a wealth of information about the Park, relationships with the communities, and patterns of visitors. Even those who have been part of the service for a briefer time are often knowledgeable about the resources of the Park and welcome educational outreach opportunities. They should be asked their views.

9.0 Partially Annotated Bibliography

General Information: Cape Cod and Cape Cod National Seashore

Berger, Josef (pseud. Jeremiah Digges). *In Great Waters*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1941.

Bourne, Russell. *The View from Front Street: Travels through New England's Historic Fishing Communities*. 1989.

A travelogue of historian Bourne's visits to Noank, CT; Marblehead, Provincetown, Nantucket, New Bedford and Gloucester, MA; and various small ports along the coast of Maine. In his description of Provincetown, Bourne describes his many meetings with George Bryant, one of his best resources on Provincetown's past and present. George Bryant was interviewed for this Rapid Assessment as well.

Cape Cod Planning Process: Steps 2, 3, 4, and 5--Visitor Experience and Resource Protection (VERP) Process Model, Detailed Task and Product Descriptions. Unedited draft. February 7, 1994.

Cape Cod Writings: 1894-1988. Cape Cod Community College.

A composite collection consisting of single items or small groups of papers listed and described separately by the repository. Manuscripts including typewritten copies, of writings by various authors, relating to a variety of Cape Cod subjects, including Indian place names of Nantucket, MA, Wampanoag Indians in Mashpee, MA, local history, and Portuguese-Americans.

Chase, Susan A. "The Ethnohistory of Outer Cape Cod."*Chapters in the Archaeology of Cape Cod, I: Results of the CCNS Archaeological Survey, 1979-81*. Francis McMananom, ed. Boston, MA: Division of Cultural Resources, North Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. 1984.

This chapter summarizes major historical accounts of Native American life in the Cape Cod and wider New England region before the permanent settlement of European peoples (roughly from the late 1200s to the Late Woodland/Early Contact period.) In her Introduction to the chapter, Chase cautions the reader that "it is important to distinugish earlier reports (late 13th century) which reflect Indian adpatation to the original environment from later accounts, which record native cultures whose economic, political, and social structures were already influenced by European culture."

Among the major sources cited are: Italian explorer Giovanni da Verrazzano's report of his 1524 sojourn in Narragansett Bay; the accounts of the 1602 trip of prospective colonizer Bartholomew Gosnold, written by fellow voyagers John Brereton and Gabriel Archer; Samuel de Champlain's accounts of French explorer de Poutrincourt's 1605 and 1606 voyages; Robert Juet's account of Henry Hudson's third trip down the New England coast in 1609; and John Smith's personal report of his extensive exploration of Cape Cod and Massachusetts Bay in 1614. Chase also includes accounts from the Pilgrims' landing in Provincetown and subsequent exploration in the areas of Truro, Wellfleet, and Eastham.

Finch, Robert. *Cape Cod: Its Natural and Cultural History. A Guide to Cape Cod National Seashore, Handbook 148*. Washington, DC: Division of Publications, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

Directed at the Cape Cod visitor, this official publication is dominated by photographs and illustrations of the flora and fauna of the seashore and the architecture and artifacts of the Cape's (primarily European) heritage. The handbook also features information on activities for the tourist, including whale watching, birdwatching, and attractions on Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard.

Foster, Charles H. *The Cape Cod National Seashore: A Landmark Alliance.* Hanover, NH: Published for Tufts University by University Press of New England, 1985.

This is a very detailed look at the political maneuverings that led to the establishment of the National Seashore. For anyone interested in the early history of the Park, it offers information about the individuals and their personalities, the discussions and agreements that took place prior to designation.

Kittredge, C.H. *Cape Cod: Its People and Their History.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930.

National Parks for a New Generation: Visions, Realities, Prospects. Washington, DC: Conservation Foundation. 1985.

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Rothery, Agnes (Edwards). *Cape Cod: New & Old.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918.

Wells, Michael. *People and Parks: Linking Protected Area Management with Local Communities.* Washington, DC: World Bank: World Wildlife Fund/USAID, 1992.

The Wampanoag of Cape Cod: History, Culture and Current Status

Bourne, Russell. *The Red King's Rebellion: Racial Politics in New England, 1675-1678.* New York: Atheneum Press. 1990.

In the preface, Bourne explains that the inspiration for this book was a 1978 *New Yorker* article by Paul Brodeur, "The Mashpees," in which Brodeur describes the Mashpee Wampanoag Indians' unsuccessful attempt to win federal recognition for their tribe. In his sketch of the history of the Mashpee, Brodeur mentioned a distant relative of Russell Bourne's, a grist mill owner and friend to the Mashpees named Shearjashub Bourne. Bourne describes his book as an attempt "to find out what happened to the biracial harmony that was blasted apart by King Philip's War."
In his acknowledgments, Bourne mentions Nanepashemet, a Wampanoag Indian and curator of the Wampanoag Indian Program at Plimouth Plantation. Nanepashemet was interviewed for this Rapid Assessment.

Bowden, Henry W. and James P. Ronda, ed.s. *John Eliot's Indian Dialogues: A Study in Cultural Interaction.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. 1980.

This book is a reprinting of the Dialogues written by the Puritan minister John Eliot in the late 1660s and early 1670s. They are not transcriptions of actual dialogues between missionaries and unconverted natives, but, rather imagined interactions between Praying Indians (as the christianized Wampanoags were called) and other natives. The dialogues are based on Eliot's own experiences with Indians during his long ministry among them.

The editors of the volume introduce the Dialogues with their interpretation of the history of the Massachuset and Wampanoag Indians about whom Eliot writes. The introduction includes descriptions and explanations of Massachuset and Wampanoag social organization, land use patterns, kinship patterns, agriculture, hunting, fishing, warfare, governance, religion, medicine, dress, architecture, education, etc. In at least one instance, Bowden and Ronda's descriptions of Wampanoag culture and traditions contradict information given us by Mashpee Wampanoag individuals interviewed for this assessment. For example, Bowden and Ronda assert that, "Basic elements of identity and inheritance devolved patrilineally." One of our Mashpee Wampanoag contacts informed us that inheritance devolves matrilineally within the Mashpee and most other Wampanoag tribes.

Brodeur, Paul. "The Mashpees." *The New Yorker*, November 6, 1978. pp. 62-150.

Brodeur wrote this article shortly after the Mashpee Wampanoag lost their bid to become a federally recognized tribe. The author describes the suit in detail, briefly relates Mashpee Wampanoag history, and describes his visits to Mashpee and his conversations with many of the native residents of the small Cape Cod community.

Campisi, Jack. *The Mashpee Indians: Tribe on Trial.* 1992.

_____. "Entering the Circle: Native Traditions in Southeastern New England." *American Anthropologist*, June 1993.

Handsman, Russell G. "We claim these shores: Native Americans and the European settlement of Massachusetts Bay." *American Anthropologist*, June 1993.

Hutchins, Francis. *Mashpee,The Story of Cape Cod's Indian Town..* West Franklin, NH: Amarta Press, 1979.

Winsor, Justin. *The New England Indians: A Bibliographical Survey, 1630-1700.* Cambridge: J. Wilson, 1993.

Mills, William. "Strengthening the web of life: Wampanoag medicine men continue a tradition." *Cape Cod Times*, January 8, 1995.

Profiles of two Wampanoag medicine men, Gkisedtanamoogk, a Mashpee, who has been studying and practicing the medicine-man tradition for 15 years, and Tacknash (Luther Madison), a Gay Head, who considers his role as medicine man as primarily ceremonial.

Mills, William. "Big changes in the works for Mashpee." *Cape Cod Times*, January 8, 1995.

This article describes the proposed development projects for the town of Mashpee that include the Attaquin Park Wampanoag Village.

"Native people protest Pilgrim's parade in Plymouth." *In Other Words: A Publication of Cape Codders Against Racism.* December 1994/January 1995.

A recounting of the United American Indians of New England protest of the annual Pilgrims' Progress parade through Plymouth on Thanksgiving Day (the National Day of Mourning, as declared by Frank James and commemorated by American Indians since 1975).

Nickerson, W. Sears. 1961. "Micah Rafe, Indian Man" in *Bulletin of the Massachusetts*

Archaeological Society. 22:2 (January)

Copies of the Nickerson Papers are in the archives at Cape Cod National Seashore's headquarters. They focus on the Wampanoag around the turn of the century.

Perry, Jack. "Cape Wampanoag mark the other side of Thanksgiving." *Cape Cod Times*, November 21, 1994.

A brief description of the history of the National Day of Mourning, the day chosen to commemorate the "beginning of the end for the American Indian, their lifestyle and culture," Thanksgiving Day. The article also features interviews with Wampanoag Indians Frank James, who started the National Day of Mourning 20 years ago, and Earl Mills, Jr.

Peters, Russell M. *The Wampanoags of Mashpee: An Indian Perspective on American History.* Brookline, MA: Nimrod Press. 1987.

This beautiful, large format (11.75" x 9.75") book contains numerous photographs, maps, and illustrations to accompany the chronological description of Mashpee Wampanoag culture and community from 1620, when Europeans first settled in New England, to 1982, when Judge Walter Gunter dismissed for the second time the Mashpee's bid for federal recognition. Interspersed within the history are poems, folktales, profiles of prominent Mashpees, and descriptions of traditional Indian religion and local Mashpee politics. The author is President of the Wampanoag Indian Tribal Council, and the Project Director for the film series *People of the First Light.* The book is "Dedicated to the preservation of Mashpee as an Indian community."

Simmons, William. *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore, 1620-1984.* Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986.

Travers, Milton. *The Wampanoag Indian Federation of the Algonquin Nation: Indian Neighbors of the Pilgrims.* Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1961.

This was recommended by one of the Wampanoag community consultants who said that it contains pictures and references and mentions great-great-grandparents of some Wampanoag currently living on Cape Cod.

Portuguese & Portuguese-Americans of Cape Cod: History, Culture, Current Status

Baganha, Maria Ioannis Benis. *Portuguese Emigration to the United States, 1820-1930.* New York: Garland Publications, 1990.

Bannick, Christian John. *Portuguese Immigration to the United States: Its Distribution and Status.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Cardozo, Manoel. *The Portuguese in America, 590 B.C.-1974: A Chronology and Fact Book.* Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, 1976.

A chronology of the Portuguese in America accompanied by pertinent documents.

Clarence-Smith, Gervase. *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism.* Dover, NH: Manchester University Press, 1985.

Contemporary American Immigration: Interpretive Essays (European). Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982.

Part of The Immigrant Heritage of America series, this book includes the essay, "Portuguese Immigration into the United States," by Fausto Avendano.

Holmes, Urban Tigner, Jr. "Portuguese-Americans." In *Racial and National Minorities*. Ed. Francis J. Brown and Joseph Roucek. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1937.

Lick, Sue Fagalde. *The Iberian Americans*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1990.

This book discusses the history, culture, and religion of the Iberians, factors encouraging their emigration, and their acceptance as an ethnic group in North America.

Pap, Leo. *The Portuguese-Americans*. Boston: Twayne, 1981.

_____. *The Portuguese in the United States: A Bibliography*. Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies, 1976.

See "Viera, David J." below, for up-dated supplement.

The Portuguese American. Providence, RI: Reach Out Publications, Inc. Serial.

Rogers, Francis M. *Americans of Portuguese Descent: A Lesson in Differentiation*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974.

Rose, Arthur. *Portagee Hill and A People: A Tribute to the Portuguese People*. Gloucester, MA: Sea Shore Literary, 1991.

Taft, Donald R. *Two Portuguese Communities in New England*. 1923. New York: Arno-New York Times, 1969.

Vermette, Mary Theresa Silvia. *The Image of the Azorean: Portrayals in Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century Writings*. Angra do Heroismo: Instituto Historico da Ilha Terceira, 1984.

Viera, David J. *The Portuguese in the United States: A Bibliography (First Supplement)*. Durham, NH: International Conference Group on Portugal, Department of History, University of New Hampshire, 1989.

Wilkinson, Alec. *The Riverkeeper*. New York: Vintage Books, 1992.

Wolforth, Sandra. *The Portuguese in America*. San Francisco: R. & E. Research Associates, 1978.

Audiovisual:

"Portuguese Pilgrims of New England." Boston: WGBH Educational Foundation, 1978.

This 60-minute tape describes the experiences and lifestyles of Portuguese emigrants to New England who, while trying to adapt to the "American" way of life, attempt to maintain some of the traditions and customs of the Portuguese culture.

Cape Verde and Cape Verdeans on Cape Cod: History, Culture and Current Status

Almeida, Raymond Anthony. *Cape Verdeans in America: Our Story.* Boston: TCHUBA--American Committee for Cape Verde, 1978.

Beck, Sam, and the members of Local 1329. *From Cape Verde to Providence.* Providence: International Longshoremen's Association, Local 1329, 1983.

Burrows, Fredriks A. *Cannonballs and Cranberries.* Taunton, MA: William S. Sullwold, 1976.

Carmel, Jeffrey. "Cape Verdeans Build a New Life on New England's Shore." *Christian Science Monitor*, 14 Feb. 1983.

Carreira, Antonio. *The People of the Cape Verde Islands: Exploitation and Emigration.* Trans. and Ed. Christopher Fyfe. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1982.

"Cranberries." *Ebony* 4, no. 1 (Nov. 1948): 31-33.

Dillingham, William P. "Cape Cod, Massachusetts: Bravas, or Black Portuguese, Cranberry Pickers," chapter 7 in *Immigrants in Industries, Report of the Immigration Commission, Recent Immigrants in Agriculture*, vol. 22 (1911) p. 540.

Gaw, Cooper. "The Cape Verde Islands and Cape Verdean Immigrants." *New Bedford Evening Standard*, 29 July 1905, pp. 3, 10, 12.

Greenfield, Sidney M. "In Search of Social Identity: Strategies of Ethnic Identity Management Amongst Capeverdeans in Southeastern Massachusetts." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 13, no. 1 (Summer 1976): 3-17.

Halter, Marilyn. *Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean American Immigrants, 1860-1965.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1993.

Of particular interest to the National Seashore study is the section in this book on "Working the Bogs." In this fascinating study, the author weaves the voices of the Cape Verdeans through the history to describe the experiences of the immigrants in the cranberry bogs. By 1910, Cape Verdeans dominated the labor force in the bogs, men sanded the bogs; women planted, weeded, then picked the berries by hand. Men picked as well, usually using scoops. It was incredibly hard seasonal work with low wages and poor housing. Relatively few of the Cape Verdeans bought land and their own bogs, but many saved money to send back to the islands for relatives.

Hard as it was, the work in the fields was welcome to those who had farmed before immigrating and found the winter's factory work confining (and the urban congestion and discrimination unpleasant). Once the immigrants gave up the idea of returning to Cape Verde, they started buying land and building cottages, keeping gardens and canning the harvest for the winter. Despite the harsh work, there were compensations—children played or worked along with their mothers and relatives, listening to traditional stories and songs as they worked. Being able to keep their babies with them as they worked allowed mothers to continue nursing them, resulting in a lower infant mortality rate than found among textile factory workers. Strawberry picking in June and July, blueberry picking in July and August, cranberry harvesting in the Fall, helped the immigrants make enough money to

survive the winter. Racial prejudice is described, balanced with some stories of tolerance and success.

_____. "Working the Cranberry Bogs: Cape Verdean in Southeastern Massachusetts." In *Spinner: People and Culture in Southeastern Massachusetts*, Vol. 3. Ed. Donna Huse. New Bedford, MA: Spinner Publications, 1984, pp. 70-83.

_____. "The Cape Verdeans" and "The Labor Strike of 1933." In *Cranberry Harvest: A History of Cranberry Growing in Massachusetts*. Ed. Joseph Thomas. New Bedford, MA: Spinner Publications, 1990, pp. 98-105, 106-7.

Houston, Laura Pires. *Cape Verdeans in the United States: Continuing a Story of Struggle, Creativity, and Persistence*. Cape Verdean-American Scholarship Committee, Sept., 1978.

Machado, Deirdre Meintel. "Cape Verdean Americans." In *Hidden Minorities: The Persistence of Ethnicity in American Life*. Ed. Joan Rollins. Washington DC: University Press of America, 1981.

McCormick, Cynthia. "Proud of their roots: Cape Verdeans in the spotlight." *Cape Cod Times*, December 11, 1994.

A description of the history of Cape Verdean immigration and settlement in New England and of the recent interest in documenting Cape Verdeans' contributions to the culture of Cape Cod and the country. The author spotlights a Cape Cod high school oral history project, Marilyn Halter's scholarly work, *Between Race and Ethnicity*, and an up-coming Smithsonian Institution folk festival that will include a celebration of Cape Verdean culture. The teacher who directs the oral history project was the source of our contacts in the Cape Verdean community.

Meyers, Doug, and Donald Glickstein. "Striking Workers in the Cranberry Bogs--the Depression Years." *New Bedford Sunday Standard Times*, 3 Sept. 1978, p. 4.

Nunes, Maria Luisa. "A Different Vision of a New England Childhood: The Cape Verdean Experience on Cape Cod." In *Women in Portuguese Society: Proceedings of the Second Annual Symposium on the Portuguese Experience in the United States*. Fall River, MA: National Assessment and Dissemination Center, 1976.

_____. *A Portuguese Colonial in America: Belmira Nunes Lopes, the Autobiography of a Cape Verdean-American*. Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Review Press, 1982.